

APPENDIX A

Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study (Armitage 2010)

Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

29 October 2010

By Peter Armitage
(Wolverine & Associates Inc.)



Report to Innu Nation

Sheshatshiu and Natuashish
Nitassinan (Labrador)

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Executive Summary

This report presents the results of research to document Labrador Innu land use in a large portion of southern Labrador that includes the proposed Lower Churchill Hydroelectric Generation Project and Labrador-Island Transmission Link Project with a focus on the contemporary (and especially, post-1990) period. The data and analysis presented here are to be used in the planning and environmental assessments of these projects.

The study area for the research is bounded by the Trans Labrador Highway between Goose Bay, Churchill Falls and Wabush, the north shore of Lake Melville as far as Sebaskachu Bay, the headwaters of the Eagle River in the Mealy Mountains area, the Straits area of southern Labrador, and the southern Labrador-Quebec border. It includes portions of Mishta-shipu (Churchill River) that would be affected by construction and operation of hydro dams and reservoirs, road access to hydro facilities, transmission and electrode lines during both the construction and operational phases of the project.

This is a vast area from an Innu land use perspective, and entails a number of methods of access including car, truck, snowmobile, boat, canoe and aircraft. Innu have harvested in this area during the last 20 years in the context of community-based land use, remote camps facilitated by the Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation (SIFN) Outpost Programme remote camps established without SIFN support, cabin-based, itinerant, and opportunistic land use along the TLH, etc.

Fieldwork research to obtain contemporary land use information was conducted in Sheshatshiu during a three week period in August and early September 2010. An open house was held in Sheshatshiu in mid-October 2010 to provide community members with an opportunity to review the draft report and associated maps. Eighteen community members attended the open house, eight of them respondents. An overview of the report and an invitation to attend the open house were broadcast several times through the community radio station at that time.

The “map biography” was the primary method used in the research for this study. The map biography is a social survey method in which people respond to a questionnaire in a face-to-face interview setting. Typically, biographies record the locations of camp sites, travel routes, birth and burial locations, harvest locations for various animal species and wild fruit, places of religious significance, and other information on maps.

Interviews were conducted with 28 community members during the course of the research for this report. Map biographies were made with 26 of them and generated 109 map overlays. The information on these overlays was digitized using a Geographical

Information System to produce a database that was subsequently used to build composite (thematic) maps of cabin and tent locations, kill sites for large animals, small animals, furbearers, waterfowl, fish, travel routes, and fixed cultural sites. A map showing 184 place names, most of them Innu, and a “hodgepodge” map were also prepared for this report.

A methodological overview is provided at the beginning of this report with the view to making the methods as transparent as possible. It explains how the interviews were conducted, land use data recorded on map biographies, and subsequently digitized for the GIS database and map production.

The land use information obtained for this study provides additional evidence of a significant change in Sheshatshiu Innu land use over the last 20 or more years. The change is most apparent in the shift in Innu harvesting efforts and camp establishment away from remote locations formerly accessible by canoe and snowshoe, and in more recent years by aircraft, to road accessible ones.

Available data show that Innu have built cabins at approximately 24 road accessible locations in the Study Area over the last 20 years, 18 of which are along the TLH between Goose Bay and Churchill Falls. Another eight or so cabins have been built in recent years at the mouth of the Kenamu River, which is accessible by motor-boat or snowmobile after freeze-up. In addition to these locations, Innu have also built cabins at North West Point, and along the road between Sheshatshiu and Goose Bay.

The spatial extent of contemporary Labrador Innu land use has been documented reasonably well as a result of this study, at least for areas that would be directly affected by the proposed Lower Churchill Hydroelectric Generation Project and the Labrador-Island Transmission Link Project. However, the data collected for the study suffer from a number of limitations. These include data gaps concerning land use in some portions of the Study Area such as several lakes in the headwaters of the Eagle River. Furthermore, the cabin location information is inaccurate, particularly that derived from an Innu Nation cabin database. Obtaining accurate coordinates of these cabins should be a priority given the importance of accuracy with respect to project mitigation and monitoring initiatives. The socio-economic data that were collected in the context of questions appended to the map biography interviews are particularly problematic. No useful generalizations can be made for Sheshatshiu members on the basis of the survey sample responses due to the small sample size and the resultant lack of statistical validity.

Innu-aimun Executive Summary

Mashinaikaniss tutakanipan ka nanitussenitakanit Innuat ka kushpanenitakau tshe ishi matenitakunit Tshiashkuenish mak Manitu-utshu atusseunu anite ka ishi kushpitau nutshimit e natuuit, ekusset, e maushut, e papamipatshiht, kie e natshi-kutikunit.

Mashinaikan kie assiu-mashinaikana tutakanipani ka nanitussenitakanit Innuat ka kushpanenitakau e natuuit, ekusset, e maushut, nutshimiu-natukun, e papamipatat utapanu, shkitunu, utinnu e papamipaniht kie e papamishkat, e pimutet kie e tat nete patshuianitshuapit kie etat anite kutukuniutshuapit anite nutshimit, passe muk tshika matenitakunu tutakaniti nenu ushkutiminu nete Mishta-shipu kie uashtenimakan-pishakanapi itapekamutakaniti anite Akami-assissit (Newfoundland) kiema Churchill Falls. Innu ka natuut, kakusset, ka maushut, nutshimiu-natukun, utapan ka apashtat, shkitunu, ka tshipaishinnit, kie mak e pimishkanut, e pimutet kie etat nete patshuianitshuapit kie nete kutukuniutshuapit uiesh pipunu 1990 kie 2010. Eku ne eshi uauitakanit mashinaikan, tshe tshi nenu uitshikut anitshenat Innu Nation kie Nalcor Energy uashtenimakan utshimaut tshe tshi nashtutatishut tshe ishi matenitakunit nenu ushkutiminu mak uashtenimakan-pishakanapinu tutakaniti mekuat tatau nete nutshimit.

Nanitam ituteu kie tau Innu nete tshe tutakanit nenu atusseunu kie tshe ishi matenitakunit ushkutiminu kie uashtenimakanit-pishakanapinu, papamipatat nete Mishta-paushtiku-meshkananu (Trans Labrador Highway), kie apashtatau katshipekaisha, innu-utinnu tshetshi tatau nete tshe kutikunit, kie mak kapimipaniht apatshitau. Anitshenat Sheshatshiu Innutshimaut, kakushpinanut shuniau apashtakanipan, ka pimipaniht kie piminu e minakanit Innuat kueshpitau. Innuat natuushipaniht kie natshi kusseshipaniht anite Mishta-paushtiku-meshkananu apashtashipaniht, e pimipatat Sheshatshit kie Churchill Falls kie mak Wabush.

Anite Sheshatshit nanitussenimakanipaniht Innuat, uapu-pishimua kie ushkau-pishimua 2010 pipunu Peter Armitage (Kuekuatsheu) ka uitshikut Mashen (Basil) Penashue. Nishunnu ashu nishuaush (28) uapamakanipaniht kie kuetshimakanipaniht Innuat e nanitussenimakanit. Pashtinamupaniht aimunu natuunnu, kakussenanut, ka maushunanut, papamipatshunnu, kie etanut nete assit, mashinataikanipan nete assiu-mashinaikanit. Marlyce Shangreaux ka atushkuat Innu Nation pitepenitapan uauitamunu nete ka atusseu tshitapatakanit tshe tshi tutakanit ussi assiu-mashinaikana e nukunit anitshenat nishunnu ashu nishuaush (28) Innuat ka natuutau, ka kussetau, ka maushutau, ka papamipatshitau, kie etatau nete nutshimit nukutakanu nete assiu-mashinaikanit uiesh nishunnuepunitshe eshpish tshi kushpitau. Nete assiu-mashinaikanit nukutakanu nete:

- katatau patshuianitshuapit kie kutukuniutshuapit;
- ka nipatau aueshisha mushat kie mashkuat;
- ka nipatau kakuat, uapushat kie pineuat;
- ka nipatau aueshishat ka umaniunimiti miam mate, amishkuat kie uapishtanat;
- ka nipatau shishipat kie nishkat;
- ka nipatau nameshat,
- ka papamipatat utapanu, ka kashkatinanut, ka apishashinit utapanu, shkitunnu, ka tshipectaishinit, innu-utinnu, kie mak ka pimutetau.

Peik^u ne assiu-mashinaikan nukutakanu nete pemishinnit Innuat ka nipiht, nete ka inniuit, nete kushipatshakan ka tutakau Uatshitshish mak Uashaunnu, nete ka tutuakuenit tshipiatukua pemishiniti Innua, nete Innuat ka mamuitut miam mate ka aiamianut kie nete ka matenimakanit Katshimaitsheshuat, Uenitshikumishiteuat, kie Anikapeu utat nete ka tipatshimakanit.

Eku ne kutak assiu-mashinaikan nukutakanu nete ka ishi innunikateti nipia, shipua, utshua kie massekua nete nutshimit katakunika.

Nasht minu uauitakanu ka ishi nanitussenitakanit eshi atushkatet, Peter ka ishi tutak uauitamatonu nete assiu-mashinaikanit ka aimiat Sheshatshiunnuat kie ka ishi pitepanitat ne Marlyce uauitamatonu nete ka atusseu tshitapatakanit assiu-mashinaikanu ka tutak.

Ne mashinaikan issishuemikan Sheshatshiunnuat mishkutinamut nete ka natuuit, kakusset, kamaushut kie papamipatshiht nete nutshimit, ishpush shash nishunnuepuna. Ueshkat nete mishta mitshetuau tashipan Innu nete mishtikusseutshuapit kie natuuishipan kie kusseshipan kie katak ishi kushpipan miam mate anite Atshiku-nipi, Pepaukamaue kie kutaka nipia. Ka ishi kushpitau ka pimipaniti ka apatshiataue. Eku anutshish Sheshatshiunnuat natuut, natshi-kusseut kie natshi-maushut nete pessish meshkanat miam mate Mishta-paushtiku-meshkanat. Innut tutamupanit 24 mishtikusseutshuapa nete meshkanat kie shash uiesh 20 nishunnuepunitshe. Kutunnu ashu nishuash (18) takunu mishtikusseutshuap nete Mishta-paushtiku-meshkanat. Eku anite Tshenuamiu-shipit nishuash tatinua (8). Kie shash tshimataut mishtikusseutshuapa nete Sheshatshit mak Goose Bay meshkanat.

Mishta mishau uauitamaton anite mashinaikanit euauitakanit. Innuat nete ka natuuit, ka natshi-kusset kie ka natshi-maushut. Kie ka aishpatshit pepamipitshitau, kie eukunnu tshe ishi matenitakau nenu ushkutim. Kie uashtenimakan-pishakanapia. Muk tapue,

apu takuak uauitamatun e uauitakanit passé ka ishi takunikau nipia anite itetshe Nutapineuanu-shipu. Kie apu takuak uauitamatun e uauitanikau mishtikusseutshuapi tekunikau. Mishta ishpitenitakun tshe tshi uauitakanit kie nete ka uitshitau auenitshenat tshe ishi matenitak nenu ushkutiminu kie uashtenimakan-pishakanapia atusseun tutakaniti.

Ekue nete mashten ishi kuetshimakanipanit anitshenat Innuat ka uapamakanit etenitakau e atussenanut e tutakanit shunianu, tshetshi atusset kie tshetshi natuuit, kie tan etatu tshishikau tshipa minuatam Innu tshetshi atusset, tshek ishinakunit tshetshi atusset nete ushkutiminu mak uashtenimakan-pishakanapinu tutakaniti nenu atusseunu. Muk iat tapue, apu ishpish tatishitau auenitshenat tshe tshi uauitakau Sheshatshuinnuat etenitakau ka ishi kuetshimakanit tshetshi atussetau nete ushkutiminu mak uashtenimakan-pishakanapia atusseun tutakaniti.

Report notes

Title page photo – The remains of the main meeting tent at the site of the 2006 Innu women's gathering at Tshiashku-Nipi (Gull Lake) (photo P. Armitage).

All photos in this report are used with photographer permissions.

With respect to the cartography in this report, Maps 1 to 4 and 6 were made by Lead Researcher, Peter Armitage, while Maps 7 to 14, and 16 were made by Innu Nation geomatics specialist, Marlyce Shangreaux. Two versions of Map 15 dealing with place names are provided, one by Armitage the other by Shangreaux. Armitage's map labels place name locations with numbers which are linked to the place names index in Appendix 11. Shangreaux's map shows the place names directly on the map but the font size is small given the 11x17 inch format of the map.

All Innu terms, including toponyms, have been spelled using the shared spelled system because it respects the rules of Innu-aimun grammar and makes it possible for all Innu people to read the names irrespective of dialect. The draft Pan-Innu dictionary was used to verify spellings.¹

A number of the Innu toponyms that appear on maps in this report have a labialized consonant at the end which is represented by a superscript "u" as in Atatshi-uinipek^u (Lake Melville). However, the GIS programmes used to generate maps for this report do not permit superscripts. Thus, names like Atatshi-uinipek^u are written Atatshi-uinipeku on the maps with no superscript "u" at the end.

The referencing of respondent statements in this report uses the following protocol. The anonymity of each respondent is protected through the use of Personal Identity Numbers (PIN). A reference such as "PIN11, 26 August 2010" indicates that the respondent statement is a verbatim translation/transcript of an interview with the respondent on 26 August 2010. In contrast, a reference such as "paraphrase, PIN11, 26 August 2010" indicates that the statement is a paraphrase based on notes recorded by the Lead Researcher.

¹ Pan-Innu dictionary database (draft September 2010). Toolbox version. Editors: Lynn Drapeau, José Mailhot, Marguerite MacKenzie, Yvette Mollen, and Hélène St-Onge.

Acknowledgements

A research project must by necessity be a collaboration, calling upon the knowledge and expertise of numerous people, not the least the people of Sheshatshiu. I owe a great debt to all members of the community of Sheshatshiu who participated in this study and who for reasons of confidentiality cannot be named here. In particular, I would like to thank the following people:

- Basile Penashue (Innu Nation) who recruited the vast majority of respondents for the study, and who was quick to find replacements when there were “no-shows.” I could not have completed 26 interviews (28 respondents) in three weeks without his crucial support. Also, thank you, Basile, for interpreting when necessary;
- Leonard Rich (Innu Nation) and Gordon Milley for the tour up Mishta-paushtik^u meshkanau (Churchill Road) in late August, an excursion which allowed me to collect GPS coordinates for several land use features and to gain a better appreciation of Innu land use in this part of their territory. Thanks also to Leonard for responding to various information requests by e-mail and for providing additional cabin coordinates;
- Simon Andrew (Outpost Programme Coordinator, Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation) for his input concerning the respondent sample and access to recent Outpost Programme data;
- Kanani Penashue and Clarence Davis (Sheshatshiu Innu School) who provided office/interviewing space for the duration of the research even though it interfered with staff needs;
- Anne Rich who translated the Executive Summary into Innu-aimun.

Several other people played important roles with respect to the study including:

- Marlyce Shangreaux (Innu Nation) and Candace Ashcroft (freelance geomatics specialist, Swan River, Manitoba) who undertook an extremely large volume of digitizing and cartographic work in a very short period of time. I thank them for their hard work, exactitude, and patience;
- Patt Larcombe (Symbion Consultants, Winnipeg, Manitoba) for reviewing the draft versions of this report and Data Collection Guide, useful discussions about methods and her contribution of the data collation and analysis in Appendix 1

- Charlie MacKenzie (Innu Nation) for his straightforwardness and efficiency with respect to the financial management of the study;
- Stephen Kilburn (GeoPraxis Inc., Guelph, Ontario) for his advice concerning map biography overlay registrations and RMS error;
- Rick Hendriks (Chignecto Consulting Group Inc.), Richard Nuna (Innu Nation), and Emma Sharkey, Ken Brophy and Elisabeth Poirier-Garneau (Nalcor Energy) for their guidance throughout the Study and feedback on methodological and other issues;
- Rick Hendriks (Chignecto Consulting Group Inc.), and Emma Sharkey, Ken Brophy, Steve Bonnell, and Virginia Soehl (Nalcor Energy) for their comments on an earlier draft of this report.

All errors of omission, misunderstanding, and misinterpretation are primarily my responsibility.

Tshinashkumitinan!

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1. Introduction

1.1 Study overview

This report presents the results of research to document Labrador Innu land use in a large portion of southern Labrador that includes the proposed Lower Churchill Hydroelectric Generation Project and Labrador-Island Transmission Link Project with a focus on the contemporary (and especially, post-1990) period. The data and analysis presented here are to be used in the planning and environmental assessments of the following (all of which collectively are referred to as the “Project”):

- the Lower Churchill Hydroelectric Generation Project;
- the Labrador-Island Transmission Link Project;
- any other generation or transmission project related to the above projects that may be proposed by Nalcor Energy in the Study Area.

Fieldwork research to obtain contemporary land use information was conducted by the Lead Researcher (LR), Peter Armitage, in Sheshatshiu during a three week period in August and early September 2010. *Use* “refers to activities involving the harvest of traditional resources; things like hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering of medicinal plants and berry picking, and travelling to engage in these activities” (Tobias, 2000:3). Harvest locations and travel routes may be recorded using the map biography method. In contrast, *occupancy* refers to “continuing use, habitation, naming, knowledge, and control” of an area that a “particular group regards as its own” (Usher, 1992:10-11). When mapping occupancy using the map biography method, one documents “fixed cultural sites” such as habitations, places of “spiritual” significance, burial grounds, place names, place-based stories, etc. Other information that cannot be mapped may also be documented such as kinship and ideas about land tenure, but such information is usually obtained by means of in-depth semi-directive interviews with community experts.

While the focus of this study is on the last 20 years of Labrador Innu land use, it also includes data on fixed cultural sites of greater age such as burial, birth, and death locations in the Study Area. However, it is NOT a study of:

- the intensity or frequency of land use throughout the Study Area. Some data were collected with respect to the frequency of occupancy of cabins and camp sites, but a scientific sample of Sheshatshiu land users could not be undertaken that could constitute a valid foundation for intensity analysis. Furthermore, extensive questioning of respondents about frequency of land use would have

imposed an unreasonable response burden² upon them during the interviews. There is no doubt that response burden can be mitigated by scheduling several interview sessions over a period of time, but time and budgetary considerations made such an approach unfeasible for this study;

- historic land use (i.e. based on oral tradition and written documents);
- changes in land use in the Study Area due to the changing fur trade economics, the socio-economic context of village life, integration in global mass culture, and other factors;
- impacts of industrial developments and other competing land uses on Innu land use in the Study Area;
- Innu place names in the Study Area, although a large number of such names are included in this report derived primarily from previous research (see www.innuplaces.ca);
- Innu harvesting methods, land tenure, traditional environmental knowledge, spirituality, or the cultural (phenomenological) aspects of land use and occupancy.

To the extent that this report deals with any of these topics, the purpose is to provide a general understanding of important aspects of Innu history and culture in order to contextualize the land use data.

Formal interviews were conducted with 28 community members during the course of the research for this report. Map biographies were made with 26 of them and generated 109 map overlays. A community open house was held 13-14 October 2010 at which time the draft report and provisional thematic land use maps were reviewed with a small group of interested community members.

The spatial extent of contemporary Labrador Innu land use has been documented reasonably well as a result of this study, at least for areas that would be directly affected by the proposed Lower Churchill Project. However, the data collected for the study cannot be considered complete and suffer from a number of other limitations which are explained below.

The socio-economic data that were collected in the context of questions appended to the map biography interviews are particularly problematic. As noted by Patt Larcombe in

² “Response burden” refers to the experience of the interview as a burden, that is, too long, too complicated, too difficult, too tiring, a nuisance, stressful, or otherwise disagreeable (see Tobias, 2009:444).

Appendix 1, generalizations cannot be made for Sheshatshiu members on the basis of the survey sample responses due to the small sample size and the resultant lack of statistical validity.

The report is divided into four sections following this introduction. Section 2 provides an overview of the methods used to document the spatial aspects of land use and limitations of the research and data. Section 3 describes Labrador Innu land use in the Study Area focused on the last 20 years including cabin/tent locations, animal kill sites, and other features. The fourth section of the report presents some limited occupancy data in the way of place names, burial, birth, death and other fixed cultural sites. Information concerning these features and their locations may be important for Project impact assessment and the design of mitigation measures.

Although it is beyond the scope of the study to document the phenomenological aspects of land use, some examples of land use narratives are presented in the final section that illustrate how Innu create meaning out of their experiences in the Study Area. The lack of phenomenological data in this report is perhaps its biggest limitation. Without it, the study is guilty of “spatial reductionism” which is the tendency to reduce a people’s history and culture on the land to colourful dots, lines and polygons on a map, or bits and bytes in a Geographic Information System (GIS) database. While this digitized information can be manipulated in the GIS, queried, compiled, and buffered in various ways for the purpose of environmental assessment, monitoring and mitigation, it does a poor job of conveying the deep meaning and emotion that many Innu have for the land and living entities that reside in the Study Area.³ As noted by Tobias (2009:46).

maps are poor at capturing the richness of meaning. They are not the best method for explaining cultural and ecological systems. They cannot convey, by themselves, the relationship between the features they depict and the overall socio-economic system. Understanding that overall system, which must be explained in words, is necessary before full sense can be made of the role and value of map information. Map biographies are necessary to tell a community’s story, but, contrary to popular belief, they are not sufficient to tell anything like the whole story.

³ First Nations land use is transformed into a “knowledge product” that is alienated from the people who supplied the information in the first place and which can be decontextualized and re-(mis)-interpreted by third parties whose worldviews and sense of the land are radically different from those of traditionally-minded First Nations people. We note Nadasdy’s (2003:126) point in reference to Traditional Ecological Knowledge that, “A whole array of stories, values, social relations and practices, all of which contribute substance and meaning to aboriginal people’s relationship to the environment, must be ‘distilled out’ of TEK before it can be incorporated into the institutional framework of scientific resource management” (see also Ellis, 2005; Rundstrom, 1995).

The whole story of Labrador Innu experience in the Study Area in the contemporary period cannot be told in this report, but a part of it can be with the view to helping the reader understand a little about what the land means to them.

1.2 Study Area

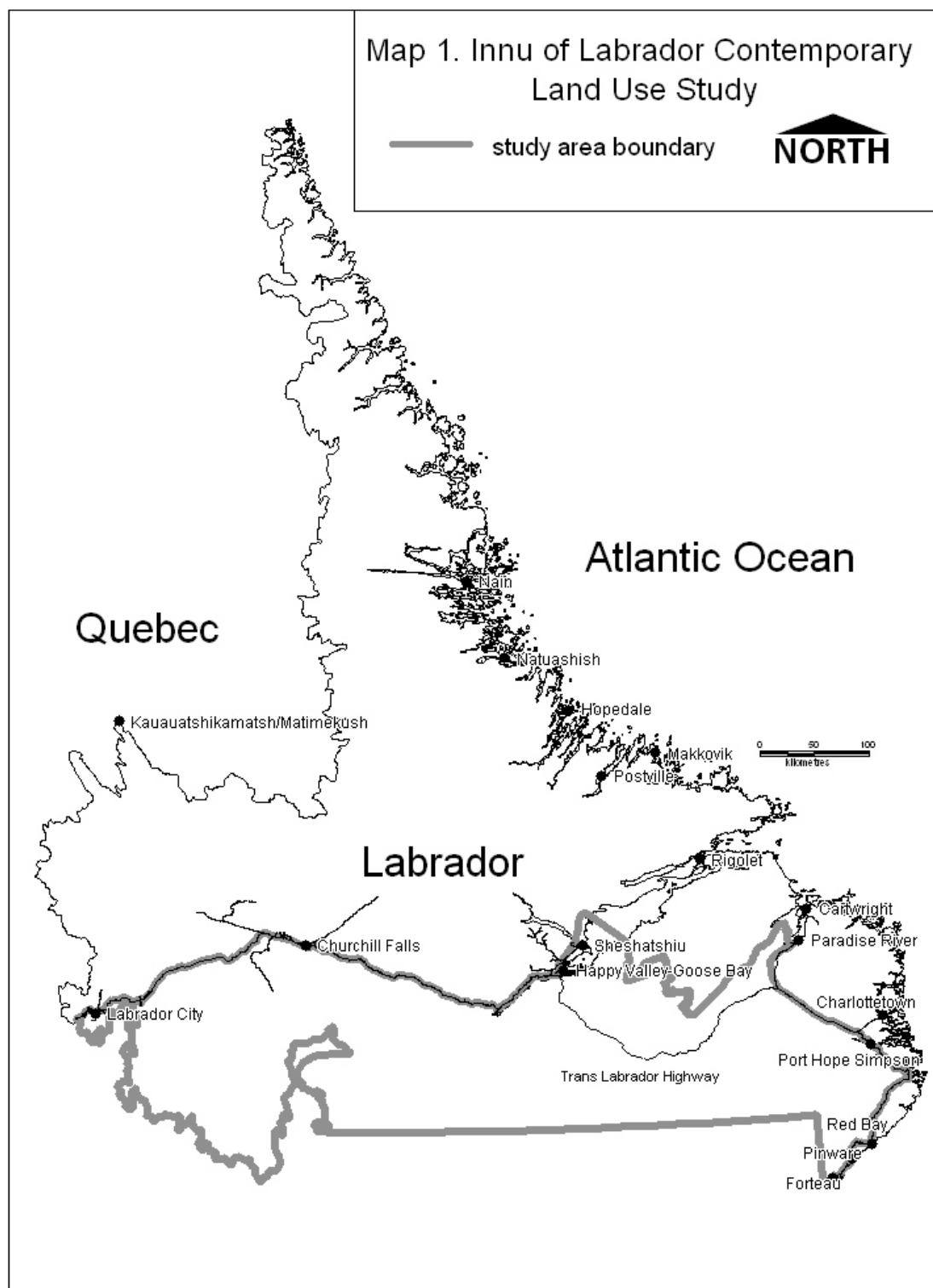
The Study Area (see Map 1) was developed jointly by Innu Nation and Nalcor Energy and comprises portions of Mishta-shipu (Churchill River) that would be affected by construction and operation of hydro dams and reservoirs, road access to hydro facilities, transmission and electrode lines during both the construction and operational phases of the project. The area was described to respondents as the “Sheshatshiunnuat territory – along Mishta-shipu, south of Mishta-shipu, between Goose Bay and Sheshatshiu, along the north and south shores of Atatshi-uinipek^u (Lake Melville) as far as Atshakash-shipiss and Shapeshkashu.”

This is a vast area from an Innu land use perspective, and entails a number of methods of access including car, truck, ATV, snowmobile, boat, canoe and aircraft. Innu have harvested in this area during the last 20 years in the context of community-based land use, remote camps facilitated by the Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation (SIFN) Outpost Programme (known as *Kakushpinanut*), remote camps established without SIFN support, cabin-based, itinerant, and opportunistic land use along the Trans Labrador Highway (TLH), etc.

1.3 Division of labour

Six people worked on the study, two of them Sheshatshiu Innu, one a non-Innu member of the Innu Nation staff, and three external consultants retained by Innu Nation. Their respective roles and responsibilities were as follows:

- Peter Armitage (Wolverine & Associates Inc.) was the Lead Researcher (LR) who was responsible for the design of research methods, conduct of the research, data analysis, data quality, and report writing.
- Marlyce Shangreaux (Innu Nation geomatics specialist) and Candace Ashcroft (freelance geomatics specialist, Swan River, Manitoba) digitized the map biography data, entered attribute data into an ArcGIS database, and generated both individual map biography and composite thematic maps. They are responsible for most of the cartography in this report;
- Basile Penashue (Innu Nation) provided advice concerning the respondent sample and other matters, and recruited the vast majority of respondents for the study. He also interpreted between the LR and some respondents who were either unilingual or who had limited English-language proficiency;



- Patt Larcombe (Symbion Consultants, Winnipeg, Manitoba) reviewed a draft version of the Data Collection Guide, provided useful feedback concerning methods and peer review of the draft report, and collated and analyzed socio-economic and demographic data (Appendix 1);
- Leonard Rich (Innu Nation) recruited some of the respondents, and responded to various information requests from the LR by way of e-mail. He joined the LR in a fieldtrip up Mishta-paushtik^u meshkanau (Churchill Road) to collect GPS coordinates for several land use features and to allow the LR to gain a better appreciation of Innu land use in this part of their territory.

1.4 Study time-line

The study was conducted over a three-month period according to the following time-line:

- August 2010. Study commencement. Review of background literature, collation and review of existing Labrador Innu land use data and toponymy, preparation of methods statement, work scope, work plan, data collection guide, and map biography toolkit. Approval of the workplan by Innu Nation and Nalcor Energy on 13 August;
- 16-18 August, 2010. Meeting with Innu Nation team members in Sheshatshiu to discuss respondent sample and research methods. Undertake community communications, prepare interview space at the Sheshatshiu Innu School, and set up map biography tool kit;
- 18 August to 3 September, 2010. Interviews in Sheshatshiu with 28 respondents. Create ArcGIS database, commence map biography overlay scanning and digitizing the data;
- September 2010. Processing data from the interviews, digitizing land use data on the map biographies, error checking, data analysis, report writing. Submission of draft report to Innu Nation and Nalcor Energy on 4 October, 2010;
- Review of draft reports in early October 2010 by Patt Larcombe, Innu Nation, and Nalcor Energy;
- An open house in Sheshatshiu 13-14 October 2010 to obtain feedback from community members concerning the draft report and thematic land use maps;
- Preparation of the final study report, end October.

