

# Visit Vinland

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## **Developing a New and Innovative Tourism Product in Atlantic Canada by Deciphering Ancient Icelandic Sagas**

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Master Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the Degree

Master of Business Administration

in Tourism and Hotel Development

Submitted to Dr. Helmut Zolles

Sveinn Rúnar Traustason

1302003

Sogndal, Norway May 29, 2017

## **AFFIDAVIT**

I hereby affirm that this Master's Thesis represents my own written work and that I have used no sources and aids other than those indicated. All passages quoted from publications or paraphrased from these sources are properly cited and attributed.

The thesis was not submitted in the same or in a substantially similar version, not even partially, to another examination board and was not published elsewhere.

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## ABSTRACT

Visit Vinland is a name invented for the purpose of this thesis for a new proposed association aimed at developing and marketing Atlantic Canada to Nordic people, people of Nordic descent and anyone interested in Viking explorations and the Vinland Sagas.

Visit Vinland would provide a unique focus on North America prior to the European settlements in the 16th Century allowing visitors to experience the life and culture of the First Nation peoples before the Europeans arrived and learn about their first encounter with Norse "Viking" explorers and settlers, Basque fishermen and English, French and Italian explorers.

The main purpose of the thesis is to establish a guideline on scientific grounds, directed to a so far virtual tourism entity named Visit Vinland, which aims at increasing tourism between the Nordic Countries and Atlantic Canada. Although independent, Visit Vinland would work under the umbrella of the "Atlantic Canada Tourism Partnership" (ACTP), and "Destination Canada" (DC), in cooperation with already established associations and councils such as the Mi'kmaq Grand Council "Santé Mawiómi", the "Viking Trail Tourism Association" (VTTA) in Newfoundland, the "Aboriginal Tourism Association of Canada" (ATAC), the "American Indian Alaska Native Tourism Association" (AIANTA), the "Saga Trail Association" in Iceland, and the International "Destination Viking Association" (DVA).

"Secondary objectives include research based proposals how to develop and market tourism products that provide visitors to Atlantic Canada with an exceptional and inspiring experience, taking them on a journey of exploration and imagination, combining Native American and Viking history and heritage with French Acadian, Celtic and modern day Canadian cuisine and culture. This includes the main subject of this thesis "The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail" that will take visitors through some of the most beautiful and pristine coastal landscapes in North America, to stunning locations off the beaten track, with ancient history and oral traditions. The name of the Trail derives from (A) Vinland, the name that the Norse "Viking" explorer Leif Eiriksson gave to the region in 1000 AD, and (B) Mi'kma'ki, the Mi'kmaq Nation's name for the same region, their homeland, that included Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, PEI and the Gaspé Peninsula. Newfoundland, with the Norse archaeological site at L'Anse aux Meadows, is also part of the Vinland region and the "gateway" to Vinland.

The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail is designed to connect with existing trails such as the Viking Trail, and the Cabot Trail, providing exceptional scenery as well as an array of human activity, rich with culture and the culinary arts, giving visitors the chance to discover various places where Viking sagas and Aboriginal stories come to life. With a bit of research and development the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail will provide a unique insight into the Viking explorations to Mi'kma'ki, North America, 1000 years ago as well as into the life and culture of the Mi'kmaq people who had lived on this land for thousands of years prior to the Norsemen's arrival.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Helmut Zolles for his skillful guidance, supervision and encouragement and my wife Marcela Cerón, my Editor-In-Chief, for all her enormous help and patience through the whole thesis writing period. I could not have done this without her. I would also like to thank Andre Myers in Newfoundland and Rögnvaldur Guðmundsson in Iceland and all those who contributed to the thesis by answering questions and providing invaluable information and advice.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Affidavit.....	2
Abstract.....	3
Acknowledgements.....	4
List of Figures .....	8
List of Tables.....	10
List of Abbreviations .....	11
Preface .....	12
1 Introduction .....	13
1.1 About the thesis.....	13
1.2 What is “Vinland”?.....	14
1.3 Norsemen or Vikings? .....	15
1.4 What is Mi’kma’ki? .....	15
1.5 The Mi’kmaq people .....	17
2 Research Aims and Objectives.....	18
2.1 Objectives for the Master Thesis .....	18
2.2 Theme and inspiration:.....	18
2.3 Statement of the problem .....	18
2.4 Hypothesis: .....	19
2.5 Assumptions: .....	19
2.6 Research questions:.....	20
3 Methodology .....	21
3.1 Research methods .....	21
3.2 Data sources .....	21
3.3 Survey methods .....	21
3.4 Literature review .....	22
4 Tourism Statistics and Trends.....	23
4.1 Tourism in Canada – Key highlights .....	23
4.2 Tourism in Atlantic Canada – Key highlights.....	25

4.3	The Nordic Outbound Travel Market.....	26
5	Tourism Routes Planning & Development.....	27
5.1	Why Tourism Planning and Development? .....	27
5.2	What are Tourism Routes? .....	29
5.3	How to successfully develop a tourism product (route)? .....	30
6	Tourism Routes - Case studies .....	31
6.1	The Viking Trail, Newfoundland .....	31
6.2	The Saga Trail, Iceland.....	35
6.3	The Cabot Trail, Nova Scotia .....	38
7	Literature review – (Main research) .....	39
7.1	The Vinland Sagas - Overview .....	39
7.2	The Saga of the Greenlanders.....	41
7.3	The Saga of Eirik the Red.....	49
7.4	Summary and Comparison Of Proposals by Author .....	58
7.5	Where are Straumfjord, ‘East River’ and Hóp?.....	60
7.6	Conclusion:.....	65
8	Vinland-Mi’kma’ki Trail Surveys .....	66
8.1	Survey methods .....	66
8.2	Market research survey for a potential new tourism product .....	66
8.3	NTO/DMO Tourism Product Development Survey .....	71
8.4	Survey summary and conclusion .....	76
9	Visit Vinland (development and marketing proposals).....	78
9.1	Visit Vinland .....	78
9.2	Why Vinland-Mi’kma’ki Trail? .....	78
9.3	Vinland Trails - Planning and development .....	79
9.4	Vinland Trails - Marketing .....	80
9.5	The Vinland Centre.....	82
9.6	Inspiration .....	84
10	Conclusion.....	86
10.1	Research Question and Hypothesis .....	86
10.2	Recommendations to the Tourism and Regional Authorities.....	87
	Bibliography.....	88
	Figures .....	88
	Books and Articles .....	90

Appendices.....	102
Appendix 1: (A).....	102
Appendix 2: (B).....	103
Appendix 3: (C).....	104
Appendix 4: (D).....	105
Appendix 5: (E).....	106
Appendix 6: (F).....	107
Appendix 7: (G).....	108
Appendix 8: (H).....	109
Appendix 9: ALL.....	110
Appendix 10: GS.....	111
Appendix 11: ES.....	112
Appendix 12: V-M Trail.....	113
Appendix 13: V-B Trail.....	114
Appendix 14: Marketing Research Survey - Recipient Lists.....	115
Appendix 15: Product Development Survey - Recipient Lists.....	117
Appendix 16: Three Case Study Surveys - Recipients Lists.....	119
Appendix 17: Vinland Trails.....	120

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1 – Map of Atlantic Canada .....	13
Figure 1-2 - Map of Viking Voyages to America .....	14
FIGURE 1-3 - MAP OF MI'KMAQ FIRST NATION COMMUNITIES .....	15
Figure 6-1: Map of the Viking Trail, NL.....	31
Figure 6-2: The Saga Trail in Iceland.....	35
FIGURE 6-3: MAP OF THE CABOT TRAIL, NS .....	38
Figure 7-1: The Northmen Trading With the Indians .....	39
Figure 7-2 : Map of Atlantic Salmon Range .....	44
Figure 7-3: Distribution of Riverbank Grapes (Vitis riparia) .....	45
Figure 7-4: GS 1 .....	46
Figure 7-5: GS 2 .....	47
Figure 7-6: GS 3 .....	47
Figure 7-7: GS 4 – Saga of the Greenlanders.....	48
Figure 7-8: Cantino Planisphere 1502 .....	50
Figure 7-9: Northern Gannets On Bonaventure Island, QC.....	52
Figure 7-10: ES 1 – Sailing Distances .....	53
Figure 7-11 Map of Thorfinn's Route according to Bergthorsson (2000) .....	54
Figure 7-12: ES 2. Clues to the location of Straumsfjord and Hop.....	59
Figure 7-13: Sop's Arm .....	60
Figure 7-14: Bonavista Bay .....	61
Figure 7-15: Gaspé Bay.....	62
FIGURE 7-16: ASPY BAY .....	62



Figure 7-17: St. Ann’s Bay .....	63
Figure 7-18: Halifax Harbour .....	64
Figure 7-19: Lobster Bay .....	64
Figure 7-20: Saint John, NB .....	65
Figure 9-1: Vikings and Indians .....	79
Figure 9-2: Vinland-Mi’kma’ki Trail .....	80
Figure 9-3: Visit Vinland - Vinland Trails .....	81
Figure 9-4: Kouchibouguac National Park, NB .....	83
Figure 9-5: Lofotr Viking Musem, Norway .....	84
Figure 9-6: Ribe VikingCenter, Denmark.....	85
Figure 9-7: MIDGARD HISTORICAL CENTRE .....	85

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: CTC / DESTINATION CANADA. TOURISM SNAPSHOT 2012 YEAR-IN-REVIEW .....	23
Table 2: Unwto World Tourism Barometer 2012.....	23
Table 3: Its Border Counts. December 2014. Statistics Canada .....	24
Table 4: Destination Canada – Year in review facts & figures 2007-2012 .....	25
Table 5: Visitor Exit Survey 2011 - <a href="http://www.btcdrd.gov.nl.ca">www.btcdrd.gov.nl.ca</a> .....	25
Table 6: Yarmouth, NS.....	56
Table 7: Summary and comparison of Proposals by Author .....	58

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACTP = Atlantic Canada Tourism Partnership  
AIANTA = American Indian Alaska Native Tourism Association  
APEC = Atlantic Provinces Economic Council  
APS = Aboriginal Peoples Survey  
ATAC = Aboriginal Tourism Association of Canada  
CTC = Canadian Tourism Commission (now Destination Canada)  
DCBA = Destination Cape Breton Association  
DC = Destination Canada  
DMO = Destination Management Organization  
DVA = Destination Viking Association  
EC = European Commission  
ES = Eiríks saga (The Saga of Eirik the Red)  
ETC = European Travel Commission  
EU = European Union  
GNP = Great Northern Peninsula  
GS = Grænlendingasaga (The Saga of the Greenlanders)  
ISHA = Icelandic Saga & Heritage Association  
LAM = L'Anse aux Meadows  
ME = Maine  
NB = New Brunswick  
NHS = National Household Survey  
NL = Newfoundland and Labrador  
NS = Nova Scotia  
NTA = National Tourism Administration  
NTO = National Tourism Organization  
NY = New York  
NU = Nunavut  
PE = Prince Edward Island  
PEI = Prince Edward Island  
QC = Quebec  
SRT = Sveinn Runar Traustason  
UNWTO = United Nations World Tourism Organization  
US = United States  
USA = United States of America  
VIC = Visitor Information Centre  
VTTA = Viking Trail Tourism Association

## PREFACE

Being Icelandic I grew up reading the Icelandic Sagas. My favourite sagas were the Vinland Sagas, i.e. “The Saga of Eric the Red” and “The Saga of the Greenlanders”, that tell about the explorations of Leifur Eiríksson, and the attempted settlement by Þorfinnur (Thorfinn) Karlsefni, and his wife Guðríður (Gudrid) Þorbjarnardóttir, in Straumfjörður on Vinland, somewhere in what we now call Atlantic Canada.

The Vinland Voyages triggered my curiosity and imagination and I felt a strong connection with Thorfinn Karlsefni, who came from a farm close to where I grew up, and who also, supposedly, was one of my ancestors. I wanted to know more about the land Thorfinn, his wife and his crew, explored and the people they met. I was also very curious about their son, Snorri, who was born in a place called Straumfjörður in Vinland. As a boy, playing, I often pretended to be Snorri playing with my native friends.

As an adult, I have maintained my interest in the Vinland Sagas and studied in detail, with the help of Google Earth and various sources, the descriptions of e.g. places, people, wildlife, topography and weather, in order to get a better idea about where they had travelled. I also studied intensively theories that had been written about the Vinland voyages, by laymen and scholars, and as a result I feel confident that I can distinguish between what is plausible and what is implausible when it comes to finding the location of places mentioned in the Sagas.

When it comes to identifying saga-sites in Vinland I am completely neutral. I have no affiliation to any of the provinces or localities and have no bias towards one place or another. In my research I have tried to be as objective and scientific as I could in the timeframe that I had. All the assumptions and observations I have made should be easily understood, repeated and investigated by others in order to prove, or disprove, my conclusions.

*Icelandic Genealogy Table*

Þorfinnur "Karlsefni" Þórðarson 975	Guðríður Þorbjarnardóttir 980	
Þorbjörn Þorfinnsson	1025	1
Steinunn Þorbjarnardóttir	1060	2
Ketil Þorsteinsson	1100 - 1173	3
Þorlákur Ketilsson	1165 - 1240	4
Ketil Þorláksson	1200 - 1273	5
Valgerður Ketilsdóttir	1230	6
Snorri Narfason	1260 - 1332	7
Ormur Snorrason	1320 - 1401	8
Guðmundur Ormsson	1360 - 1388	9
Þorbjörg Guðmundsdóttir	1385 - 1431	10
Snælaug Guðnadóttir	1415	11
Kristín Eyjólfsdóttir	1450 - 1526	12
Jón "ríki" Magnússon	1480 - 1564	13
Sólveig Jónsdóttir	1520	14
Pétur Filippusson	1545	15
Árni Pétursson	1565	16
Halldór Árnason	1620	17
Ingibjörg Halldórsdóttir	1675	18
Jón "gamlí" Jónsson	1715 - 1788	19
Bjarni Jónsson	1757 - 1831	20
Bjarni Bjarnason	1832 - 1917	21
Bjarni Bjarnason	1860 - 1938	22
Sigurbjörg Bjarnadóttir	1888 - 1932	23
Bjarni Marínó Þorsteinsson	1924 - 2006	24
Sigurbjörg Bjarnadóttir	1948	25
Sveinn Rúnar Traustason	1969	26

Source: [www.islendingabok.is](http://www.islendingabok.is)

# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 About the thesis

This thesis is about the potential Tourism Development in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada based on the cultural heritage, history and the natural environment of Pre-European settlements in the region. In this thesis, I will suggest developing a product that I believe will attract people from the Nordic countries, of Nordic ancestry, and/or Viking enthusiasts, to visit Atlantic Canada.

The assumption behind the thesis is that there is a large high yielding consumer segment within the Nordic outbound travel market; with North Americans of Scandinavian descent; and with Viking enthusiasts from all over the World, who would pay good money to travel in the wake of the Vikings and visit the legendary “Vinland” of Leif Eiriksson in Canada.

It is further assumed that the Vinland experience can only be properly appreciated by learning about the history, art, culture and traditions of the Mi’kmaq First Nation who met, traded and fought with the Norse “Vikings”, and ultimately drove them away from their lands. The Mi’kmaqs had governed this land, “Mi’kma’ki” for thousands of years before the Vikings arrived. They are still there, well and thriving, and are happy to share their rich culture and history with visitors to their First Nation communities (see Figure 1.1).



FIGURE 1-1 – MAP OF ATLANTIC CANADA

In this thesis I will argue that in order to attract the above-mentioned consumer segment to visit Atlantic Canada, and the Mi’kmaq First Nation, there is a need to develop a “Vinland-Mi’kma’ki Visitor Centre” and a “Vinland-Mi’kma’ki Trail”.

## 1.2 What is “Vinland”?

Vínland, in Old Norse/Icelandic, or Vinland/ Wine-land (the land of wild grapes) in English, was the name given, by the Norse explorer Leif Eiriksson, to the northeastern part of North America in around 1000 AD.<sup>1</sup> His explorations, together with five other voyages to the Vinland region (see Figure 1.2), are recorded in the Icelandic Sagas, most notably the “Eiríks Saga Rauða” (The Saga of Eirik the Red) and “Grænlendinga Saga” (The Saga of the Greenlanders).