2. Methods

2.1. Key elements of the method

The “map biography” was the primary method used in the research for this study, although the LR also obtained relevant contextual information through informal discussions with individual community members. The map biography is a social survey method in which participants respond to a questionnaire in a face-to-face interview setting. As its name suggests the map biography deals primarily with spatial data. “The term refers to the collection of interview data about traditional use of resources and occupancy of lands by First Nation [Aboriginal] persons, and the presentation of those data in map form. Think of it as the geography of oral tradition, or as the mapping of cultural and resource geography” (Tobias. 2000:xi). A map biography is based on “respondent recall” and constitutes, therefore, a record of an individual’s land use in a given geographic area over time. Typically, biographies record the locations of camp sites, kill sites for various animal species, collecting places for wild fruit, and medicines, birth and burial locations, “spiritual” sites, travel routes, and other information.

The LR adopted the most current best practices available for the map biography method, which are those laid out by Terry Tobias in his new guide, *Living Proof* (2009). This guide is based on Tobias’ extensive research experience and consultations with dozens of use and occupancy researchers from Canada, Australia and other parts of the world.

The data collection guide developed for this study borrows heavily from *Living Proof*, and the methods outlined here are significantly inspired by those explicated by Tobias.⁴

The key elements of the method for this study included the following.

- The LR consulted with Innu Nation and Nalcor Energy with respect to the study requirements, work scope, work plan, budget and other matters.
- The LR determined the study time period (i.e. respondent recall interval) and dimensions of the Study Area, in conjunction with Innu Nation and Nalcor Energy. The time period for the study is 1990-2010, a recall interval of 20 years for respondents. However, fixed cultural sites in the Study Area that have a longer temporal character, such as shaking tent locations, and burial and birth sites were also included in the study.

⁴ See also the foundational discussion of the history of, and methodological issues concerning, “subsistence mapping” in Ellana, et al. (1985).

- The LR reviewed relevant background ethnographic, linguistic and land use and occupancy literature in order to inform the design of the research and to ensure that it is appropriate to the Innu of Sheshatshiu and would not duplicate research already undertaken. Relevant literature includes Armitage (2007a, 2007b, 2001, 1990), Armitage and Stopp (2003), Mailhot (1997, 1988a, 1988b) and the toponymic database available at www.innuplaces.ca.
- The LR extracted and collated data from existing Innu Nation land use data for inclusion in the study. These data were collected by the LR and other researchers in the context of land claims, environmental assessment and linguistic research in Sheshatshiu and include birth, death, burial, prayer/commemorative, and gathering site data, toponymic data, as well as places (special) of historical significance to the Innu such as the late Matiu André's store at Kamassekuakamat (e.g. Armitage 1990, 2001; Armitage and Stopp, 2003; and Mailhot, 1988b). The data also include "places of religious significance" to the Innu, that is, places where other-than-human beings were encountered or shamanic activities occurred in the past, including shaking tent ceremonies (see Armitage, 2007a). In addition, SIFN Outpost Programme data, and land use data for the period 1990 to 2001 in the Minai-nipi (Minipi Lake) area that had been documented by the LR in the context of the environmental assessment of a proposed Practice Target Area (PTA) Safety Template were included in this study (Armitage 2001).
- The LR integrated post-2002 SIFN Outpost Programme data with older Programme data going back to the 1970s. These data comprise locations of camps established by Sheshatshiu Innu at "remote" locations accessible by boat or aircraft or along the TLH or other road corridors. In the past, the Programme has financed the cost of transport, basic supplies, ammunition, and a VHF radio for each camp. Camp locations occupied since 1990 were of primary interest given the *contemporary* nature of this study. It should be noted that the coordinates of the "remote" camps in the database are approximate; they are taken at the centres of the named lakes where Innu base camps were established. Outpost Programme data for the period 2002-2005 were destroyed and therefore not available for this study. Furthermore, the data for spring 2010 were not available because they had not been processed by the Outpost Programme coordinator in time for integration with this study.
- The LR prepared a Data Collection Manual including a brief methods statement, Guidelines for Coding and Marking Data, and a map biography/socio-economic survey questionnaire (Appendix 2).
- The LR consulted Patt Larcombe of Symbion Consultants regarding methods and the survey questionnaire.

NTS base maps during map biography interviews. The LR had conducted toponymic research among Labrador Innu previously and was already conversant with the Study Area toponyms. Three additional Innu toponyms were recorded during the study – Mishta-paushtik^u meshkanau, Kaiamianut, and Penitenimi-unipim – and were used along with other Innu and English-language toponyms to facilitate way-finding across the NTS base maps during interviews. The latter two names were recorded in a previous Innu land use research project.⁶ Four non-Innu place names were also recorded because they are in popular use among the Innu - Diver Brook, Mile 41, Ossie Brook and Pope's Hill.

- In consultation with Innu Nation and Nalcor Energy, the LR prepared a “community information sheet” and undertook community public relations with the view to explaining the purpose of the research and seeking community support. The information sheet was deposited in the North West River post office boxes of 270 Sheshatshiu residents on 17 August while the LR and Basile Penashue broadcast a description of the study to Sheshatshiu residents through the community radio station the same day (in English and Innu-aimun). Their recording of the study description was broadcast twice later that week. Supporting communications were not provided by either the Innu Nation or SIFN leadership.
- The LR met with Simon Andrew, SIFN Outpost Programme coordinator, at the start of the fieldwork research to obtain data concerning the locations of camps and Programme participants.
- A respondent sample was designed by the LR based on the SIFN Outpost Programme data, and through consultation with Simon Andrew, Basile Penashue, Raphael Gregoire, and Tony Penashue. The sample is discussed at greater length below. All four of these men are middle-aged members of the community with a good general awareness of community land use activities in the study area. Tony Penashue is an Innu Nation environmental guardian with extensive land use throughout this area, while Simon Andrew has been the Outpost Programme coordinator for the SIFN for many years which has provided him with detailed knowledge of Innu camp locations and other aspects of Sheshatshiu Innu land use in the contemporary period.
- The LR set up the interview space in two adjacent, well-lit and relatively quiet offices at the Sheshatshiu Innu School. Mosaics, usually consisting of four adjacent NTS base maps, were taped to the walls and plastic overlays taped securely on top of them.

⁶ See Mailhot (1988a). Penitenimi unipim is record 13E/07-01 while Kaiamianut is record 13F/03-17.

- The questionnaire was piloted by the LR with two respondents to ensure that it would not impose a serious response burden (e.g. length, excessive detail) given the study's time constraints, would be comprehensible, and use appropriate Innu terminology. Three land use categories were dropped from the questionnaire, namely, "overnight in a vehicle" spots, "other-than-human beings" locations, and "offering places" due to LR concerns about the length of the questionnaire or because few data were anticipated for a given category. The final version of the questionnaire had 25 map biography questions and five socio-economic ones, in addition to nested supplementary questions (see Appendix 2).
- The LR and Marlyce Shangreaux designed an ArcGIS database for managing spatial data throughout the project and the production of maps. The database contains numerous fields which are delineated in Table 1.
- The LR reviewed the purpose of the research (Appendix 3) and an Innu Nation confidentiality statement (Appendix 4) with respondents after which the respondents signed research consent (Appendix 5) and honoraria forms, the latter stating that respondents agree to the amount of compensation for their interview time (Appendix 6).
- Respondents participated in single interview sessions concerning their land use in the Study Area either in the mornings, afternoons, or evenings, with each session lasting 2 to 3 hours.
- The LR asked respondents to show the locations of various land use features on the base maps, at which time he recorded them on the plastic overlays using Staedtler Lumocolor permanent felt pens with 0.6 mm nibs. The features were marked as points, lines or polygons linked to alphanumeric codes using "leader lines".
- Specific data marking conventions were used to record land use features on the map biography overlays following Tobias (2009) and "Guidelines for Coding and Marking Data" prepared for the study's Data Collection Guide. For example, each feature was identified by a code made up of two parts: (1) a pair of upper case letters representing the questionnaire category; and (2) a number that indicates where the feature fits in the sequence of data marking. For example, the first feature marked during an interview – a cabin – would be coded CN1, while the 52nd feature – a duck kill site – would be coded DU52. See Appendix 2 for the questionnaire and Appendix 7 for a list of the alphanumeric codes used during the map biography interviews.
- An effort was made to indicate the frequency of use of some land use features (e.g. cabins and tents) by marking an asterisk* beside their alphanumeric codes in cases where a respondent said the feature was used "frequently." Questions related to frequency of use had to be posed cautiously given the variability in the way that

respondents interpret terms like “routinely,” “frequently,” or “regularly.” Therefore, the LR used emic categories such as *nanitam* (many times, often) and *nanikutini* (sometimes) to facilitate judgments about the frequency of use.

Table 1. The ArcGIS contemporary land use database structure.

Field name	Description	Example
ALPHA_CODE	Alphanumeric code recorded for the feature on the map biography	BV135,MU136
RESPONDENT	The name of the person interviewed	Jane Amishk ^u
INTERVIEWR	Name of the person who conducted the interview.	Peter Armitage
NTS_MAP	NTS map that the feature was recorded on.	13C/14
SCALE	Scale of the NTS map that the feature was recorded on.	1:50,000
DATUM	Datum of the NTS map that the feature was recorded on, either NAD27 or NAD83.	NAD27
DATA_QUALI	A brief statement regarding any issues related to the accuracy of the feature location, coding or other attribute information.	ok
COPYRIGHT	Data owner	Innu Nation 2010
INTENSIVITY	The code that indicates whether the feature was used frequently, on a regular basis.	*
CAT_CODE1	The alpha code for the feature to facilitate ArcGIS data queries.	BV
CAT_CODE2	This field is for additional alpha code (10 fields altogether) where multiple alphanumeric codes have been attached to the feature.	MU
TIMEPERIOD	Time period for the feature, either 1990-2010, pre-1990, TI (Time Immemorial), ND (Not Determined).	1990-2010
REFERENCE	Reference to a MS-Word transcript of, or notes from, the interview (where relevant).	Janeamishku19aug2010.doc
DESCRIPT_	Descriptive information related to the feature.	Jane Amishk ^u used a snare to kill 2 beavers at this location.

- It is important to note that the LR attempted to record as many cabin, tent, and travel route features used by the respondents as possible since 1990. However, for other questionnaire categories such as small animals, partridge and fish where kill sites could be plentiful, and exhaustive recall of them could constitute a serious response burden, the LR asked respondents to show only *some* of the kill locations.
- During the interviews, the LR used Innu-aimun terms for all land use categories in the questionnaire in order to reduce possible misunderstandings about the identities of animals and fish killed at given locations, etc. These terms are listed in Appendix 7 beside the land use categories and their alphanumeric codes. He also used a variety of basic Innu-aimun geographical terms to help respondents way-find across the NTS base maps. A number of these geographical terms are listed in Table 2.⁷

Table 2. Innu-aimun geographical terms used during the interviews.

<i>akamit</i> - straight across on the other side of the river, the opposite shore	<i>minashkuat</i> - in the woods	<i>paushktik^u</i> - rapids
<i>ashkui</i> - area of open water	<i>naneu</i> - along the shore	<i>shipu</i> - river
<i>kupitan</i> - outlet of a lake	<i>natimit</i> – upstream	<i>takuatueiau</i> - it (river, brook) is forked, branches off
<i>mamit</i> - downstream; downriver	<i>nipi</i> - lake	<i>tshissekau</i> – cliff
<i>massek^u</i> - it is marshy	<i>nipiss</i> – lake (small, e.g. a pond)	<i>ushetauakamau</i> - it is a lake with an esker nearby
<i>meshkanau</i> - street, road, path, track, route	<i>pakatakan</i> – portage	<i>utshu</i> - mountain
<i>mushuau</i> - it is barren, treeless place; it is tundra	<i>shipiss</i> - river (small, e.g. a brook)	

- Throughout the interviews, the LR consistently and persistently reminded respondents of the recall interval for the land use categories covered in the questionnaire, that is, the last 20 years, since 1990.
- The LR recorded all respondent interviews using a Zoom H4n digital audio recorder. He “verbally-anchored” the marked features so that additional descriptive information could be added to the GIS database in the future based on the alphanumeric codes, and to facilitate checking the data for coding errors. An example of verbal anchoring is “I am marking Jane Amishk^u’s moose kill site on the map, MO135.” The “MO” means ‘moose’ in this case, while the number “135” means that the kill site (feature) is the 135th one marked on the overlay at that point in the interview.

⁷ Most of the definitions provided here are formal ones taken from the Pan-Innu dictionary database (draft September 2010). Toolbox version. Editors: Lynn Drapeau, José Mailhot, Marguerite MacKenzie, Yvette Mollen, and H  l  ne St-Onge. This is a very small sample of simple Innu geographic terms. See Mailhot (1975) for a detailed discussion of Innu geographic concepts and terms.

- The LR recorded socio-economic and attribute data (re. spatial features marked on the map biographies) on Interview Data Recording Forms (Appendix 8) during the respondent interviews so as to reduce if not eliminate the need for post-interview processing of audio recordings. A number of these recordings were later reviewed for important information and to solve problems concerning coding errors identified by Shangeaux and Ashcroft.
- Questions of a socio-economic nature dealing with past wage-employment, country food sharing practices, etc. were asked towards the end of each interview once the map biography questions had been completed.
- At the end of each interview, the LR and respondents signed and dated each map biography overlay. The LR subsequently added four registration marks to each overlay along with the respondent's name, map sheet number, date, and other descriptive information following Tobias' protocols.
- Interview Record Forms were completed by the LR immediately following each interview (Appendix 9). The LR also assigned appropriate file names to the digital recordings, and archived them on computer hard drives.
- The scanning of each map biography plastic overlay was undertaken by Wade Atlantic in St. John's, Newfoundland, using a KIP 2100 (36") drum scanner.
- The LR had hoped to review all of the scans and prepare notes for Shangreaux and Ashcroft concerning data quality issues to watch out for when digitizing the features recorded on the overlay scans. However, approximately one-half of the overlays were scanned and transmitted to Shangreaux while the LR was still conducting interviews in Sheshatshiu, meaning that his pre-digitizing review was restricted to scans done after his return to St. John's on 3 September.
- Shangreaux and Ashcroft imported the map biography scans into ArcMap and georeferenced them by establishing links between registration ticks on the scan jpegs and manually entering ground control coordinates (using UTM coordinates). They also converted the overlay scans into .tiff format files.
- Shangreaux and Ashcroft evaluated the Root Mean Square (RMS) error for each map biography raster, and lowered the error when possible in cases where it was four times the cell size (the threshold). Several map biography overlays were rescanned because they had excessively large RMS errors. Rescanning resulted in a substantial reduction in RMS error for one respondent's overlay (from 60 to 4) suggesting that the error was due to a mechanical scanning problem (e.g. overlay sticking in the drum

scanner). The RMS error for all of the map biographies scanned and registered for GIS processing is presented in Appendix 10.⁸

- Shangreaux and Ashcroft digitized the land use features on the rasterized map biography overlays (points, lines, polygons), and entered attribute data such as alphanumeric feature codes into the GIS database.
- Shangreaux communicated coding errors, registration and other problems encountered with respect to data on the overlays to the LR so that he could correct errors, clarify issues, etc. where possible.
- The LR reviewed digitized land use features and attribute data added to the GIS database. The LR undertook this task using ArcGIS-compatible software (namely, MAPINFO GIS) by comparing the digitized points, lines and polygons and their codes with the data on the raster images of the map biography overlays.
- Shangreaux and Ashcroft undertook post-digitizing processing of each of the shapefiles (ArcGIS format) to merge all of the separate files together for each respondent or pair of respondents. They added additional attribute information to the merged files and corrected any errors from first review. The merged files were then sent to the LR.
- Based on instructions from the LR, Shangreaux and Ashcroft built map biography maps for 26 individual respondents at 1:250,000 scale so that these could be transmitted to Nalcor Energy as jpegs. The maps contain land use features, UTM registration marks and topographic information. The identity of the respondents is protected by labeling the maps with their Personal Identity Numbers (PIN) only.
- Based on instructions from the LR, Shangreaux and Ashcroft queried the GIS database for the purpose of building thematic maps. The thematic queries were for:
 - overnight sites (cabins, tents);
 - large animal kill sites (moose, bear);⁹

⁸ Time constraints made it impossible to enter all of the data quality information into the ArcGIS data base. Any land use feature with a quality issue affecting the accuracy of its georeferencing (e.g. recorded in a portion of a land use map lacking a complete road layer) should be tagged with a data quality caution in the database in the near future to alert future users of the database.

⁹ Caribou kill site data were recorded during the map biography interviews. However, many of them are located in an area where the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador has banned caribou hunting. Standard research ethics protocols require that such data not be included in this report because their public release could lead to the identification of individual hunters thereby exposing them to negative sanction.

- small animal and partridge kill sites (snowshoe hare, porcupine, spruce grouse, ruffed grouse, willow ptarmigan);
- furbearer kill sites (marten, mink, beaver, muskrat, otter, lynx, fox);
- waterfowl kill sites (geese, ducks);
- fish kill sites (salmon, generic fish);
- miscellaneous land use sites (berry collecting, medicine collecting, boil-up locations, water collecting sites); and
- travel routes (vehicle, boat-with-motor, snowmobile, walking, portages).

Some limited data from the map biography interviews were integrated with data from other Innu Nation sources to build a composite map of fixed cultural sites. These data include birth, death, burial, and gathering sites, places of religious significance, and one place of historical importance to Labrador Innu (Matiu André's store at Kamassekuakamat).

- The LR reviewed the individual map biography and thematic maps generated by Shangreux and Ashcroft;
- Shangreux plotted the thematic maps in colour on large sheets of paper for use in the community review (verification) process and inclusion as an Atlas with the final report;
- The LR sent completed Interview Data Recording Forms (Appendix 8) to Patt Larcombe of Symbion Consultants who collated and analyzed socio-economic data contained therein and provided notes to the LR for inclusion in this report (Appendix 1).
- An open house was organized by the LR in Sheshatshiu on 13-14 October 2010 with the view to providing community members with an opportunity to discuss the draft report and review draft land use maps. Large format thematic land use maps were taped to the wall of the Innu Nation board room in the community for public viewing. Eighteen people visited the board room, eight of them respondents from the summer interviews. As a result of this process, an additional burial location was documented, and additional information concerning a death location and Land-based Family Treatment Programme camps was obtained.

2.3 Respondent sample

The LR developed a respondent sample based on discussions with Basile Penashue, Leonard Rich, Raphael Gregoire and Simon Andrew (SIFN Outpost Programme Coordinator), review of Outpost Programme data, and the Innu Nation's list of Innu with

cabins in the Study Area (including cabin locations). Sampling was also conducted using a “snowball” method meaning that new, priority respondents with land use in the Study Area were identified *during* the interviews.

However, budget and time constraints made it impossible to design a scientific sample of all land users from Sheshatshiu based on a general survey of the population to determine who had land use in the Study Area since 1990, and which could support a scientific sample. A sample of this nature could require as many as 85 respondents for it to be representative and have statistical power.¹⁰

During the three week fieldwork period, the LR was able to conduct 26 interviews with 28 respondents. Two respondents were cartographically illiterate meaning that the map biography method could not be used with them. However, socio-economic, useful contextual, and some spatial information (e.g. georeferenced using toponyms) were obtained from these people. Joint interviews were conducted on two occasions with two respondents at each interview.

Sixteen people who had been booked for interviews did not show up or cancelled at the last second. This meant having to scramble rapidly to find replacement respondents so as not to lose valuable interview time. Basile Penashue did virtually all of the recruitment of the respondents having consulted with the LR concerning priorities.

Patt Larcombe undertook an analysis of the sample in relation to the Sheshatshiu’s demographic characteristics (see Appendix 1) based on a 23 October 2009 population list provided by the Innu Nation. She notes the following:

- the interview sample involved 26 males and 2 females ranging in age from 32 to 80 years of age. The average age of respondents was 53.2 years and the median age was 54 years.
- the sample involved approximately 2.8% of the total Sheshatshiu adult population (aged 15 years and older as of September 1, 2010). For a population size of approximately 1,000 (adults aged 15 years or older), a random sample size of 278 (or 27.8 of the population) is required for a 95% confidence level with a standard error of 5%. The sample of 28 individuals equates to a 95% confidence level with a standard error of 18%. A smaller sample size could be used if the adult population was surveyed first to determine who had land use in the Study Area within the last 20 years. The list of people with land use would thereby

¹⁰ This sample size number was determined using Creative Research Systems’ “Sample Size Calculator” available at www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm. Assume the sampling frame = 700 people, confidence level = 95%, confidence interval = 10.

constitute the sampling frame from which a smaller number of respondents could be randomly selected.¹¹

- the respondent sample is not representative of the age or gender structure of the adult Sheshatshiu population.¹² The interview sample poorly represents the 15-29 age class, and over-represents adults in the 50-59 and 60-64 year age classes.
- males were significantly over-represented in the interview sample. The sample was comprised of 93% males and 7% females versus the total Sheshatshiu adult population which is comprised of 48% males and 52% females. Compared to the total Sheshatshiu adult population, the interview sample poorly represents females in all age classes, except the 60-64 age class. The sample did not include any females or males in the largest age class of 15 to 29 years of age.

It should be noted, here, that our sample has a *strategic* gender bias in that it favoured respondents with a greater spatial *extent* of land use in order to obtain contemporary land use data for as much of the Study Area as possible.¹³ In the context of contemporary Innu land use, these tend to be males because (with rare exceptions) their harvesting methods require travel by snowmobile, motorboat, canoe, foot or four-wheel vehicle over greater distances than women. Women tend to restrict their harvesting activities to fishing, berry and medicine collecting, porcupine, rabbit and partridge hunting in close proximity to cabins and camps. In addition, many Innu women lack cartographic literacy which is a pre-requisite for participation in a map biography survey.¹⁴ Thus, the under-representation of women in the sample may well result in the underreporting of kill site and collecting location features for harvesting activities that are conducted predominately by them.

¹¹ As noted previously, time and budget constraints made it impossible to follow such an approach to sampling in this study. Larcombe notes in Appendix 10 that the “sampling requirements for the socio-economic survey versus the map biography survey are different. A statistically valid socio-economic survey should use the entire adult population as the sampling frame, whereas the map biography survey should use a stratified sample that prioritizes cabin holders in the Study Area in addition to a random sample of other land users who have been identified through a community-wide survey.” For more on social science sampling methods see Babbie (1992: 190-233) and Salant and Dillman (1994:53-74).

¹² Sheshatshiu total population based upon a member list dated “as of October 23, 2009” provided by Innu Nation.

¹³ See the discussion concerning “gender balance” in Tobias (2009:174-175).

¹⁴ This proposition concerning the cartographic illiteracy of Innu women is based on the LR’s interviewing experience with Labrador Innu dating back to 1987. One of the two women interviewed for this study could not read maps at all, while the other had very rudimentary map reading skills, not sufficient for accurate identification of land use features.

During the course of the interviews, it became apparent that data saturation¹⁵ was occurring with respect to land use at three locations – Kaiamianut (“Mile 41”), the mouth of Tshenuamiu-shipu (Kenamu River) and Mud Lake. Successive interviews with several respondents familiar with these areas were generating similar data in terms of cabin and tent locations, travel routes, kill sites and other land use features.

It should be noted that the study fieldwork had serious competition from a variety of “distractions” including a music festival in a Quebec Innu community at the start of the research, the Greg Penashue Music Festival on 20-22 August, a Voisey’s Bay IBA “pay-out” on 20 August, and an Elders’ gathering near Sheshatshiu that started on 2 September. These “distractions” meant that many community members (and some potential respondents) were absent from the community for some portions of the fieldwork period and made the recruitment of respondents challenging. Several people known for their land use could not be interviewed because they were too busy with work responsibilities. For example, the lead organizer of the Elders’ gathering was identified as an active land user in the Study Area but he was too busy with the gathering to be able to give time for an interview.

2.4 Research and data limitations

As noted previously, phenomenological data that would illustrate an Innu sense of place in the Study Area and speak to the importance of the land to them were not documented except as a “bycatch” of the map biography survey. The incompleteness and strategic bias of the respondent sample was also noted.

Another limitation of the study is that the map biography method has inherent accuracy and precision issues related to the choice of map scale, the map reading abilities of respondents, the limits of human memory, and the choice of recording instrument.¹⁶ With respect to the latter, Staedtler Lumocolor permanent felt pens with 0.6 mm nibs were used to record land use features on the map biography overlays, as noted previously. At 1:50,000 scale the width of a line drawn with one of these pens is 0.6 mm wide which represents 30 metres on the ground. The same line drawn on a 1:250,000 scale map represents 150 metres on the ground (Tobias, 2009:215).¹⁷

We did not have the time or resources to quantify the magnitude of the error with respect to the accuracy and precision of the spatial data recorded during the research other than to take note of the RMS error in the registration of the jpeg rasters generated by scanning the map biography overlays (see Appendix 10). This brief description of

¹⁵ “Data saturation” is “the point at which the incremental addition of more respondents’ data makes no difference to overall findings” (ibid.:146).

¹⁶ Precision “is the fineness with which the interviewer marks data” while positional accuracy “is the closeness of fit between a feature’s mapped location and its actual position on earth” (ibid.:143).

¹⁷ At 1:50,000 scale, a 2 mm wide point has a 100 metre wide footprint on the ground and occupies approximately 7,900 m² (ibid.:215).

error sources is intended, therefore, as a caution to users of the GIS database. High value features such as burial and cabin sites should be ground-truthed with GPS in order to obtain more accurate and precise geographic coordinates, depending on the needs of project mitigation and operational land use planning.¹⁸

The fact that many of the NTS base maps that comprised the study toolkit lacked an up-to-date road layer lead to inaccuracies in mapping some features. Derived primarily from aerial photography and field surveys dating to the 1950s, the NTS maps do not show the newly completed third phase of the TLH from Happy Valley-Goose Bay to the south coast of Labrador. NTS map 13C/14W for the Tshiashku-nipi (Gull Lake) area lacks a road used by Innu and 13E/12 does not even show the TLH as it approaches the town of Churchill Falls. Even the most recent Geobase National Road Network layer for the Study Area is incomplete in that it lacks a section of road that extends to a landing on the shore of Mishta-shipu (Churchill River) about 1.5 km downstream of Gull Island Rapids. Furthermore, now abandoned portions of the TLH and spur roads that have been used by Labrador Innu for various land use activities over the last 20 years are not depicted on the NTS maps. NTS map 13F/09 does not show the well-used Trans-Labrador Trail (for snowmobiles) from North West River to Maunakan (Mulligan).

The Mishta-massek^u area at the northern base of Akami-uapishk^u (Mealy Mountains) also posed certain challenges with respect to mapping land use. The reason for this is that the 1:50,000 NTS map for this area is monochrome, and the marsh area itself looks like a giant chunk of swiss cheese, dotted with small ponds throughout. Every respondent with land use in this area had difficulty reading the marsh portion of the NTS map, and as a result, many travel routes and kill sites in this area were either not marked on the map biography overlays or only approximately. This problem could be rectified in future land use mapping, perhaps, through the use of custom base maps with more detail and colour or high resolution satellite imagery.¹⁹

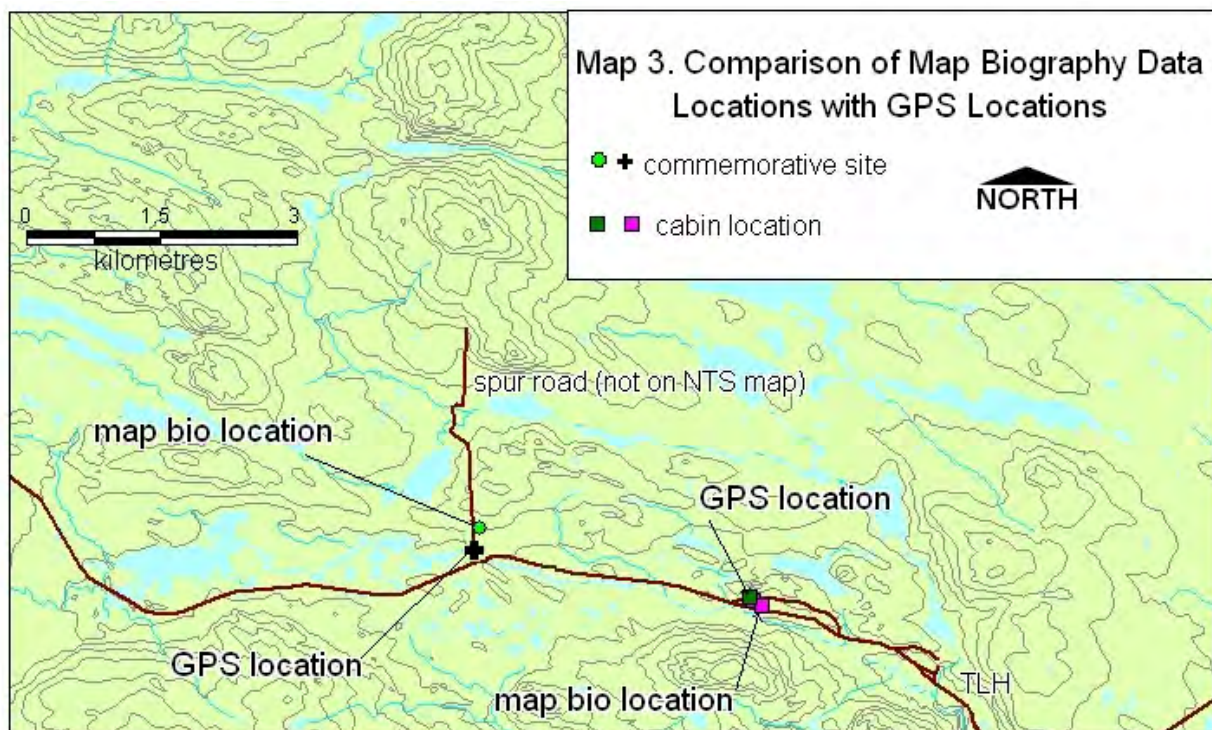
As a result of the missing topographic information, travel routes, cabins, tents, animal and fish kill sites and other features identified by respondents are approximate in areas where these land use activities occurred along or in close proximity to the unmarked roads and snowmobile trail. While not based on a systematic comparison of map biography coordinates with GPS ones, Map 3 illustrates the inaccuracy that resulted from the lack of a complete road layer on the NTS base maps used in the study. The spur road shown by the commemorative site on Map 3 does not appear on NTS map 13F/04, nor does a former routing of the TLH (or side road) by the cabin. Had time

¹⁸ NB – see Tobias' cautions concerning GPS ground-truthing (ibid.:315-316).

¹⁹ Travel routes and furbearer and small animal kill sites in the Mishta-massek^u area could be represented in a more generalized manner as a polygon approximately 100 km² in size. However, the use of large polygons to depict travel routes and kill sites would violate data recording conventions followed in this study. See Tobias' discussion of large polygons (2009:245).

constraints not been an issue at the commencement of the study, the LR would have produced custom base maps using the National Road Network layer, and GPS data for the Trans-Labrador Trail and now-abandoned sections of the TLH.

The Innu Nation cabin database that was used to plot cabins on the map of “overnight sites” for this report and to assess the extent of land use data coverage throughout the Study Area is incomplete and inaccurate. The coordinates of two cabins are clearly wrong because they appear either in the middle of Atatshi-uinipek^u (Lake Melville) or far from the road south of the TLH (Wabush Road section). The locations of some known cabins are missing (e.g. at Enakapeshakamau), two cabin holders are now deceased, one cabin holder has sold his cabin to a non-Innu, and other cabins have changed hands among Innu. Furthermore, some of the cabin coordinates were generated by Innu Nation staff using GPS units while others were identified approximately by marking ‘x’ on a 1:250,000 paper NTS map on the wall of the Innu Nation office in Sheshatshiu. To complicate matters further, the accuracy of individual cabin coordinates cannot be determined due to lack of metadata. What this all means is that the Innu Nation cabin database is provisional, with cabin coordinates requiring systematic ground-truthing using GPS.²⁰



²⁰ The cabin database was generated for the purpose of land claims negotiations between the Innu, federal and provincial governments. The parties recognize that the data are incomplete and need to be validated (N. Kleer, e-mail to P. Armitage, 12 September 2010).

A serious consideration for this study is whether or not the respondents interviewed provided data that adequately represents contemporary Innu land use throughout the Study Area. As noted in the introduction to this report, the LR is satisfied that the spatial extent of contemporary Labrador Innu land use has been well documented as a result of this study, at least as far as the areas directly affected by the Lower Churchill Project are concerned. This assessment is based on a comparison of the composite land use data from the 26 respondent interviews with two data sets: (1) the Innu Nation's Innu cabin location data; and (2) the SIFN's Outpost Programme data that document the locations of Innu camps and their members. Map 4 presents these data sets in relation to one another, and shows that map biography land use data have been obtained in the Study Area for Minai-nipi (Minipi Lake), Kapinien-nipi, Nipissu (Dominion Lake), Kamassekuakamat, Mud Lake and other places not adjacent to the TLH and its spur roads. The map also shows that map biography land use data coverage has been obtained for virtually all of the cabin locations identified in the Innu Nation cabin database. However, there are potential and real data gaps with respect to the geographical extent of the land use data coverage which are identified on Map 4 (see the numbered polygons on Map 4).

- The Outpost Programme camp marked #1 on Map 4 on the Twin Falls road is a very approximate location. Its location is probably at the cabin marked #2 on the map. No land use data were obtained for this cabin location which constitutes a data gap.
- The location marked #3 on Map 4 is a cabin originally built by the SIFN as a base camp for caribou hunting and a stop-over for Innu in transit along the TLH. While many caribou kill sites were documented for the area surrounding this cabin, no land use data were collected for its immediate vicinity. This may constitute a data gap.
- The cabin holder for location #4 on Map 4 which is near the spur road to Manitutshu (beside Muskrat Falls) was not interviewed, and as a result, no land use associated with the occupancy of this cabin were obtained. This may constitute a data gap.
- Outpost Programme records indicate that the camp marked #5 (Mush-nipi) on Map 4 was last occupied in 1993. No land use data were obtained in association with occupancy of this camp. This constitutes a data gap.
- Outpost Programme records indicate that the camp marked #6 (Kukameu-nipi) on Map 4 was last occupied in 1984. Therefore, the lack of post-1990 land use data for this location does not constitute a data gap.

Outpost Programme data indicate that Innu established camps at several lakes within the polygon marked #7 on Map 4 in the post-1990 period including

Enakapeshakamau, Eshkanat katshipakutiniht, latuekupau, Mishtashini, Mishtutshashk^u, Nekanakau, Pepaukamau, Uapanatsheu-nipi and Unikush ushakameshim. The lack of post-1990 land use data for these locations constitutes a data gap.

- The cabin marked #8 on Map 4 was constructed only recently following the completion of the TLH in December 2009. Land use in association with this cabin has likely been limited given its newness, and the lack of land use documentation for it in this report is a therefore a minor data gap.
- Outpost Programme data indicate that the Innu camps located at #9 (Uepushkueshkau) were occupied in the post-1990 period. The lack of post-1990 land use data for this location constitutes a data gap.
- Outpost Programme data indicate that the Innu camp located at #10 (Tshimushuminan-mishkumi) on Map 4 was last occupied in 1985. Therefore, the lack of post-1990 land use data for this location does not constitute a data gap.

It should be noted, here, that two failed attempts were made to interview respondents associated with the areas marked #8 and #9 on Map 4. Nonetheless, research time constraints made it extremely difficult to obtain land use data for the areas marked #3, #4, #5, #7, #8, #9 on Map 4 due to the additional respondents and/or interview time required for them. Furthermore, coverage of these areas would have added significantly to the costs of the research in terms of respondent honoraria, numbers of map biography overlays generated, and digitizing time required.

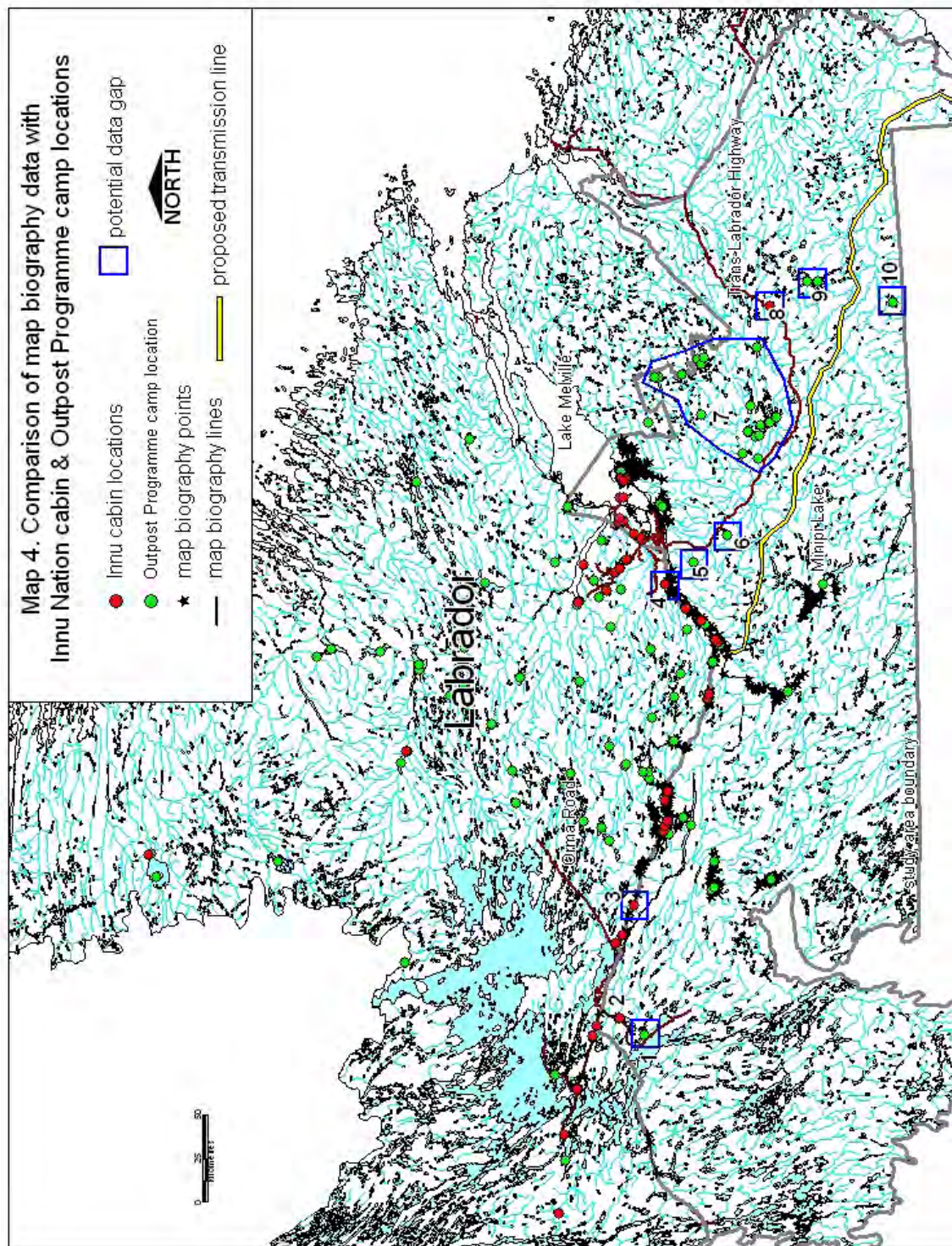
In addition to these data gaps, no land use information was obtained from Elizabeth (Tshaukuesh) Penashue or any other people who accompanied her with respect to their snowshoe treks to Minai-nipi (Minipi Lake) or canoe expeditions down Mishta-shipu (Churchill River).²¹ Dating to the late 1990s, these expeditions are a form of land use in the Study Area, albeit of short duration, and with limited harvesting.²² The GIS database and maps generated as part of this study contain no camp site, travel routes or any other land use features related to these expeditions.

No information was obtained concerning land use surrounding the camps established under the SIFN's "Land-based Family Treatment Programme" which were conducted at three locations along the TLH between 1996 and 2004 (see Section 4.4. below). Participants hunted and fished while living at these short-term camps.

With respect to the ArcGIS database used to manage the map biography data and generate maps, time limitations did not allow the LR to add relevant descriptive

²¹ The timing of the fieldwork for the study conflicted with Dr. Penashue's Mishta-shipu expedition at the end of August. She was also busy moving house during this period. The LR did not ask her or her husband for an interview.

²² See Penashue's Blog at <http://elizabethpenashue.blogspot.com/>



information to the database concerning mapped land use features, and for that reason, the database is incomplete (e.g., see the “DESCRIPT_” field in Table 1 above). Furthermore, time constraints made it impossible to enter relevant data quality information into the ArcGIS database. Any land use feature with a quality issue affecting the accuracy of its georeferencing (e.g. recorded approximately on a portion of a base map lacking a complete road layer) should be tagged with a data quality caution to alert future users of the database.

As noted above, the LR attempted to determine the frequency of use of some land use features such as cabins and tents. Features that were used “frequently” were coded with an asterisk* beside their alphanumeric codes. However, no intensivity analysis was conducted for this study due to time constraints; research team members did not have time to query the database for features coded with asterisks, and undertake an analysis as to which of them have been used *nanitam* (many times, often) over the last 20 years.

Another research and data limitation is one alluded to previously but it is one that bears restating due to its importance. This concerns the interview protocol that required the LR to ask respondents to show only *some* of the kill locations for many questionnaire categories such as small animals, partridge and fish where kill sites could be plentiful, and exhaustive recall of them could constitute a serious response burden.²³ The application of this protocol recognizes that the map biography is a *survey*; it is not intended to record every single land use feature during the last 20 years in the Study Area. As a result, all kinds of kill sites and other land use categories are underreported in this study. This is particularly true of kill sites for partridge, snowshoe hare, and some fish species, the underreporting of which was evident during the interviews when respondents made statements like “I killed *pineu* (partridge) everywhere here” while impatiently waving their pencils over large portions of a NTS base map. The gender bias in the sample which favoured male respondents also contributed to the underreporting of some types of land use, as noted previously.

The last limitation of note pertains to the socio-economic part of the questionnaire. As noted in the introduction to this report, Patt Larcombe (Appendix 1) has concluded that the statistical validity of responses by the sample respondents to questions about employment, country food sharing and other socio-economic matters is severely compromised by the extremely small sample size in combination with a lack of age and gender parity to the demographic structure of the broader population. As a

²³ Tobias (2009:309) notes that “[t]he survey will likely include categories for which some people could map literally dozens, or even hundreds, of sites. Obviously, the more sites a respondent indicates, the better, but it’s a big mistake to ask for *all* sites where a person killed or collected a particular species, because of the response burden this creates. Interviewers should ask respondents to indicate *some* sites for categories such as these.”

consequence, generalizations cannot be made for Sheshatshiu members on the basis of the survey sample responses. At best, the responses may be suggestive of generalized conditions, opinions and/or behaviours.

Finally, although the open house consultation process in mid-October gave community members an opportunity (and right) to review the draft results of the contemporary land use study, it did not provide adequate verification of the data on the draft thematic maps given that only eight respondents out of 28 participated in the process. Thorough verification would have taken a far higher participation rate and considerably more time and resources than what was budgeted for the study.²⁴

3. Labrador Innu land use in the Study Area

Innu land use in the Study Area has evidently undergone significant change over the years as a result of the social-cultural and health effects of a sedentary way of life in the community of Sheshatshiu, integration of the Innu into the global mass consumer culture, compulsory schooling, wage-employment, and a variety of other factors that are beyond the scope of this study to elaborate upon. The change is most apparent in the shift in Sheshatshiu Innu harvesting efforts and camp establishment away from remote locations formerly accessible by canoe, snowshoe, and in more recent years by aircraft, to road accessible ones. This was the conclusion of the LR's 2003 environmental assessment report concerning the third phase of the TLH south of Akami-uapishk^u (Mealy Mountains) co-authored with Marianne Stopp (Armitage and Stopp, 2003). The data collected seven years hence, in the context of the current study, confirm this trend, and in fact, provide additional evidence that road accessible harvesting, camping and cabin occupancy are now the most important components of contemporary Sheshatshiu Innu land use.

Road accessible land use is compatible with a relatively sedentary way of life in the community where the demands of wage-employment and the commodity consumption it promotes mean that many people now engage in harvesting activities of brief duration such as weekends and vacations, within commuting distance of Sheshatshiu.²⁵ In fact, a number of the respondents for the study stated that the speed with which they can nowadays reach their cabins via the Labrador road network is extremely important to them. One respondent plans to build a new cabin on the TLH closer to Goose Bay so

²⁴ See Tobias' discussion of map data verification (ibid.:314-321).

²⁵ This pattern of road-based land use may make it more feasible for lower income families who lack the equipment and financial resources required for accessing more remote locations to spend time on the land away from Sheshatshiu. The economic considerations that enter into Innu decision-making concerning where to conduct land use activities are beyond the scope of this study.

as to reduce the travel time. Furthermore, a number of respondents see the paving of the TLH as a benefit because of the reduction in travelling time it will afford.²⁶

Innu are not adverse to establishing camps and building cabins on former industrial or military sites if they are easily accessible by road.²⁷ The cleared lands in the Tshiashku-nipi (Gull Lake) area are favoured by many Innu for camping, and a youth addictions treatment programme has been held there in recent times, as well as an Innu women's gathering (2006). Also located there are two important spring water sites which are visited by many Innu. Furthermore, two Innu are planning to build cabins at the junction of the TLH and the spur road to Tshiashku-nipi close to locations of infrastructure related to planned hydro dam construction.

The trend towards increased use of roads is illustrated in Table 3 which is an updated version of Table 5 from the aforementioned 2003 report. It compares Innu camp locations over a 16 year period – near roads versus remote country locations. The table shows a significant increase in the establishment of road-accessible camps starting in the spring of 1998. Data for the spring of 2009, which show more remote than road-based camps, are probably anomalous, and do not skew the overall trend.

As noted in the 2003 report, the figures presented in Table 3

do not include temporary camps frequently established along the Sheshatshiu to Goose Bay road, on Grand Lake forest access roads, or at North West Point which is accessible by road. They also do not capture any number of itinerant harvesting activities both along roads or at remote locations in Innu territory, such as the trips to the Orma Dyke road or Esker to hunt caribou. In addition, winter camps established by snowmobile or summer camps established by boat (which are seasonal fixtures at Kenamu/Kenamich, Sebaskachu River and at the Grand Lake Rapids) are not included. These figures show only the locations of camps to which transportation was facilitated and subsidized by the Sheshatshiu Innu Band Council" (Armitage and Stopp, 2003:63-64).

The 2003 report made several points that remain directly relevant to the contemporary pattern of Innu land use in the Study Area and bear repeating here.

²⁶ However, one respondent said he is concerned that people will die from speeding while driving on the paved road, while another thought that there will be more road killed animals with a paved highway.

²⁷ This is reminiscent of the gravel pit camping phenomenon on the Island of Newfoundland.

Table 3. Comparison of Innu camp locations, roads versus remote locations.²⁸

Year/season	No. of remote camps	No. of camps along TLH & other roads	Total camps
2009 spring	11	7	18
2007 fall	5	9	14
2006 fall	5	10	15
2002 spring	4	6	10
2001 spring	4	10	14
2000 spring	9	8	17
1999 spring	9	3	12
1998 spring	8	9	17
1997 fall	7	0	7
1997 spring	12	0	12
1996 spring	14	0	14
1995 fall	1	7	8
1995 spring	14	0	14
1994 spring	9	1	10
1993 fall	10	0	10
1993 spring	13	0	13
1991 spring	7	0	7
1990 spring	8	0	8

- For more than 20 years, Sheshatshiu Innu established remote camps located north and south of Goose Bay using aircraft. The cost of chartering aircraft has been financed through an Outpost Programme (*Kakushpinanut*) administered by the SIFN.²⁹
- One of the consequences of this programme is that Innu are now heavily dependent on it for access to remote harvesting locations that are not road accessible. In years when funding is in short supply, the SIFN cannot afford to fly families into the country, and so, the more remote parts of Innu territory are virtually abandoned for the year with the exception of itinerant caribou hunting parties.
- At such times, Outpost Programme funding may be used to subsidize the costs of establishing camps along the TLH. Hence, road-based camps become a type of compensation for curtailed access to the back country, with the added benefit of allowing people to commute between their camps/cabins, the community, and stores in Goose Bay or Churchill Falls.

²⁸ Data from Sheshatshiu Innu Band Council Outpost Programme records collated by P. Armitage.

²⁹ The Outpost Programme started in the mid-1970s.

- Road camps also provide access to country areas for people who hold full-time employment in the community and who, therefore, are unable to take advantage of the Outpost Programme and its longer-term fly-in camps due to their work commitments.
- People who have health problems or who are pregnant and who therefore need rapid access to hospitals can also obtain some semblance of country-living and harvesting by staying at road camps.
- Road accessible camps have certain disadvantages. Noise and dust can be a problem as can access to alcohol that roads permit. For some Innu, the frequent coming-and-going from camps, and regular visits from friends and family, distract from the stability, tranquility and solitude of remote camps. Constant commuting between camps, the community, Churchill Falls or Goose Bay can at times assume a frenetic character. In addition, frequent visits by relatives can put pressure on a family's supplies of *nutshimiu-mitshim* (bush meat) due to social obligations to send meat to *Tshishennuat* (Elders) and family members back in the village (Armitage and Stopp, 2003:63-64).³⁰

If anything has changed since these 2003 observations, it is that many Innu are not dependent on the SIFN Outpost Programme for access to their cabins and the harvesting activities associated with them. This is particularly true of people with regular wage-employment who can afford to purchase vehicles, motor boats, and gasoline required for travel to and from their cabins.

3.1 Overnight locations

Over the last 20 years, Labrador Innu have used primarily cabins and tents as overnight dwellings while living in the Study Area. Discussions with Innu Nation staff and the SIFN Outpost Programme coordinator at the start of the research indicated that Innu have not used vehicle-towed camper trailers, truck campers or other mobile dwellings in the Study Area over the last 20 years. If there are exceptions to this rule, they did not warrant inclusion in the map biography questionnaire. It should be noted, however, that the cabin locations documented during the respondent interviews include a mobile home and an old school bus purchased by two respondents. Furthermore, respondents were not questioned about possible lean-to locations due to concerns about response burden during the interviews.

³⁰ The Innu term for an 'Elder' is *Tshishennu*. The plural form is *Tshishennuat*.

Most Innu establish camps using tents and/or cabins because, among other things, they:

- are staging points for harvesting activities that produce nourishing wild meats and materials for craftwork (e.g. caribou hide). Many respondents for this study said they chose specific locations along the TLH to build cabins because of their abundance of game and therefore good hunting possibilities;
- allow Innu to maintain important links to their customs (*Innu-aitun*), and facilitate the transmission of *Innu-aitun* to younger generations of Innu;
- provide an escape from the social problems or tedium of the community, as well as opportunities for physical exercise, psychological healing, and “quality time” with family and friends; and
- put people in touch with their deceased relatives who once lived in these areas. The land is therefore “memory” in the sense that many features of land use can trigger memories of loved ones.

Of course, the occupants/users of these camps include women and children as well as men. While the majority of women may not travel great distances from the camps, they play important roles in the domestic sphere in terms of processing the products of the hunt (e.g. cleaning animals, cooking), and taking care of children. The women also fish, hunt small animals, chop firewood, and collect boughs for tent floors, berries, and medicines in the vicinity of the camps. Two female respondents for this study do all of their caribou hide cleaning and tanning at their cabins. The tanned hides are shared with other Innu or used to make craft items such as moccasins, mittens, and tea dolls (PIN10 & PIN16).

Known Innu cabin and tent locations in the study area are shown on Map 5 based on data from map biography interviews and Innu Nation’s cabin database.

The locations of Innu camps in the SIFN’s Outpost Programme database are shown on Map 6. This database includes camp locations throughout the territory, not just in the Study Area, since the mid-1970s. The data on the Maps 5 and 6 are compared with one another and with SIFN Outpost Programme camp location data in Table 4. This table points to discrepancies in the data in terms of numbers of cabins/camps and their locations that probably derive from two sources: (1) the fact that not all cabin holders were interviewed for the study and therefore could not record the locations of their cabins; and (2) the inaccuracies and incompleteness of the Innu Nation cabin database which was discussed in the research and data limitations section above. A priority for any future Innu land use research should be to collect accurate data concerning the locations of Innu cabins and tent camps in the Study Area.

MAP 5 - OVERNIGHT SITES (1990-2010)
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

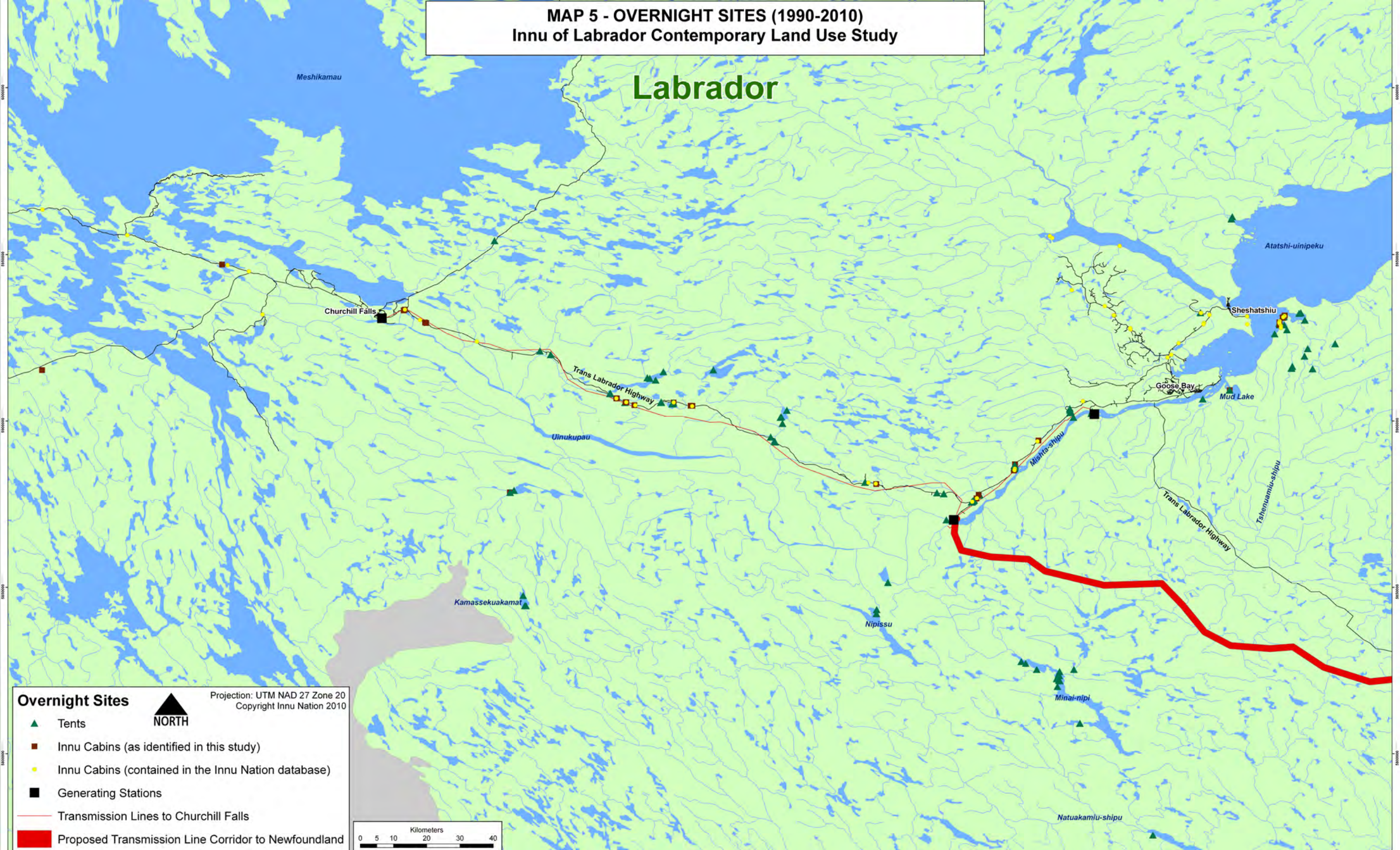


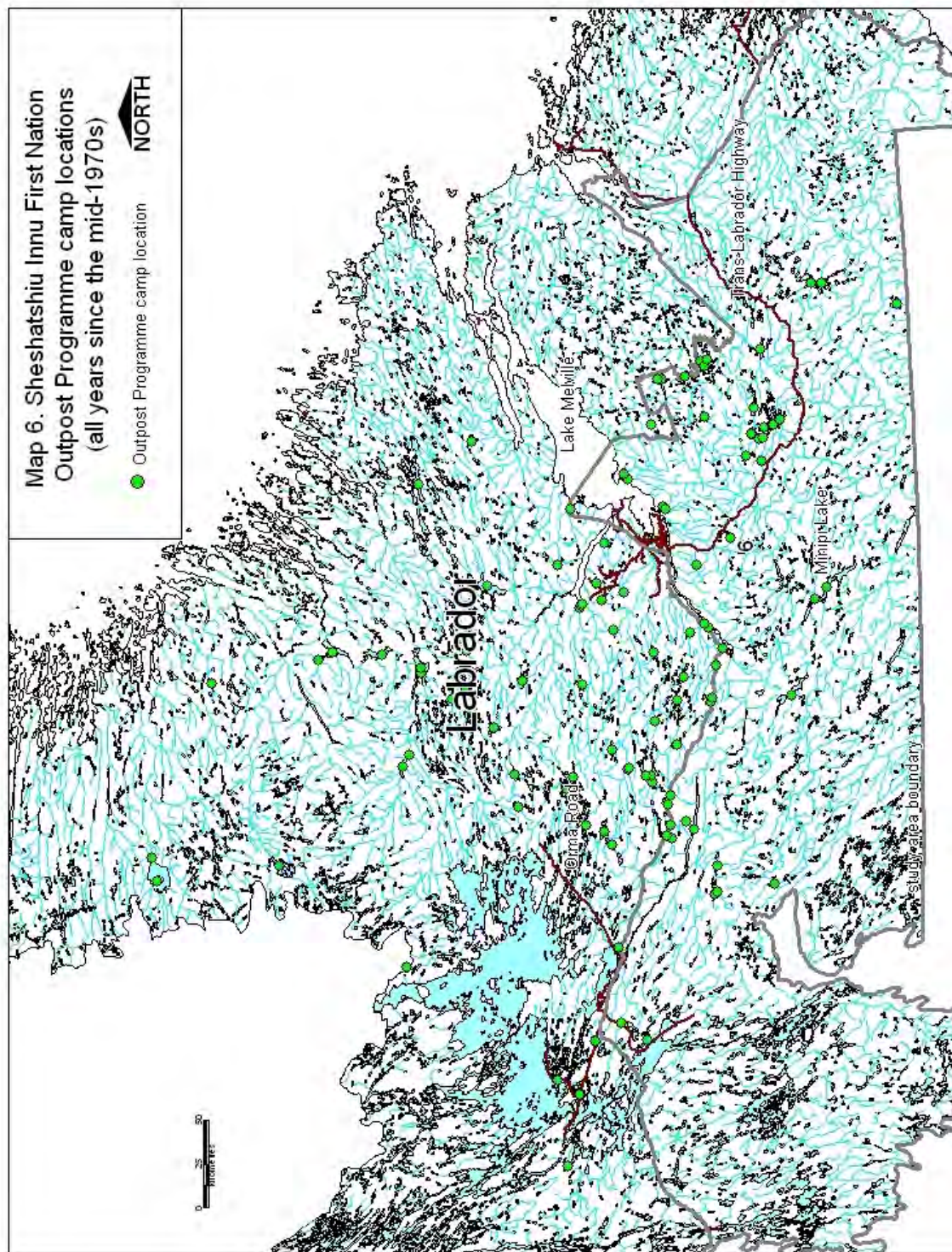
Table 4. Comparison of Outpost Programme camp/cabin locations with data derived from map biography interviews and Innu Nation cabin data for the Study Area post-1990.³¹

Location	Outpost Programme data	Map biography data	Map biography data	Innu Nation cabin data
	Tents and Cabins	Tents	Cabins	Cabins
	Boat or aircraft access (17 locations)	Boat or aircraft access (7 locations)	Boat or aircraft access (1 location)	Boat or aircraft access (1 location)
Enakapeshakamau	x	no data	cabins located here but not documented	cabins located here but not in database
Eshkanat katshipakutiniht	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
latuekupau	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
Kamassekuakamat	x	x	no cabins here	no cabins here
Kapinien-nipi	x	x	no cabins here	no cabins here
Minai-nipi	x	x	no cabins here	no cabins here
Mishta-massek ^u	no data ³²	x	no cabins here	no cabins here
Mishtashini	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
Mishtutshashk ^u	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
Mud Lake	x	x	no cabins here	no cabins here
Mush-nipi	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
Nekanakau	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
Nipissu	x	x	no cabins here	no cabins here
Pepaukamau	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
Tshenuamiu-shipu	x	x	x	x ³³
Uapanatsheu-nipi	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
Uepushkueshkau	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
Unikush ushakameshim	x	no data	no cabins here	no cabins here
TLH (GB to CF)	10 locations	15 locations	12 locations	18 locations
TF road	2 locations	no data	no data	1 location
CF to Esker road	2 locations	nil	1 location	4 locations
TLH (Wabush road)	nil	no data	1 location	no data
TLH (Phase 3)	nil	no data	no data	1 location
Total road accessible	14 locations	15 locations	14 locations	24 locations

³¹ The abbreviations used in this table are CF (Churchill Falls), GB (Goose Bay), TLH (Trans Labrador Highway), TF (Twin Falls). An “x” in a field means that the database records a cabin or tent for the location. The “TLH (Phase 3)” refers to the section of Trans Labrador Highway from Happy Valley-Goose Bay to the junction of the highway connecting Cartwright and Red Bay. It was completed in December 2009.