Although the exact location of Vinland is debated most researchers today believe Vinland either refers to the whole region within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or some parts of it, e.g. Quebec City, Chaleur Bay, Miramichi Bay, Northumberland Strait or Newfoundland.

In 1000 AD, at the time of the Viking explorations, most of the said “Vinland region”, i.e. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and parts of Quebec, was the homeland to the Mi’kmaq nation who called it “Mi’kma’ki”. In that time Quebec City and most of the St. Lawrence River

valley was settled by the St. Lawrence Iroquois, Newfoundland was settled by the Beothuk nation, while northeastern Quebec and Labrador was the homeland of the Innu (Montagnais).

In 1604 Mi’kma’ki, together with a part of modern-day state of Maine, came under the rule of New France as the French colony of Acadie.<sup>2</sup> The population of Acadia consisted of both natives and French settlers who were already becoming mixed due to intermarriage between the two communities. A large portion of Acadia’s population was Métis. In 1755, however, the vast majority of the French population, the Acadians, were expelled by the British and replaced with New England Planters. In 1763, most of Acadia became part of Nova Scotia, that later split into the current Maritime Provinces. The Highland Clearances in Scotland and the Great Irish Famine resulted in a wave of immigrants to Nova Scotia who spoke Gaelic as a first language. For this reason Celtic culture and heritage is still a vital part of the region’s identity.



FIGURE 1-2: MAP OF VIKING VOYAGES TO AMERICA

<sup>1</sup> <http://global.britannica.com/place/Vinland>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/history-of-acadia/>

### 1.3 Norsemen or Vikings?

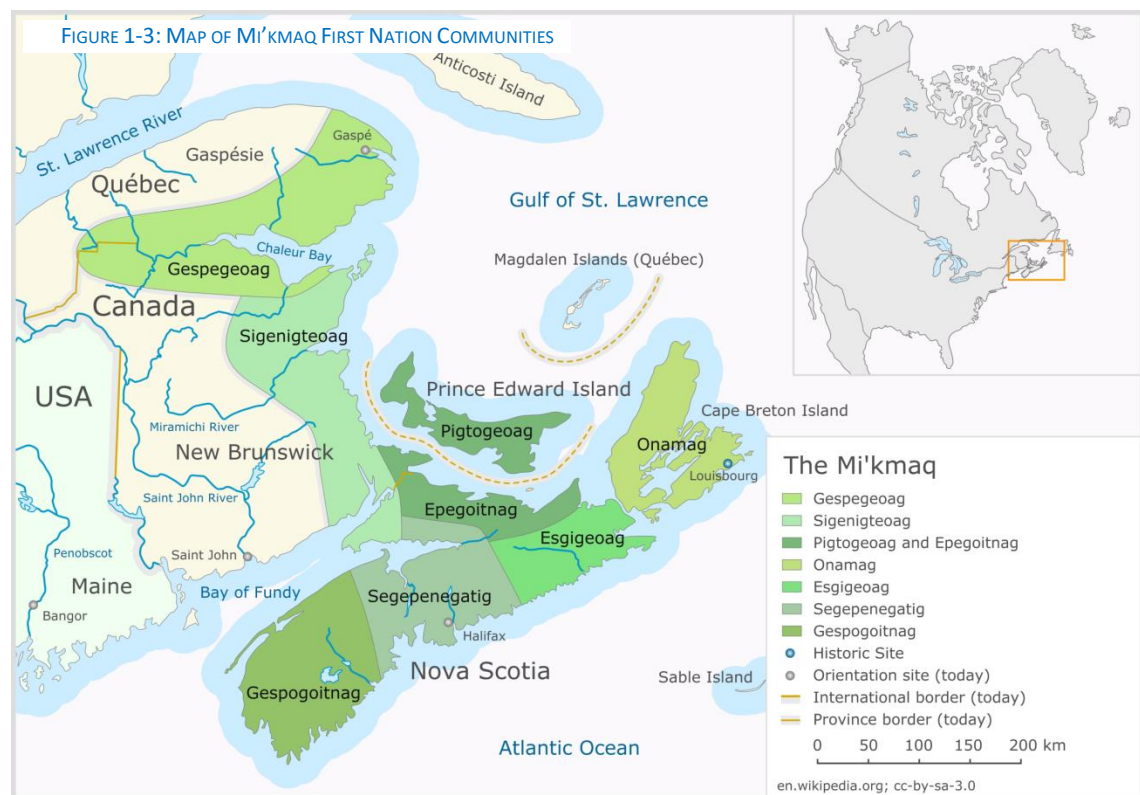
The term “Norse” (Norsemen) refers to the west Nordic people including Norwegians, Icelanders and Greenlanders. The term “Viking” refers only to Norse pirates or raiders.

The Vinland explorers came mostly from Greenland and Iceland. Leif Eiriksson’s foster father, Tyrkir, was Suðrmaðr (Southerner) and spoke German. There is also mention of two Scottish slaves, Haki and Hekja, “fleeter of foot than any deer”. Perhaps surprisingly there is no mention of Norwegians, Danes or Swedes on the Vinland ships.

The Vinland explorers were a combination of farmers, hunters, fishermen, sailors and merchants. They spoke Old Norse and were, for the most part, recent descendants of emigrants from Norway and from the Norse settlements on the British Isles. There is ofcourse a possibility that some of the men had taken part in Viking raids before the Vinland voyages, but the Sagas fail to leave any information about that.

### 1.4 What is Mi’kma’ki?

Mi’kma’ki (or Mi’gma’gi) refers to the ancestral land of the Mi’kmaq people in Canada's Maritime Provinces and the Gaspé Peninsula of Quebec. Mi’kma’ki was traditionally divided into seven hunting districts. *“Each district had its own independent government and boundaries. The independent governments had a district chief and a council. The council members were band chiefs, elders, and other worthy community leaders. The district council was charged with*



*performing all the duties of any independent and free government by enacting laws, justice, apportioning fishing and hunting grounds, making war and suing for peace.”<sup>3</sup>*

In addition to the district councils, there was a Grand Council, or Santé Mawiómi, that managed relations with other aboriginal nations. The Grand Council was composed of *Keptinaq* (captains), who were the district chiefs. There were also Elders, the *Putús* (Wampum belt readers and historians), the *Women's Council* and the *Grand Chief*. The Grand Chief was a title given to one of the district chiefs, who was usually from the Mi'kmaq district of Unamáki (Cape Breton Island). This title was hereditary and usually passed on to the Grand Chief's eldest son. The Grand Council met on a little island, called Mniku, on the Bras d'Or lake in Cape Breton. According to Genealogy First the traditional seven Mi'kma'ki districts are:

- **Gespegeoag** (*Gespegiag*, Kespek), "the last land", or "last-acquired", extends from the Miramichi River to the tip of the Gaspé Peninsula, and includes Northumberland, Gloucester, and Restigouche Counties of New Brunswick and the Gaspésie of Quebec.
- **Sigenigteoag** (*Signigtog*, Siknikt), "drainage place", includes Cumberland County of Nova Scotia and Albert, Kent, Queens, Saint John, and Westmorland Counties of New Brunswick.
- **Pigtogeoag** and **Epegoitnag**, (*Epelwik*, *Epegoitg ag Pigtog*), "lying in the water", and Pigtog (*Piwituk*) "where explosives are made" includes Prince Edward Island and Pictou County, Nova Scotia.
- **Onamag** (*Onamagig*, *Wunamakik*), "foggy land", spans all of Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia.
- **Esgigeoag** (*Esgigiag*, *Eskikewa'kik*), "skin dressers territory", includes Halifax and Guysborough Counties of Nova Scotia.
- **Segepenegatig** (*Sipekne'katik*), "ground nut place", includes Colchester, Hants, Lunenburg, and Kings Counties of Nova Scotia.
- **Gespogoitnag** (*Gespogoitg*, *Kespukwitk*), "lands end" in Nova Scotia includes Annapolis, Digby, Queens, Shelburne and Yarmouth Counties.<sup>4</sup>

In 1860 another district was added, **Taqamqooq** (*Taqamkuk*, *Ktaqamkuk*), "land across the water", that spans Southern Newfoundland and was previously considered a part of Onamag. After Canada passed the Indian Act in 1876, that required First Nations to establish representative elected governments, the Santé Mawiómi (Grand Council) took on a more spiritual function. The Grand Council, however, still exists and meets at Mniku to discuss current issues within the Mi'kmaq Nation.

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<sup>3</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mi'kmaq>

<sup>4</sup> <http://genealogyfirst.ca/first-nations>



## 1.5 The Mi'kmaq people

The Mi'kmaq are a First Nation people indigenous to Canada's Maritime Provinces and the Gaspé Peninsula of Quebec. The name Mi'kmaq (also *Mi'gmaq*, *L'nu*, *Mi'kmaw* or *Mi'gmaw*) comes from a word in the Micmac language meaning "allies" or "family". Until the 1980s, "Micmac" was the most common spelling in English. Members of the Mi'kmaq historically referred to themselves as *Lnu*, but used the term *níkmaq* (my kin) as a greeting.<sup>5</sup>

The Mi'kmaq first appeared in their homeland approximately ten thousand years ago. *"The Mi'kmaq practiced a seasonal round of resource harvesting that typically brought them to the shore in the spring and summer and to inland areas during the fall and winter. They arrived at the coast in the early spring, when the ice was melting and fish were plentiful in rivers, streams, and inshore waters. Winter flounder was one of the earliest fish to become available, and was followed by a string of other species until the early fall – smelt, herring, salmon, sturgeon, trout, cod, bass, plaice, and eels."*<sup>6</sup> The pre-contact Mi'kmaq population is estimated to have numbered 35,000. In 1616 the Mi'kmaq population had declined by more than 90% to 3,000, however, by the beginning of the twenty-first century the Mi'kmaq population had recovered and were back above 35,000.

The Mi'kmaq were members of the Wabanaki Confederacy, an alliance with four other Algonquin nations: the Abenaki, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and Maliseet. "At the time of contact with the French, in the late 16th century, they were expanding from their Maritime base westward along the Gaspé Peninsula/ Saint Lawrence River at the expense of Iroquoian tribes, hence the Mi'kmaq name for this peninsula, Gespedeg ("last-acquired")."<sup>7</sup>

According to Mi'kmaq history and legends, *"the first contact with Europeans did not surprise them. A legend in which one of their spiritual beings traveled across the Atlantic to "discover" Europe taught that blue-eyed people would arrive from the east to disrupt their lives. Micmac people also knew the story of a woman who had a vision of an island floating toward their lands; the island was decked out with tall trees on which were living beings. Thus, the Micmacs were not startled by the appearance of early explorers in sailing ships. Instead, they greeted the newcomers, set up a brisk trade with them, and looked forward to incorporating the strangers' new technologies into their own culture."*<sup>8</sup>

The modern day Mi'kmaq are a peaceful and welcoming people that strive to maintain their cultural identity and traditions, while continuing to build greater harmony with others.

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<sup>5</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mi'kmaq>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/aboriginal/mikmaq-land-use.php>

<sup>7</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_New\\_Brunswick](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_New_Brunswick)

<sup>8</sup> <http://firstnationhelp.com/eelground/leaders/history.html>

## **2 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

### **2.1 Objectives for the Master Thesis**

The main objective of this thesis is to establish a guideline on scientific grounds, directed to a so far virtual tourism entity named Visit Vinland, which aims at increasing tourism between the Nordic Countries and Atlantic Canada.

Secondary objectives include research-based proposals on how to develop and market a tourism product that aims to provide visitors to Atlantic Canada with an exceptional and inspiring experience, taking them on a journey of exploration and imagination, combining Native American and Viking history and heritage with French Acadian, Celtic and modern day Canadian cuisine and culture.

### **2.2 Theme and inspiration:**

This Master Thesis is inspired by the Icelandic Sagas.<sup>9</sup> Most notably the Saga of Erik the Red and the Saga of the Greenlanders, collectively called the Vinland Sagas.<sup>10</sup> The two Sagas describe a number of Norse “Viking” voyages to Vinland, North America, in around 1000 AD.

The thesis is also inspired by the history, heritage and culture of the First Nation people in North America and in particular the Mi’kmaq First Nation<sup>11</sup> in Atlantic Canada who in all likelihood met, traded with, and fought, the Vikings more than 1000 years ago.

### **2.3 Statement of the problem**

According to recent statistics<sup>12</sup> only a small percentage of Nordic travellers opt for visiting Atlantic Canada, despite it being the region in North America that is closest to Scandinavia. The reason for this lack of interest by Nordic travellers is not clear since the issue has not been properly researched. For the purpose of this thesis, I have identified four potential reasons that may explain this lack of interest:

1. Lack of direct flights to Atlantic Canada from Scandinavia: Iceland is the only Nordic country offering direct flights to Halifax in Nova Scotia and St. John’s in Newfoundland.

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.whatson.is/guide-reading-sagas-icelanders/>

<sup>10</sup> The Vinland Sagas (Penguin Classics)

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.firstnationsseeker.ca/Micmac.html>

<sup>12</sup> <http://en.destinationcanada.com/research/statistics-figures/year-review-facts-figures>

2. Lack of visibility in the media: Atlantic Canada is rarely mentioned in Scandinavian media and almost never in the context of leisure and travelling. Nordic people, in general, have little idea what Atlantic Canada has to offer.
3. Lack of marketing: Destination Canada, and Atlantic Canada Tourism Partnership, do not identify the Nordic Countries as a core tourism market and do nothing in terms of marketing in the Nordic Countries.
4. Lack of magnets: Apart from L'Anse aux Meadows there is very little that stands out about Atlantic Canada that makes Nordic people want to travel there rather than say Scotland, Ireland or New Zealand.

## 2.4 Hypothesis:

The hypothesis is that, with the right tourism product, in the right place, properly priced and promoted, there is great potential for attracting high yielding and long staying Nordic travellers to Atlantic Canada.

## 2.5 Assumptions:

The main assumption is that there is a large high yielding consumer segment within the Nordic outbound travel market, that has not yet discovered the extraordinary qualities of the Atlantic Provinces of Canada, and that within this segment there are strong core groups, identified by the Explorer Quotient<sup>13</sup> as:

- "Personal history explorers" who would give good money for quality themed and tailor made tours providing a deeper understanding of their ancestry and heritage;
- "Cultural explorers" who seek to embrace, discover, and immerse themselves in the entire experience of the culture, people and the settings they visit;
- "Cultural history buffs" who like pursuing a personal interest or hobby and strive to go beyond their own roots to understand the history and culture of others; and
- "Authentic experiencers" who like to learn everything about a place or time and like to integrate into the local culture; and
- "Free spirits" who like the best of everything, have an insatiable need for the exciting and the exotic, and want to be surrounded by others who feel the same way.

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<sup>13</sup> <https://tourismns.ca/research/explorer-quotient>

It is also assumed that a Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail and Visitor Centre would create sufficient media attention, and marketing potential, to attract Nordic Travelers to visit Atlantic Canada.

## **2.6 Research questions:**

Assuming that a Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail and a Vinland Visitor Centre would create sufficient media attention and marketing potential to attract Nordic Travelers to visit Atlantic Canada. Is it possible to develop an attractive tourism product, a magnet for Nordic travellers?

1. *Is the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail and Visitor Centre a viable product for development?*
2. *Can the locations, mentioned in the Vinland Sagas, be located? If not, will the Trail be authentic enough?*
3. *Is the product marketable? Is there enough interest?*

## **3 METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Research methods**

The research methods in this thesis consist of a literature review, surveys and email interviews. I use both primary and secondary research methods:

- The Primary Research consists of qualitative data collection from various sources, including surveys and email interviews with experts in the field, as well as some informal discussions with people with superior knowledge of the subject.
- The Secondary Research consists of reviewing facts, theories and opinions in books, articles, reports and online websites, including peer-reviewed articles, published literature, and national statistics.

The primary and secondary research provided me with facts, figures and a holistic understanding of the issues and problems around my thesis that ultimately led to finding answers to my research questions. The most difficult and time-consuming research included the collection of clues to the location of saga-sites, as described in the sagas, as well as reviewing various theories about the subject in books, articles and science papers.

### **3.2 Data sources**

The Tourism Data for Canada came from various sources including Atlantic Canada Tourism Partnership, Destination Canada and Statistics Canada webpages.