³² Camps in the Mishta-massek^u area have not been established under the Outpost Programme.

³³ These include the Innu Fisheries Guardians’ cabin. The database shows 11 cabins in this area, but three of them appear to be duplicates, e.g. two people owning one cabin, not two cabins at distinct locations.





An Innu cabin in the Study Area (Photo P. Armitage).

No systematic intensivity analysis was conducted for this study with respect to the frequency of land use in one part of the Study Area versus another, as noted in the research and data limitations section above. Nonetheless, even a quick glance at the land use maps presented in this report illustrates the increasing importance of the TLH as a travel route and destination for contemporary Innu land use activities. Available data show that Innu have built cabins at approximately 24 road accessible locations over the last 20 years, 18 of which are along the TLH between Goose Bay and Churchill Falls. Another eight or so cabins have been built in recent years at the mouth of Tshenuamiau-shipu (Kenamu River), which is accessible by motor-boat or snowmobile after freeze-up. In addition to these locations, Innu have also built cabins at Uhu-neiau (North West Point), along the road between Sheshatshiu and Goose Bay, and in the Grand Lake road system. Each of these cabins has been a locus of land use in the study area over the last 20 years.

3.2 Harvesting locations

Large terrestrial mammals harvested by Innu in the Study Area included caribou (*atikʷ*, *Rangifer tarandus*), moose (*mush*, *Alces alces*) and black bear (*mashkʷ*, *Ursus americanus*). Map 7 shows locations where some moose and black bears were killed in the Study Area during the last 20 years according to the map biography interviews. It would appear that very few of these animals were killed in the Study Area which is not surprising given the fact that many Innu are reluctant to eat bear meat these days because of their garbage eating habits. Moose are relatively recent immigrants to Innu territory, and have no clear place in their thinking about animal masters and other such beings. Many Innu say they do not like moose meat.

Clearly, caribou is the priority large animal favoured by contemporary Innu, and not simply because of its historic role as a crucial source of nourishing food and clothing. Caribou hunting retains its high status among the Innu, and Kanipinikassikueu ('caribou

master') is the most powerful of all the animal masters. Many caribou were killed in the Study Area since 1990 particularly in the area between Tshiashku-nipi (Gull Lake) and Churchill Falls. However, the locations of these kill sites is not depicted in Map 7 due to the confidentiality and ethics concerns discussed in the methods section above (see Footnote 9).

Small animals and partridge harvested by Innu people in the Study Area included snowshoe hare (*uapush*, *Lepus americanus*), porcupine (*kak^u*, *Erethizon dorsatum*), spruce grouse (*innineu*, *Dendragapus canadensis*), ruffed grouse (*pashpassu*, *Bonasa umbellus*), and willow ptarmigan (*uapineu*, *Lagopus lagopus*). Map 8 shows some of the locations where small animals and partridge were killed.

A variety of furbearing animals were trapped, snared and shot within the Study Area including beaver (*amishk^u*, *Castor Canadensis*), muskrat (*utshashk^u*, *Ondatra zibethicus*), river otter (*nitshik^u*, *Lutra Canadensis*), marten (*uapishtan*, *Martes Americana*), mink (*atshikash*, *Mustela vison*), red fox (*matsheshu*, *Vulpes vulpes*), and Canada lynx (*pishu*, *Lynx Canadensis*). Of these, beaver were the priority animal killed followed by marten. Beaver were killed for their eatable meat value more than any other reason.³⁴ No kill sites were reported by respondents for weasel (*shikush*, *Mustela rixosa*) and wolf (*maikan*, *Canis lupus*).

We did not attempt to map every single location where a furbearing animal had been trapped, as noted in the study methodology. Our concern was to have respondents indicate kill locations for *some* of these animals. To ask them to attempt to map all of them would cause significant response burden. Map 9 shows many of the locations where these furbearers were harvested.

A variety of migratory waterfowl were killed in the Study Area including American black duck (*inniship*, *Anas rubripes*), black scoter (*shashteship*, *Melanitta nigra*), Canada goose (*nishk*, *Branta Canadensis*), common loon (*muak^u*, *Gavia immer*), northern pintail (*uapinniship*, *Anas acuta*), blue-winged teal (*amishkunnishipish*), Harlequin duck (*nutshipaushtikueshish*, *Histrionicus histrionicus*), long-tailed duck (*ahaueu*, *Clangula hyemalis*), merganser (*ushik^u*, generic), and surf scoter (*matshikutan*, *Melanitta perspicillata*).³⁵ Map 10 shows many of the locations where waterfowl were harvested in the Study Area since 1990.³⁶

³⁴ Rather than for the economic value of their pelts.

³⁵ The draft Pan-Innu dictionary (Toolbox version) records *kuishkushipatam* for surf scoter. The lexeme *matshikutan* appears to be a Sheshatshiu Innu term. It requires validation.

³⁶ Some respondents noted the locations of their goose and duck hunting blinds but these were not recorded systematically as part of the research for the Study.

MAP 7 - LARGE ANIMAL KILL SITES (1990-2010)
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador

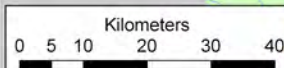


Large Animal Kill Sites

Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
Copyright Innu Nation 2010



- Black Bear
- Moose
- Generation Stations
- Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls
- Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland



MAP 8 - SMALL ANIMAL KILL SITES (1990-2010)

Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador



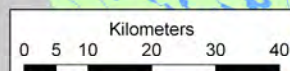
Small Animal & Partridge Kill Sites

Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
Copyright Innu Nation 2010



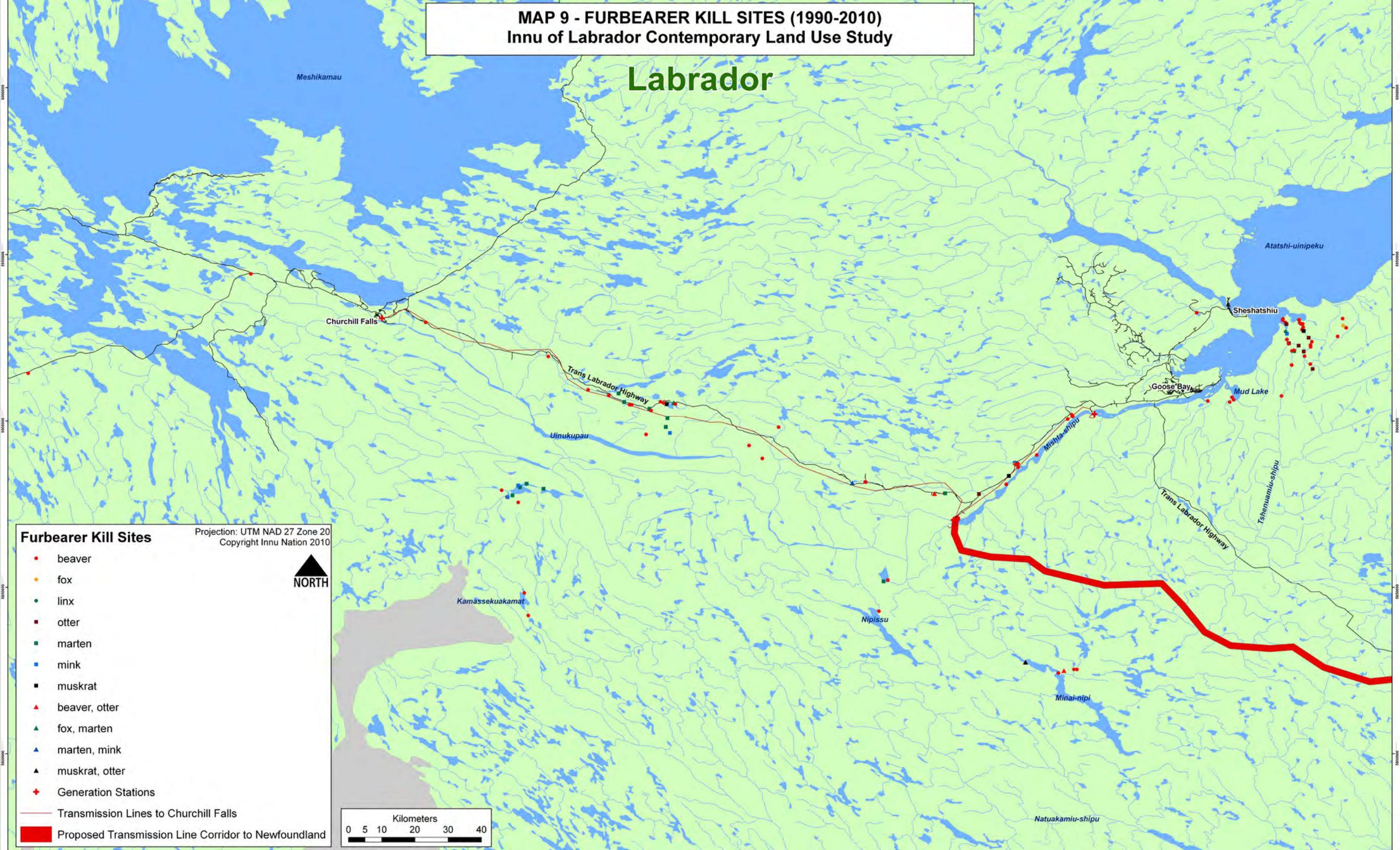
- partridge
- porcupine
- rabbit
- porcupine, partridge
- porcupine, rabbit
- rabbit, partridge
- ▲ partridge, porcupine, rabbit
- Generation Stations

- Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls
- Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland



MAP 9 - FURBEARER KILL SITES (1990-2010)
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador



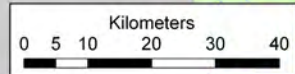
Furbearer Kill Sites

Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
Copyright Innu Nation 2010

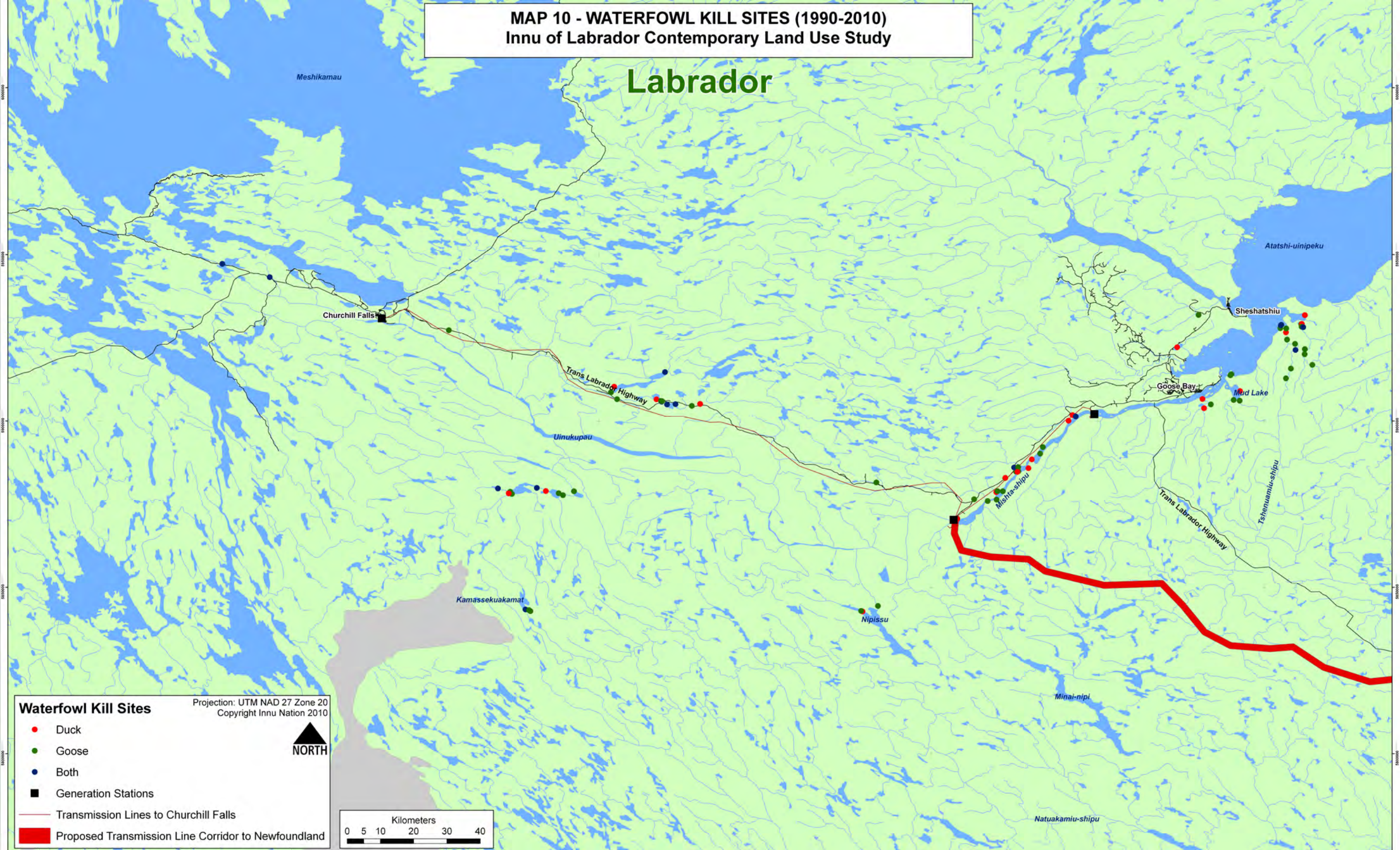


- beaver
- fox
- lynx
- otter
- marten
- mink
- muskrat
- ▲ beaver, otter
- ▲ fox, marten
- ▲ marten, mink
- ▲ muskrat, otter
- + Generation Stations

- Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls
- Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland



MAP 10 - WATERFOWL KILL SITES (1990-2010)
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

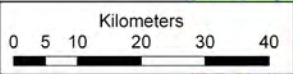


Waterfowl Kill Sites

- Duck
- Goose
- Both
- Generation Stations
- Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls
- Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland

Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
Copyright Innu Nation 2010

NORTH





Innu children at a road-side cabin/camp in the Study Area, August 2010. A goose killed by their father is cooking over the open fire. The cardboard Tropicana box contains three plucked grouse that the children killed with rocks near the cabin. Their father intended to donate the goose to an upcoming Innu Elders' gathering near Goose Bay (Photo P. Armitage).

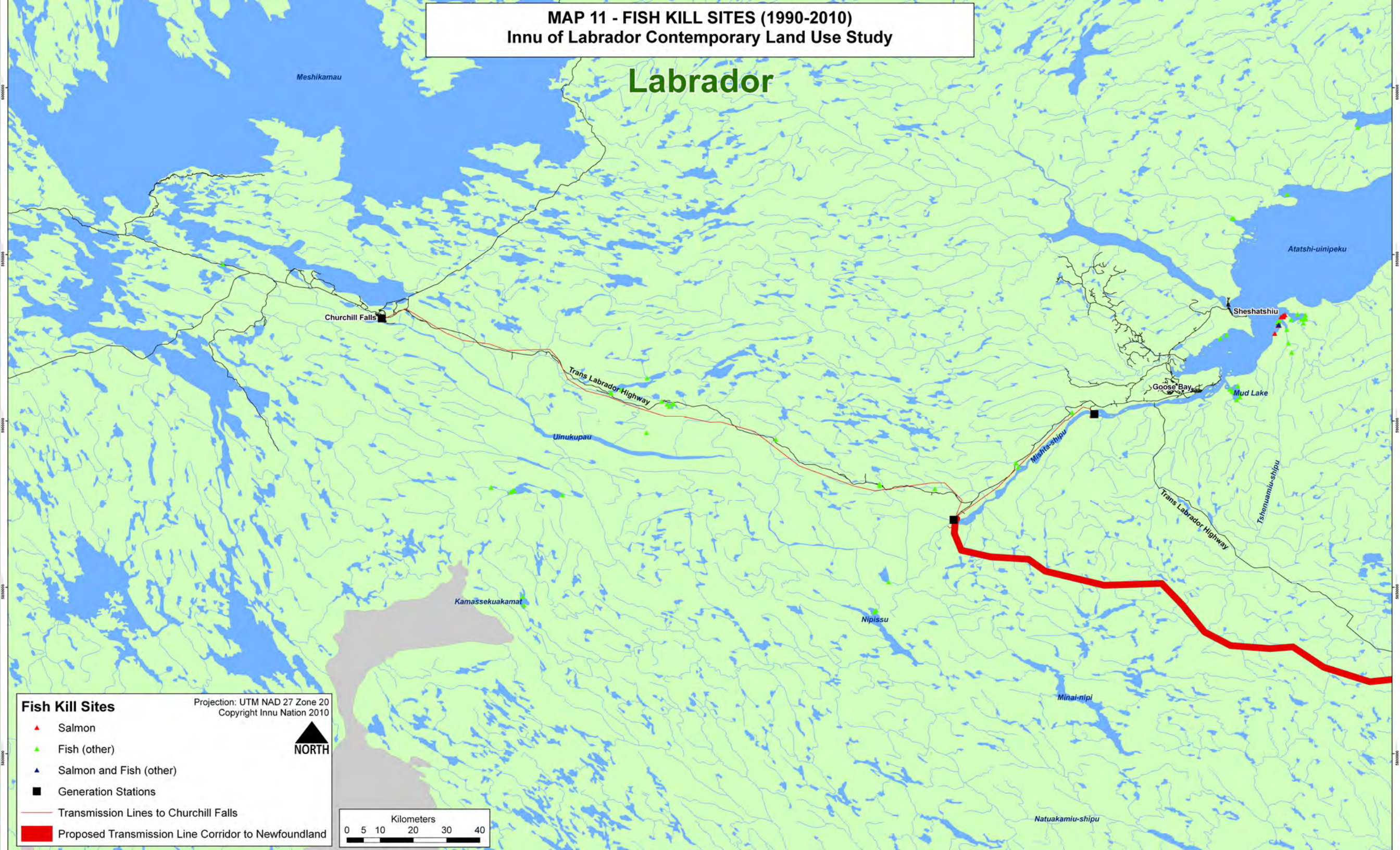
Innu harvested a variety of fish in the Study Area over the last twenty years including Atlantic rainbow smelt (*kauapishisht*, *Osmerus mordax*), Atlantic salmon (*utshashumek*^u, *Salmo salar*), Atlantic tomcod (*tamak*, *Microgadus tomcod*), brook trout (*matamek*^u, *Salvelinus fontinalis*), burbot (*minai*, *Lota lota*), lake trout (*kukamess*, *Salvelinus namaycush*), lake whitefish (*attikamek*^u, *Coregonus clupeaformis*), longnose sucker (*mikuashai*, *Catostomus catostomus*), northern pike (*tshinusheu*, *Esox lucius*), and white sucker (*makatsheu*, *Catostomus commersoni*). A type of char-like, red trout called *mamishkuteu* was also harvested. Fish were harvested using nets, rod and reel, and hook and line technologies, the latter used primarily for ice fishing. Map 11 shows some of the places where these fish species were killed.

The map biography interviews conducted for this study also documented data concerning berry and medicine collecting locations, boil-up sites, and places where Innu obtained their drinking water. These locations are depicted on Map 12. Two types of berries were collected in the study area – red berries (*uishatshimin*, *Vaccinium vitis-idaea*) and blue berries (*inniminan*, *Vaccinium angustifolium*). Several types of medicine were mentioned by respondents including *ikuta* (Labrador tea, *Ledum groenlandicum*), *pitshuatik*^u (gum of a fir tree gum), *uatshinakan-pitshu* (gum made from tamarack bark), *uishinauapui* (medicine made from beaver castor), *uituiatshik*^u (otter musk gland), and *ushkuetuiapui* (medicinal tea made from conifer cones). They were used to treat stomach pains, diabetes, minor wounds, skin rashes, boils and other minor skin infections.

Boil-up places are where people stopped to build a fire, boil water for tea and perhaps eat. In theory, they can be located anywhere where potable water is available, although

MAP 11 - FISH KILL SITES (1990-2010)
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador



Fish Kill Sites

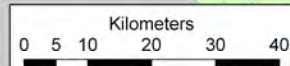
Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
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- ▲ Salmon
- ▲ Fish (other)
- ▲ Salmon and Fish (other)
- Generation Stations

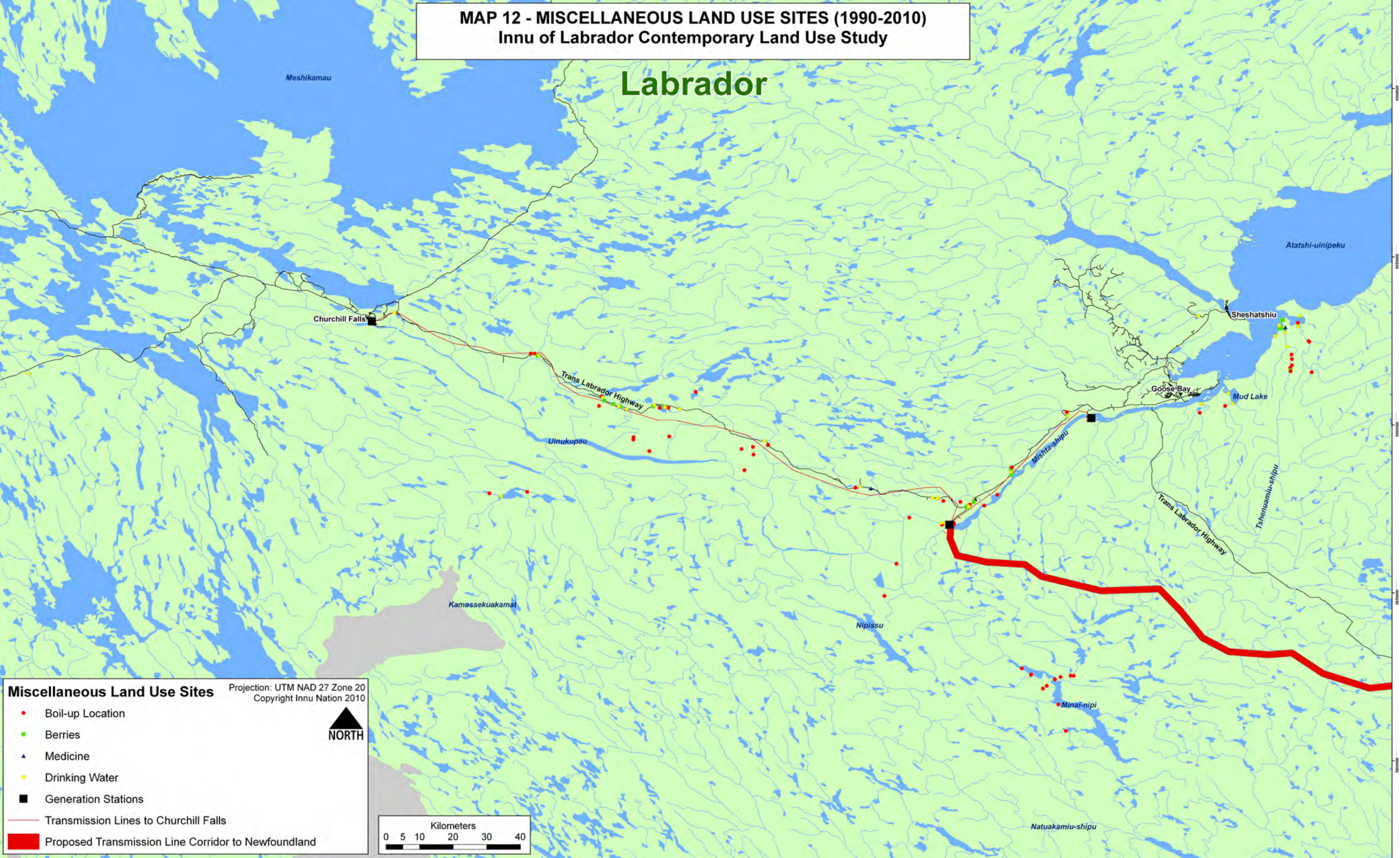
— Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls

— Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland



MAP 12 - MISCELLANEOUS LAND USE SITES (1990-2010)
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador



Miscellaneous Land Use Sites

- Boil-up Location
- Berries
- Medicine
- Drinking Water
- Generation Stations
- Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls
- Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland

Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
Copyright Innu Nation 2010

NORTH

Kilometers
0 5 10 20 30 40

some boil-up spots may be used repeatedly (e.g. sheltered places along well-used travel routes).



The flat, burned land at the junction of the TLH and Gull Island road has been a popular redberry collecting location over the last 20 years (Photo P. Armitage).

Many respondents for this study said it is important for them to obtain their drinking water from “fresh” sources such as fast-flowing rivers, brooks and springs. They do not like to drink tap water in particular chlorinated water from their household taps in Sheshatshiu. Some examples of respondent statements on this point follow.

- “The water here is very cold. If you get water from the small brooks, you’ll get diarrhea” (paraphrase, PIN12, 26 Aug. 2010).
- “This water stays right white [clear], like really fresh. It tastes really good. A lot of people get their water here. They take buckets with them to get the water” (paraphrase, PIN13, 26 Aug. 2010).
- “I take the water (for example, a couple of buckets) back to Sheshatshiu or my cabin. The water makes better tea than tap water in Sheshatshiu. Tap water in Sheshatshiu is dark. Tea tastes better when the water is drawn from a brook” (paraphrase, PIN3, 19 Aug 2010).

Three water sources identified in the Study Area are springs. Two of these are located in the vicinity of Tshiashku-nipi (Gull Lake) (one along the side of a spur road to Mishtashipu [Churchill River], the other at the junction of the TLH and this road), and a third one by the side of the TLH at Pope’s Hill. However, one respondent, who has training in mineral prospecting, said he does not like to drink water from the springs in the Gull Island area, “because I once got high readings [with a Geiger counter?] of some element in the ground. It suggested that the spring water may not be safe to drink” (paraphrase, PIN25, 1 Sept. 2010).