The Tourism Data for the Nordic Countries came mostly from Travel Image 2014 – The Nordic Outbound Travel Market. A report by Related (Tourism Research) in Denmark.

Gerald Gloade at the Mi'kmawey Debert Cultural Centre in Truro provided most of the information regarding Mi'kmaq stories and sites in Nova Scotia.

Other data, information, theories, sagas and stories came from a variety of books, articles, research papers and websites listed in the bibliography.

### **3.3 Survey methods**

I created three types of surveys for three different expert groups. Although in different ways, they were all made for the purpose of assessing the level of interest and the feasibility for developing the "Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail" in Atlantic Canada. All surveys were made with SurveyMonkey, had 10 questions, and sent out as an online link via email.

For the first survey "Market research survey for a potential new tourism product", I chose 17 expert recipients in six countries: Canada, USA, Iceland, Norway, Australia and the UK. Among

those were the three main airlines that connect Europe with Halifax Stanfield International Airport in Nova Scotia; ten travel agencies that provide tours to Atlantic Canada; one national tourism administration; one independent travel consultant, and two potential end-user groups.

For the second survey “The Vinland-Mi’kma’ki Trail - NTO/DMO Tourism Product Development Survey,” I chose 22 expert recipients in six countries: Canada, USA, Iceland, Norway, Australia and the UK. Among those were 4 Destination Management Organizations; 2 provincial tourism administrations; 2 national parks; 5 research institutions, 7 heritage visitor centres, and 2 regional councils.

For the third survey “Case Studies - NTO/DMO Tourism Product Development Survey,” I chose three different trail-/ tourism associations: One in Newfoundland, one in Nova Scotia, and one in Iceland. The recipients were managers and experts on the subject.

### **3.4 Literature review**

In this thesis, I study two types of literature. The first study is on peer-reviewed literature about tourism research, including tourism routes, planning and development. The second study is on two Icelandic family sagas, including books and articles about the two sagas.

The purpose of the first study is to find documented evidence and properly researched information on the benefits of tourism development for rural communities as well as what needs to be in place to successfully plan and develop tourism routes.

The purpose of the second study is to analyse the two Vinland sagas for evidence providing clues to where a number of sites mentioned in the sagas are located. Due to the age of the sagas, the fact that they were only written down 200 years after the Vinland voyages, and copied many times since then; scholars agree they are not entirely factual or reliable. For this reason, and in order to help distinguishing between facts and fiction, I adapted a methodology from Thorlaksson (2001) “to trust only those parts of the sagas, which give the impression of being detailed, rational and original.”

In this thesis, I have methodically focused on finding the true locations of four saga-sites in the Saga of Eirik the Red: Straumsfjörður, Kjalarnes, “East River” and Hóp, and two saga-sites in the Saga of the Greenlanders: Leif’s Camp and Krossanes. The reason for this is that these are all sites of important events and there are descriptions about these places in the sagas that give the impression of being *detailed, rational and original*, and I therefore trust to be true.

## 4 TOURISM STATISTICS AND TRENDS

### 4.1 Tourism in Canada – Key highlights

According to Destination Canada (DC) “Canada received 16 million international overnight visitors (in 2012), up 1.7% on 2011, largely driven by a 2.5% increase from the US market.”<sup>14</sup> Visitors stayed longer and spent more per trip resulting in an increase of 2.3% in visitor spending. At the same time, however, “international tourism in destinations around the world grew by 4%.”<sup>15</sup> Canada is still 4 million short of the 20 million visitors it received in 2002 and the overall “adjusted” spending, since 2000, has seen a drop in real terms of about 26% (TIAC 2014).

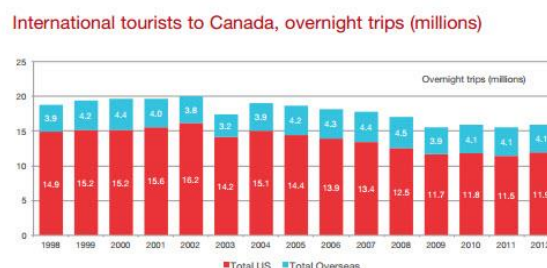


TABLE 1: CTC / DESTINATION CANADA. TOURISM SNAPSHOT 2012 YEAR-IN-REVIEW

#### Markets

Canada’s core markets include the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany and Australia and emerging markets include Japan, South Korea, Mexico, Brazil, China and India.

The United States has always been Canada’s primary visitor source market. However, the “overall visitation from the US is down 54% since 2000 (a decrease of 71% in same-day travellers and 21% in overnight travellers).”<sup>16</sup> The main explanation given for the decline in US visitor numbers is the high dollar, but that alone can not be the answer since more expensive countries than Canada, that are further away from the US and harder to reach, such as the Nordic countries, have experienced exceptional growth in tourism in recent years, including from US visitors. As an example, international overnight visitors to Iceland grew from 280 thousand in 2002 to 1.0 million in 2012, to 1.8 million in 2016. Similarly, visitor numbers to Iceland from the US grew from 40 thousand in 2002, to 95 thousand in 2012, to 415 thousand in 2016.<sup>17</sup>

International Tourist Arrivals (Top 20 Countries – in millions)				
Rank	2002		2008	
1	France	77	France	79.2
2	Spain	52.3	U.S.	57.9
3	U.S.	43.6	Spain	57.2
4	Italy	39.8	China	53
5	China	36.8	Italy	42.7
6	U.K.	24.2	U.K.	30.1
7	Canada	20.1	Ukraine	25.4
8	Mexico	19.7	Turkey	25
9	Austria	18.6	Germany	24.9
10	Germany	18	Mexico	22.6
11	Hong Kong	16.6	Malaysia	22.1
12	Hungary	15.9	Austria	21.9
13	Greece	14.2	Russian Fed.	21.6
14	Poland	14	Hong Kong	17.3
15	Malaysia	13.3	Canada	17.1
16	Turkey	12.8	Greece	15.9
17	Portugal	11.6	Saudi Arabia	14.8
18	Thailand	10.9	Thailand	14.6
19	Ukraine	10.5	Poland	14.6
20	Netherlands	9.6	Egypt	12.3

TABLE 2: UNWTO WORLD TOURISM BAROMETER 2012

<sup>14</sup> [http://www.btcrcd.gov.nl.ca/publications/recreation/2012/Tourism\\_Snapshot\\_Year\\_In\\_Review\\_2012.pdf](http://www.btcrcd.gov.nl.ca/publications/recreation/2012/Tourism_Snapshot_Year_In_Review_2012.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> <http://media.unwto.org/en/press-release/2013-05-15/international-tourism-receipts-grew-4-2012>

<sup>16</sup> TIAC 2014 - [http://tiac.travel/\\_Library/TIAC\\_Publications/TIAC\\_Annual\\_Report\\_EN\\_FINAL.pdf](http://tiac.travel/_Library/TIAC_Publications/TIAC_Annual_Report_EN_FINAL.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.ferdamalastofa.is/en/research-and-statistics/tourism-in-iceland-in-figures>

While the US source market has plummeted, visitor numbers from other source markets have remained stable. In fact, the emerging markets are up 8.5% on average with Chinese visitors up by 19% and Brazilians and Mexicans up by 9 and 10% respectively.

Destination Canada does not consider the Nordic Countries, as a whole, to be a core tourism market and only gathers information about Swedish and Danish travellers. For Norway, Finland and Iceland there is therefore no statistical information available online.

### The importance of tourism to Canada

According to a 2014 report by Deloitte Canada “Passport to Growth” the Tourism sector in Canada *“employs 600,000 Canadians and represents 2% of national GDP, generating \$22.7 billion in tax revenue.”* It also states that by investing in Canadian tourism will not just make the tourism sector stronger but also make the *“entire Canadian economy bigger, stronger and more productive and competitive.”* Strengthening Canadian tourism would mean strengthening Canada’s overall economy. *Each 1% increase in Canadian arrivals would generate an \$817 million increase in Canadian exports.”*<sup>18</sup>

### Visitor numbers by province of Entry

In 2014, the three provinces Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec received over 15 million overnight arrivals, or roughly 88.5% of all visitors to Canada. If we exclude US visitors this percentage goes up to 91%. At the same time the Atlantic Provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, received in total around 590.000 overnight arrivals, or roughly 3.4% of all visitors to Canada. If we exclude US visitors, this number goes down to 2.4%.

#### Non-Residents Overnight Arrivals to Canada by province of Entry, 2014

	Total One or more nights			US Residents by Automobile			US Residents by Non-Automobile			Residents from Other Countries		
	2014	*Variance 2014/2013*	Change over 2013	2014	*Variance 2014/2013*	Change over 2013	2014	*Variance 2014/2013*	Change over 2013	2014	*Variance 2014/2013*	Change over 2013
Newfoundland	59,809	15.7%	8,121	-	0.0%	-	19,869	8.0%	1,480	39,940	19.9%	6,641
Prince Edward Island	2,577	19.0%	412	-	0.0%	-	2,029	19.4%	330	548	17.6%	82
Nova Scotia	217,216	13.6%	26,056	18,059	0.0%	18,059	130,958	1.6%	2,093	68,199	9.5%	5,904
New Brunswick	308,216	-15.7%	(57,428)	217,230	-6.2%	(14,438)	79,608	-32.3%	(38,052)	11,378	-30.3%	(4,938)
Quebec	2,533,830	4.0%	96,289	881,999	1.2%	10,540	734,217	5.0%	34,742	917,614	5.9%	51,007
Ontario	7,974,312	2.6%	200,523	3,710,428	-3.2%	(123,934)	2,209,515	5.2%	109,869	2,054,369	11.7%	214,588
Manitoba	201,483	-3.1%	(6,469)	123,762	-5.6%	(7,373)	67,541	2.8%	1,830	10,180	-8.3%	(926)
Saskatchewan	98,043	-2.7%	(2,750)	47,830	-5.3%	(2,667)	45,052	0.1%	64	5,161	-2.8%	(147)
Alberta	931,411	5.4%	47,750	130,805	0.7%	928	502,679	5.0%	23,785	297,927	8.4%	23,037
British Columbia	4,651,244	5.3%	234,079	1,603,746	1.9%	30,468	1,459,937	4.9%	68,048	1,587,561	9.3%	135,563
Yukon	149,112	-5.7%	(9,024)	70,524	-5.0%	(3,740)	57,699	-10.2%	(6,521)	20,889	6.3%	1,237
Canada	17,127,253	3.2%	537,559	6,804,383	-1.3%	(92,157)	5,309,104	3.9%	197,668	5,013,766	9.4%	432,048

Source: ITS Border Counts, December 2014, Statistics Canada

TABLE 3: ITS BORDER COUNTS. DECEMBER 2014. STATISTICS CANADA

<sup>18</sup> <https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/ca/Documents/international-business/ca-en-ib-tourism-and-trade.pdf>



## 4.2 Tourism in Atlantic Canada – Key highlights

Atlantic Canada Tourism Partnership (ACTP) is a joint venture marketing partnership between the “Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), the provincial departments responsible for tourism in New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island and the four provincial tourism industry associations.”<sup>19</sup>

Province	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Newfoundland	73 300	69 300	82 400	91 600	82 700	73 200
Prince Edward	166 700	161 300	137 200	160 100	158 400	169 300
Nova Scotia	480 700	464 600	425 400	465 400	444 900	484 300
New Brunswick	418 100	402 300	413 800	446 500	422 500	395 100
Atlantic	1 138	1 097	1 058	1 163	1 108	1 121

TABLE 4: DESTINATION CANADA – YEAR IN REVIEW FACTS & FIGURES 2007-2012<sup>20</sup>

### Markets

ACTP focuses on two source markets, the US and the UK. The target regions in the United States include New England (Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut) and MidAtlantic (New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania). In addition, ACTP has started a Germany Pilot Program in partnership with Destination Canada and five provincial partners: Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia. The UK travel market, the largest international source market after the US, has almost recovered after a downward spiral since 2005 and a dive in 2009. Overnight arrivals went up by 21.5% from 2013 to 2014, spending went up by 12.1% and Atlantic Canada’s share in UK overnight arrivals to Canada went up by 9.3%. The Mid Atlantic target region has remained stable, with minor fluctuations since 2004, while New England visits to Atlantic Canada have plummeted since 2014, from 500.000 in 2004 to 200.000 in 2014.

	All	Air	Auto
UK	30%	32%	13%
Germany	9%	6%	30%
Scandinavia	9%	9%	0%
Australia/New Zealand/Oceania	8%	8%	12%
France	8%	8%	6%
The Netherlands	4%	4%	12%
Other Europe	10%	9%	20%
Asia	4%	4%	0%
South America / Caribbean	4%	5%	0%
Middle East	2%	2%	0%
St. Pierre et Miquelon	2%	1%	5%
Other Countries	10%	11%	2%

TABLE 5: VISITOR EXIT SURVEY 2011 -  
WWW.BTCRD.GOV.NL.CA

There is limited information to be found about the number of Nordic visitors to Atlantic Canada. ACTP, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia include no detectable information about Nordic visitors on their websites. Newfoundland, however, in an Exit Survey “Profile of International Visitors” from 2011, lists Scandinavians (from Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland) as the second largest origin market, after UK, with 9% of all international

<sup>19</sup> <http://actp-ptca.ca/>

<sup>20</sup> <http://en.destinationcanada.com/research/statistics-figures/year-review-facts-figures>

visitors. The same survey states that Europe represents nearly 70% of international visitors to Newfoundland.<sup>21</sup>

### 4.3 The Nordic Outbound Travel Market

Destination Canada does not, as yet, consider the Nordic Countries to be a core tourism market for Canada and for that reason there is little statistical information available. I would, however, argue that the Nordic Outbound Market is a market that the tourism authorities in Canada should consider carefully and in particular for Atlantic Canada.

A report by the Danish PR company Medieministeriet “The Nordic Outbound Travel Market – Potential and Possibilities” (2011), states that *“although the Nordic countries are sparsely populated, with only 25 million inhabitants, the Nordic Region is a highly important market for outbound travel, making it the third largest outbound travel market in Europe.”*<sup>22</sup>

The level of income in the Nordic countries is generally high and *“a record-high percentage of income is spent on travelling.”* Nordic travel spending per capita is among the highest in the world. Nordic tourists spend *“90% more money than the average European tourist on food, accommodation and attractions while on holiday.”* Furthermore, Nordic tourists have *“5-6 weeks holiday each year”* and *“on average around 60% of the Nordic people take at least one vacation each year.”* The report also states that Nordic tourists are *“the best tourists in the world in terms of adaptability to foreign cultures.”* More than 18% of Nordic travellers travel outside of Europe in search for unique and authentic travel experiences.

For the Nordic traveller the climate is not an issue since they are used to climates similar to Newfoundland. According to the report *Travel Image 2014 – The Nordic Outbound Travel Market* (Related 2014), Canada sits in 5<sup>th</sup> place for “attractiveness”, which is calculated based on respondents experience with – or impression of – a given destination,<sup>23</sup> and signals a wish to visit. Other countries in the top 10 include New Zealand, Scotland and Iceland, which is further proof that the climate in Atlantic Canada is not a problem for Nordic travellers.

Today there are approximately 1.2 million Canadians of Scandinavian descent living in Canada, representing around 3.9% of Canada’s population. This in itself is a big incentive for Nordics to visit Canada and to reconnect with distant family.

Icelandair has direct flights to Halifax in Nova Scotia and St. John in Newfoundland and offers passengers free stopovers in Iceland. Other Trans-Atlantic connections from Halifax include Air Canada to London, WestJet to Glasgow, Condor to Frankfurt and ASL to Paris.