Fresh water springs used by Labrador Innu (left to right, TLH-Gull Island road junction, Gull Island road, Pope's Hill) (Photos P. Armitage)

Over the last 20 years, Labrador Innu have travelled to and from, and within, different parts of the Study Area on foot (including snowshoes) and by using boats, canoes, snowmobiles, cars, trucks, and bicycles. One of the respondents interviewed for this study has routinely used a mountain bicycle to hunt ptarmigan with a sling-shot along the Uhu-neiau (North West Point) road and at other locations near Sheshatshiu.³⁷ Travel routes used by Innu in the Study Area since 1990 are depicted in Map 13.

4. Fixed Cultural Sites and Place Names

This section of the report presents some limited occupancy data in the way of place names, burial, birth, death and other fixed cultural sites. These data are derived primarily from Innu Nation databases, not the three weeks of map biography interviews conducted for the study. Nonetheless, the interviews provided supplementary information for some occupancy features such as the historically significant trading post at Kamassekuakamat operated over a five year period in the 1940s by the late Matiu André.³⁸ The approximate location of this store was identified by Mailhot (1988:21), but more precise georeferencing was provided by PIN12 and PIN13 who visited the site in the spring of 1993.

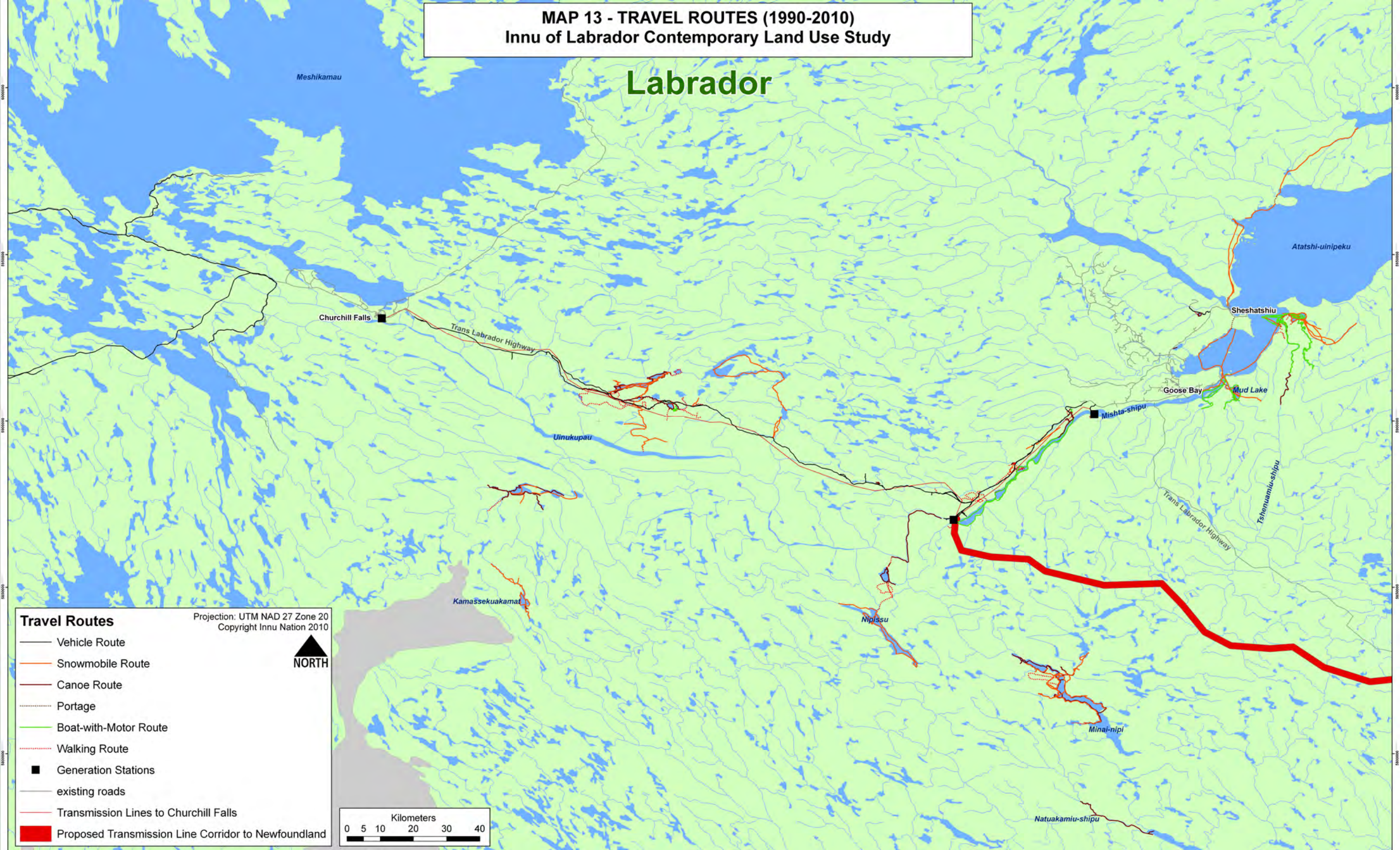
No *matutishan* (sweat lodge) locations were documented as part of this study or as part of any previous land use and occupancy research conducted by the Innu Nation, even though Innu are known to have used *matutishan* at various places beyond the boundaries of the community. In the pre-settlement period, older Innu used *matutishan* to treat muscular pains resulting from long and hard portages and other physical challenges. However, there is evidence that *matutishan* was another medium used to communicate with the world of animal masters. No matter what the purpose, *matutishan*

³⁷ This idiosyncratic method of transportation along the road to Uhu-neiau was not mapped during the map biography interview with this respondent – an insignificant data gap. Therefore, the vehicle routes depicted on Map 13 does not include this bicycle route.

³⁸ According to José Mailhot, it seems that the store operated for a minimum of five years. It was accessed by aircraft and closed sometime around 1950 (e-mail to P. Armitage, 1 October 2010). Many Innu associated with the “Mashkuannu” part of the territory, that is, south of Mishta-shipu (Churchill River) and in the Akami-uapishk^u (Mealy Mountains) area visited this store.

MAP 13 - TRAVEL ROUTES (1990-2010)
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador



could have been made virtually anywhere in Innu territory, and as a result, there is nothing particularly special about the geographic locations of the ritual. Modern day sweat lodges are used for therapeutic purposes, to treat aches and pains, and for psychological/spiritual healing.³⁹

The locations of the fixed cultural sites documented for the study are depicted in Map 14.

4.2 Birth places

To date, we know the locations of 33 Innu birth places in the Study Area (Table 5). Four of these people were born in places directly affected by the proposed Lower Churchill Project, including Tshiashku-nipi (Gull Lake), Kamitinishkau-shipiss, and Tepiteu-shipu (Upper Brook). However, the majority of birth places were at locations in the headwaters of Nutapineuaniu-shipu (Eagle River) or near the mouth of Tshenuamiau-shipu (Kenamu River). Two people were born somewhere along Mishta-shipu (Churchill River) but the exact locations of their birth places is unknown.

4.3 Burial and death places⁴⁰

Many Innu living in the Labrador portion of Nitassinan were in a desperate state by the 1940s due to falling fur prices, competition from non-Innu trappers, and a major decline in local caribou populations (Brice-Bennett, 1986:39; Armitage, 1990:5-6). The “Innu had been so weakened by disease, periodic starvation, and other physical deprivations resulting primarily from contact with Europeans that they were ‘ready for settlement’” in the 1950s and 1960s (Armitage, 1990:10). A variety of European diseases took a serious toll on the Innu, within the living memory of today’s *Tshishennuat*, including influenza, measles, whooping-cough and tuberculosis. Large numbers of Innu died throughout *nutshimit* far from trading posts and missions.

For example, Hudson’s Bay Company trader, Jack Keats, noted in correspondence to Monsignor Edward O’Brien (9 March 1937) that a large number of Innu had died in the summer of 1936, children in particular.

³⁹ In his 1983 film, *Mémoire battante*, Arthur Lamothe documents a *matutishan* conducted by the late Pinashue Bellefleur of Uanaman-shipu (La Romaine) in which Bellefleur sings a hunting song in order to communicate with the “other world.” Lamothe explains, “Having first sprinkled water on the rocks, François Bellefleur sings one of his beaver hunting songs so that the next trapping season will be productive. The words that he confides in these rocks are transported by the vapour to the realm of the spirits” (my translation). For a discussion of the transformation of *matutishan* into the “sweat lodge” see Beaulieu (2008).

⁴⁰ Historical information concerning pre-settlement Innu mortality in *nutshimit* is presented here in order to alert readers to the possibility of encountering burials at various places throughout the Study Area during Project construction. The locations of relatively few burial sites have been documented in the Study Area to date. The O’Brien data help illustrate the magnitude of this data gap.

MAP 14 - FIXED CULTURAL SITES
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador

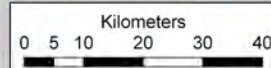


Fixed Cultural Sites

Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
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- ▲ Known Birth Place
- Known Burial Place
- ✚ Known Death Place
- ★ Know Place of Religious Significance
- ✕ Known Shaking Tent Location
- Gathering Place
- Land-based Family Treatment Programme Camp
- Generation Stations
- Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls
- Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland



They were struck very hard last summer by the epidemic of Whooping-cough, they had it worst when on their way inland, and quite a few of the Children died from it, I believe that at least Fifteen children must have died this year past, some of these must have been about from 5 to 10 yaers of age ? , Young Penashue also died last fall, that is the chap that was so sick , Suashems married son Napastish is also looking quite bad, I do not think he will last long, and also I fancied the other Son who looked very strong Shimun is beginning to waste away, One of Abrahams Girls is very bad and Peirre Shaks Wife Mani also, maybe some others, but these may come around again ? ⁴¹

O'Brien's death registry for 1937-38, excerpts of which are presented in Table 6, identifies many of the Innu who died during this period. These are people associated with the Study Area, south of Mishta-shipu and in the headwaters of Pakut-shipu (St. Augustin River) and Nutapineuanu-shipu (Eagle River); Innu whose contemporary relatives have family names like Pasteen, Penashue and Pokue.

The oral tradition of the Innu contains various narratives of tragic, heart-wrenching hardships in *nutshimit* including deaths by accidents, disease and old age. The following is one Tshishennu's account of the death of his father.

We arrived at Nekanakau in December. This is when my father became ill. There was no one else travelling with us. It was just my family. Both of my brothers were there [names provided]. [Brother #2] was young at that time. He couldn't hunt with us. My father told us to go to Sheshatshiu while he could still walk and canoe there. It was in the early spring. We portaged to get our canoe where we had left it in the fall. We started off from Nekanakau...and we reached the barren area. We were about half way to our destination. There was no snow and we portaged. We arrived in Sheshatshiu in June. My father passed away in July. There were no motorized vehicles or boats back then. It was a hard journey for the Innu, when they travelled to their lands (P. Armitage interview with PIN29, 15 Mar. 2005).

This man was taken to a place at the mouth of Tshenuamui-shiu (Kenamu River) for burial even though he died in Sheshatshiu.

⁴¹ Mis-spellings and punctuation errors are in the original text.

Table 5. Known Innu birth places in the Study Area.⁴²

PIN	Map	Approximate location	Date	Source
29	13F/09	Upatshuan	Apr. 28, 1950*	Mailhot, 1988
30	13D/09	Umishtatai-nipi	Dec. 29, 1944*	LAMAP, 1980
31	13F/02	Mishta-shipu	Sept.27, 1944	Mailhot, 1988
32	13F/02	Mishta-shipu	June 20, 1942	Mailhot, 1988
33	13F/09	Upatshuan	Mar. 20, 1951*	Mailhot, 1988
34	13D/14	Kamassekuakamat	spring 1945	Mailhot, 1988
35	13G/02	latuekupau	abt. 1928	Mailhot, 1988
36	13G/02	latuekupau	Mar. 9, 1929	Mailhot, 1988
37	13C/14	Tshiashku-nipi	Oct. 20, 1946	Mailhot, 1988
38	13F/08	Mud Lake	May 20, 1952	Mailhot, 1988
39	13F/08	Mud Lake	Feb. 2, 1950	Mailhot, 1988
40	13F/02	Tepiteu-shipu	Sept. 25, 1955	Mailhot, 1988
41	13F/08	Happy Valley	Jan. 11, 1943	Mailhot, 1988
42	13G/02	latuekupau	abt. 1927	Mailhot, 1988:38
43	13G/05	Tshenuamiu-shipiss	Mar.7, 1953	LAMAP 1980, Mailhot, 1988
44	13G/05	Tshenuamiu-shipu	Feb. 13,1958	Mailhot, 1988
45	13F/01	Kamushuautaukau	May 3,1903	LAMAP, 1980, Mailhot, 1988
46	13F/08	Happy Valley	June 12, 1949	Mailhot, 1988; Armitage 2010
47	13G/05	Tshenuamiu-shipu	June 12, 1946*	Mailhot, 1988
48	13G/04	Kuekuatsheu-shipiss	Jan. 29, 1956**	LAMAP, 1980
49	13F/08	Mud Lake	?	Mailhot, 1988
50	13G/12	Uapush-neiau	Sept. 8, 1928**	LAMAP, 1980
51	13G/04	Kuekuatsheu-shipiss	Nov. 21, 1955**	LAMAP, 1980
52	13G/04	near Ashini kakusset	Jan.13, 1953*	LAMAP, 1980
53	13G/06	east of Kanakuinasin-mishkumi	?	LAMAP, 1980
54	13G/02	latuekupau	?	LAMAP, 1980
55	13F/09	Upatshuan	Mar. 6, 1951	Mailhot, 1988
56	13F/08	Mud Lake	Mar. 7, 1939	Mailhot, 1988
57	13G/04	near Kashikasheniut	Oct. 25,1934	LAMAP 1980, Mailhot, 1988
58	13G/05	Mishta-masseku	May 17,1945	Mailhot, 1988
59	13C/14	Tshiashku-nipi	c.1942-44	Mailhot, 1988
60	13F/02	Kamitinishkau-shipiss	Sept. 11, 1946	Armitage, 2010
61	13B/13	near Kapishkaushtisht	Mar. 10, 1960	LAMAP, 1980

⁴² Dates marked with an asterisk * are derived from a list of adult community members provided by the Innu Nation, current as of 4 Dec. 2009. Dates marked with a double asterisk ** are derived from "Community Population List, Sheshatshit, Labrador, July 1990" (Innu of Labrador Population Database. User Manual. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada).

Table 6. Monsignor Joseph O'Brien death registry, 1937-38 excerpts.

Name	Age	Relatives	Date	Place of burial, remarks
Mani Shushep	4	Joachim, Anne Peneme	1937	In country. Epidemic of whooping cough among children, Winter. 1937.
Infant Jan? Shushep		Joachim ? Comanni	1937	In country
Uniam - Wm	5	Sinapest Pokue, Mani Kanit	1937	In country
Shusep	1 mo	Pien Jak, Mani	1937	In country
Tuminik	1	Sinapest Pastine, Mani	1937	In country
Passeen	8	Pien?, Mani	1937	In country
Penashue	24	Penashue Chinish, Chanot	1937	In country
Ceceine	18 mo	Pien, Mani (7 lles)	1937	In country
Penashue	2	Shemun Pastine, Mani A	1937	In country
Mathias	2	Penashue, Penamish	1937	In country
Infant, Mani Shushep Twin		Penashue, Penamish	1937	In country, Bap by Indian
Infant Mani, Twin		Penashue, Penamish	1937	In country, Bap by Indian
Penashue	2 mo	Michen Pastine, Mani Shusep	1937	In country, Bap by Indian
Tuminik	1	Sinapest Pastine, Mani	1937	In country, whopping cough
Anies	2	Penashue Pastine, Anies	1937	In country, whopping cough
Napustish	28	Joachim, Ann Peneme	Dec 15, 1937	In country, sacraments in July
Edward Joseph	2	Shusep Sabatish, Mani	May 8, 1938	NWR. Whooping cough
Tuma	70	Wife	Dec. 12, 1937	Sacraments in July
Shusep	1 day	Penwashe, Penamish	Sept 27, 1937	In country, Bap by Indian
Sebastian	85	Shemun, Tenet	Sept 17, 1937	In country, old age, sacraments in July 1937
Kanishte	18 mo	Penwashi, Chanot	Dec 20, 1937	In country, whopping cough
Pien	10 days	Sinapest, Mankanet	Sept 8, 1937	In country, Bap by Indian
Joachim	70+	wife, Ann Pename	Dec 13, 1937	In country, TB, Sacraments in July

Innu with strong Christian beliefs often made heroic efforts to transport the bodies of their deceased loved ones back to Sheshatshiu or Mud Lake for burial in sanctified Christian cemeteries. According to one Sheshatshiu Tshishennu,

My father brought out from the country a lot of bodies, when Innu died in the country. Every time someone died. Like Mary Ann Selma's husband who died in the country. My father brought his body to the coast. And my grandmother, my mother's mother. She also died in the country and my father brought her body back (P. Armitage interview with PIN#30, 23 Sept. 1993).

However, a variety of factors including bad weather, necessitated burials at various *nutshimit* locations. The known locations of people buried in the Study Area are listed in Table 7. However, this list would be considerably longer if we could determine where the people listed in O'Brien's 1937-38 death registry are buried. A small list of known death locations in the Study Area for named Innu is presented in Table 8, but the burial places of these people is unknown as well.



Innu burial locations in the Study Area include the one shown on the left at the mouth of Tshenuamishipu and the one on the right at Mud Lake (photos Courtesy Innu Nation and P. Armitage).

4.4 Land-based Family Treatment Programme camps

The SIFN established “Land-based Family Treatment Programme” camps at three locations along the TLH, twice at each location, between 1996 and 2004: one at the junction of the TLH and the road to Tshiashku-nipi (Gull Lake); a second approximately half way between Penitenimi unipim and Nakapishku-nipi (Wilson Lake); and a third where the TLH crosses Maikan-nipiu-shipiss (Metchin River). Although family and individual counseling were the primary focus of the camps, participants also learned about *Innu-aitun* (Innu customs) from *Tshishennuat* and participated in hunting and fishing activities (e.g. partridge, snowshoe hare, porcupine, beaver, and some caribou).

Table 7. Known Innu burials in the Study Area.

Name	Map	Approximate location	Date of death	Source
Ashini, Pasteen (Tshishenniu-Ishpashtien)	13G/05	near McLean Point	July 3, 1936	Date of death from Innu genealogy, originally from O'Brien Registry (1921-46, 1936 S2(72)). Interview with P. Armitage & A. Andrew 3 Feb. 1988. Information provided to P. Armitage by Etien Pone & Tony Penashue 28 July 2004. Mailhot 1988.
Mani-Manikanet	13F/08	Mud Lake	?	Nishet (Pokue) Penashue interview with P. Armitage 30 Sept. 2004
Mark, Matiu (Tshishapeu)	13F/08	Manatueu-shipiss	?	P. Armitage interviews with Pien Penashue 15 Mar. 2005 and 30 Sept. 2004. P. Armitage communication with Ateni (Mark) Mollen 30 Aug. 2005.
Mark, Pinashue	13B/08	Uepushkuesh-kau	abt. 1950	P. Armitage field notes from discussion with Shushep Mark, 15 Oct. 2010.
Mark, Pélage	13B/08	Uepushkuesh-kau	abt. 1950	P. Armitage field notes from discussion with Shushep Mark, 15 Oct. 2010.
Mishean kie Panashue	13F/08	near Goose Bay	1934	P. Armitage phone interview with Morris Chaulk 1 Oct. 2004. <i>Tshishennuat</i> consultation in Sheshatshiu 9 Sept. 2005, Puniss Nuke & Ishpashtien Penunsi.
Pastatshi, Aniss	13F/08	Mud Lake	?	Nishet (Pokue) Penashue interview with P. Armitage 30 Sept. 2004. Innu genealogy
Pastatshi, Pien	13B/15	Nekanakau	?	Innu genealogy. P. Armitage field notes from interview with Pien Penashue 30 Sept. 2004. F. Schwarz site record for FeBr-01 Nekuanikau 3 11 Oct. 1997. LAMAP 13B/15
Pastatshi, Tuma	13F/08	Mud Lake	?	Nishet (Pokue) Penashue interview with P. Armitage 30 Sept. 2004
Pasteen, Anishen	13G/02	latuekupau	?	LAMAP 13G/02. A. Andrew interview with Jerome Pokue 6 Dec. 1978.
Pasteen, Etien	13G/02	latuekupau	?	LABTOP Corpus Z #287. LAMAP 13G/02. A. Andrew interview with Jerome Pokue 6 Dec. 1978.
Pasteen, Mishen (Mishenish)	13G/05	near McLean Point	Jan. 3, 1997	Date of death from Innu genealogy. Information provided to P. Armitage by Etien Pone & Tony Penashue 28 July 2004. Sheshatshiu Health Commission, Michel Snow data re. date of death.
Pasteen, Pien	13G/02	latuekupau	?	A. Andrew interview with Jerome Pokue 6 Dec. 1978. NMIA interview summary sheet, author unknown. Jerome Pokue interviewed 10 Mar. 1975, 28 Mar. 1975, 6 Dec. 1978. LAMAP 13G/02.
Pasteen, Pinashue	13G/05	Tshenuamiu-shipu	July 15, 1941	Mailhot 1988
Penashue, Etuat	13G/05	near McLean Point	1941	Innu genealogy. P. Armitage interview with Pien Penashue 30 Sept. 2004
Penashue, Matiu (child)	13G/05	near McLean Point	?	P. Armitage interview with Pien Penashue 30 Sept. 2004
Penashue, Shanimen	13F/08	Mud Lake	?	Nishet (Pokue) Penashue interview with P. Armitage 30 Sept. 2004. Enenish (Penashue) Gregoire personal communication to P. Armitage 31 Aug. 2005 (Makiss Gregoire translated).

Pokue, Tuma	13F/08	Mud Lake	?	Nishet (Pokue) Penashue interview with P. Armitage 30 Sept. 2004. Innu genealogy
Pone, Manishan	13F/08	Mud Lake	?	Nishet (Pokue) Penashue interview with P. Armitage 30 Sept. 2004. Innu genealogy
Pone, Pashin	13F/08	Mud Lake	?	Nishet (Pokue) Penashue interview with P. Armitage 30 Sept. 2004. Innu genealogy
Selma, Shustin	13G/07	Aissimess kapimishinit	abt. 1947	P. Armitage interview with Pien Penashue 23 July 1991. P. Armitage field notes from interview with Pien Penashue 30 Sept. 2004. Innu genealogy. - LABTOP Corpus Z #329. - Napien Gregoire personal communication with Peter Armitage 9 Sept. 2005
Shapatish (Jean-Baptiste)	13G/03	Iatuekupau	?	P. Armitage interview with Pien Penashue 23 July 1991, map biography 1:50,000 scale. 13G/03.
Tuma, Pun	13F/08	Mud Lake	Jan. 1948	Nishet (Pokue) Penashue interview with P. Armitage 30 Sept. 2004. Mailhot 1988.

Table 8. Known Innu death locations in the Study Area.

Name	Map	Approximate location	Date of death	Source
Pokue, Mishen	13F/08	Manatueu-shipiss	fall 1944	Mailhot 1988:49
Penunsi, Joey	13F/04	Diver Brook	abt 1991	Armitage fieldwork 2010; Roxanne Rich (communication 18 Aug. 2010)
Penashue, Tenesh	13C/14	Tshiashku-nipi	abt. 1943	Mailhot 1988:10; genealogy entry CD1402
Abraham, Shanut	13F/08	Mud Lake	abt. 1945	Mailhot 1988:10; genealogy entry CD1403
Ashini, Teninau	13F/08	Mishta-shipu	June 20, 1942	Mailhot 1988:12,14; genealogy entry CD922
Selma, Matiu (baby)	13G/05	Tshenuamiu-shipiss	25 Oct. 1939	Mailhot 1988:26; genealogy entry CD1875
Pone, Penash	13G/05	Kauapishikassit	abt. 1952	Mailhot 1988:27; genealogy entry CD1400
Nuna, Shushep	13G/03	Kamishikamat	abt. 1927	Mailhot 1988:38; genealogy entry CD1506

Three to six families participated in the programme at each location, and families from Natuashish participated at the Tshiashku-nipi and Nakapishku-nipi camps.⁴³

4.5 Gathering places

Three gathering places were identified in the Study Area that have been used by Labrador Innu during the last 20 years. What all three of these gathering places have in common is that they are easily accessible by road. Two of them are at locations where the land was cleared originally for military or industrial purposes.

⁴³ B. Penashue and E. Pone, personal communications, P. Armitage diary notes, 15 Oct. 2010, pp.117-118; J. Penashue, personal communication. P. Armitage diary note, 27 Oct. 2010, p.120). The programme was run by Jack Penashue of the SIFN with funding from Health Canada. The programme started in 2004 with the first camp established in *nutshimit* west of Natuashish. It has been run out of the Lobstick lodge facility since 2004 following its acquisition by the SIFN (J. Penashue, personal communication. P. Armitage diary note, 27 Oct. 2010, p.120).

Established on the site of an abandoned military radio communications base, the gathering place at Uhu-neiau (North West Point) is a short distance from Sheshatshiu and was used during the 1980s and 1990s for a number of political meetings concerning military flight training and other issues. In fact, this is where, in the summer of 1990, the Innu decided to change the name of the “Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association” to the “Innu Nation,” and where they decided to enter into formal “land rights” negotiations with the governments of Canada and Newfoundland under the comprehensive land claims policy of the federal government.⁴⁴ Most of this site is now heavily overgrown with alder and birch trees, but several Innu have built cabins nearby.



Bishop Peter Sutton and the late An-Pinamen Ashini at a gathering at Uhu-neiau in the spring of 1995 (Photo courtesy Innu Nation).



The late Ekuanitshu chief, Pinip Pietacho, and other Innu at a meeting at Uhu-neiau to discuss military flight training, 1993 (Photo P. Armitage).

⁴⁴ The late Kanikuen Penashue was the President of the Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association at the time, making him the first President of the newly named Innu Nation.

A second gathering location in the Study Area is situated on cleared, sandy land at the side of the Tshiashku-nipi (Gull Lake) access road, which connects to the TLH. This is the site of a gathering of Innu women from Labrador and Quebec in the summer of 2006. More than two dozen Innu tents were set up at this location, in addition to a central meeting tent, the remains of which in the form of spruce/fir branches and tent poles are still plainly visible. The central meeting tent was erected by the husband of one of the participants in the gathering, respondent PIN28 for the current study.

The third gathering location dates back at least 30 years. Established immediately beside the TLH at a location known as Kaiamianut ('Where People Prayed') or "Mile 41," the gathering consisted of a large summer tent encampment. Religious services including marriages, first communions and baptisms were held here. Today, two cabins belonging to Sheshatshiu Innu are located at the gathering place, and there is talk of resuming community gatherings there.⁴⁵



Innu *matukapa* (abandoned camps) at the site of the 2007 Innu women's gathering at Tshiashku-nipi (Gull Island) (photo P. Armitage).

4.6 Prayer and commemorative places

Labrador Innu have established and/or continue to visit a number of road-accessible prayer and commemorative places in the Study Area over the last 20 years. These include a roadside sanctuary at the side of the Sheshatshiu-Goose Bay road, and commemorative places for the late Joey Penunsi and Munik Pone along the TLH.

The little road-side sanctuary to *Shetan* located between Sheshatshiu and Goose Bay is described by the LR in his report to the Innu Nation concerning "Candidate Places of

⁴⁵ Basile Penashue, personal communication (P. Armitage diary note, 31 Aug. 2010, p.93); Leonard Rich, personal communication (P. Armitage diary note, 29 Aug. 2010, p.82).

Religious Significance” (Armitage 2007a:75-76). Still in active use by the Innu, it was created in the mid-1980s by the late Nush Gregoire and several *Tshishennuat* from Sheshatshiu including Manian and Shimun Michel. According to Nush, the late Isaie Vollant from Uashau-Mani-Utenam (Sept-Îles) had visited them to talk about alcoholism, and he told them they should make a sanctuary to *Shetan* somewhere so that they could pray for help with the drinking problem. They established the sanctuary shortly thereafter.⁴⁶



Roadside sanctuary between Sheshatshiu and Goose Bay (Photos P. Armitage).

A commemorative place for the late Joey Penunsi was established by his relatives near Diver Brook following his tragic death in a tent fire about 20 years ago. The infant's uncle, Ishpastien Penunsi, singed his hair attempting to rescue him, and Curtis Gregoire received a bravery award for plucking him from the blaze. Unfortunately, their efforts were in vain because Joey was badly burned and died of smoke inhalation. One commemorative cross and offering station have been erected on top of a rocky knoll overlooking a quarry at the side of the TLH, while a similar commemoration stands at the junction of a spur road heading up to the location where the tragic tent fire took place.⁴⁷ Representatives of several families closely related to the deceased meet at the Diver Brook location annually to pay their respects to him. Their last gathering there was on Father's Day 2010. The late Joey's relatives also stop here regularly to offer tobacco and ask him for safe travelling while driving between Sheshatshiu and points west along the TLH.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Nush Gregoire, personal communications (P. Armitage diary notes, 10 June 2004, p.112, and 3 Nov. 2005, p.166).

⁴⁷ The LR obtained conflicting information about the location of the camp where the tent fire occurred. It was either at the side of the spur road or at a nearby lake accessible by foot or snowmobile (Gordon Milley, personal communication, P. Armitage diary note, 29 Aug. 2010, p.85; Roxanne Rich, personal communication, P. Armitage diary note, 15 Oct. 2010, p.118).