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<sup>21</sup> [http://www.btcrd.gov.nl.ca/publications/recreation/visitor\\_exit\\_survey/2011\\_ves\\_International\\_Visitors.pdf](http://www.btcrd.gov.nl.ca/publications/recreation/visitor_exit_survey/2011_ves_International_Visitors.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> [http://www.apmadeira.pt/media/1454/the-nordic-travel-market\\_2011.pdf](http://www.apmadeira.pt/media/1454/the-nordic-travel-market_2011.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> [http://www.related.dk/files/pdf/Travel\\_Image/travel\\_image\\_2014.pdf](http://www.related.dk/files/pdf/Travel_Image/travel_image_2014.pdf)

## 5 TOURISM ROUTES PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT

### 5.1 Why Tourism Planning and Development?

#### Societal changes and unemployment

In an article by Akin, Shaw & Spartz (2015), the authors remind us that according to Wilson, Fesenmeier, Fesenmeir & Van Es (2001), recent societal changes, including changes to the agricultural and timber industries, have negatively affected many rural economies. According to CBC News, quoting the independent think-tank The Atlantic Provinces Economic Council (APEC),<sup>24</sup> *“employment in rural Atlantic Canada fell by 31,000 jobs between 2008 and 2015”* while *“employment in the top six urban centres — Halifax, St. John's, Moncton, Saint John, Fredericton and Charlottetown — expanded by 38,000 jobs.”* As a result, young people in Atlantic Canada are moving away from the rural areas and into the cities.

The situation is worse still for the First Nation people in Atlantic Canada, the Mi'kmaw and Maliseet nations, who live primarily on reserves in rural areas. According to the Office of Aboriginal Affairs in Nova Scotia, *“the unemployment rate for people living on reserve in the 2006 census was 24.6% versus 9.1% for all Nova Scotians and only 50% of people living on-reserve participated in the labour force. This compares to 63% for the total Aboriginal identity population.”*<sup>25</sup> The employment statistics are similar in the other provinces.<sup>26</sup>

#### Importance of Tourism for employment:

In the last few years tourism has been instrumental in revitalizing many rural communities around the world. A Eurostat (Statistics Explained) article, from November 2015, on Tourism industries and employment states that *“Tourism has the potential to contribute towards employment and economic growth, as well as to development in rural, peripheral or less-developed areas. Infrastructure created for tourism purposes contributes to local development, while jobs that are created or maintained can help counteract industrial or rural decline. Sustainable tourism involves the preservation and enhancement of cultural and natural heritage, ranging from the arts to local gastronomy or the preservation of biodiversity.”*<sup>27</sup>

What is more is that the tourism industry attracts a young labour force and is a major employer of women. It is also a major employer to people with skills that are particular to the

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<sup>24</sup> <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/rural-urban-divide-atlantic-canada-economy-jobs-1.3830194>

<sup>25</sup> <https://novascotia.ca/abor/aboriginal-people/demographics/>

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-656-x/89-656-x2015001-eng.htm>

<sup>27</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Tourism\\_industries\\_-\\_employment](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Tourism_industries_-_employment)

region, or the local culture, such as Arts and Crafts, Music, Dance and Cuisine. Tourism can also be a powerful generator for innovation and thereby creating additional job opportunities.

#### Tourism Development:

Tourism development is generally driven by Provincial Governments, National Tourism Administrations and/or Destination Management Organisations. Meyer (2004) explains that tourism is often developed *“because it promises to generate employment, enhance community infrastructure and assist in revitalising the flagging economies in rural areas.”* She gives an example from Eastern Europe, where *“tourism has been identified as a catalyst to stimulate economic growth, increase the viability of underdeveloped regions and improve the standard of living of the local population.”*

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has created technical papers on the methodology of Tourism Development Master Plans and Strategic Development Plans, that *“formulate a long-term development framework for tourism (10-20 years) with emphasis on policy and strategy, planning, institutional strengthening, legislation and regulation, product development and diversification, marketing and promotion, tourism infrastructure and superstructure, economic impact of tourism and tourism investment, human resource development, and socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism.”*

#### Tourism Planning:

Planning, in the context of tourism, is according to Inskeep (1991) *“organizing the future to achieve certain objectives.”* Liu (2003) states that tourism requires three levels of resources:

1. The attractions of tourists including natural, cultural, and purpose built
2. The infrastructure and superstructure to support tourist activities, and
3. The physical and social settings including the hospitality of the community.

#### Dispersal strategies:

Tourism planning frequently includes strategies that aim to *“disperse tourists away from the main visitor concentration centres or arrival gateways.”* These strategies are generally referred to as Dispersal Strategies. Dispersal strategies generally include the additional objective of *“increasing visitors’ satisfaction with the tourism product thereby persuading them to stay longer and spend more.”* According to Meyer (2004) the three main objectives of dispersal are:

1. *“To reduce pressure on the core area where key attractions are located by enticing visitors elsewhere;*
2. *To disperse income from tourism as tourists represent spending power, and if they are drawn to new zones, their presence can provide new opportunities for entrepreneurs and create additional employment. Thus, encouraging tourists to venture into the peripheries of a destination can stimulate the economy in those areas and provide income and employment;*

3. *To increase the overall attractiveness of a destination by presenting ‘new’ features of the destination to its visitors, thus providing a platform for revised marketing programs, with the aim to increase length of stay and total spending.”*

## 5.2 What are Tourism Routes?

### Tourism Routes – Definition:

Québec’s Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Transport define tourist routes as *“picturesque trails with a distinct theme linking tourist sites that are both meaningful and open to visitors, a variety of related services, such as accommodation, places to eat and gas stations, as well as visitor services and tourist information.”*<sup>28</sup> They further explain that *“Tourist routes enable visitors to connect with the region’s cultural, historic or natural heritage, and provide a link between the various sites along the way. They are also often used as a way to organize a given region’s attractions into a consistent marketing campaign.”*

Meyer (2004) argues that “the essential concept of route tourism is simple, namely that of linking together a series of tourism attractions in order to promote local tourism by encouraging visitors to travel from one location to another. The characteristics of routes can vary considerably in terms of length and scale, themes and visitors attracted.”

Grefe (1994) refers to the concept of tourism routes as an “initiative to bring together a variety of activities and attractions under a unified theme and thus stimulate entrepreneurial opportunity through the development of ancillary products and services.” Thus, Grefe considers tourism routes to be a market-driven approach for tourism destination development.

According to Meyer (2004) a key aim of developing themed tourism routes *“is to tie-up several attractions that would independently not have the potential to entice visitors to spend time and money”*. *Using a synergy effect promises to have greater pulling power, and it also disperses visitors’ money among a larger number of recipients.”*

### UNWTO view on Tourism Routes:

The UNWTO Executive Council recognizes the role of Tourism routes in *“fostering regional development and integration at national and international levels”* and has encouraged the Secretary-General to expand *“the existing UNWTO Special Field Programme to tourism routes in a broader sense with the aim of defining recommendations, exchange experiences and exploring the potential of working on new international or regional tourism routes.”*<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> <http://cedec.ca/tourist-routes-to-linguistic-and-cultural-heritage-sites/>

<sup>29</sup> [http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/cme39\\_6\\_routes\\_e.pdf](http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/cme39_6_routes_e.pdf)

### 5.3 How to successfully develop a tourism product (route)?

#### Handbook on Tourism Product Development:

Tourism products are universally regarded as *“the basis for a destinations tourism sector operation.”*<sup>30</sup> If a tourism product does not meet the needs and expectations of tourists, the destination will not be able to realise its full potential.

The UNWTO, in cooperation with the European Travel Commission (ETC), have created a Handbook on Tourism Product Development that *“outlines the essential elements in the process of tourism product development planning and implementation, e.g. coordination, consultation, collaboration co-opetition.”* The handbook lists six Key Principles in Tourism Product Development:

1. Be authentic and indigenous;
2. Reflect the unique attributes of the destination;
3. Have the support of the host community;
4. Respect the natural and socio-cultural environments by not damaging these in any way;
5. Be differentiated from competitors, avoid “me too/ copy cat” developments, and
6. Be of sufficient scale to make a significant economic contribution, but not so large as to create high economic leakage.

#### Features that successful tourist routes must possess:

In their policy on tourist route signage<sup>31</sup> Québec’s Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Transport have defined seven features that successful tourist routes must possess:

1. A strong and coherent theme, in line with trends and client expectations;
2. A critical mass of businesses and attractions offering products of similar quality;
3. Complementary tourist services and infrastructure;
4. A clear, common vision among all stakeholders regarding the projected image;
5. The mobilization and long-term cooperation of the private and public actors and associations involved;
6. Top-notch marketing tools, and
7. Effective signage.

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<sup>30</sup> <http://www.etc-corporate.org/reports/handbook-on-tourism-product-development>

<sup>31</sup> <http://alliancetouristique.com/en/tourism-signage/>

## 6 TOURISM ROUTES - CASE STUDIES

In order to learn from the experience of others; gain better insight and information about developing and marketing a tourism trail; and to make better predictions for the proposed new Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail, I decided to do three Case Studies of trails, or tourism products, that I considered similar. The Case Studies chosen were: *The Viking Trail in Newfoundland*, *the Saga Trail in Iceland* and *the Cabot Trail in Nova Scotia*.

### 6.1 The Viking Trail, Newfoundland

#### The Viking Trail:

According to VikingTrail.org, the Viking Trail “is the largest themed highway in Newfoundland and Labrador, stretching all the way from the province’s west coast to Southern Labrador.” The Trail starts in Deer Lake, at the crossroads of Route 1 and Route 430, and continues north through the beautiful Gros Morne National Park and roughly 490km along the scenic western coast of Newfoundland’s northern peninsula “offering vast views all the way to Labrador, past countless stacks of firewood and old-school lobster traps, and clusters of colourful clapboard houses”. At



FIGURE 6-1: MAP OF THE VIKING TRAIL, NL

the end of the trail is the Viking destination at L’Anse aux Meadows, a UNESCO World Heritage site and National Historic Site, and the only confirmed Norse “Viking” site in North America. This is in all likelihood the place where Leif Eiriksson built his “large houses” in the Vinland region. The same houses that Leif would only “lend but not give” to any of the later expeditions to Vinland. That simple statement written in the Sagas famously became the clue that made Helge Ingstad figure out where Leif Eiriksson’s houses in the Vinland region had to be located. They had to be somewhere “unmistakeable” where all other later expeditions would find them.

#### The Viking Trail Tourism Association (VTTA) - Interview:

In an Email Interview with Mr. Andre Myers, the Business Manager for the Viking Trail Tourism Association (VTTA), and later in a Survey Questionnaire, I asked him to describe how The Viking Trail, and the Viking Trail Tourism Association, came to be and what kind

of challenges they had faced in creating the trail (including cost). I then asked him what benefits he felt the VTTA had reaped since its establishment in terms of infrastructure, marketing visibility, visitor numbers and income etc. As a conclusion, I asked him what he thought of the idea for Visit-Vinland and the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail in Atlantic Canada.

*Sveinn: In your own words describe how The Viking Trail, and the Viking Trail Tourism Association (VTTA), came to be and what kind of challenges the VTTA has faced in creating the trail, including cost.*

*Andre: "The Viking Trail Tourism Association was established in 1988 among accommodation providers to create things for visitors to see and do in the region. It grew into a larger organization once heavily funded by a provincial government investment and became a large membership only based organization focused on product development and marketing for the Viking Trail which included the Great Northern Peninsula and Southern Labrador at one point. These organizations were very much the regional DMO's throughout the province but then the province created 4 larger regional DMO's in 2006 and the VTTA lost its core government funding and almost ceased to be an organization. It reinvented itself by going back to its roots of accomodators coming together to get more people here staying at their estbalishments. A room levy was established and now this money is used to self fund the organization that has been heaviliy involved in marketing with some product development in the region still in a key aspect. The VTTA still has a mandate of the visitor first in marketing and creating tourism products to get them here and to stay longer in many cases."*

*Sveinn: What benefits do you feel the VTTA has reaped since its establishment in terms of infrastructure, marketing visibility, visitor numbers and income etc?*

*Andre: "We partnered with Parks Canada and Gros Morne Coop to create a multi-million dollar Vistor Information Centre at the base of the Viking Trail in Gros Morne National Park. Numbers at this VIC have ranged from 40,000 to 50,000 this year with a 17% increase over the past couple of years. A vehicle counter based in Gros Morne National Park estimated we had about 240,000 visitors go through the park last year, however, numbers at top attractions there are in line with VIC numbers with around 40-45,000 visitors, and L'Anse aux Meadows UNESCO site at the very Northern end of the trail has seen about 30,000 this year. There, numbers were down but have rebounded over the past couple years of 15% and more per year.*

*Parks Canada has recently spent a lot of infrastructure money to upgrade their facilities at Gros Morne, Port au Choix, Red Bay and L'Anse aux Meadows, however, other sites have lacked the infrastructure investment they need in many cases. Many private businesses such as boat tours are flourishing in Gros Morne and St. Anthony, but failing on other areas. Some accommodations are investing in infrastructure while others have fallen behind what the visitor expects and may lose business because of it.*

*The marketing visibility for our region over the past couple of years has been great and we have been a very hot market in recent years. The top market is Ontario due to large amounts of*



*bus tour traffic, but we have valuable markets in the US, International (UK & Germany are top right now), other Atlantic Canadian provinces and growing markets from Western Canada. As you can see, we have had growing markets from the US and International over the past few years which has in turn lowered the average for Canada, but actual numbers from all regions are up!”*

*Sveinn: What are your thoughts on the idea for Visit-Vinland and the Vinland-Mi’kma’ki Trail in Atlantic Canada?*

*Andre: “The idea of a Vinland-Mi’kma’ki Trail/Region that connects with the Viking Trail and the Cabot Trail is an interesting one and while there could be hurdles in connecting two provinces in one product, I certainly see merit in the idea of a packaged product that could include both. We are currently made up of 4 tourism sub regions on the west coast of the island but we do also come together under one Western Destination Management Organization (Go Western) led by the provincial government for wider supports.*

*The existing tourism product in this region is very strong especially in the Gros Morne/Viking Trail region on the Great Northern Peninsula section of the West Coast of Newfoundland. The Cabot Trail area falls under the Nova Scotia government but there would be no reason I could see why the region couldn't become part of a wider regional tourism product offering, without giving up autonomy as a management region. Bringing everyone together under one branded tourism product would be great, and the idea of the Vinland region has been used on a smaller scale in the L'Anse aux Meadows-St. Anthony region. They call that area Vinland but in all reality, we know sagas of Vinland go much further than this smaller region alone.*

*The Visit Vinland for marketing idea may work very well for a regional tourism product offering and also as a trip planning area to be covered under new booking technology. We are in the process of working with Bokun out of Iceland on incorporating this technology into the vikingtrail.org site and have also considered a VisitVinland site and/or at the very least a Visit Vinland package. We are just now signing with (this) company to bring our product offerings online using technology that will make it easier to sell and resell tourism products with all partners in our region and beyond.*

*I agree there is certainly a mostly untapped high yielding consumer segment made up of certain groups of Scandinavians, North Americans of Scandinavian descent and Viking enthusiasts from all over the World. The biggest issue with this idea could be the cross provincial package ties as our Provincial Tourism Department may be against it, as they would promote a cross Newfoundland & Labrador Package, as opposed to a multi-provincial/Atlantic Canada packaged tour. However, in saying that we do have strong Atlantic Canadian partnerships among all 4 tourism departments and there could be an appetite for this. However, in saying that, we are an autonomous organization along with private business partners who could decide to do this without provincial blessing.”*

## SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – Q & A:

1. Sveinn: *In your own words, describe why the Viking Trail Tourism Association was established and how, in your opinion, the development of the Viking Trail has affected tourism in Newfoundland:*

Andre: *The VTTA was established to promote tourism products and experiences in the Viking Trail region on behalf of many partner tourism operators. It has helped grow tourism tremendously over the past 29 years with numbers growing 15% year over year in recent years as well.*

2. Sveinn: *Is your organization dependent on annual government funding to be financially viable? Yes, No, Occasionally or Other (please specify)?*

Andre: *"No"*

3. Sveinn: *How would you rate the value for money of the Viking Trail? Excellent, Above Average, Average, Poor or Other (please specify)?*

Andre: *"Excellent"*

4. Sveinn: *On a scale from 1 (total failure) to 7 (total success), (or 1-100%), what number would you use to express the Viking Trail success rate in creating awareness of the historical and cultural background of Newfoundland?*

Andre: *"85%."*

5. Sveinn: *On a scale from 1 (total failure) to 7 (total success), (or 1-100%), what number would you use to express the Viking Trail's success rate in attracting new visitors to Viking Trail destinations?*

Andre: *"85%."*

6. Sveinn: *On a scale from 1 (total failure) to 7 (total success), (or 1-100%), what number would you use to express the Viking Trail success rate in keeping visitors for longer in, and around, Viking Trail destinations?*

Andre: *"60%"*

7. Sveinn: *On a scale from 1 (total failure) to 7 (total success), (or 1-100%), what number would you use to express the Viking Trail success rate in improving the economic conditions of Viking Trail destinations?*

Andre: *"80%."*

8. Sveinn: *In your own words what are the biggest qualities of the Viking Trail?*

Andre: *"Run by local partners working together to achieve one common goal."*

9. Sveinn: *In your own words, what are the things that you would most like to improve in the Viking Trail?*

Andre: *"Innovation technology integration for tourism operations and more experience offers with people and program based offers keeping people here longer."*

10. Sveinn: *Do you have any other comments, questions, or concerns?*

Andre: *"Developing a larger package for all of Western Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island portion of Nova Scotia could be a huge undertaking that could be doable with new"*

*online booking and marketplace technology now being implemented by the Viking Trail partners.”*

## 6.2 The Saga Trail, Iceland

### The Saga Trail:

The Saga Trail is a series of historical and heritage sites in Iceland, known from the medieval Icelandic family Sagas, and often referred to as Saga-Sites. The trail follows places and paths around the country where major events occurred in the Sagas. The traveller can choose to follow one particular Saga, that takes him on an adventurous journey in the footsteps of the Saga heroes around the country, or he can choose to stay in one area and learn about all the different saga events that happened there.