⁴⁸ Innu may also stop to make offerings and to thank him for safe travel. Roxanne Rich, personal communication (P. Armitage diary notes, 18 Aug. 2010, p.65 and 15 Oct. 2010, pp.118-119).



One of the commemorative crosses established in memory of the late Joey Penunsi (Photo P. Armitage)

Another commemorative place is located immediately beside the bridge across Uapushkakamau-shipiss (Pinus River). It consists of a cross and offering station in memory of the late Munik (Pone) Pinette whose ashes were placed here by her relatives and friends in the summer of 2006. The cross was made by one of the respondents for this study, PIN3. Innu stop by the cross to offer tobacco and ask her for safe travel during their trips along the TLH.⁴⁹



The commemorative site for the late Munik (Pone) Pinette. Left - fall 2006, right – Aug. 2010 (Photos P. Armitage)

⁴⁹ Julianna Hill, personal communication, P. Armitage diary note, 19 Oct. 2006, p.74; Roxanne Rich, personal communication, P. Armitage diary note, 15 Oct. 2010, pp.118-119).

4.7 Places of religious significance⁵⁰

“Places of religious significance” are lands associated with important Innu religious behaviour and belief including locations where religious events occur or have occurred, and locations that link contemporary and historic Innu to the world of animal masters, *Mishtapeaut*, and *Tshishe-manitu* (Armitage 2007a:4)⁵¹ In the old Innu way of thinking, places of religious significance are associated in some way, with other-than-human and pseudo-human beings, or *manitushiun* which is the power acquired by the Innu through power containing or mediating objects, transfer from *kamanitushit* (shaman), harvesting and respecting animals, and processing animal products.⁵²

Known places of religious significance in the Study Area are listed in Table 9. It should be noted that there is a certain arbitrariness to the data presented here given the nature of Innu religious thought and expression, where special events involving *kamanitushit* (shaman) or other-than-human or pseudo-human beings could occur virtually anywhere on the landscape. For example, the sneaking beings known as *katshimaitsheshu* could be encountered almost anywhere in the territory, especially during misty conditions and other times of reduced visibility. Therefore, there is nothing particularly special about Kanutshikatsheht katshimaitsheshuat other than its significance as a place where a somewhat unusual historical event took place.

Nonetheless, there is one place in the Study Area that is not arbitrary – Manitu-utshu. The feature is a small hill situated on the north side of Muskrat Falls, and is well known among older Innu in Sheshatshiu as the dwelling place of giant, otter-like beings called *Uenitshikumishiteu* that are yellow/orange in colour. The hill is like a *uisht* (beaver lodge) and the entranceway is under the water. A small pond on the top of Manitu-utshu is connected by way of a tunnel to Muskrat Falls and Mishta-shipu (Churchill River). Innu had once found seal bones at this pond which they believe were left by the seal-eating *Uenitshikumishiteu*.

⁵⁰ For detailed information concerning Innu religious beliefs and places of religious significance, see Armitage (2007a).

⁵¹ *Mishtapeuat* (plural) is defined as “beings with whom Innu shamans and other powerful Innu people could communicate through the *kushapatshikan* (shaking tent), dreams and other means.” *Mishtapeu* = singular. *Tshishe-manitu* is the Innu term for ‘God’, the ‘Creator’.

⁵² The terms *manitushiun* and *kamanitushit* are used by Innu in Sheshatshiu, while *miteun* and *kamiteut* are used by *Mushuau* (Barren Ground) speakers in Natuashish. One dictionary definition of *manitushiun* (Drapeau, 1991, my translation) is ‘exercise of spiritual power, conjuring, sorcery’, while Gagnon (2007:451, my translation) defines it as ‘power of action by means of thought, and willpower’. See also Speck’s discussion of “wish power” (1977[1935]:191-192).

Table 9. Known places of religious significance within the Study Area.

Location	Map	Description	Source
Kaminussekasht	13G/05	Shaman killed by Uatshitshish	Armitage 2007a
Kanutshikatsheht katshimaitsheshuat	13G/05	Where Katshimaitsheshu disturbed Innu	Armitage 2007a
Manitu-utshu	13F/07	Uenitshikumishiteu residence	Armitage 2007a
Mishta-shipu shatshit	13F/08	Katshimaitsheshu sticks his head in an Innu tent	Armitage 2007a
Netaukau	13F/08	Where <i>Uenitshikumishiteu</i> made waves	Armitage 2007a
Mishtashini	13B/13	<i>Katshimaitsheshu</i> stole shotgun shells	Armitage 2007a
Innu Kapakashtueshanit-nipi	13B/13	Where <i>Anikapeu</i> took Shakani	Armitage 2007a
Uapanatsheu-nipi	13B/14, 13B/13	Where Innu caught a sneaking being	Armitage 2007a
Patshishetshuanau	23H/09	Innu man and woman under the falls	Armitage 2007a
Uepushkueshkau	13B	Where an <i>Atshen</i> hip bone was found	Armitage 2007a



Manitu-utshu at Muskrat Falls, home of the powerful *Uenitshikumishiteu* beings (Photo P. Armitage).

Controlled by the powerful master of aquatic animals called *Missinak^u*, *Uenitshikumishiteu* will not normally attack people unless they have been threatened, harmed or disrespected in some way, in which case they can be extremely dangerous. They can travel through the ground in the same way that a fish swims through the water. Disrespecting *Missinak^u* may also result in an attack by the giant other-than-human beings. For more information on this special place, see Armitage (2007a).

4.8 Shaking tent locations

Of all the possible communications media, the *kushapatshikan* (shaking tent) was the most powerful in terms of its capacity to establish contact with other-than-human or pseudo-human beings, as well as distant relatives and shamans.⁵³ In widespread use among many Algonquian-speaking peoples until relatively recent times, the *kushapatshikan* was the most important instrument in the shaman's toolkit for

⁵³ This description of the shaking tent is taken verbatim from another of the LR's reports (Armitage 2008:5-6).

determining the whereabouts of animals and for encouraging generous treatment from the animal masters (Armitage, 2008).

The *kushapatshikan* was a small, conically-shaped tent with caribou hide or canvas covering, and four, six, or eight poles fashioned from a “special juniper that is hard to find.” The number of poles used depended on the power of the shaman. The tent would be set up inside a carefully prepared larger tent with fresh fir boughs on the floor and all metal removed. The *kushapatshikan* would start to shake violently as soon as the *kakushapatak* entered thereby indicating the arrival of Mishtapeu who acted as an interpreter between the shaman and the various other-than-human and pseudo-human beings who also entered the tent (Armitage, 2008; 1992:72-85).⁵⁴



Pien Penashue standing in front of a model *kushapatshikan* he erected at the Labrador Interpretation Centre (Photo courtesy Innu Nation)

Kushapatshikan (shaking tent) ceremonies could be conducted anywhere throughout Innu territory as long as Christian “men of the cloth” were absent, and for this reason shaking tent locations are “special” primarily because of their commemorative value. There are seven known places within the Study Area where Innu conducted shaking tent ceremonies (Table 10). The late Uashaunnu (Atuan Ashini) and Uatshitshish (Shinipesht Pokue) were the *kamanitushit* who conducted the ceremonies at these locations.

⁵⁴ Kanikuen Penashue, personal communication, 15 Oct. 2006. Kanikuen said that the *kushapatshikan* he witnessed in his youth lasted from about 8:00 pm to midnight. “It was like a double feature at the movies.” Even though it was getting cold, the shaman worked up a real sweat in the shaking tent. He went in wearing only his underpants.

Table 10. Known *Kushapatshikan* (shaking tent) ceremony locations in the Study Area.

Location	Map	Kakushapatak	Date	Source
Kautshishteshiu-shipiss	13C/16	Uatshitshish	ca. 1958	Mishen Pasteen (interview 30.1.88)
Manitu-utshu	13F/07	Uatshitshish	?	Shimun Michel (interview 11.10.99 @ Yves Labreche)
Mud Lake	13F/08	Uatshitshish	ca. 1966	Mishen Pasteen (interview 30.1.88)
Sheshatshiu (new housing area)	13F/08	Uashaunnu	?	Pinip Michel (interview 7.7.93)
Tshenuamiu-shipu (mouth of river area)	13G/05	Uashaunnu, Uatshitshish	?	Mishen Pasteen (interview 30.1.88), Tuminik Pokue (interview 5.2.88), Pien Penashue (interview 3.2.88), Ishpashtien Penunsi (interview 2.2.88)
Tshiashku-nipi	13C/14	Uashaunnu	?	Shimun Michel (interview 11.10.99 @ Yves Labreche)
Ushkan-shipiss	13F/02	Uatshitshish	1969	Pien Penashue, Nishet Penashue & Atuan Penashue (interview 6.12.05)



The late Uatshitshish (Shinipesh Pokue) and his wife, the late Manikanetishkueu (Manikanet Tuma), Sheshatshiu, 1963 (Photo J. Mailhot).



The late Uashaunnu (Atuan Ashini) working on a canoe at Sheshatshiu (Photo n.d., post card, J. Mailhot collection).



Innu walking along the shore of Mishta-shipu (Churchill River) 14 October 2006 toward the location of the 1969 campsite where the last shaking tent ceremony in Innu territory was held (Photo P. Armitage).

These men are two of 21 shamans known to the *Tshishennuat* (Elders) of Sheshatshiu and Natuashish, of which Uatshitshish was the last to pass away. In all probability, Uatshitshish was also the last shaman, and certainly the last officiant of the shaking tent, anywhere in the greater Innu territory of Nitassinan (Labrador and Quebec). These 21 shamans conducted *kushapatshikan* at 32 or more locations in Labrador including the seven in the Study Area. Uatshitshish's last ceremony was held at Ushkan-shipiss in November 1969.

Sponsored by Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro, a fieldtrip was made to the shaking tent location at Ushkan-shipiss on 14 October 2006 by members of the Penashue, Pastatshi and Pokue families who had witnessed the event in 1969 (see Armitage, 2008).

4.9 Place names

It is virtually impossible to talk about the land, animals and history in the Innu territory without using place names (toponyms). Elder members of the community know the Innu names for many of the geographic features throughout their territory but knowledge of them appears to be fading particularly among younger people as shown by the number of English names in current use.⁵⁵

Place names, no matter what their origin, greatly facilitate travel across the landscape, way-finding, and the communication of travel routes because they are linked to shared stories about, and mental maps of, landmarks and other geographic entities along the routes (see Jett, 1997:491). They serve as aids to memory about contemporary and historic land use for Aboriginal people (see Basso, 1988; Fair, 1997), and although they are archived in rapidly shrinking oral traditions, they can provide doorways to vast amounts of memory about particular places on the landscape.

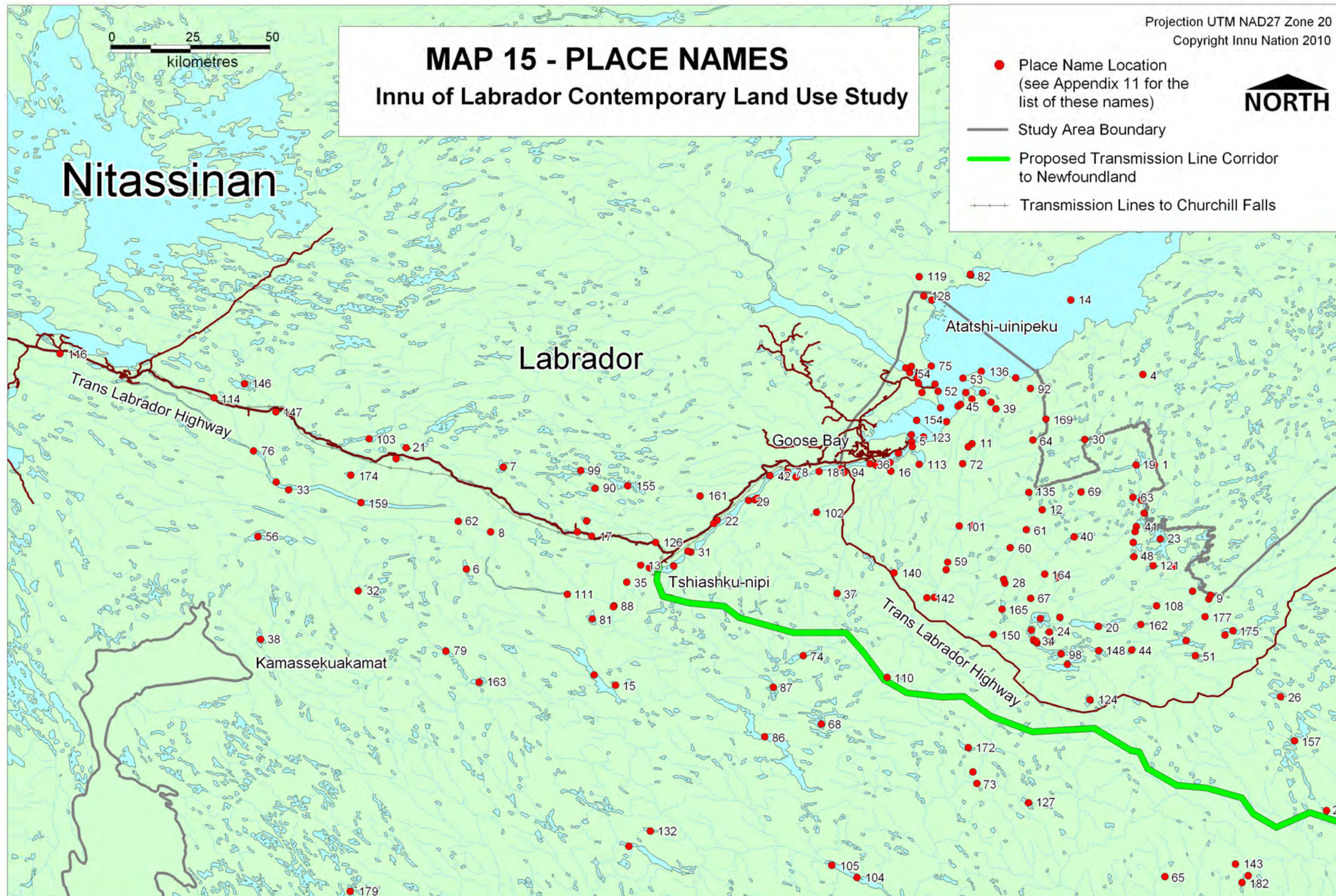
⁵⁵ This is part of a wider problem of indigenous language loss throughout Canada in general.

Place names often encode descriptive environmental and geographic information that remind Aboriginal people of locations rich in animal, fish or plant resources, such as Assiuashiku-minishtik^u ('Canadian Yew Island'), Atikameku-nipi ('Whitefish Lake'), Minai-nipi ('Burbot Lake'), and Kukameu-nipi ('Lake Trout Lake') (see Legat, et al., 2001). Descriptive Innu place names in the Study Area include Natuakamiau-shipu ('River Widening Lake River'), Nekanakau ('Sandy Shores'), Kanepakasht ('Point With Beautiful Leaf Trees') and Uinukupau ('Willows Growing at the Mouth of Brooks').

Other toponyms reference historical events or encounters with other-than-human beings (McHalsie, 2001:135; Saladin d'Anglure, 2004). Some examples in the Study Area include Kaiamianut ('Where People Prayed'), and Kanutshikatsheht katshimaitsheshuat ('Where Sneaking Creatures Were Being Bothersome'). Yet others reference individuals, usually deceased, who were associated with particular geographic features. Examples in the Study Area include Apinam ushakameshim ('Abraham's Place for Fish'), Shinipesnt-paushtik^u ('Sylvester Rapids'), and Tshakashue-matshiteueiau ('Tshakashue Point'). One lake used frequently over the last 20 years bears the name of an Innu person who is not deceased, namely, Penitenimi unipim ('Bartholomew's Lake').

Innu place names in the Study Area are presented in Appendix 11, and their locations are depicted on Map 15. This list contains 184 names of which – Bob's Brook, Diver Brook, Mile 41, Ozzie Brook, and Pope's Hill – are unofficial English toponyms that are in popular use among Sheshatshiu Innu. With the exception of Mile 41, which is called Kaiamianut in Innu-aimun, there are no Innu toponyms for these features. Virtually all of the names listed in Appendix 11 have been validated through an exhaustive process of data compilation and consultation with Innu experts.⁵⁶ They are publicly available along with a pronunciation guide and audio clips at www.innuplaces.ca. Two names that appeared in older Innu Nation databases that were not validated through this process were validated as a result of research for this study, namely, Penitenimi unipim and Kaiamianut.

⁵⁶ See <http://www.innuplaces.ca/introduction.php?lang=en> for information concerning research on Labrador Innu place names. See also Armitage (2006).

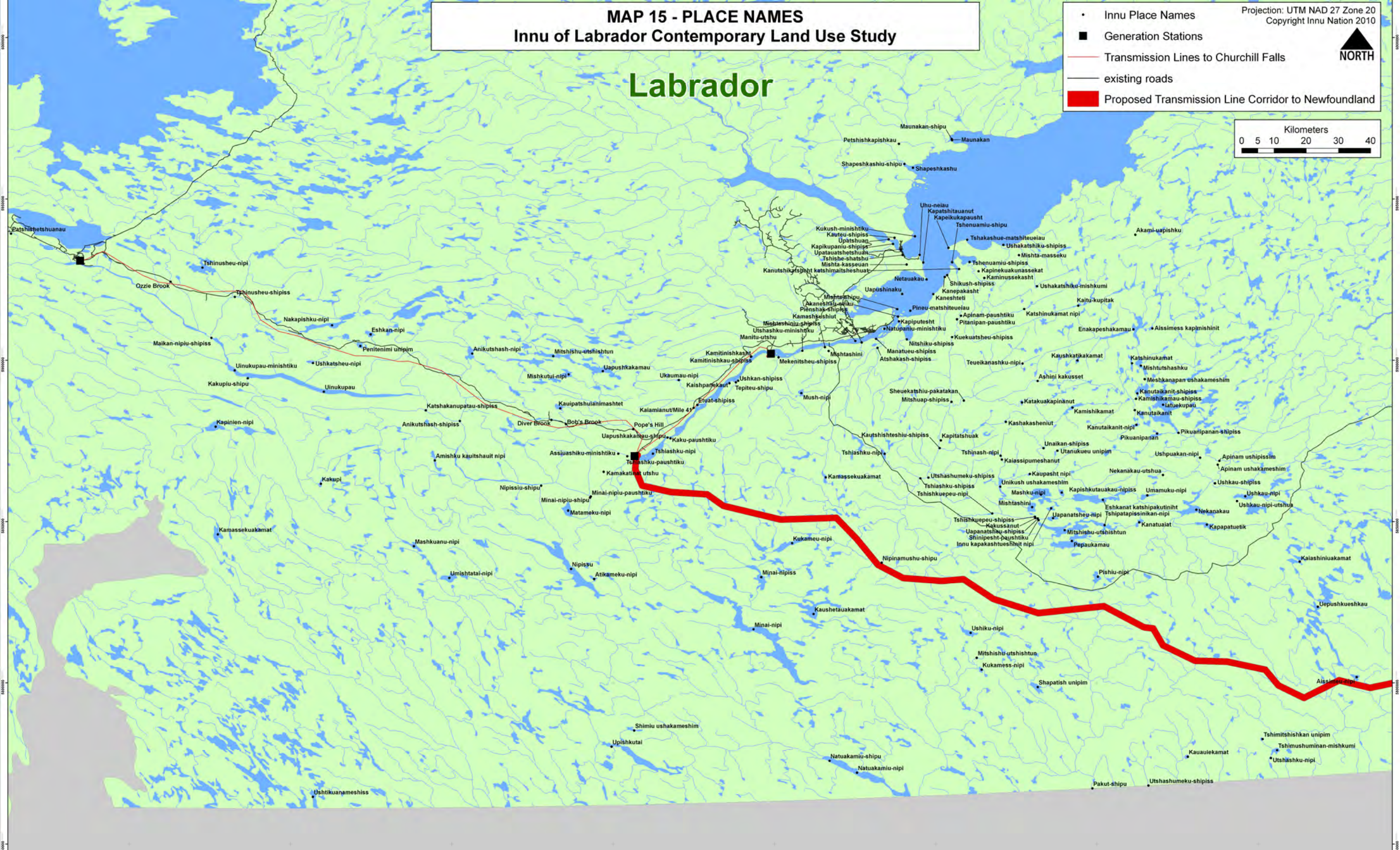


MAP 15 - PLACE NAMES
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador

- Innu Place Names
 - Generation Stations
 - Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls
 - existing roads
 - Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland
- Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
Copyright Innu Nation 2010
- NORTH**

Kilometers
0 5 10 20 30 40



The fact that some place names are recent is evidence of ongoing land use in an area, because people continuously revise their toponymy in relation to new experiences on the land. For example, Penitenimi unipim is a relatively new name that dates to an occasion when Bart (Penitenimi) Jack and the late Pinute Ashini fished at the lake not long after the completion of the TLH. Another name, an English one, is Fifty Dollar Brook; it is not listed in Appendix 11 because it is a very recent invention and is known to only a handful of Innu. It references a humorous event when someone lost a \$50 bill while defecating in the woods near his camp.⁵⁷



Penitenimi unipim, August 2010 (Photo P. Armitage)

It should be noted, here, that the important place name Tshiashku-nipi ('Gull Lake') requires further analysis given the way it is pronounced in Sheshatshiu. Older Innu pronounce the feature Tshīâshunīsh but younger people have changed the pronunciation to Tshīashkuēish.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ben Andrew personal communication (P. Armitage diary note, 18 Aug. 2010, p.64).

⁵⁸ Shanimen Benuen personal communication (P. Armitage diary note, 22 Sept. 2006, p.41). The name may refer to an adolescent (immature) gull.

5. Conclusion: An Innu Sense of Place

We can aggregate all of the data collected for this report for individual map features – overnight sites, kill sites, fixed cultural sites, etc. – and present them on a single map called a “hodgepodge map” which serves to illustrate the extent of land use in the Study Area.⁵⁹ Map 16 is such a hodgepodge map of contemporary Innu land use in the Study Area. What this map does not do, however, is illustrate an Innu sense of place in this area; what the land here means to them, why it is important for so many Innu to build cabins, erect tents, hunt, travel, fish, collect berries, eat country foods, play, laugh, cry, marvel at wonderful sunrises and sunsets, think about their late parents and grandparents who accompanied them in former years, commemorate the deceased, celebrate the newborn and the newlyweds, and so much more. As noted in the introduction to this report, maps do a poor job of conveying all the meaning of land use and occupancy to an audience unfamiliar with the way of life dependent on it. Thus, any study of land use based almost exclusively on map biography data is guilty of spatial reductionism, that is, reducing a people and their history and culture to dots, lines and polygons on two-dimensional sheets of paper or computer screens.

Documenting narratives about the land can help counteract this reductionist problem. Some examples of land use narratives are provided, by way of conclusion, that serve as examples of how memories are made and land use constructed in the Innu imagination.

The first is one of a number of stories told by respondents concerning black bear damage to cabins along the TLH.

A bear broke my cabin this summer. He's going to pay for it when his fur is good, and buy a new door. It was the first time that he touched the cabin. There were three bears that got frightened up a tree by my dog, a Lab. But one of them came down and fought with the dog. He grabbed my dog, but the dog played dead. I grabbed a rock and threw it at the bear, at which point the dog jumped up and ran away. I opened the door to the truck and the dog jumped in there. Ishpashtien was running around getting all the kids into the truck, but he wasn't able to get in himself [laughs]. So, then I got my shotgun and some shells and fired them into the air. The bears ran off (paraphrase, PIN28, 3 Sept. 2010).

This second narrative is from one of the female respondents who has a cabin near her birth place on Mishta-shipu.

I feel like it's my land, because I've always been around over there. Before we used to have a boat, but now I can use a vehicle, just to go back and forth. It's a

⁵⁹ See Tobias' definition of a hodgepodge map (2009:440).

beautiful place over there, and people constantly travelled by foot and canoe way back. My parents were there. I keep telling [my husband] why was I born over there [on the shores of Mishta-shipu]; it's so muddy over there? Innu people don't like frogs; I don't mind frogs, but there's lots of frogs there. And I said, why did they have to put the tent there, and me to be born there? [My husband] said, it wasn't like that before, mud. It was way better back then (PIN10, 25 Aug. 2010).

This area is important to her husband as well because it is where they camped shortly after their marriage 40 years ago.

When I got married, me and [his wife] traveled here [up Mishta-shipu]. We travelled on speed boat first, and we stopped at Manitu-utshu. There's a portage there. We had a canoe, and we moved with the canoe....right up to here [points to map]. We camped there, and there was a lot of berries all around there [points to the map]. That's where we picked the berries. I killed two porcupine, right here somewhere, in the hills, 40 years ago. We went back there not too long ago [fall 2009] to look at the spot where we camped, but it was not there because it's...eroded. The sand, it's gone....That's why [his wife] wanted to see that spot. Anyways, I killed two porcupine, and she picked a lot of berries at that time (PIN9, 25 Aug. 2010).

A younger respondent had fond memories of camping at Kaiamianut (Mile 41) and the stories his late father told about his hunting exploits.

My father and Benoit Pokue killed a lot of geese at that place [Kamitinishaku-shipiss]. I heard about that. They was using a canoe. They cornered geese, because the wind was blowing towards where the geese were to. So, if the geese tried to fly, they would have flown towards them. Benoit Pokue was using a shot gun but he ran out of shells, so he was using a .22. They killed so many geese, I don't remember how many. That's when we were staying at Mile 41, they call it (paraphrase, PIN21, 31 Aug. 2010)

Another younger respondent talked explicitly of wanting to transmit Innu culture and values to his children.

We set up a tent there for weekend camping, because it's so close to the river, where there's lots of fir boughs [for the tent floor]. We would go there on the weekends in the fall... When I do a lot of camping, I like to stay in this place, and then go to another place. When my children get older, I'll be able to tell them about all the places where they camped....I find it's very important where we stay. There's a lot of rabbits, partridge, porcupine in this area where we camp....My children really like *nutshimiu-mitshim* ('country food'). They like it

MAP 16 - HODGEPODGE - ALL CATEGORIES
Innu of Labrador Contemporary Land Use Study

Labrador



- Map Biography Data
- Outpost Programme Camp Locations
- ▲ Fixed Cultural Sites (not from Map Biographies)
- Map Biography Data
- Generation Stations
- Transmission Lines to Churchill Falls
- Proposed Transmission Line Corridor to Newfoundland

Projection: UTM NAD 27 Zone 20
Copyright Innu Nation 2010



Kilometers
0 5 10 20 30 40

rather than canned meat, like food that you buy in the store, like chicken wings (paraphrase, PIN15, 27 Aug. 2010).

These narratives speak to the ways in which many Innu people invest their land with meaning, and they help to explain why they are attached to it. As Basso (1996:53) has noted “attachments to geographical localities contribute fundamentally to the formation of personal and social identities,” so it is little wonder that travel routes, old camp sites, and other aspects of land use should mean a great deal to a number of the people interviewed for this research. Stories of place, such as the above, will be told in the future as long as the Labrador Innu continue to spend time on the land.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Compilation and analysis of Sheshatshiu demographic data and cursory socio-economic data (by Patt Larcombe, Symbion Consultants).

Respondent Sample Age and Gender Structure

The interview sample involved 26 males and 2 females ranging in age from 32 to 80 years of age. The average age of respondents was 53.2 years and the median age was 54 years. Table 1 below presents the age groupings of the 28 respondents.