FIGURE 6-2: THE SAGA TRAIL IN ICELAND

The Saga Trail includes a number of historical and heritage sites, museums and visitor centre providing travellers with great opportunities to learn about Iceland and connect with the local culture. The Trail gives the visitor a glimpse of Iceland's history, dating back to the Settlement times, with its literary and cultural heritage, and provides great insights into the societal developments in Northern Europe over the centuries.

### Icelandic Saga & Heritage Association (ISHA) - Interview:

In an Email Interview with Mr. Rögnvaldur Guðmundsson, the Chairman of the Icelandic Saga & Heritage Association (ISHA), and later in a Survey Questionnaire, I asked him to describe how The Saga Trail, and Icelandic Saga & Heritage Association, came to be and what kind of challenges they had faced in creating the trail (including cost). I then asked him what benefits he felt the (ISHA) had reaped since its establishment in terms of infrastructure, marketing visibility, visitor numbers and income etc. As a conclusion I asked him what he thought of the idea for Visit-Vinland and the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail in Atlantic Canada.

*Sveinn: In your own words, describe how The Saga Trail, and the Icelandic Saga & Heritage Association (ISHA), came to be and what kind of challenges the ISHA has faced in creating the trail (including cost).*

*Rögnvaldur: "Iceland Saga Trail Association was established by 18 partners in May 2006. Six of them had been partners in the NPP EU project Destination Viking SAGALANDS from 2002 to 2005. That EU project is in that sense the starting point. We are not selling anything yet, but*

*introducing several possible Saga and Heritage routes in Iceland and marketing them at our website and in other promotional material of ours. We have tried to work with tour operators to introduce trails like that, sell and make benefit from them, but without lot of interest. So we have discussed the idea of establishing our own travel agency focusing on such a tours. Somewhat similar to what the Farm Holiday association did in Iceland many years ago. But we are not there yet. The turnover of the association in the last years have been 8-10 million ISK.*

*Sveinn: What benefits do you feel the ISHA has reaped since its establishment in terms of infrastructure, marketing visibility, visitor numbers and income etc?*

*Rögnvaldur: "We have not measured this directly, but according to visitor surveys 60-70% of the overseas tourist in Iceland visits some historic sites while in Iceland and almost 50% visit museums or exhibitions. Our printed material is distributed all over the country by a company specialised in that field. Our Instagram account, established just 6-7 months ago have now over 5.300 followers (May 2017). We are partners in Destination Viking Association [www.destinationviking.com](http://www.destinationviking.com) from the establishment of that association. We are now also members of a big EU project, Follow the Vikings (2015-2019), supported by 2 million Euros of the Creative Europe program, So we have lot of international contacts and good network."*

*Sveinn: What are your thoughts on the idea for Visit-Vinland and the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail in Atlantic Canada? Note! The question got confused with, "What are your thoughts on the idea for ISHA?"*

*Rögnvaldur: "I think the idea of ISHA role is even more actual now than 11 years ago. It is more important than ever that our visitors, both overseas and the Icelanders themselves visit all parts of the country, rural as well as urban. It's estimated that in 2017 ca. 2.4 million overseas visitors will come to Iceland plus ca. 135 thousand cruise ship passengers. They can't just visit the Golden Circle (Thingvellir, Geysir and Gullfoss). We live in pretty big island (104.000 km<sup>2</sup>) and (we) can host all those guest and even more if they are spread. And the Sagas, and interesting heritage sites, are to be found almost everywhere in Iceland. The SAGA-ISLAND must live up to it's expectations."*

#### SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – Q & A:

1. *Sveinn: In your own words, describe why the Viking Trail Tourism Association was established and how, in your opinion, the development of the Saga Trail has affected tourism in Iceland:*

*Rögnvaldur: The "Iceland Saga Trail Association (now: Iceland Saga and Heritage Association) was established in 2006. The idea came up after the "The Destination Viking - Sagatrail" EU project (2002-2005) were five partners from Saga Sites took part. We like to believe that the association have increased the interest of tour operators and the official tourism bodies in Iceland in the importance of Iceland history and heritag as a important issue for the future growth of tourism in the county. We have now about 100 members all over Iceland. (We work) in close cooperation with Promote Iceland."*

2. Sveinn: Is your organization dependent on annual government funding to be financially viable? Yes, No, Occasionally or Other (please specify)?  
Rögnvaldur: "Yes"
3. Sveinn: How would you rate the value for money of the Saga Trail? Excellent, Above Average, Average, Poor or Other (please specify)?  
Rögnvaldur: "Above Average"
4. Sveinn: On a scale from 1 (total failure) to 7 (total success), (or 1-100%), what number would you use to express the Saga Trail success rate in creating awareness of the historical and cultural background of Iceland?  
Rögnvaldur: "80%"
5. Sveinn: On a scale from 1 (total failure) to 7 (total success), (or 1-100%), what number would you use to express the Saga Trail's success rate in attracting new visitors to Viking Trail destinations?  
Rögnvaldur: "67%"
6. Sveinn: On a scale from 1 (total failure) to 7 (total success), (or 1-100%), what number would you use to express the Saga Trail success rate in keeping visitors for longer in, and around, Viking Trail destinations?  
Rögnvaldur: "68%"
7. Sveinn: On a scale from 1 (total failure) to 7 (total success), (or 1-100%), what number would you use to express the Saga Trail success rate in improving the economic conditions of Viking Trail destinations?  
Rögnvaldur: "69%"
8. Sveinn: In your own words what are the biggest qualities of the Saga Trail?  
Rögnvaldur: "Participation (as) the pioneers in history and heritage tourism. Cooperation from individual companies up to big museums (National Museum, Reykjavik City Museum etc)."
9. Sveinn: In your own words, what are the things that you would most like to improve in the Saga Trail?  
Rögnvaldur: "Double the partners in the next 2-3 year (up to at least 200). Improve the use of social media."
10. Sveinn: Do you have any other comments, questions, or concerns?  
Rögnvaldur: (No reply)

### 6.3 The Cabot Trail, Nova Scotia

The Cabot Trail is a 300 km scenic route on Cape Breton Island that was completed in 1932. The trail joined a number of fishing villages that were isolated before that time. The Cabot Trail was named after the Italian (Genoan/Venetian) explorer John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto/Zuan Chabotto) who in 1497, commissioned by King Henry VII of England, led the first European exploration to the mainland of North America since the Norse visits to Vinland in the eleventh century. There is, however, no evidence to suggest John Cabot ever visited Cape Breton Island. The name was given to the trail in an attempt, by the then Nova Scotia Premier Angus L. MacDonald, to re-brand Nova Scotia for tourism purposes. Although debated, most historians believe John Cabot landed in Newfoundland and not on Cape Breton Island. Interestingly, in 1997, in order to mark the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Cabot's expedition, both the Canadian and the British governments *elected* Cape Bonavista in Newfoundland, as Cabot's official first landing site.<sup>32</sup>



FIGURE 6-3: MAP OF THE CABOT TRAIL, NS

Although The Cabot Trail is perhaps “Nova Scotia's most famous recreational activity”<sup>33</sup> and depicted on virtually every tourist site and brochure there is about Nova Scotia and the Canadian Maritimes, there is little mention of John Cabot on the Trail. The only location carrying his name is Cabots Landing Provincial Park, a picnic and beach park on the shore of Aspy Bay, which also features a National Historic Site cairn commemorating the landfall of John Cabot. What makes this place particularly interesting is the fact that this was formerly a launching site for Mi'kmaq to paddle to Newfoundland.

Despite a number of attempts reaching someone from Tourism Nova Scotia, or Destination Cape Breton Association (DCBA) who could answer my questions and surveys on the Cabot Trail, I came out unsuccessful. For this reason there is no further information on the Cabot Trail in this thesis.

<sup>32</sup> Gibbs, G. (2016). *Five Ages of Canada*

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/canada/nova-scotia/cabot-trail-and-cape-breton-highlands-national-park/introduction>

## 7 LITERATURE REVIEW – (MAIN RESEARCH)

### 7.1 The Vinland Sagas - Overview

The Vinland sagas refer to two family *sagas*,<sup>34</sup> written in Iceland in the thirteenth century, that describe the discovery, exploration and attempted settlement of “Vinland” (land of wine), in North America in the early eleventh century.

*The Vinland Sagas describe three distinct locations investigated by the Norse. Farthest to the north was Helluland, Land of Stone. Two days of sailing in a southerly direction brought the expedition to Markland, Land of Woods, and another two days to Vinland, Land of Wine. Vinland was described as a land rich in resources, salmon, game of all kinds, excellent lumber, and, to the astonishment and delight of everyone, wild grapes. Winters were mild,*



FIGURE 7-1: THE NORTHMEN TRADING WITH THE INDIANS

*and during the winter, there were more hours of daylight than in Iceland or Greenland. The Norse also observed great tidal differences and landlocked lagoons where halibut could be caught in puddles on the shore as the tide retreated. Unfortunately for the Norse this wonderful land was already inhabited. Skirmishes ensued in which the Norse were outnumbered. Feeling threatened, they retreated home, and Vinland was abandoned (Wallace 1998).<sup>35</sup>*

There are two major versions of the Vinland sagas, “Grænlandinga saga” (The Saga of the Greenlanders) and “Eiríks saga rauða” (The Saga of Eirik the Red). The former “has been preserved in the manuscript Flateyjarbók (ca. 1390), but the latter in two manuscripts called Hauksbók (ca. 1302–1310) and Skálholtsbók (ca. 1420–1450)” (Kristjánsson 2012). Both sagas are based on oral traditions and describe for the most part the same storyline, yet tell it in very different ways, and disagree on a number of details. Grænlandingasaga (GS) describes the accidental discovery of lands south of Greenland by Bjarni Herjólfsson followed by four different expeditions to these lands by Eirik the Red’s children: Leif, Thorstein (failed), Thorvald and Freydis, and one by his former daughter in law, Gudrid Thorbjarnardottir, led by her new husband Thorfinn Karlsefni. Eiríks saga rauða (ES) on the other hand, describes Leif Eiríkssons voyage very briefly and makes him the accidental discoverer of the new lands, replacing Bjarni.

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<sup>34</sup> <https://global.britannica.com/art/Icelanders-sagas>

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.stavacademy.co.uk/mimir/norseexpand.htm>

In ES Thorfinn Karlsefni is the leader for one large expedition, where Thorvald and Freydis are mere participants.

Scholars have long debated which of the two books is more correct, if any. Before 1956, most scholars considered ES to be “the older and more scholarly of the two works”<sup>36</sup> but this view has changed over time, as well as the scholarly methodologies of those researching the books. “Some have concentrated on Eiriks Saga Rauða (Matthías Þórðarson 1935), others on Grænlendingasaga (Jón Jóhannesson 1956 and Björn Þorsteinsson 1964) and whilst a third group have selected from each saga the material which they believe to be either most plausible (Páll Bergþórsson 1997) or closest to oral traditions (Dag Strömbäck 1940).” (Þorláksson 2001).<sup>37</sup> In 1978, Ólafur Halldórsson concluded that “the two sagas represent unrelated written texts, whose common elements are mainly attributable to the influence of oral tradition.” This is still the most accepted theory, although not all scholars agree.

Birgitta Wallace, senior archaeologist emerita in L’Anse aux Meadows, wrote in an article in 2003 “In the nineteenth century the sagas were viewed as accurate, objective, historical accounts, but recent research has shown that they are far from it (Úlfar Bragason 2000, Helgi Þorláksson 2001, Adolf Friðriksson and Orri Vésteinsson 2003). The writing of history normally has a purpose, and the Vinland sagas were no exception. Even though based on actual episodes of the early eleventh century, they were written to serve thirteenth- and fourteenth-century political ends.” (Wallace 2003).<sup>38</sup>

According to Ólafur Halldórsson (1978), ES was written to support the canonization of Bishop Björn Gilsson, who died in 1162. “An account of illustrious and exceptional ancestors was expected to accompany any petition for beatification and Bishop Björn was a direct descendant of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Gudrid Thorbjarnardottir. Furthermore, Law Speaker Hauk Erlendsson, who edited the Hauk's Book version of Eirik's Saga, was himself also a direct descendant of Thorfinn and Gudrid, removed from them by nine generations.” (Wallace 2003). Halldorsson (1992) also argues that, due to this personal and political agenda, the roles of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Gudrid may have been exaggerated in the ES, while the roles of Leif Eiriksson and his family may have been reduced. Thorsteinn Vilhjálmsson (2001) believes, however, that ES on the voyage of Karlsefni, “is by far the most trustworthy of the Vinland accounts and should be regarded as a frame of reference for the others.”<sup>39</sup>

In his article, “Vinland Sagas in contemporary light” Helgi Thorlaksson (2001) concludes that “it is futile to search the Vínland sagas for the narrative core of what the first European explorers in America actually reported. Oral traditions changed from generation to generation and the

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<sup>36</sup> Helgi Þorláksson (2001)

<sup>37</sup> Helgi Þorláksson (2001)

<sup>38</sup> <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/nflds/article/view/140/236>

<sup>39</sup> Vilhjálmsson, Þorsteinn. 2001. Navigation and Vinland.



written texts were also subject to alterations. Although we can compare the two different versions of the Vinland sagas it is very difficult to know how the texts changed and why.” Thorlaksson (2001) also argues that “even if we confine ourselves to just the material which is common in both sagas, it is hard to know what to believe. One solution to this problem has been to trust only those parts of the sagas, which give the impression of being detailed, rational and original”.<sup>40</sup> This method I will be using in the literature review.

To conclude, most scholars agree that the Vinland Sagas are not pure historical sources. Equally, however, scholars agree that it would be wrong to regard the sagas as pure fiction in which no historical reality is preserved (Helgason 1934, Turville-Petre 1975, Clover 1985, Jones 1986, Ólason 1993). Instead, as Larsson (1995) argues “one has to regard the sagas as reports of real voyages of exploration, even if parts of them have been exaggerated or misunderstood during the long process of oral and written transmission.”<sup>41</sup> Birgitta Wallace (2008) supports that view and asserts that “the archaeological findings at L’Anse aux Meadows shed a new light on the sagas, indicating that, like the Íslendingabók of Ari the Wise, they contain more facts than is generally credited them”.

## 7.2 The Saga of the Greenlanders

The version of the Saga of the Greenlanders (GS) used here is a copy from *The Vinland Sagas* (Penguin Classics 2008). The full text can be found in Bergthorsson, P. (2000). *The Wineland Millennium* p. 260-277.<sup>42</sup> This is a translation by Keneva Kunz from Icelandic, based on the text in Flateyjarbók.

My review focuses on the voyages of Leif Eiriksson, Thorvald Eiriksson, and Thorfinn Karlsefni (Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 6), and on finding clues to the location, in modern day North America, of two distinct places named in the saga, namely Leif’s “summer” camp (i.e. the place where Leif was camped when he found the grapevines and gave the land its name), and Kjalarnes (i.e. the place where Thorvaldur broke the keel on his ship).

### Leif Eiriksson - Chapter 2:

*Once they had made the ship ready, they put to sea and found first the land which Bjarni and his companions had seen last. They sailed up to the shore and cast anchor, put out a boat and rowed ashore. There they found no grass, but large glaciers covered the highlands, and the land was like a single flat slab of rock from the glaciers to the sea. This land seemed to them of little use. Leif then spoke: ‘As far as this land is concerned it can’t be said of us as of Bjarni, that we did not set foot on*

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<sup>40</sup> <http://www.fiskecenter.umb.edu/Staff/Steinberg/Viking08/Readings/Thorlaksson2001.pdf>

<sup>41</sup> [http://www.jstor.org/stable/40919438?seq=17#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40919438?seq=17#page_scan_tab_contents)

<sup>42</sup> <https://rafladlan.is/bitstream/handle/10802/2769/The%20Wineland%20Millennium.pdf?page=82>

*shore. I am now going to name this land and call it Helluland (Stone-slab land).’ They then returned to their ship, put out to sea and found a second land. Once more they sailed close to the shore and cast anchor, put out a boat and went ashore. This land was flat and forested, sloping gently seaward, and they came across many beaches of white sand. Leif then spoke: ‘This land will be named for what it has to offer and called Markland (Forest Land).’ They then returned to the ship without delay.*

Although there are some scholars who believe Markland refers to Newfoundland (Storm 1887, Babcock 1917, Larsson 1992) most scholars believe Markland refers to southeastern Labrador.<sup>43</sup> The big white sands on the Labrador coast have been noticed by many (Ingstad 1996). Bergthorsson (2000) believes Helluland refers to Resolution Island south of Baffin Island and Markland refers to the woods around Hamilton Inlet and the “sands south of Cape Porcupine.” Godal (2012) agrees on this view stating that the sands, south of Rigolet, between West Bay and North River near the mouth of Sandwich Bay, match the description in the saga. All these scholars are referring to the same area.

*After this they sailed out to sea and spent two days [dægur] at sea with a north-easterly wind before they saw land. They sailed towards it and came to an island, which lay to the north of the land, where they went ashore. In the fine weather they found dew on the grass, that they collected in their hands and drank, and thought they had never tasted anything as sweet. Afterwards they returned to their ship and sailed into the sound which lay between the island and the headland that stretched out northwards from the land. They rounded the headland and steered westward. Here there were extensive shallows at low tide and their ship was soon stranded, and the sea looked far away to those aboard ship. Their curiosity to see the land was so great that they could not be bothered to wait for the tide to come in and float their stranded ship, and they ran aground where a river flowed into the sea from a lake. When the incoming tide floated the ship again, they took the boat and rowed to the ship and moved it up into the river and from there into the lake, where they cast anchor. They carried their sleeping-sacks ashore and built booths. Later they decided to spend the winter there and built large houses.*

This description, in my opinion, gives “the impression of being detailed, rational and original” and is therefore, according to Thorlaksson (2001), likely to be true. The combination of an island (north of the land), a headland (stretching out northwards from the land), a sound (between the island and the headland) and extensive shallows (westward from the headland) are not easy to find on a map of North America, or using Google Earth. In fact, there are only a handful of locations in Atlantic Canada that match this description.

The largest and most protruding headlands, with an island to the north would be: The Great Northern Peninsula (NL) with Belle Island to the north; Cape Breton Island (NS) with St. Pauls Island to the north; Acadia Peninsula (NB) with Miscou Island to the north; Gaspé Peninsula (QC)

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<sup>43</sup> <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-057/summary/>

with Anticosti Island to the north; and Bay de Verde Peninsula (NL) with Baccalieu Island to the north. Of these only Acadia Peninsula has extensive shallows to the west on low tide.

A *sound* (i.e. Sund in the Old Norse/Icelandic original) is perhaps best translated as a “Strait”. Strait refers to “a narrow waterway joining two larger bodies of water.”<sup>44</sup> A sound is “like a strait, but larger.”<sup>45</sup> In Atlantic Canada, the best-known straits are the “Strait of Belle Island” between Labrador and Newfoundland; “Cabot Strait” between Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island; “Northumberland Strait” between Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick; “Strait of Canso” between Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia; and “Gaspé Passage” between Gaspé Peninsula and Anticosti Island. There are also a few smaller straits and passages, including “Shippagan Passage” and “Miscou Gully” on the Acadian Peninsula.

Bergthorsson (2000) argues that Leif Eiriksson sailed southwest along the Labrador/ Quebec coast until he spotted the island of Anticosti, north of Gaspé Peninsula. Bergthorsson believes the sound (strait) “between the island and the headland” is the Gaspé passage, between Anticosti and Gaspé Peninsula and that they steered westward into the St. Lawrence River until they reached the narrows in Quebec City and got stranded in, where he believes are, the shallows called Battures de Beauport. Godal (2012) argues that Leif Eiriksson sailed south from Cap Whittle, on the southeastern corner of Quebec, until he reached Prince Edward Island (East Point). He believes the headland stretching north is Cape George in Nova Scotia and the sound is Northumberland Strait.

In her article “An Archaeologist’s Interpretation of the *Vinland Sagas*” Birgitta Wallace argues that the area closest to L’Anse aux Meadows, which meets all the criteria for Leif’s Vinland as described in the saga, “is northeastern New Brunswick, the Chaleur Bay and Miramichi area.” (Wallace 2000b, p229).

Bergthorsson (2000) argues that the sweet dew may have been “a phenomenon known as honeydew<sup>46</sup>, a sweet substance that forms on leaves on which aphids or other insects feed. Honeydew is said to form mostly on linden trees, rose bushes and maple”. Canadian Sugar Maple (*Acer saccharum*), grows as far northeast as Rivière Saguenay, Gaspé Peninsula and Cape Breton Island. Red maple (*Acer rubrum*) has a similar distribution but also grows on Avalon Peninsula and in *Port Au Port Bay* in Newfoundland. Mountain maple (*Acer spicatum*) grows as far northeast as Anticosti, Newfoundland and Labrador’s southeast corner. Linden, or American Basswood (*Tilia Americana*), grows as far northeast as Quebec City and Saint John in New Brunswick. Other native maple and linden trees have a more southerly or westerly distribution.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/strait>

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.vox.com/2015/9/1/9234551/geographical-terms-map>

<sup>46</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Honeydew\\_\(secretion\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Honeydew_(secretion))

<sup>47</sup> <https://gec.cr.usgs.gov/data/little/>

I have been unable to find information about on which islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence one could expect to find honeydew. That would be an interesting research project. It would also be interesting to learn if there may be other reasons for the sweet taste of dew.

*“There was no lack of salmon both in the lake and in the river, and this salmon was larger than they had ever seen before.”*

Atlantic salmon’s native habitat reaches from Ungava Bay, Nunavut, in the north down to Connecticut Rivers in the south.<sup>48</sup> Rivers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence are famous for their salmon. The salmon rivers in Miramichi Bay and Chaleur Bay (Gaspé Peninsula) are particularly well known for their numerous and large Atlantic salmon. Eighteen of the fifty largest caught wild Atlantic salmon in the world have come from rivers on Gaspé Peninsula.<sup>49</sup>

According to the Atlantic Salmon Federation, the Miramichi River (NB) is capable of producing more Atlantic salmon than any other river in North America and the Restigouche River, in Chaleur Bay, is well known for its large salmon, which spends two or more years at sea before returning to spawn.<sup>50</sup> In fact, the Restigouche River slogan is *“Home of the largest Atlantic Salmon ever landed in North America”*.<sup>51</sup> The salmon is not a recent phenomenon in this region. The Gesgapegiag (Mi’kmaq) First Nation, who live on the north shore of Chaleur Bay, have fished salmon in these waters for thousands of years and have a picture of a salmon in their emblem.<sup>52</sup>



FIGURE 7-2 : MAP OF ATLANTIC SALMON RANGE

*“It seemed to them the land was so good that livestock would need no fodder during the winter. The temperature never dropped below freezing, and the grass only withered very slightly. The days and nights were much more equal in length than in Greenland or Iceland. In the depth of winter the sun was aloft by mid-morning and still visible at mid-afternoon.”*

*Seemed* may be the key word here since in all likelihood Leif and his crew sailed back to Newfoundland and stayed in his large cabins in L’Anse aux Meadows for the winter. For this to be true, in a normal year, one would need to go as far south as Virginia to experience a whole winter without frost. That, however, would be too far south for the Atlantic salmon. In an

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<sup>48</sup> <https://nas.er.usgs.gov/queries/factsheet.aspx?SpeciesID=926>

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.halclyon.com/GaspeBestAtlanticSalmonintheWorldLyon3.20.07.htm>

<sup>50</sup> [www.atlanticsalmonfederation.org/rivers/newbrunswick.html](http://www.atlanticsalmonfederation.org/rivers/newbrunswick.html)

<sup>51</sup> [www.angleradventures.com/redpine/Giant%20Salmon.htm](http://www.angleradventures.com/redpine/Giant%20Salmon.htm)

<sup>52</sup> <https://www.gesgapegiag.ca/en/index>

unusually warm year, there is a slight possibility, in places directly exposed to the Gulf Stream such as Cape Cod and southeastern Nova Scotia, to find a winter without frost.

### Chapter 3

*“When they had finished building their houses, Leif spoke to his companions: ‘I want to divide our company into two groups, as I wish to explore the land. One half is to remain at home by the longhouses while the other half explores the land. They are never to go any farther than will enable them to return that same evening and no one is to separate from the group.’ This they did for some time. Leif accompanied them sometimes, and at other times remained at home by the houses.”*

*“Leif then asked him, ‘Why were you so late returning, fosterfather, and how did you become separated from the rest?’ For a long time Tyrkir only spoke in German, with his eyes darting in all directions and his face contorted. The others understood nothing of what he was saying. After a while he spoke in Norse: ‘I had gone only a bit farther than the rest of you. But I have news to tell you: I found grapevines and grapes.’ ‘Are you really sure of this, foster-father?’ Leif said. ‘I’m absolutely sure,’ he replied, ‘because where I was born there was no lack of grapevines and grapes.’ They went to sleep after that, and the following morning Leif spoke to his crew: ‘We’ll divide our time between two tasks, taking one day for one task and one day for the other, picking grapes or cutting vines and felling the trees to make a load for my ship.’ They agreed on this course. It is said that the boat which was drawn behind the ship was filled with grapes. Then they cut a load for the ship. When spring came they made the ship ready and set sail. Leif named the land for its natural features and called it Vinland (Wineland). They headed out to sea and had favourable winds, until they came in sight of Greenland and the mountains under its glaciers.”*

Most researchers believe that the grapes mentioned in the sagas refer to Riverbank Grapes, *Vitis riparia*, that are native along the St. Lawrence River south of Isle-aux-Coudres, in Chaleur Bay and Miramichi Bay as well as along the Saint John River, NB as well as further southwest in the Gulf of Maine. Grapes found in Nova Scotia are a recent introduction and not native to the area.

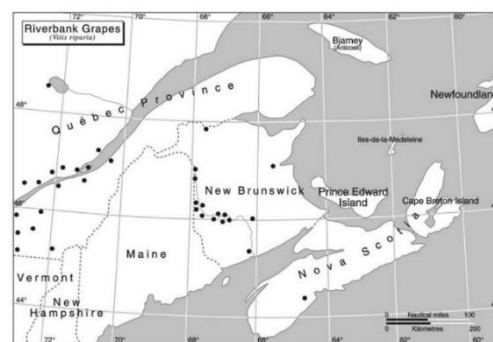


FIGURE 7-3: DISTRIBUTION OF RIVERBANK GRAPES (*VITIS RIPARIA*)

### Thorvald Eiríksson - Chapter 4

*“In consultation with his brother Leif, Thorvald now prepared for this journey with thirty companions. They made their ship ready and put to sea, and nothing is told of their journey until they came to Vinland, to Leif’s camp, where they laid up their ship and settled in for the winter, fishing for their food.*

From this description it is hard to tell whether the author is referring to Leif’s main camp, in L’Anse Aux Meadows, or Leif’s summer camp (where grapevines grew) further south.

*That spring Thorvald said they should make their ship ready and several men were to take the ship's boat and go to the west of the land and explore there during the summer. They thought the land fine and well forested, with white beaches and only a short distance between the forest and the sea. There were many islands and wide stretches of shallow sea. Nowhere did they see signs of men or animals. On one of the westerly islands they did find a wooden grain cover, but discovered no other work by human hands and headed back, returning to Leif's camp in the autumn.*

This description may fit one of three areas, depending on whether Thorvald was staying at Leif's main camp in L'Anse aux Meadows, or if he was staying at his summer camp further south. If Thorvald was staying in Leif's main camp on Newfoundland, then he is describing (a) the south coast of Labrador and Quebec, or (b) the west coast of Newfoundland. If Thorvald was, however, staying in Leif's summer camp further south then he is probably describing (c) the north coast of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island or Nova Scotia.

*"The second summer Thorvald explored the country to the east on the large ship, going north around the land [hið nyrðra fyrir landið]. They ran into stormy weather around one headland, and they were driven ashore, smashing the keel of the ship. They stayed there a long time, repairing their ship. Thorvald then said to his companions, 'I want us to raise the broken keel up on this point and call it Kjalarnes (Keel point).' This they did. They then left to sail to the east of the country and entered the mouths of the next fjords until they reached a cape stretching out seawards. It was covered with forest. After they secured their ship in a sheltered cove and put out gangways to the land, Thorvald and all his companions went ashore. He then spoke: 'This is an attractive spot, and here I would like to build my farm. On surveying the area they saw a number of hillocks further up the fjord, and assumed them to be settlements.'"*

From this description, it sounds as if Thorvald is located on the western side of a peninsula stretching north from a mainland with fjords on the eastern side. In order to get to the eastern side of the peninsula he first had to sail north and then around this headland. This description may e.g. fit with the Great Northern Peninsula (GNP) in Newfoundland that has a number of fjords, or fjord looking bays, on its eastern side; Gaspé Peninsula, with Gaspé Bay and Chaleur Bay on its eastern side; and Cape Breton Island, with Aspy Bay, Ingonish Bay and St. Ann's Bay on its eastern side. Each of these three options suggests a different location for Thorvald:

(1) Thorvald starts his journey from Leif's main camp on Newfoundland. This is perhaps the most probable option. However, with its location practically at the northernmost point of the GNP it seems odd to say he had to sail north first before turning east. Having said that there is a tiny headland, facing north, at L'Anse aux meadows, and there is always the possibility that Thorvald mistook Quirpon Island for a headland, and that he sailed north around the island, instead of sailing through the Quirpon Island Passage to the south. This option would suggest Kjalarnes (Keel Point) was either on, or near, Quirpon Island. The Fjords could be e.g. Hare Bay, Canada Bay or White Bay.



FIGURE 7-4: GS 1



(2) Thorvald starts his journey from Leif's summer camp somewhere on the St. Lawrence River, potentially in Quebec City as Bergthorsson (2000) has suggested, a place known to have both grapevine and butternut trees. That would suggest a potential location of Kjalarnes on either Shiphead or Cap-des-Rosiers on Gaspé Peninsula. The fjords could e.g. be Gaspé Bay and Chaleur Bay.



FIGURE 7-5: GS 2

(3) Thorvald starts his journey from Leif's summer camp somewhere in the Bay of Chaleur, or Miramichi Bay, places known to have both grapevine and butternut trees. That would suggest a potential location of Kjalarnes on either Cape North or White Point on Cape Breton Island, as Bergthorsson (2000) has suggested. The fjords could e.g. be Aspy Bay, Ingonish or St Anns Bay.



FIGURE 7-6: GS 3

*"...take me to that cape I thought was such a good farm site. Perhaps the words I spoke will prove true enough and I will dwell there awhile. You will bury me there and mark my grave with crosses at the head and foot, and call the spot Krossanes (Cross point) after that ... Thorvald then died, and they did everything as he had advised, then left to meet up with their companions. Each group told its news to the other and they spent the winter there loading the ships with grapes and grapevines."*

This description provides, in my opinion, the opposite impression of "being detailed, rational and original," and therefore I find it unlikely to be true. The whole paragraph calling the spot Krossanes, and marking the grave with crosses head and foot, bears a very Christian signature. Although Christianity had been introduced to Greenland around this time, and Thorvald's mother had been converted, we know that his father Eirik died a pagan and there is little to suggest that his sons, other than Leif, had converted. I also find the sentence regarding loading the ships with grapes and grapevines hastily written, as if it was an afterthought.