Table 1: Respondent Age Structure

Age Group	# Respondents
< 40 years	5
40 – 49 years	5
50 – 59 years	5
60 – 64 years	10
65+ years	3

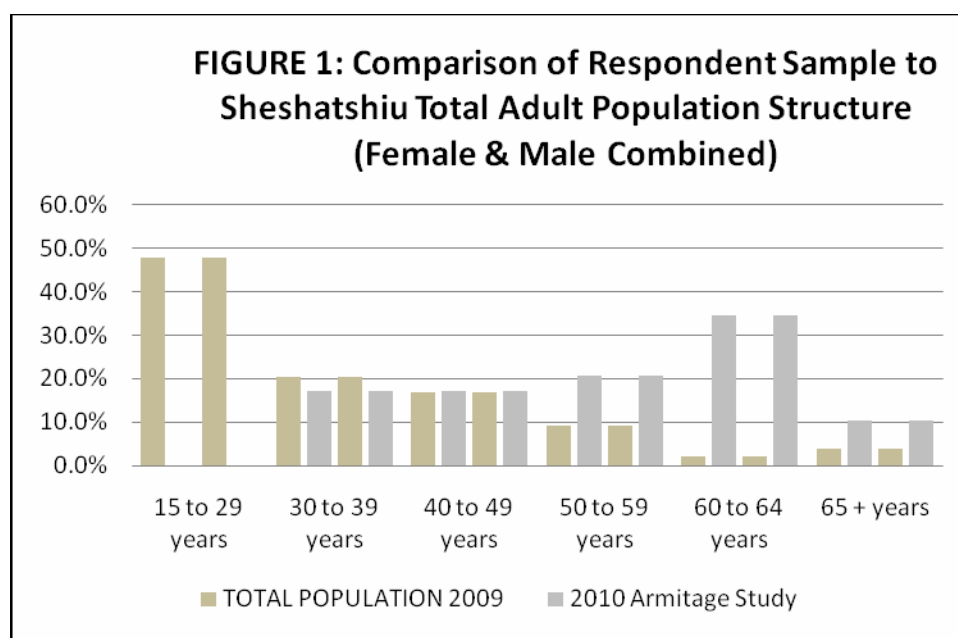
Sample Characteristics Relative to the Population

The sample involved approximately 2.8% of the total Sheshatshiu adult population (aged 15 years and older as of September 1, 2010). For a population size of approximately 1,000 (adults aged 15 years or older), a random sample size of 278 (or 27.8 of the population) is required for a 95% confidence level with a standard error of 5%. The sample of 28 individuals equates to a 95% confidence level with a standard error of 18%. A smaller sample size could be used if the adult population was surveyed first to determine who had land use in the Study Area within the last 20 years. The list of people with land use would thereby constitute the sampling frame from which a smaller number of respondents could be randomly selected.⁶⁰

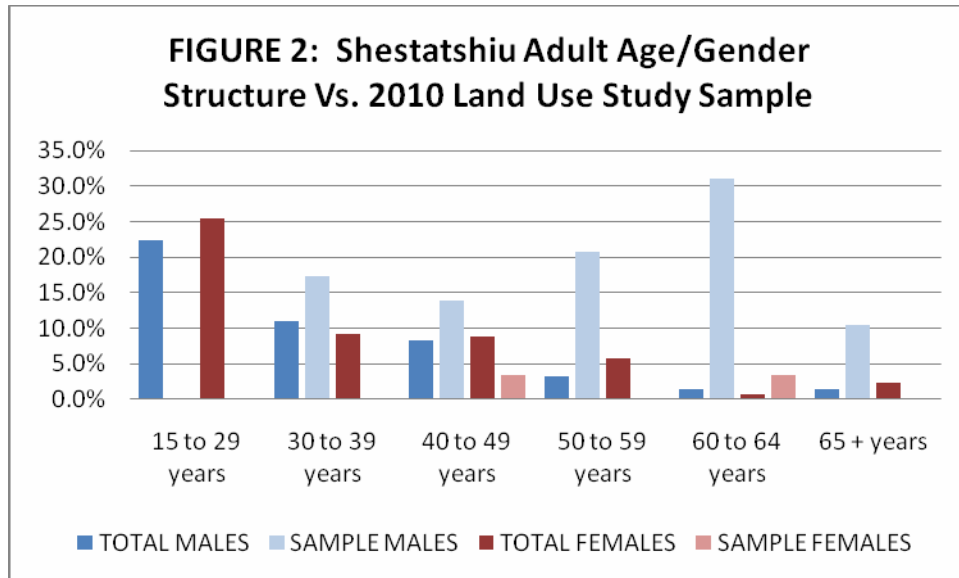
⁶⁰ The sampling requirements for the socio-economic survey versus the map biography survey are different. A statistically valid socio-economic survey should use the entire adult population as the sampling frame, whereas the map biography survey should use a stratified sample that prioritizes cabin holders in the Study Area in addition to a random sample of other land users who have been identified through a community-wide survey. For more on social science sampling methods see Babbie (1992: 190-233) and Salant and Dillman (1994:53-74).

The respondent sample is not representative of the age or gender structure of the adult Sheshatshiu population.⁶¹ Figure 1 demonstrates that compared to the Sheshatshiu adult population, the interview sample poorly represents the 15-29 age class, and over-represents adults in the 50-59 and 60-64 year age classes.

Males were significantly over-represented in the interview sample. The sample was comprised of 93% males and 7% females versus the total Sheshatshiu adult population which is comprised of 48% males and 52% females. Figure 2 also demonstrates that compared to the total Sheshatshiu adult population, the interview sample poorly represents females in all age classes, except the 60-64 age class. The sample did not include any females or males in the largest age class of 15 to 29 years of age.



⁶¹ Sheshatshiu total population based upon a member list dated “as of October 23, 2009” provided by Innu Nation.



The statistical validity of responses by the sample respondents to the questions discussed below is greatly compromised by the extremely small sample size in combination with a lack of age and gender parity to the demographic structure of the broader population. As a consequence, generalizations cannot be made for Sheshatshiu members on the basis of the survey sample responses. At best, the responses may be suggestive of generalized conditions, opinions and/or behaviours.

Household Size of Respondents

Respondents were asked “How many people are living in your house at the moment?” (Question 1e). Twenty-seven of the 28 respondents answered this question. The number of persons living in respondents’ households ranged from a low of 3 to a high of 12 (mean = 6.4 and median = 7.0).

Employment Characteristics of Respondents

Respondents were asked “Have you worked for money over the last five years?” (Question 29), and if “yes” “What kind of work did you do?” (Question 29a).

The majority of respondents (88%) indicated they had worked for money in the past five years. Three respondents reported they had not worked in the past five years, two of these individuals were 64 years or older. Two respondents did not respond to the question.

Almost all of the respondents who reported working in the past years identified jobs or employers based in Sheshatshiu.

Equipment Owned by Respondents

Respondents were asked “Do you own a car, truck, ATV, boat, canoe, and/or snowmobile?” (Question 1f). Twenty-seven of the 28 respondents answered this question as follows:

Equipment	Own	Do Not Own
Car, Van, SUV	6	21
Truck	16	11
Both Car, Van or SUV and Truck	2	
Neither Car, Van, or SUV or Truck		8
ATV	1	26
Boat	7	20
Canoe	12	15
Snowmobile	14	13
Own No Equipment		2

The results indicate that a large proportion of the respondents (29%) do not own either a car (or van or SUV) or a truck. It is important to note that there may be other individuals residing in the same household who do own one or more of the noted equipment types. Only one respondent reported owning an all terrain vehicle (ATV) and less than a third reported owning a boat. Close to a half of the respondents reported owning a canoe or a snowmobile and a third reported owning both types of equipment.

Sharing Practices

Respondents were asked “When you hunt, fish and collect berries or medicines, and take them back to Sheshatshiu, do you share the food with people other than your household members? (Question 32). If yes, who are these people - *Tshishennuat*, your parents, other relatives, not relatives.” Twenty-six of the 28 respondents answered this question.

The majority (23/24) indicated that they do share food with people other than their household members. All (23/23) who share food with people outside of their household indicated they share food with *Tshishennuat* (‘Elders’). Six indicated they share the food they harvest with their parents. It is noted that many of the older respondents’

parents are likely deceased and therefore answered “no” to this sub-question. Many (18/23) indicated they also share food with other relatives and about half (12/23) also said they share food with non-relatives.

Sharing of country food was described by several respondents as “the way it is done.” Sharing was often described as an individual simply dropping by the house to give a porcupine or a couple of fish. Types of country food mentioned as being shared were beaver, porcupine, geese, caribou, trout, and salmon. Reasons for sharing included:

- Giving to individuals who are unable to harvest because they don’t have a vehicle;
- Providing food to people who ask them to;
- Giving to Elders whose children do not harvest;
- Providing for widows and individuals suffering from illness;
- Contributing country food to Elder’s gathering and *makushan* events.

Voisey Bay Employment

Question 30 asked the respondents the following: Have you worked at the Voisey’s Bay nickel mine site? If yes;

- a. For how many months _____ or years _____?
- b. What type of shift did you work (e.g. two weeks at the mine site and two weeks off)?
- c. Did you hunt, trap, fish, or collect berries and medicines during your off-shift during the months/years that you were working at the Voisey’s Bay nickel mine site?
- d. Did your work at the mine affect your hunting, trapping, fishing, and berry or medicine collecting in any way?

Of the 28 respondents, half (14/28) indicated they had worked at the Voisey’s Bay Mine site for some period of time (13 indicated they had never worked there and 1 individual provided no response). Four of the 14 who had worked at the Mine had worked there for less than a year. Most (8/14) indicated they had worked at the mine site for between one and three years. Two individuals had worked at the mine for longer than four years. None of the respondents were working at the mine at the time of the interview. The most common shift reported by those who had worked at the mine was 2 weeks in/2 weeks out, although a few mentioned a 6 weeks in/2 weeks out shift.

Ten of the 14 individuals who had worked at the mine site indicated that they had done harvesting during their off-shift weeks. Of the four individuals who said they didn't harvest while working at the mine site, two indicated they were not in the habit of harvesting anyway, one indicated that having to work for a wage had prevented them from developing harvesting skills, and one indicated they had no time to harvest because of family obligations during their off-shift.

Of the ten individuals who reported that they continued to practice traditional harvesting activities while employed at the mine site, six said there was no impact on their harvesting activities and four indicated they had less time to practice harvesting activities. Reasons cited included family obligations, recovery time, and not enough time during their off-shift to get out to *nutshimit* ('the country').

Lower Churchill Project Employment

Respondents were asked "If the Lower Churchill Hydro project proceeds, are you interested in working on it during the construction phase?" (Question 31). Eight (8) respondents answered "yes", four (4) said they weren't sure, fourteen (14) said "no", and two (2) did not respond to the question. Of the 14 who said "no", seven individuals were aged 61 years or older.

Respondents were further asked; "What is the best schedule for you to work on the project (e.g. how many days at a time would you like to spend at the construction site (no commuting to Sheshatshiu)" and "Why do you like this schedule?" (Question 31 a)

Twelve (12) respondents provided information about a preferred schedule; of these seven indicated a 2 week on/2 week off rotation. Reasons provided for this shift were consistently related to having time to rest and spend time with family on a regular basis. Other rotations and mentioned at least once were: 2 weeks on/1 week off; 7 days on/5 days off (time to go hunting); 6 weeks on/1 week off (make most money with this shift); 6 weeks on/2 weeks off (sufficient time to spend with family and pursue traditional activities) and Monday through Friday (can hunt on weekends).

Appendix 2. Land use and harvesting questionnaire

August-September 2010

INTRODUCE SESSION: “My name is Peter Armitage and today is _____, 2010.

I have just reviewed the consent and honorarium forms with _____ that s/he has signed. We’re in the _____ building in Sheshatshiu, Labrador, to do a land use and harvesting map interview. _____ is assisting with the interview. Observing the session are/is _____. Data will be marked on plastic overlays of 1:50,000 and 1:250,000 scale NTS base maps. We’ll be starting with map sheets _____.

Preamble – I would like to ask you three types of questions. Firstly, I would like to ask you a few personal questions. Secondly, I will ask you about places on the land where you have killed animals and fish, collected berries, where you have traveled to do these things, where you have camped, and so forth. Finally, I will ask you some questions that relate to the relationship between working for money and hunting, trapping, fishing, and collecting berries, etc.

The area we’re interested in is the Sheshatshiunnuat territory – along Mishta-shipu, south of Mishta-shipu, between Goose Bay and Sheshatshiu, along the north and south shores of Atatshi-uinipek^u (Lake Melville) as far as Atshakash-shipiss and Shapeshkashu. We are interested in your hunting, trapping, fishing, berry collecting, and camping in this area only during the last 20 years, that is, since 1990.

PART 1

1) Personal information:

- a. What is your birth date?
- b. Where were you born?
- c. What are your parents’ names?
- d. What is your mother’s maiden name?
- e. How many people are living in your house at the moment?
- f. Do you own a car, truck, ATV, boat, canoe, and/or snowmobile?

PART 2

I'm now going to ask questions about places you stayed out overnight while you were hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering, or collecting berries in the Sheshatshiunnuat territory – along Mishta-shipu, south of Mishta-shipu, between Goose Bay and Sheshatshiu, along the north and south shores of Atatshi-uinipek^u (Lake Melville) as far as Atshakash-shipiss and Shapeshkashu. These are only places where you stayed since 1990, that is, over the last 20 years.

Questions related to “routine,” “frequent,” “regular” occupancy of a cabin or tent must be handled with **caution** given the likely variability in the way that respondents interpret these terms. Question respondents as to their interpretations using emic terms such as *nanikutini* and *mitshetuau* or *nanitam*. **Features used “routinely,” “frequently,” “on a regular basis” are to be marked with an asterisk.**

For question 4 below, staying in a vehicle includes staying overnight in a trailer or truck camper.

2) Did you ever stay overnight in a CABIN (*ashkashkaikanitshuap*) in the study area during the last 20 years. Show the spots.

CN . only

- a. Who built the cabin?
- b. When was the cabin built?
- c. Is it still being used?
- d. Who owns it now?
- e. Why was that location chosen for the cabin (why did you build it there)?
- f. How often have you been to that cabin in the last 5 years? *Nanikutini* (sometimes) or *mitshetuau*; *nanitam* (many times, often; always, all the time). **Mark features used “routinely,” “frequently,” “on a regular basis” with an asterisk.**

3) Did you ever stay overnight in a TENT (*patshuianitshuap*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show the spots.

TN . only

- a. Whose tent was it?
- b. Why was that location chosen for the tent?
- c. How often have you camped at that location in the last 5 years? *Nanikutini* (sometimes) or *mitshetuau*; *nanitam* (many times, often; always, all the time). **Mark features used “routinely,” “frequently,” “on a regular basis” with an asterisk.**

4) Did you ever make a fire for a boil-up (i.e. tea break) while away from your cabin or camp for hunting, trapping, fishing or collecting berries in the study area? Show the spots.

BO • only

PART 3

I'm now going to ask questions about the routes and portages you took when you were travelling to your cabin, camp, or fishing spot, when you were hunting for caribou, ducks or some other animal, or going to collect berries, etc.

Travel routes and portages are drawn with lines only. Be sure to use a different colour to mark the portage so we can see the difference between it and the rest of the travel route.

5) Have you ever gone hunting, trapping, fishing, collecting berries, or to your cabin or camp by a VEHICLE (*utapan*) such as a car, truck, ATV, or SNOWMOBILE (*utapaniss*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some of the routes you took.

VR ~ only

SR ~ only

a. How often have you travelled these routes? *Nanikutini* (sometimes) or *mitshetuau*; *nanitam* (many times, often; always, all the time). **Mark features used “routinely,” “frequently,” “on a regular basis” with an asterisk.**

6) Have you ever gone hunting, trapping, fishing, or collecting berries, or to your cabin or camp in a BOAT-WITH-MOTOR (*ush*) or CANOE (*Innu-ush*) in the study area. Show some of the routes you took.

BM ~ only

CR ~ only

a. How often have you travelled these routes? *Nanikutini* (sometimes) or *mitshetuau*; *nanitam* (many times, often; always, all the time). **Mark features used “routinely,” “frequently,” “on a regular basis” with an asterisk.**

7) Have you ever gone hunting, trapping, fishing, collecting berries and medicines, or to your cabin or camp by WALKING (*pimuteu*) by foot or on snowshoes (*ashamat*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some of the routes you took.

WR ~ only

a. How often have you travelled these routes? *Nanikutini* (sometimes) or *mitshetuau; nanitam* (many times, often; always, all the time). **Mark features used “routinely,” “frequently,” “on a regular basis” with an asterisk.**

8) Have you ever traveled across a PORTAGE (*pakatakan*) by foot, snowmobile, or ATV in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some of the PORTAGES you have crossed over.

PG ~ only

Note – the English definition of a “portage” is “a trail around an obstacle in a watercourse, or between two bodies of water.” ATV is also called a “three-wheeler” or “quad.”

PART 4

I’m now going to ask questions about where you killed or collected different kinds of animals, birds, and fish since 1990 in Sheshatshiunnuat territory – along Mishta-shipu, south of Mishta-shipu, between Goose Bay and Sheshatshiu, along the north and south shores of Atatshi-uinipek^u (Lake Melville) as far as Atshakash-shipiss and Shapeshkashu. For this part of the interview we want to map places where you killed or collected animals to *feed your family or community*. We want to map spots where you killed animals and took some home for eating purposes. We *also* want to mark a spot where you killed or collected animals for selling or using, but not for eating. We *don’t* want to mark spots where you killed animals for tourists while you were guiding, *unless* you took some of the meat to eat.

Kill and collecting sites for all animal, bird and fish categories below are only mapped as points. Not lines or polygons.

4.1 I’m going to start by asking you about the large animals (*aueshish*) you killed, and the small animals you killed in the study area during the last 20 years.

9) Did you ever kill CARIBOU (*atik^u*), BEAR (*mashk^u*) or MOOSE (*mush*) in the study area to feed your family during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

CA • only

BB • only

MO • only

a. Who were you hunting with when you killed the caribou, bear, or moose?

10) Did you ever kill PORCUPINE (*kak^u*) or SNOWSHOE HARE (*uapush*) in the study area to feed your family during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

PO • only

RA • only

4.2 Now I'm going to ask you about the furbearing animals (*shuniau-aueshish*) that you killed in the study area during the last 20 years.

11) Did you ever set any kind of traps or snares for furbearers (*shuniau-aueshish*) in the study area during the last 20 years?

a. What kinds of animals did you trap?

12) Show some spots where you killed MARTEN (*uapishtan*) or MINK (*atshikash*) in the study area during the last 20 years.

MA • only

MI • only

13) Show some spots where you killed WEASEL (*shikushish*) in the study area during the last 20 years.

WE • only

14) Did you ever kill BEAVER (*amishk^u*) or MUSKRAT (*uatshashk^u*) or OTTER (*nitshik^u*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots .

BV • only

MU • only

OT • only

15) Did you ever kill WOLF (*maikan*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

WO • only

16) Did you ever kill FOX (*matsheshu*) or LYNX (*pishu*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

FX • only

LX • only

4.3 I'm now going to ask you about the waterfowl (*shiship*) that you killed in the study area to feed your family during the last 20 years.

17) Did you ever kill Canada goose (*nishk*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

GE • only

18) Did you ever kill any ducks in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

DU • only

a. What kind of ducks did you kill there?

Record the names of each duck species on the Interview Report Form for the respondent, preferably using the Innu-aimun name. Ducks does not include loons.

4.4 I'm now going to ask you about the PARTRIDGE (*pineu*) that you killed to feed your family in the study area over the last 20 years. By partridge – *pineu* – I mean willow ptarmigan (*uapineu*), spruce grouse (*innineu*), rock ptarmigan (*kashkanatshish*) and ruffed grouse (*pashpassu*).

19) Did you ever kill PARTRIDGE (*pineu*) to feed your family in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

PA • only

4.5 We are now going to ask you about the fish (*namesh*) that you killed in the study area to feed your family over the last 20 years.

20) Did you ever kill SALMON (*utshashumek^u*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

SA • only

21) Did you ever kill other kinds of FISH (*namesh*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

FI • only

- a. What kind of fish did you kill at each spot?
- b. What kind of fishing gear did you use to kill the fish at each spot?

Where possible, record the Innu-aimun name of the fish species on the Interview Record Form.

PART 5

I'm now going to ask questions about where you collected different kinds of plants and medicine (*nutshimiu-natukan*) in the study area over the last 20 years. I also want to know if there are special places where you get drinking water.

There is no generic lexeme for plants in Innu-aimun. The term should be translated as *assit nete kanitautshiki* or *kanitautshisht*, meaning 'that which grows in the earth'. Plant and medicine collecting sites are to be mapped as points, lines or polygons, depending on the size of the area where the respondent actually collected the plant. Remember, we are mapping *harvesting* sites. We are not mapping habitat. We are not mapping the presence-or-absence of the resource.

22) Did you ever collect wild BERRIES (*mina*) in the study area during the last 20 years? Show some spots.

- a. What kind of berry did you collect at each spot?

BR • or ~ or 0

23) Did you ever collect MEDICINE (*nutshimiu-natukan*) in the study area during the last 20 years. Show some spots.

MD • or ~ or 0

- a. What kind of medicine did you collect there?

24) Did you ever get DRINKING WATER (*mûssitshûnâpuî*) from a brook, spring or pond in the study area that you took back to your cabin or camp or to Sheshatshiu for drinking there? Show the spots.

WA • or ~ or 0

PART 6

I'm now going to ask questions about gathering sites in the study area.

The cultural sites below are to be mapped as points, lines or polygons, depending on the extent of the area the site covers on the ground. However, try to use points as much as possible.

25) Do you know of any special GATHERING (*Innu-mamuitun*) places in the study area?
Show the spots.

GA • or ~ or 0

- a) What kind of a gathering was held there?
- b) When was the gathering held there?

Ask the respondent if he or she put skulls or any other animal remains up in the trees, or disposed of them in any special way. If so where?

PART 7

I am now going to ask you some questions that relate to the relationship between working for money and living on the land - hunting, trapping, fishing, and collecting berries, etc.

26) Have you worked for money over the last five years?

- a. What kind of work did you do?

27) Have you worked at the Voisey's Bay nickel mine site?

- a. For how many months _____ or years _____?
- b. What type of shift did you work (e.g. two weeks at the mine site and two weeks off)?
- c. Did you hunt, trap, fish, or collect berries and medicines during your off-shift during the months/years that you were working at the Voisey's Bay nickel mine site?
- d. Did your work at the mine affect your hunting, trapping, fishing, and berry or medicine collecting in any way?

28) If the Lower Churchill Hydro project proceeds, are you interested in working on it during the construction phase **[an explanation of construction phase may be necessary]**?

a. What is the best schedule for you to work on the project (e.g. how many days at a time would you like to spend at the construction site (no commuting to Sheshatshiu). Why do you like this schedule?

29) When you hunt, fish and collect berries or medicines, and take them back to Sheshatshiu, do you share the food with people other than your household members? If yes, who are these people - *Tshishennuat*, your parents, other relatives, not relatives.

30) Do you participate in any community or family feasts where country food (*nutshimiu-mitshim*) is eaten (e.g. *makushan*)?

CLOSE SESSION: "My name is Peter Armitage and today is _____, 2010. We're here in the _____ building in Sheshatshiu, Labrador, and we've just finished a land use and harvesting interview with _____. The other person who assisted me is _____. Other people who sat in as observers are/is _____. Information was marked on plastic overlays of the following base maps: _____."

DATE & SIGN MAPS: "The last thing we are going to do is date and sign the maps. I'm writing the date _____, 2010 and also signing my name near the date, on each of these maps. And now I'm asking the respondent to also sign each map anywhere near where I've written the date and signed my name."

Appendix 3. Innu Nation information sheet regarding the research

Attention: All Innu Nation Members

Innu Nation is conducting a study of Innu land use and harvesting. The study will be lead by Peter Armitage working on behalf of Innu Nation.

Why is Innu Nation doing this study?

The purpose of the study is to:

- record information about people's hunting, trapping, and fishing activities, important cultural sites, travel routes and other land use information;
- obtain information to better understand the negative effects of the proposed Lower Churchill Project on Innu land use and harvesting;
- identify ways to reduce the negative effects of the Lower Churchill Project on Innu land use and harvesting;
- identify ways to increase the positive effects of the Lower Churchill Project on Innu communities.

Who can participate in the study?

Innu Nation is encouraging all Innu with land use in the area of the Mishta-shipu, Atatshi-uinipek^u (Lake Melville), Churchill Road and lands south of the Mishta-shipu to participate in this study.

What is involved in the study?

The researchers will interview Labrador Innu who have hunted, trapped, fished, gathered berries, and camped in the area affected by the proposed Lower Churchill Project. If you have been hunting, trapping, fishing or camping in this area and would like to be interviewed, please leave a message for Peter Armitage at the Innu Nation office in Sheshatshiu (497-8398).

Will study participants receive honoraria?

Yes, all people interviewed will receive an honorarium of \$ for ½ day interview. *Tshishennuat* (those over age 60) will receive a \$ honorarium for ½ day interview..

When will the study take place?

The study will take place between August and October 2010. Interviews will be held with Innu land users and *Tshishennuat* between August 17 and September 3, 2010.

Reporting back

A draft report and draft maps showing land use in the area of the proposed Lower Churchill Project will be completed by early October. Peter Armitage will then return to Sheshatshiu in the middle of October to discuss the draft report and maps with community members, to get your feedback and to correct mistakes in the information. A final report will be finished by the end of October.

Appendix 4. Innu Nation Confidentiality Statement

Innu Nation requires information about Innu contemporary land use and harvesting in the Mishta-shipu (Churchill River, Labrador) area and other parts of Labrador for the environmental assessment of proposed hydro-electric dams, reservoirs and transmission lines on Mishta-shipu (the “Study”).

Innu Nation has retained Peter Armitage (Wolverine & Associates Inc.) to conduct the Study, which includes research and interviews with Innu concerning Innu land use and harvesting in the area potentially affected by the proposed hydro-electric project.

Innu Nation Research Guidelines require that individuals participating in the Study have the right of confidentiality with respect to all personal information and any other information for which confidentiality is requested.

Innu Nation strongly encourages the full support and participation of its members in the Study and wishes to address concerns people may have about confidentiality of information.

Innu Nation requires that all persons, including Innu Nation employees and contractors, working on the Study sign a confidentiality agreement requiring these persons to maintain the confidentiality of the information collected during the Study, and to share that information only with other persons who need to know that information and who have also signed a confidentiality agreement.

Innu Nation also requires that any information collected from Innu during the course of the Study and that is presented in any map or report prepared for this Study shall not identify the names or personal information of any individual Innu. Information will be presented anonymously in any maps or reports prepared for the Study.

The original information and recordings from interviews with individual Innu regarding the Study will be archived in a secure location to be determined by Innu Nation.

Innu Nation confidentiality statement issued on _____, 2010

Mark Nui, Grand Chief, Innu Nation _____

Appendix 5. Innu Nation Research Consent Form

Innu Nation is doing a study of Innu land use and harvesting. The purpose of this study is to record information about people's hunting, trapping, and fishing places, important cultural sites, travel routes and other information in the Mishta-shipu (Churchill River, Labrador) area, and in locations south of the Mishta-shipu and around Lake Melville. The information will be used to better understand the impacts of proposed hydro-electric dams and reservoirs on Mishta-shipu as well as transmission lines. The information from the study will also be used to identify ways to reduce the negative effects of the dams, reservoirs and transmission lines on Innu land use, and to increase the positive effects of the project on Innu communities. The information collected during your interview will be provided to Innu Nation, which will provide this information to Nalcor Energy for use in the environmental assessment of the proposed hydro project on Mishta-shipu.

Innu Nation Research Guidelines require that the informed consent of any individuals participating in the research must be obtained by the researcher prior to the start of the research.

I, _____, agree to participate in the research. I agree that Innu Nation can provide my land use and harvesting information to Nalcor Energy for the purpose of the environmental assessment of the proposed hydro-electric dams, reservoirs and transmission lines on Mishta-shipu. I also agree that the Innu Nation may use this information in other ways beneficial to the Innu of Labrador.

Signature of person being interviewed _____

Signature of interviewer _____

Date _____

Appendix 6. Honorarium Forms

Non-elders

I, _____, agree to the Innu Nation policy for honoraria which is a rate of \$ per one-half day for participating in the Mishta-shipu land use and harvesting research project.

Total time = _____ X \$ = \$_____.00

Participant's Signature _____

Interviewer(s) Signature _____

Date _____

Elders

I, _____, agree to the Innu Nation policy for honoraria which is a rate of \$ per one-half day for participating in the Mishta-shipu land use and harvesting research project.

I certify that I am an Innu Elder sixty (60) years of age or older.

Total time = _____ X \$ = \$_____.00

Participant's Signature _____

Interviewer(s) Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix 7. Category Codes in Alphabetical Order

Growing things in general (*assit nete kanitautshiki* or *kanitautshisht*)

Fish in general (*namesh*)

Birds in general (*pineshish*)

Money/trade animals, furbearers (*shunaiau-aueshish*)

Animals in general (*aueshish*)

BB	black bear (<i>mashk^u</i>)
BM	boat-with-motor route (<i>ush meshkanau</i>)
BO	boil-up location (translation?)
BR	berries (<i>mina</i>)
BV	beaver (<i>amishk^u</i>)
CA	caribou (<i>atik^u</i>)
CN	cabin (<i>ashkashkaikanitshuap</i>)
CR	canoe route (<i>Innu-ush meshkanau</i>)
DU	duck (generic) (<i>shiship</i>)
FI	fish (generic) (<i>namesh</i>)
FX	fox (<i>matsheshu</i>)
GA	gathering place (<i>Innu-mamuitun</i>)
GE	Canada geese (<i>nishk</i>)
LX	lynx (<i>pishu</i>)
MA	marten (<i>uapishtan</i>)
MD	medicine (<i>nutshimiu-natukan</i>)
MI	mink (<i>atshikash</i>)
MO	moose (<i>mush</i>)
MU	muskrat (<i>uatshashk^u</i>)
NH	other-than-human being (e.g. <i>katshimaitsheshu</i> , or <i>atshak^u</i>)
OP	offering place (<i>matushtueimâtsheun</i>)
OT	otter (<i>nitshik^u</i>)
PA	grouse (generic) (<i>pineu</i>)
PG	portage (<i>pakatakan</i>)
PO	porcupine (<i>kak^u</i>)
RA	snowshoe hare (rabbit) (<i>uapush</i>)
SA	salmon (<i>utshashumek^u</i>)
SR	snowmobile route (<i>utapaniss meshkanau</i>)
TN	tent (<i>patshuianitshuap</i>)
VE	vehicle (<i>utapan</i>)
VR	vehicle route (car, truck) (<i>utapan meshkanau</i>)
WA	drinking water (<i>mûssitshûnâpuî</i>)
WE	weasel (<i>shikushish</i>)
WO	wolf (<i>maikan</i>)
WR	walking route (<i>pimuteu meshkanau</i>)

The five (5) codes below are catch-alls.