If, however, the narrative is correct, and they did spend the winter in an area with grapes and grapevines, then we can presumably narrow their location down to Leif's summer camp somewhere near Chaleur Bay, or Miramichi Bay, in New Brunswick, or alternatively on the St. Lawrence River near Quebec City. There are no other locations known to us, with Riverside grapes and butternut trees, north of the Saint John River in the Bay of Fundy.

#### Thorfinnur Karlsefni - Chapter 6

*"Karlsefni asked Leif for his houses in Vinland, and Leif said he would lend but not give them to him. They then put out to sea in their ship and arrived without mishap at Leif's booths, where they*

unloaded their sleeping-sacks. They soon had plenty of good provisions, since a fine, large rorqual (whale) had stranded on the beach. After they had gone and carved up the whale they had no lack of food. The livestock made its way inland, but the male animals soon became irritable and hard to handle. They had brought one bull with them. Karlsefni had trees felled and hewn to load aboard his ship and had the timber piled on a large rock to dry. They had plenty of supplies from the natural bounty there, including grapes, all sorts of fish and game, and other good things. After the first winter passed and summer came, they became aware of natives. A large group of men came out of the woods close to where the cattle were pastured.”

“Karlsefni next had a sturdy palisade built around his farm, where they prepared to defend themselves. At this time Gudrid, Karlsefni’s wife, gave birth to a boy, who was named Snorri. Near the beginning of their second winter the natives visited them again, in much greater numbers than before and with the same goods as before. Karlsefni and his companions spent the entire winter there, but in the spring he declared that he wished to remain no longer and wanted to return to Greenland. They made ready for their journey, taking with them plenty of the land’s products – grapevines, berries and skins.”

From this short description it appears as if Karlsefni, his wife and crew, were staying in Leif’s summer camp, at least one of the winters there, since they took grapevines with them back to Greenland. Another clue pointing towards them not being in Leif’s main camp in L’Anse aux Meadows is the fact that Karlsefni built a sturdy palisade around his farm. In the archaeological records from L’Anse aux Meadows there is no mention of a palisade having stood around any of the buildings there.

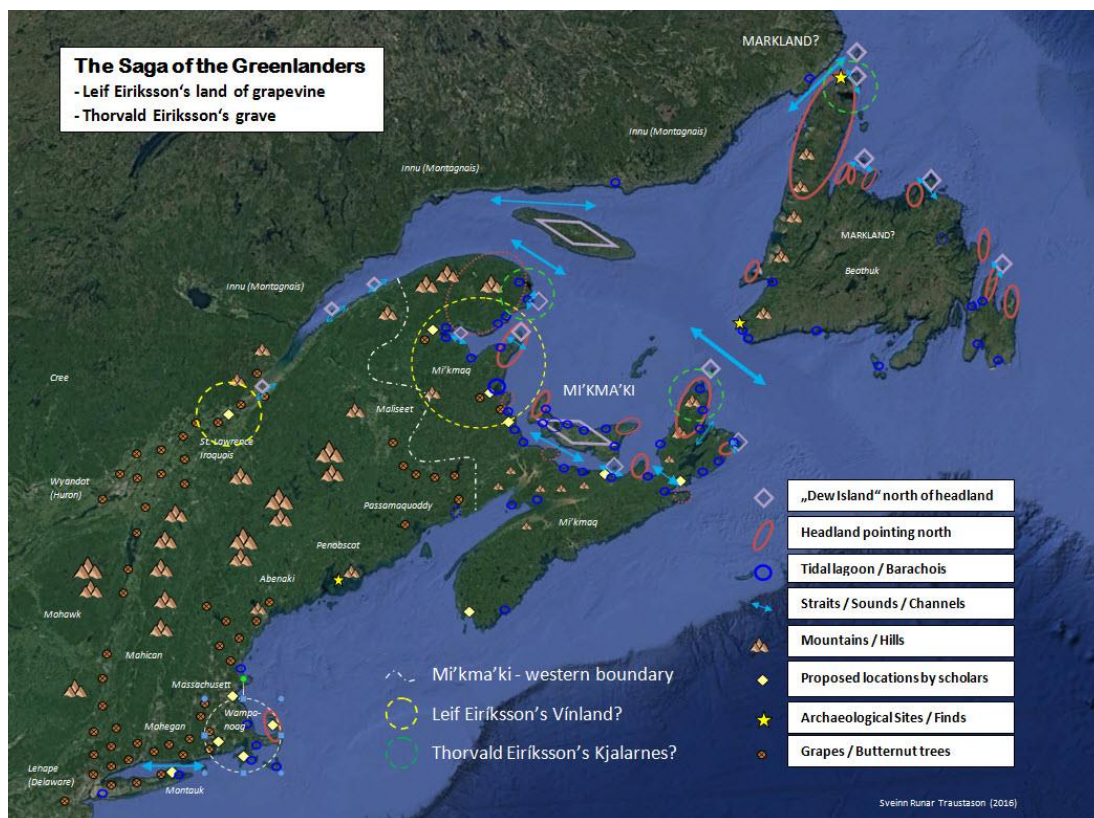


FIGURE 7-7: GS 4 – SAGA OF THE GREENLANDERS



### 7.3 The Saga of Eirik the Red

The version of the Saga of Eirik the Red (ES) studied here is a copy of “The Vinland Sagas” (Penguin Classics 2008). The full text can be found in Bergthorsson, P. (2000). *‘The Wineland Millennium,’* p. 236-259.<sup>53</sup>

My review focuses on the voyages of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Thorhall the Huntsman (Chapters 5 and 8-12), and on finding clues to the locations, in modern day North America, of a number of places named in the saga, namely Straumsfjörður and Straumsey, (i.e. the place where Thorfinn and his wife Gudrid attempted settlement and where their son Snorri was born); “East River,” (i.e. the place where Thorfinn went to search for Thorhall the Huntsman and where Thorvald Eiriksson was killed with an arrow); and Hóp, (i.e. the bountiful place with a tidal lagoon in the south, where the norsemen engage in a fierce and bloody battle with the and natives). The saga text is indented and in Italics.

#### Leif Eiriksson – Chapter 5

*Once he had made ready, Leif set sail. After being tossed about at sea for a long time he chanced upon land where he had not expected any to be found. Fields of self-sown wheat and vines were growing there; also, there were trees known as maple [mösur], and they took specimens of all of them. Leif also chanced upon men clinging to a ship’s wreck, whom he brought home and found shelter for over the winter. In so doing he showed his strong character and kindness. He converted the country to Christianity. Afterwards he became known as Leif the Lucky.*

The Saga of the Greenlanders (GS) states that it was Bjarni Herjólfsson, and not Leif Eiriksson, who first spotted the North American continent, but that Leif Eiriksson was the first to set foot on these lands and give them names. Mösur may refer to maple or butternut trees.

#### Thorfinnur Karlsefni – Chapter 8

*There were great discussions that winter in Brattahlid of Snorri and Karlsefni setting sail for Vinland, and people talked at length about it. In the end Snorri and Karlsefni made their vessel ready, intending to sail in search of Vinland that summer. Bjarni and Thorhall decided to accompany them on the voyage, taking their own ship and their companions who had sailed with them on the voyage out. A man named Thorvard was married to Freydis, who was an illegitimate daughter of Eirik the Red. He went with them, along with Thorvald, Eirik’s son, and Thorhall who was called the Huntsman. For years he had accompanied Eirik on hunting trips in the summers, and was entrusted with many tasks. Thorhall was a large man, dark and coarse-featured; he was getting on in years and difficult to handle. He was a silent man, who was not generally given to conversation, devious and yet insulting in his speech, and who usually did his best to make trouble. He had paid scant heed*

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<sup>53</sup> <https://raflhladan.is/bitstream/handle/10802/2769/The%20Wineland%20Millennium.pdf?page=82>

*to the faith since it had come to Greenland. Thorhall was not popular with most people but he had long been in Eirik's confidence. He was among those on the ship with Thorvald and Thorvard, as he had a wide knowledge of the uninhabited regions. They had the ship which Thorbjorn had brought to Greenland and set sail with Karlsefni and his group. Most of the men aboard were from Greenland. The crews of the three ships made a hundred plus forty men.*

To summarize: On this journey there were three ships, one led by Thorfinn and Snorri, one led by Bjarni and Thorhall and one led by Thorvald and Thorvard. Thorhall the Huntsman was on the third ship. In total there were 140 people on these ships, mostly men from Greenland.

*They sailed along the coast to the western settlement, then to the Bear islands and from there with a northerly wind. After two days [dægur] at sea they sighted land and rowed over in boats to explore it. There they found many flat slabs of stone, so large that two men could lie foot-to-foot across them. There were many foxes there. They gave the land the name Helluland (Stone-slab land). After that they sailed with a northerly wind for two days [dægur], and again sighted land, with large forests and many animals. An island lay to the south-east, off the coast, where they discovered a bear, and they called it Bjarney (Bear Island), and the forested land itself Markland.*

The Saga of the Greenlanders (GS) states that it was Leif Eiriksson, and not Thorfinnur Karlsefni, that first set foot on Helluland, Markland and Vínland and gave them names. Most scholars support that view. There is also a general agreement among scholars that Helluland refers to Baffin Island and that Markland refers to southeastern Labrador.<sup>54</sup> There are, however, some scholars who believe Markland must have been Newfoundland (Babcock 1917, Larsson 1992). This is partly because the woodlands in Labrador may be difficult to see from the sea where as “Newfoundland was a veritable Markland, a land of woods” (Babcock 1917).



FIGURE 7-8: CANTINO PLANISPHERE 1502  
[WWW.WORLDMAPSONLINE.COM](http://WWW.WORLDMAPSONLINE.COM)

If Markland refers to southeastern Labrador then the most obvious option for Bear Island ‘to the south-east’ is Belle Isle north of the Great Northern Peninsula. If, however, Markland refers to the whole northern shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, (i.e. Labrador and east Quebec), then Bear Island could refer to Anticosti Island, as Bergthorsson (2000) has suggested, adding that “Black bears are found on Anticosti, and the Native Americans called it ‘the land where bears are hunted’”, or it could potentially be one of the smaller islands along the coast e.g. Gros

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<sup>54</sup> <http://www.americanjourneys.org/aj-057/summary/>

Mécatina or Mingan Islands. If, however, Markland was indeed Newfoundland then the bear island could refer to Groals Island or Fogo Island where, as it turns out, Polar bear sightings are rather common.<sup>55</sup>

*After another two days [dægur] passed they again sighted land and approached the shore where a peninsula jutted out. They sailed upwind along the coast, keeping the land on the starboard. The country was wild with a long shoreline and sand flats. They rowed ashore in boats and, discovering the keel of a ship there, named this point Kjalarnes (Keel point). They also gave the beaches the name Furdustrandir (Wonder beaches) for their surprising length. After this the coastline was indented with numerous inlets which they skirted in their ships.*

Starboard refers to the right-hand side, facing forward, so they must have been sailing with the land on their right. “The keel of a ship” may refer to the keel Thorvald Eiriksson broke and raised in GS. Scholars have suggested Furðustrandir (Wonder Beaches or Strange Shores) could refer to the eastern shore of the Great Northern Peninsula, or the eastern shore of either Cape Breton Island or mainland Nova Scotia. Another possibility, since he is now sailing upwind that may indicate they have turned around and are now sailing east, would be the north shore of Gaspé Peninsula, New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island (See map in Appendix 11).

*When Leif had served King Olaf Tryggvason and was told by him to convert Greenland to Christianity, the king had given him two Scots, a man named Haki and a woman called Hekja. The king told him to call upon them whenever he needed someone with speed, as they were fleet of foot than any deer. Leif and Eirik had sent them to accompany Karlsefni. After sailing the length of the Furdustrandir, they put the two Scots ashore and told them to run southwards to explore the country and return before three days’ [dægur] time had elapsed. They were dressed in a garment known as a kjafal, which had a hood at the top but no arms, and was open at the sides and fastened between the legs with a button and loop; they wore nothing else. The ships cast anchor and lay to during this time. After three days had passed the two returned to the shore, one of them with grapes in hand and the other with self-sown wheat. Karlsefni said that they had found good land.*

This section about the two Scots “undoubtedly fictional Haki/Hekja” (Wahlgren 1969)<sup>56</sup> and the reference to the king of Norway, although rather detailed, does not give the impression of being “rational and original” (Thorlaksson 2001) or in line with the rest of the story. Neither does it sound credible that they had found grapes in this location since, as we shall see later, Thorhall the Huntsman made a poem about how he had been lured to this land on the promise of wine, that they had not found. Thorhall then left the group to search for Vinland on his own.

*After taking them on board once more, they sailed onwards, until they reached a fjord cutting into the coast. They steered the ships into the fjord with an island near its mouth, where there were*

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<sup>55</sup> <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2016/btcrd/0127n07.aspx>

<sup>56</sup> Wahlgren (1969)

*strong currents, and called the island Straumsey (Stream island). There were so many birds there that they could hardly walk without stepping on eggs. They sailed up into the fjord, which they called Straumsfjord, unloaded the cargo from the ships and began settling in. They had brought all sorts of livestock with them and explored the land and its resources. There were mountains there, and a pleasant landscape. They paid little attention to things other than exploring the land. The grass there grew tall. They spent the winter there, and it was a harsh winter, for which they had made little preparation, and they grew short of food and caught nothing when hunting or fishing. They went out to the island, expecting to find some prey to hunt or food on the beaches. They found little food, but their livestock improved there.*

This section of the story provides a number of valuable clues: a) a fjord cutting into the coast, b) An island near its mouth, c) strong currents, d) countless birds and eggs (= springtime) on the island, e) tall grass, f) mountains and beautiful landscape, g) harsh winter, h) no game or fish in the fjord in the winter, i) better climate/vegetation on the island for their livestock.