XB	other bird
XC	other cultural or religious site
XM	other animal (four legged)
XO	other overnight site
XP	other plant (including berries)

Appendix 8. Interview Data Recording Form

(for relevant questionnaire responses)

Respondent name _____ PIN _____

1) Personal information:

Gender ☐ male ☐ female

a. What is your birth date? (day/month/year) _____ day _____ month _____ year

b. Where were you born? _____

c. What are your parents' names? _____

d. What is your mother's maiden name? _____

e. How many people are living in your house at the moment? _____

f. Do you own a car, truck, ATV, boat, canoe, and/or snowmobile? [circle one or more]

2) Did you ever stay overnight in a CABIN (*ashkashkaikanitshuap*) in the study area during the last 20 years. ☐ yes ☐ no

a. Who built the cabin? _____

b. When was the cabin built? _____

c. Is it still being used? _____

d. Who owns it now? _____

e. Why was that location chosen for the cabin (why did you build it there)?

f. How often have you been to that cabin in the last 5 years? *Nanikutini* (sometimes) or *mitshetuau*; *nanitam* (many times, often; always, all the time).

3) Did you ever stay overnight in a TENT (*patshuianitshuap*) in the study area during the last 20 years?
☐ yes ☐ no

a. Whose tent was it? _____

b. Why was that location chosen for the tent?

c. How often have you camped at that location in the last 5 years?

Nanikutini (sometimes) or *mitshetuau*; *nanitam* (many times, often; always, all the time).

9) Did you ever kill CARIBOU (*atik^u*), BEAR (*mashk^u*) or MOOSE (*mush*) to feed your family in the study area during the last 20 years? ☐ yes ☐ no

a. Who were you hunting with when you killed the caribou, bear, or moose?

11) Did you ever set any kind of traps or snares for furbearers (*shuniau-aueshish*) during the last 20 years? ☐ yes ☐ no

a. What kinds of animals did you trap?

18) Did you ever kill any ducks in the study area during the last 20 years?

a. What kind of ducks did you kill there?

21) Did you ever kill other kinds of fish in the study area during the last 20 years?

a. What kind of fish did you kill at each spot?

b. What kind of fishing gear did you use to kill the fish at each spot?

22) Did you ever collect wild BERRIES (*mina*) in the study area during the last 20 years?

a. What kind of berry did you collect at each spot?

23) Did you ever collect MEDICINE (*nutshimiu-natukan*) in the study area during the last 20 years. ☐ yes ☐ no

a. What kind of medicine did you collect there?

25) Do you know of any special GATHERING (*Innu-mamuitun*) places in the study area? ☐ yes ☐ no

a. What kind of a gathering was held there? _____

b. When was the gathering held there? _____

26) Have you worked for money over the last five years? ☐ yes ☐ no

a. What kind of work did you do?

27) Have you worked at the Voisey's Bay nickel mine site? ☐ yes ☐ no

a. For how many months _____ or years _____?

b. What type of shift did you work (e.g. two weeks at the mine site and two weeks off)?

c. Did you hunt, trap, fish, or collect berries and medicines during the months/years that you were working at the Voisey's Bay nickel mine site? ☐ yes ☐ no

d. Did your work at the mine affect your hunting, trapping, fishing, and berry or medicine collecting in any way? ☐ yes ☐ no Explain.

28) If the Lower Churchill Hydro project proceeds, are you interested in working on it during the construction phase? [an explanation of construction phase may be required]

☐ yes ☐ no

a. What is the best schedule for you to work on the project (e.g. how many days at a time would you like to spend at the construction site (no commuting to Sheshatshiu).

b. Why do you like this schedule?

29) When you hunt, fish and collect berries or medicines, and take them back to Sheshatshiu, do you share the food with people other than your household members?

☐ yes ☐ no

a. If yes, who are these people (circle responses) - *Tshishennuat*, your parents, other relatives, not relatives.

30) Do you participate in any community or family feasts where country food (*nutshimiu-mitshim*) is eaten (e.g. *makushan*)? ☐ yes ☐ no

Appendix 9. Interview Record Form

- 1) Interview date _____ 2) PIN _____
- 3) Respondent name _____ 4) Spelled ☐ Correctly ☐ Not sure
- 5) Interview location (building): _____
- 6) Lead interviewer _____ 7) Other interviewers _____ ☐ None
- 8) Observers _____ ☐ None
- 9) Permission form? ☐ Y ☐ N ☐ Before
- 10) Names of digital audio files recorded
- 11) Session duration _____ minutes
- 12) Maps used (and no. of each)
- 1 :50,000 scale (e.g. 13C/14 x 2)
- = _____ Total
- 1 :250,000 scale (e.g. 13C x 2)
- = _____ Total
- 13) Language ☐ all Eng. ☐ mostly Eng. ☐ 50-50 ☐ mostly Innu-aimun ☐ all Innu-aimun
- 14) Interpretation of Innu-aimun provided during interview? ☐ Y ☐ N ☐ N.A.
- Name of interpreter _____
- 15) Map biography completed? ☐ Y ☐ N
- 16) Parts or items **NOT** done? (back of form if needed)

_____ ☐ N.A.

17) Departures from standard methodology? ☐ Y ☐ N ☐ N.A. If 'yes,' specify (back of form)

18) Comments? (back of form) _____ ☐ none

19) Catch-all codes? ☐ Y ☐ N If 'yes,' list and specify

20) 1st & last feature numbers _____ — _____

21) Interviewer signature _____

Appendix 10. RMS error encountered when digitizing map biography overlays

PIN	BIO MAP	NTS map	Scale	Projection	RMS error	Cell size	Notes
25	1 of 5	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.99	4.28	
25	2 of 5	13E02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.79	4.25	
25	3 of 5	13E01	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	11.09	4.29	
25	4 of 5	13F08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	5.01	4.47	
25	5 of 5	13C04	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	0.32	4.3	
5	1 of 4	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	16.42	4.33	RMS error near threshold, rotated .jpeg
5	2 of 4	13F08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	16.41	4.39	RMS error near threshold
5	3 of 4	13G	1:250,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	21.81	21.99	
5	4 of 4	13E & 13F	1:250,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	74.45	21.42	RMS error near threshold
7	1 of 5	13E12	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.38	4.26	
7	2 of 5	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.57	4.37	
7	3 of 5	13F07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.97	4.42	
7	4 of 5	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.21	4.25	
7	5 of 5	13E05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.34	4.24	
24	1 of 3	13F04	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	13.08	4.36	
24	2 of 3	13E01	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	11.76	4.32	
24	3 of 3	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	5.4	4.27	
21	1 of 1	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	3.83	4.32	
6	1 of 1	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	16.03	4.33	
14	1 of 3	23H	1:250,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	26.35	22.02	
14	2 of 3	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.04	4.31	
14	3 of 3	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.19	4.48	
12 & 13	1 of 7	13C	1:250,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	18.75	21.93	
12 & 13	2 of 7	13C	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	33.31	21.61	
12 & 13	3 of 7	13D14	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.18	4.25	
12 & 13	4 of 7	13D11	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.37	4.31	
12 & 13	5 of 7	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.8	4.37	

12 & 13	6 of 7	13F07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	3.85	4.39	
12 & 13	7 of 7	13F02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.34	4.42	
23	1 of 4	13E03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10	4.23	
23	2 of 4	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	1.69	4.27	
23	3 of 4	13E08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.11	4.38	
23	4 of 4	13E01	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	9.49	4.35	
27	1 of 4	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.07	4.27	rescanned due to large RMS error from first scan
27	2 of 4	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	0.54	4.39	
27	3 of 4	13F08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.29	4.62	
27	4 of 4	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	29.57	4.35	RMS error exceeds threshold, several attempts to lower it failed
19	1 of 7	13E12	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.12	4.28	
19	2 of 7	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.25	4.24	
19	3 of 7	13F04	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.49	4.25	
19	4 of 7	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.01	4.25	
19	5 of 7	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	18.22	4.36	high RMS error associated with this NTS sheet
19	6 of 7	13F08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.44	4.48	
19	7 of 7	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.89	4.38	
28	1 of 3	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.26	4.28	
28	2 of 3	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	5.03	4.29	
28	3 of 3	13C14	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	3.94	4.29	
16 & 17	1 of 3	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	11.57	4.32	
16 & 17	2 of 3	13E02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	5.5	4.25	
16 & 17	3 of 3	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.97	4.26	
18	1 of 7	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	5.24	4.24	
18	2 of 7	13E01	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.07	4.27	
18	3 of 7	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	9.2	4.26	
18	4 of 7	13F07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	18.49	4.41	RMS error exceeds threshold error
18	5 of 7	13F02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.66	4.41	
18	6 of 7	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	3.92	4.41	
18	7 of 7	13C14	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.71	4.35	

15	1 of 8	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.95	4.36	
15	2 of 8	13F02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.46	4.33	
15	3 of 8	13F07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	5	4.51	
15	4 of 8	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	12.51	4.25	
15	5 of 8	13E08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.43	4.25	
15	6 of 8	13E01	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	9.93	4.35	
15	7 of 8	13F04	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	18.15	4.47	exceeds threshold RMS error
15	8 of 8	13E03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	20.2	4.29	exceeds threshold RMS error
14	4 of 4	13E01	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.33	4.24	
20	1 of 3	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.84	4.42	
20	2 of 3	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.11	4.3	
20	3 of 3	13F09	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	3.93	4.44	
26	1 of 1	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	2.53	4.37	
22	1 of 3	13F07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.95	4.39	
22	2 of 3	13F02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	12.5	4.29	
22	3 of 3	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.86	4.34	
11	1 of 7	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	27.79	4.47	exceeds threshold RMS error
11	2 of 7	13E12	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.55	4.3	
11	3 of 7	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.34	4.32	
11	4 of 7	13F08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.38	4.47	
11	5 of 7	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.96	4.31	
11	6 of 7	23H	1:250,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	21.46	21.79	
11	7 of 7	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.72	4.24	
8	1 of 7	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.13	4.33	
8	2 of 7	13F04	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	12.64	4.41	
8	3 of 7	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	9.49	4.25	
8	4 of 7	13E12	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.04	4.25	
8	5 of 7	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	7.44	4.31	
8	6 of 7	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	22.03	4.36	
8	7 of 7	13F08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	13.53	4.43	

2	1 of 4	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.38	4.28	
2	2 of 4	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.93	4.24	
2	3 of 4	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	9.64	4.36	
2	4 of 4	13F04	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	16.79	4.29	RMS error near threshold
3	1 of 5	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	24.62	4.44	exceeds threshold RMS error
3	2 of 5	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	10.58	4.33	
3	3 of 5	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.94	4.25	
3	4 of 5	13F07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.41	4.4	RMS error reduced significantly with second scan
3	5 of 5	13F02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	5.02	4.34	
4	1 of 4	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	12.68	4.4	
4	2 of 4	13C14	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.31	4.28	
4	3 of 4	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	26.03	4.4	exceeds threshold RMS error
4	4 of 4	13F02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.2	4.4	
9	1 of 9	13F03	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	8.63	4.34	
9	2 of 9	13F02	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	12.74	4.41	
9	3 of 9	13F07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	2.89	4.39	
9	4 of 9	13E06	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	14.37	4.29	
9	5 of 9	13E05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	4.41	4.3	
9	6 of 9	13E07	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	6.04	4.3	
9	7 of 9	13F08	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	1.79	4.32	
9	8 of 9	13G05	1:50,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 21	23.56	4.48	
9	9 of 9	13F	1:250,000	UTM NAD 27 ZONE 20	33.79	21.82	

Appendix 11. Study Area place names (mostly Innu)

Place name	Translation	Feature	Official name	Long	Lat	Map
Aissimess kapimishinit	Where a Young Inuit is Buried	lake		-58.99	53.27	13G/07
Aissimeu-nipi	Inuit Lake	lake		-58.15	52.26	13B/08
Aissimeu-shipu	Inuit River	river	St. Paul River	-57.81	52.00	13A/04
Akami-uapishk ^u	White Mountain Across	snow covered summit	Mealy Mountains	-59.04	53.53	13G/11
Akaneshau-neiau	English Point	point		-60.17	53.33	13F/08E
Amishku kauitshauit nipu	Lake Where a Beaver Was Running	lake		-62.33	52.96	13D/16W
Anikutshash-nipi	Squirrel Lake	lake		-62.15	53.26	13E/08
Anikutshash-shipiss	Squirrel River (small)	river	Cache River	-62.21	53.07	13E/01
Apinam ushakameshim	Abraham's Place for Fish	lake		-58.72	52.88	13B/15
Apinam ushipissim	Abraham's River (small)	river		-58.71	52.89	13B/15
Apinam-paushtik ^u	Abraham Rapids	rapids		-59.87	53.33	13G/05
Ashini kakusset	Where a Rock is Fishing	lake		-59.53	53.14	13G/04
Assiuashiku-minishtik ^u	Canadian Yew Island	island		-61.48	52.97	13C/14W
Atatshi-uinipek ^u	Cut-off Sea	inlet	Lake Melville	-59.40	53.75	13G/11
Atikameku-nipi	Whitefish Lake	lake		-61.60	52.63	13C/12
Atshakash-shipiss	Mink River (small)	river		-60.27	53.25	13F/08W
Bob's Brook		river (small)		-61.72	53.06	13F/04
Diver Brook		river (small)		-61.79	53.07	13F/04
Enakapeshakamau	Trousers Lake	lake		-59.08	53.27	13G/06
Eshkanat katshipakutiniht	Where Hanging Antlers Block the Way	lake		-59.26	52.80	13B/14
Eshkan-nipi	Caribou Antler Lake	lake		-62.62	53.32	13E/07E
Etuat-shipiss	Edward River (small)	river	Edward's Brook	-61.11	53.10	13F/03
Iatuekupau	Stretches of Willows	lake		-58.96	53.05	13G/02

Innu kapakashtueshinit nipi	Lake Where an Innu Fell in The Water	lake		-59.50	52.78	13B/13
Kaiamianut/Mile 41	Where People Prayed	locality		-61.13	53.10	13F/03
Kaiashiniuakamat	Rocky Lake	lake		-58.38	52.59	13B/09
Kaiashiniuakamat	Rocky Lake	lake		-58.38	52.59	13B/09
Kaiassipumeshanut	Where People Ate Raw Fish	lake		-59.71	52.92	13B/13
Kaishpanekaut	High Sandy Bank	locality		-60.96	53.16	13F/02
Kaitu-kupitak	Lake With an Outlet at Each End	lake		-59.33	53.34	13G/06
Kaku-paushtik ^u	Porcupine Rapids	rapids		-61.24	53.01	13F/03
Kakupi	Porcupine Lake	lake		-62.86	52.90	13D/15W
Kakupiu-shipu	Porcupine Lake River	river	Fig River	-63.19	53.19	13E/03E
Kakussanut	Where People Fish With a Hook and Line	point		-59.57	52.75	13B/13
Kamakatinat utshu	Big Mountain	mountain		-61.55	52.92	13C/13
Kamashkushiut	Grassy Place	island		-60.37	53.27	13F/08W
Kamassekuakamat	Swampy Area Lake	lake		-60.53	52.89	13C/15
Kamassekuakamat	Swampy Area Lake	lake		-63.33	52.76	13D/14W
Kaminussekasht	Good Marsh	marsh		-59.76	53.43	13G/05
Kamishikamat	Big Lake	lake		-59.38	53.06	13G/03
Kamishikamau-shipiss	Big Lake River (small)	river		-59.07	53.09	13G/03
Kamitinishkasht	Muddy Place (small)	point		-60.86	53.23	13F/02
Kamitinishkau-shipiss	Muddy Place River (small)	river		-60.86	53.24	13F/02
Kanatuaiat	Where There is a Steady	lake		-59.10	52.73	13B/11
Kanepakasht	Point With Beautiful Leaf Trees	point	Brule Point	-59.94	53.44	13G/05
Kaneshteti	Where Rocks Form a Point	point	Shoal Point	-60.00	53.39	13F/08E
Kanutaikanit	Shooting in the Air Place	locality		-59.09	53.04	13G/03
Kanutaikanit-nipi	Shooting in the Air Lake	lake		-59.09	53.00	13G/03
Kanutaikanit-shipiss	Shooting in the Air River (small)	river		-59.08	53.07	13G/03

Kanutshikatsheht katshimaitsheshuat	Where Sneaking Creatures Were Being Bothersome	locality		-59.87	53.46	13G/05
Kapapatuetik	Unknown	river (section)		-58.79	52.71	13B/10
Kapatshitauanut	Where People Set Nets	point	Gibeon Point	-60.04	53.48	13F/08E
Kapeikukapausht	Where a Single Tree Stands	point	EpINETte Point	-59.92	53.52	13G/12
Kapikupaniu-shipiss	Broken River (small)	river		-60.18	53.53	13F/09
Kapinekuakunassekat	Rough Marsh	marsh		-59.78	53.45	13G/05
Kapinien-nipi	Gabriel Lake	lake		-63.34	53.06	13D/14W
Kapiputesht	Where There is Smoke (small)	island	Snake Island	-60.16	53.32	13F/08
Kapishkutaauakau-nipiss	Lump Shaped Mountain Lake (small)	lake		-59.45	52.82	13B/14
Kapitatshuak	Long Set of Rapids	rapids		-59.99	52.98	13B/13
Kashakasheniut	Filled With Rocks	lake		-59.69	53.03	13G/04
Katakuakapinanut	Where People Spend the Fall	lake		-59.61	53.08	13G/04
Katshakanupatau- shipiss	Where An Animal Ran With Its Tail Standing Upright River (small)	river	Shoal River	-62.37	53.10	13E/01W
Katshinukamat	Long Lake	lake		-59.09	53.17	13G/03
Katshinukamat nipi	Long Lake	lake		-59.58	53.34	13G/05
Kauauiekamat	Round Lake	lake		-58.94	52.07	13B/02
Kauipatshuianimashtet	Place With a Smell of Burnt Cloth	lake		-61.75	53.10	13F/04W
Kaupasht nipi	Lake With a Small Narrows	lake		-59.59	52.88	13B/13
Kaushetauakamat	Esker Lake	lake		-60.61	52.51	13C/10
Kaushkatikakamat	Lake Surrounded by Young Trees	lake		-59.34	53.19	13G/03
Kauteu-shipiss	Boiling River (small)	river		-60.17	53.55	13F/09

Kautshishteshiu-shipiss	Full of Water Lilies River (small)	river		-60.00	52.96	13C/16
Kuekuatsheu-shipiss	Wolverine River (small)	river		-59.92	53.27	13G/05
Kukamess-nipi	Lake Trout Lake	lake		-59.85	52.34	13B/05
Kukameu-nipi	Lake Trout Lake	lake		-60.69	52.71	13C/10
Kukush-minishtik ^u	Pig Island	island	Montagnais Island	-60.07	53.55	13F/09
Maikan-nipiu-shipiss	Wolf Lake River (small)	river (section)	Metchin River	-63.36	53.31	13E/06W
Manatueu-shipiss	Swearing River (small)	river	Traverspine River	-60.27	53.27	13F/08W
Manitu-utshu	Evil Creature Mountain	mountain		-60.77	53.24	13F/02
Mashkuanu-nipi	Black Bear Tail Lake	lake		-62.43	52.72	13D/09
Mashku-nipi	Black Bear Lake	lake		-59.54	52.82	13B/13
Matameku-nipi	Speckled Trout Lake	lake		-61.72	52.82	13C/13
Maunakan	Unknown	settlement (seasonal)		-59.88	53.82	13G/13
Maunakan-shipu	Unknown	river	Mulligan River	-59.88	53.82	13G/13
Mekenitsheu-shipiss	McKenzie River (small)	river	McKenzie River	-60.73	53.23	13F/02
Meshkanapan ushakameshim	Late Meshkana's Place For Fish			-59.04	53.13	13G/03
Minai-nipi	Burbot Lake	lake	Minipi Lake	-60.88	52.48	13C/07
Minai-nipiss	Burbot Lake (small)	lake		-60.84	52.62	13C/10
Minai-nipiu-paushtik ^u	Burbot Lake Rapids	rapids		-61.61	52.86	13C/13E
Minai-nipiu-shipu	Burbot Lake River	river	Minipi River	-61.62	52.85	13C/13E
Mishkutui-nipi	Beaver Stretcher Lake	lake		-61.70	53.20	13F/04E
Mishta-kasseuan	Great Crossing	crossing		-60.12	53.48	13F/08E
Mishta-massek ^u	Big Marsh	marsh		-59.59	53.49	13G/05
Mishtashini	Big Rock	lake		-59.59	52.79	13B/13
Mishtashini	Big Rock	mountain		-60.49	53.24	13F/02
Mishtashiniu-shipiss	Big Rock River (small)	river	Caroline Brook	-60.51	53.26	13F/07
Mishta-shipu	Great River	river	Churchill River	-60.17	53.35	13F/08
Mishtutshashk ^u	Giant Muskrat	lake		-59.05	53.16	13G/03

Mitshishu-utshishtun	Eagle's Nest	lake		-59.44	52.72	13B/11
Mitshishu-utshishtun	Eagle's Nest	lake		-61.77	53.25	13F/05
Mitshishu-utshishtun	Eagle's Nest	river (section)	Riviere Joir (section)	-59.87	52.37	13B/05
Mitshuap-shipiss	Cabin River (small)	river		-59.94	53.09	13G/04
Mush-nipi	Moose Lake	lake		-60.63	53.13	13F/02
Nakapishku-nipi	Unknown	lake	Wilson Lake	-62.80	53.34	13E/07W
Natuakamiau-nipi	River Widening Lake	lake	Lac Fourmont	-60.43	52.07	13C/01
Natuakamiau-shipu	River Widening Lake River	river	Little Mecatina River	-60.55	52.10	13C/02
Natupaniu-minishtik ^u	War Island	island	Man O'War Island	-60.23	53.30	13F/08E
Nekanakau	Sandy Shores	lake		-58.83	52.75	13B/15
Nekanakau-utshua	Sandy Shores Mountains	mountains		-58.98	52.86	13B/15
Netauakau	High Sandy Point	point	Sandy Point	-60.03	53.43	13F/08E
Nipinamushu-shipu	River With Places That Never Freeze	river	Little Drunken River	-60.29	52.65	13C/09
Nipissiu-shipu	Little Lake River	river		-61.84	52.89	13C/13W
Nipissu	Little Lake	lake	Dominion Lake	-61.71	52.66	13C/12
Nitshiku-shipiss	Otter River (small)	river		-60.13	53.27	13F/08E
Ozzie Brook		river (small)		-63.56	53.46	13E/05
Pakut-shipu	Unknown	river	St. Augustin River	-59.37	52.00	13B/03
Patshishetshuanau	Where the Current Makes Clouds of Vapour	falls	Churchill Falls	-64.30	53.59	23H/09
Penitenimi unipim	Bartholomew's (Bart Jack) Lake	lake		-62.67	53.28	13E/07
Pepaukamau	Unknown	lake	Crooks Lake	-59.41	52.69	13B/11
Petshishkapishkau	Unknown	mountain	Mokami Hill	-60.13	53.81	13F/16
Pienshak-shipiss	Pienshak River (small)	river		-60.34	53.26	13F/08W
Pikuanipanan	Winter Net Setting Place	lake		-58.99	52.97	13B/15
Pikuanipanan-shipiss	Winter Net Setting Place River (small)	river		-58.89	52.97	13B/15

Pineu-matshiteueiau	Partridge Point	point		-60.11	53.35	13F/08E
Pishiu-nipi	Lynx Lake	lake		-59.30	52.58	13B/11
Pitanipan-paushtik ^u	Late Peter Rapids	rapids		-59.89	53.32	13G/05
Pope's Hill		mountain		-61.41	53.04	13F/03
Shapatish unipim	John Baptist's Lake	lake		-59.60	52.28	13B/05
Shapeshkashiu-shipu	Unknown	river	Sebaskachu River	-60.11	53.76	13F/16
Shapeshkashu	Unknown	bay	Sebaskachu Bay	-60.07	53.74	13F/09E
Sheuekatshiu-pakatakan	Dragonfly Portage	portage		-59.88	53.09	13G/04
Shikush-shipiss	Weasel River (small)	river		-59.93	53.44	13G/05
Shimiu ushakameshim	Simeo's Place For Fish	lake		-61.44	52.20	13C/03
Shinipesht-paushtik ^u	Sylvester Rapids	rapids		-59.56	52.75	13B/13
Tepiteu-shipu	Unknown	river	Upper Brook	-60.93	53.16	13F/02
Teueikanashku-nipi	Drumstick Lake	lake		-59.60	53.19	13G/04
Tshakashue-matshiteueiau	Tshakashue Point	point	Adams Point	-59.83	53.54	13G/12
Tshenuamiu-shipiss River (small)	river	Kenemich River	-59.82	53.48	13G/05
Tshenuamiu-shipu	Unknown	river	Kenamu River	-59.90	53.48	13G/05
Tshiashku-nipi	Gull Lake	lake	Gull Lake	-61.32	52.97	13C/14W
Tshiashku-nipi	Gull Lake	lake		-60.25	52.95	13C/16
Tshiashku-paushtik ^u	Gull Rapids	rapids		-61.44	52.97	13C/14W
Tshiashku-shipiss	Gull River (small)	river		-60.09	52.88	13C/16
Tshimitshishkan unipim	Short-Tailed Dog's Lake	lake		-58.59	52.11	13B/02
Tshimushuminan-mishkumi	Our Grandfather Winter Lake	lake		-58.53	52.07	13B/02
Tshinash-nipi	Tern Lake	lake		-59.72	52.93	13B/13
Tshinusheu-nipi	Pike Lake	lake		-63.41	53.50	13E/11W
Tshinusheu-shipiss	Pike River (small)	river		-63.26	53.42	13E/06W
Tshipatapissinikan-nipi	Cairn Lake	lake		-59.26	52.73	13B/11
Tshishe-shatshu	Great Inlet	Indian reserve	Sheshatshiu	-60.13	53.50	13F/09E
Tshishkuepeu-nipi	Crazy Drunken Lake	lake		-59.77	52.77	13B/13

Tshishkuepeu-shipiss	Crazy Drunken River (small)	river		-59.57	52.76	13B/13
Uapanatsheu-nipi	Sneaking Creature Lake	lake		-59.49	52.75	13B/14
Uapanatsheu-shipiss	Sneaking Creature River (small)	river		-59.56	52.75	13B/13
Uapushinak ^u	Rabbit Island	island	Rabbit Island	-60.14	53.39	13F/08E
Uapushkakamau	Burnt Area Lake	lake		-61.55	53.21	13F/04E
Uapushkakamau-shipu	Burnt Area Lake River	river	Pinus River	-61.25	53.02	13F/03
Uepushkueshkau	Burnt Area	lake		-58.31	52.46	13B/08
Uhu-neiau	Owl Point	point	North West Point	-60.05	53.50	13F/09E
Uinukupau	Willows Growing at the Mouth of Brooks	lake	Winokapau Lake	-62.84	53.16	13E/02
Uinukupau-minishtik ^u	Willows Growing at the Mouth of Brooks Island	island		-63.25	53.22	13E/03W
Ukaumau-nipi	Mother Lake	lake		-61.19	53.18	13F/03
Umamuku-nipi	White-Winged Scoter Lake	lake		-59.05	52.80	13B/14
Umishtatai-nipi	Caribou Rumen Lake	lake		-62.27	52.64	13D/09
Unaikan-shipiss	Deadfall Trap River (small)	river		-59.52	52.95	13B/13
Unikush ushakameshim	Unikush's Place For Fish	lake		-59.73	52.85	13B/13
Upatauatshetshuan	Rapids in Sand Narrows	narrows	North West River	-60.14	53.52	13F/09
Upatshuan	Rapids in Narrows	narrows	The Rapids	-60.20	53.55	13F/09E
Upishkutai	Caribou Rennet Stomach	lake		-61.54	52.16	13C/04
Ushakatshiku-mishkumi	Place For Seal Winter Lake	lake (winter)		-59.51	53.40	13G/05
Ushakatshiku-shipiss	Place For Seal River (small)	river		-59.66	53.52	13G/12
Ushakatshiku-shipiss	Place For Seal River (small)	river (small)		-59.66	53.52	13G/12

Ushiku-nipi	Merganser Lake	lake		-59.89	52.44	13B/05
Ushkan-shipiss	Bone River (small)	river		-60.92	53.17	13F/02
Ushkatsheu-nipi	Caribou Leg Skin Lake	lake		-62.89	53.24	13E/02W
Ushkau-nipi	New Antlers Lake	lake		-58.61	52.78	13B/15
Ushkau-nipi-utshua	New Antlers Lake Mountains	mountains		-58.64	52.77	13B/15
Ushkau-shipiss	New Antlers Lake River (small)	river (small)		-58.74	52.82	13B/15
Ushpuakan-nipi	Pipe Lake	lake		-58.80	52.90	13B/15
Ushtikuanameshiss	Small Fish Head	lake		-62.89	52.03	13D/02
Utanukueu unipim	Utanukueu's Lake	lake		-59.46	52.94	13B/14
Utshashku-minishtik ^u	Muskrat Island	island	Muskrat Island	-60.62	53.25	13F/07E
Utshashku-nipi	Muskrat Lake	lake		-58.56	52.05	13B/02
Utshashumeku-shipiss	Salmon River (small)	river		-59.12	52.00	13B/03
Utshashumeku-shipiss	Salmon River (small)	river		-60.06	52.88	13C/16