There are a number of bird-nesting islands in Atlantic Canada, well known for their large seabird colonies (e.g. Gannets, Cormorants, Puffins and Eider Ducks). These include the Witless Bay Islands on Avalon Peninsula NL; Baccalieu Island near the mouth of Conception Bay NL; Bird Island NS, near the mouth of St. Ann's Bay on Cape Breton Island; Bonaventure Island, near the mouth of Gaspé Bay QC; and Machias Seal Island on the Bay of Fundy,



FIGURE 7-9: NORTHERN GANNETS ON BONAVENTURE ISLAND, QC

all of which could well fit the description above. There are also many more islands that previously were teeming with birds but no longer carry the same numbers. Some of these we still know about from place names, and historical records. These include a number of "Penguin Islands" that were in fact not named after penguins but the Great Auk (*Pinguinus impennis*), that is now extinct. The name penguin was later transposed to an unrelated but similar looking bird in Antarctica.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> <https://whanganuiregionalmuseum.wordpress.com/2014/02/13/the-great-auk-the-original-penguin/>



The “father of New France”, Samuel de Champlain, when describing his journey along the south coast of Nova Scotia, wrote this: “On one island we saw so great a quantity of birds, called penguins, that we killed them easily with sticks ... At the two others there is such an abundance of different sorts of birds that one could not imagine it, if he had not seen them. There are cormorants, three kinds of ducks, geese, marvettes, bustards, sea parrots, snipe, vultures, and other birds of prey; gulls, sea-larks, of two or three kinds, herons, large sea-gulls, curlews, sea-magpies, divers, ospreys, \*\*\* ravens, cranes, and others sorts which I am not acquainted with, and which also make their nests here” (Champlain 1907).<sup>58</sup>

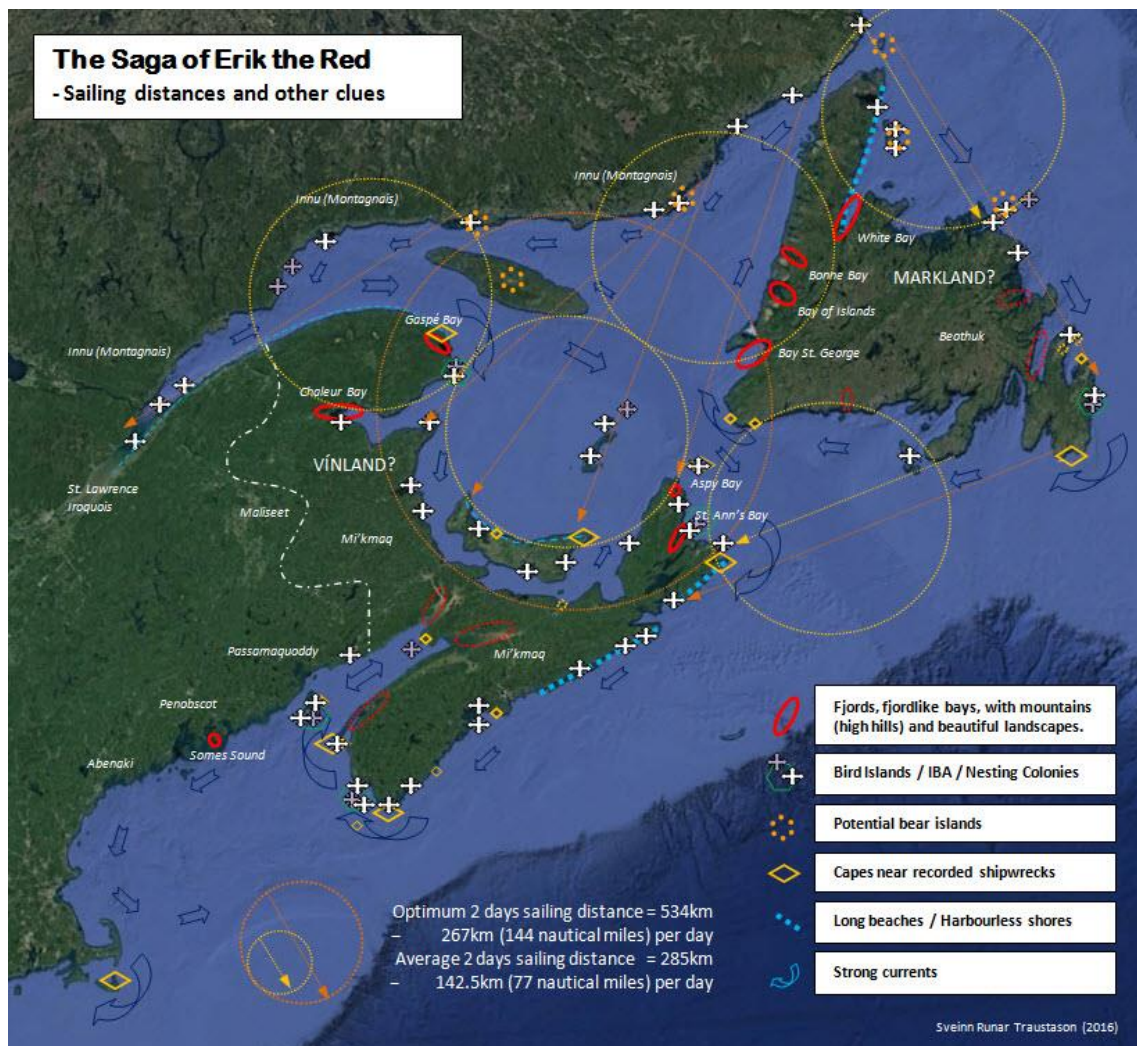


FIGURE 7-10: ES 1 – SAILING DISTANCES

<sup>58</sup> [https://archive.org/stream/voyagessam00chamrich/voyagessam00chamrich\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/voyagessam00chamrich/voyagessam00chamrich_djvu.txt)

## Chapter 9

*Thorhall wanted to head north, past Furdustrandir and around Kjalarnes to seek Vinland.  
Karlsefni wished to sail south along the east shore, feeling the land would be more substantial the farther south it was, and he felt it was advisable to explore both. Thorhall then made his ship ready close to the island, with no more than nine men to accompany him. The rest of their company went with Karlsefni. One day as Thorhall was carrying water aboard his ship he drank of it and spoke this verse:*

FIGURE 7-11 MAP OF THORFINN'S ROUTE ACCORDING TO  
BERGTHORSSON (2000)

From this description, it sounds as if Straumfjord is located on the eastern side of a peninsula stretching north and the island (Straumsey) appears to be close to land. Kjalarnes seems to be north of Furðustrandir and presumably at the end of the peninsula since Thorhall 'attempts to sail to the west of it'. Kjalarnes may refer to a cape at the north end of one of four peninsulas, depending on the point of origin. a) The



Great Northern Peninsula in Newfoundland, with Kjalarnes as Quirpon Island as Kristjansson (2012) has suggested, b) Cape Breton Island, with Kjalarnes as Cape North or White Point as Bergthorsson (2000) has suggested, or Cape Gabarus as Larsson (1992) and Storm (1887) have suggested; c) The eastern shore of Nova Scotia, with Kjalarnes as Cape Canso, as Godal (2012) has suggested, and d) The eastern shore of New Brunswick, with Kjalarnes as Cap Gaspé, or Cap-des-Rosiers that "has witnessed more shipwrecks than any other location in the Gaspésie."<sup>59</sup> Bergthorsson (2000) suggests that Straumfjord refers to the Bay of Fundy, with the "greatest tidal range in the world," and agrees with Babcock (1917) that Straumsey refers to Grand Manan Island. Godal (2012), however, places Straumfjord in Halifax Harbour with Straumsey as McNabs Island. Bergthorsson, Godal, Larsson and Storm all agree that Furðustrandir refer the East Coast of Nova Scotia, from Cape Gabarus to Point Michaux (Larsson 1992), or from Cape Canso to Halifax (Godal 2012), or both (Bergthorsson 2000).

*With promises of fine drinks the war-trees wheedled,  
spurring me to journey to these scanty shores.  
War-oak of the helmet god, I now wield but a bucket,  
no sweet wine do I sup stooping at the spring.*

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.lighthousefriends.com/light.asp?ID=1134>

*After that they set out, and Karlsefni followed them as far as the island. Before hoisting the sail Thorhall spoke this verse:*

*We'll return to where our countrymen await us,  
head our sand-heaven's horse, to scout the ship's wide plains.  
Let the wielders of sword storms laud the land, unwearied,  
settle Wonder Beaches and serve up their whale.*

*They then separated and Thorhall and his crew sailed north past Furdustrandir and Kjalarnes, and from there attempted to sail to the west of it. But they ran into storms and were driven ashore in Ireland, where they were beaten and enslaved. There Thorhall died*

In his first verse, Thorhall is not satisfied with the land they had explored. He found it lacking in the resources and the wine he had been promised ('scanty shores' and 'no sweet wine'). This suggests they have not found Leif Eiriksson's Vinland. In the second verse, he suggests some of his 'countrymen' are waiting for their arrival. This may suggest Leif had left some men behind in Vinland, guarding his houses, who were now waiting their arrival. The part that says 'they were driven ashore in Ireland' seems fictional, unless the author of ES had later received information from Ireland about their fate.

## Chapter 10

*Karlsefni headed south around the coast, with Snorri and Bjarni and the rest of their company. They sailed a long time, until they came to a river which flowed into a lake and from there into the sea. There were wide sandbars beyond the mouth of the river, and they could only sail into the river at high tide. Karlsefni and his company sailed into the lagoon and called the land Hóp (Tidal pool). There they found fields of self-sown wheat in the low-lying areas and vines growing on the hills. Every stream was teeming with fish. They dug trenches along the high-water mark and when the tide ebbed there were halibut [helgir fiskar] in them. There were a great number of deer of all kinds in the forest.*

'South around the coast' suggests they sailed south and then around as if they were rounding a land. This could be Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. The fact that they sailed 'a long time' suggests they may have covered considerable distance given that at optimum speed they could have sailed the whole length of Nova Scotia in 2-3 days.

*They stayed there for a fortnight, enjoying themselves and finding nothing unusual. They had taken their livestock with them. Early one morning they noticed nine hide-covered boats, and the people in them waved wooden poles that made a swishing sound [sem í hálmþústum] as they turned them around sunwise. Karlsefni then spoke: 'What can this mean?' Snorri replied: 'It may be a sign of peace; we should take a white shield and lift it up in return.' This they did.*

Apart from the Inuit, the Beothuk and the Mi'kmaq, first nation people hardly used skin boats. Nearly all native people north of Maine, and south of Labrador, built birchbark canoes "high in bow and stern, from a frame of wooden ribs covered with the lightweight bark of white

birch trees”.<sup>60</sup> From Maine southwards the dugout canoe was more widely used.<sup>61</sup> Gustav Storm (1887). This description must therefore refer to either Beothuk or Mi’kmaq skin canoes.

*The others then rowed towards them and were astonished at the sight of them as they landed on the shore. They were short in height with threatening features and tangled hair on their heads. Their eyes were large and their cheeks broad. They stayed there awhile, marvelling, then rowed away again to the south around the point. The group had built their booths up above the lake, with some of the huts farther inland, and others close to the shore. They remained there that winter. There was no snow at all and the livestock could fend for themselves out of doors.”*

No snow at all in the winter is very unusual for any place in Atlantic Canada. It is, in fact, unusual for any place north of coastal Virginia. The period around 1000 AD was, however, a warm period so there certainly is a possibility that there were winters without snow, especially in areas directly exposed to the Gulf Stream, such as Cape Cod or southern Nova Scotia. The climate chart for Yarmouth (south Nova Scotia) shows that the temperature can be above zero in any month.

There is a suggestion later in the saga that Thorfinn did not spend the winter in Hóp. Some scholars have argued that the comment on snowless winters was just an assumption given their latitude and the experiences they may have had in places on similar latitudes in Europe. North Newfoundland is e.g. at a similar latitude to south Ireland; Cap Gaspé is on the same latitude as Bretagne in France; and southern Nova Scotia on a similar latitude to northern Spain. All these places in Europe are practically snow free in the winter.

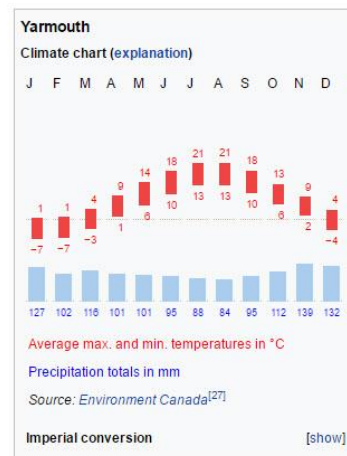


TABLE 6: YARMOUTH, NS.  
CLIMATE CHART

## Chapter 11

*The group stayed there (in Straumsfjord) while Karlsefni went on one ship to look for Thorhall. They sailed north around Kjalarnes Point and then westwards of it, keeping the land on their port side. They saw nothing but wild forest. When they had sailed for a long time they reached a river flowing from east to west. They sailed into the mouth of the river and lay to near the south bank.*

The “Port side” refers to the left-hand side, facing forward, so they were sailing with the land on their left. This description can e.g. refer to them sailing north and westward of (A) the Great Northern Peninsula (Quirpon Island) with the “East River” being e.g. Bakers Brook in Gros Morne NL; (B) Cape Breton Island (Cape North, White Point or Cape Gabarus) with the “East River” being e.g. Mabou River on Cape Breton Island’s western shore; (C) Nova Scotia eastern shore (Cape Canso or Cape George Point) with the “East River” being e.g. River John in Tatamagouche Bay; or

<sup>60</sup> <http://canoe kayak.ca/projet-daide-au-canotage-aborigene-une-fiere-tradition/>

<sup>61</sup> <http://indigenousboats.blogspot.no/2010/02/dugouts-coexisting-with-bark-canoes.html>



(E) Gaspé Peninsula (Cape Gaspé or or Cap-des-Rosiers) with the “East River” being e.g. Rivière Trois Pistoles that runs into St. Lawrence River.

## Chapter 12

*They saw mountains, which they felt to be the same as those near Hóp, and both these places seemed to be equally far away from Straumsfjord. They returned to spend their third winter in Straumsfjord. Many quarrels arose, as the men who had no wives sought to take those of the married men. Karlsefni's son Snorri was born there the first autumn and was three years old when they left. They had southerly winds and reached Markland, where they met five natives. One was bearded, two were women and two of them children. Karlsefni and his men caught the boys but the others escaped and disappeared into the earth. They took the boys with them and taught them their language and had them baptized. They called their mother Vethild and their father Ovaegi. They said that kings ruled the land of the natives; one of them was called Avaldamon and the other Valdidida. No houses were there, they said, but people slept in caves or holes. They spoke of another land, across from their own. There people dressed in white clothing, shouted loudly and bore poles and waved banners. This people assumed to be the land of the white men. They then came to Greenland and spent the winter with Eirik the Red.*

This sentence “They saw mountains which they felt to be the same as those near Hóp, and both these places seemed to be equally far away from Straumsfjord”, in my opinion “gives the impression of being detailed, rational and original”<sup>62</sup> and is perhaps the best clue in the sagas regarding the location of Straumsfjord. This is because there are only a handful of places in Atlantic Canada, or East Coast America, where (1) the rivers run from east to west, and (2) where you can find mountains that you can see, from the sea, from two opposite sides.

The only possible mountains, including hills as described here, would be: (A) The Long Range Mountains in Newfoundland; (B) Cape Breton Island Highlands; (C) The Appalachian Mountains between St. Lawrence River and the Gulf of Maine; (D) The Chic-Choc Mountains on Gaspé Peninsula, between Chaleur Bay and St. Lawrence River and E) The Cobequid Mountains (hills) between Northumberland Strait and Minas Basin.

Adding the clues we already have collected about the saga-sites should make it possible for us to triangulate the most probable locations of Straumsfjord with Straumsey, “East River” and Hóp down to a handful of options.

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<sup>62</sup> <http://www.fiskecenter.umb.edu/Staff/Steinberg/Viking08/Readings/Thorlaksson2001.pdf>

## 7.4 Summary and Comparison Of Proposals by Author

GS	B. Wallace (1)	P. Bergþórsson (2)	J. B. Godal (3)	J. Kristjánsson et. al. (4)	Larsson/ Storm (5)
Helluland (Land of Stone-slabs)	Baffin Island, NU	Baffin Island, NU	Resolution Island, NU	Baffin Island, NU	Labrador
Markland (Land of Forrests)	Hamilton Inlet/ Sandwich Bay/ Lake Melville, NL	Labrador, Sandwich Bay/ Hamilton Inlet, NL	Labrador/ Sandwich Bay, NL	Labrador, NL	Newfoundland (all)
Vínland (Land of Wine/Grapes)	Gulf of Saint Lawrence (all)	Quebec, QC	Northumberland Strait	Newfoundland (All)	Nova Scotia
Leifsbúðir 1 (Leifs Summer Camp)		Quebec City, QC			
Leifsbúðir 2 (Leifs Winter Camp)	L'Anse Aux Meadows, NL	L'Anse Aux Meadows, NL	Pictou, NS		
"Kornhjálmsey" (Grain-Cover Isle)		Île d'Orléans, QC or PEI			
"Daggarey" (Dew Island)		Anticosti Island, QC	Prince Edward Island		
"Eyjarsund" (Island Sound)		Gaspé passage, QC	Northumberland Strait		

ES	B. Wallace (1)	P. Bergþórsson (2)	J. B. Godal (3)	J. Kristjánsson et. al. (4)	Larsson/ Storm (5)
Bjarney (Bear Island)		Anticosti Island, QC	Newfoundland (All)	Huntingdon Island, NL	
Einfætingaland (One-legged land)		Gaspé peninsula, QC	Shediac, NB	W. Northern Peninsula, NL	
Furðustrandir (Strange Shores)		Nova Scotia East Coast	Nova Scotia N-East Coast	E. Northern Peninsula, NL	Cape Breton Island, E-Coast
Kjalarnes (Keel Point)		Cape North/ White Point, NS	Cape Canso, NS	Quirpon Island, NL	Cape Gabarus, NS
Krossanes (Cross Point)		Kelly Point, NS	Point Pleasant, NS		
Straumsfjörður (Fjord of Currents)	L'Anse Aux Meadows, NL	St. John, NB	Halifax, NS	Sop's Arm, White Bay, NL	Chaleur Bay, NB/QC
Straumsey (Island of Currents)	Belle Isle, NL	Grand Manan Island, NB	McNabs Island, NS	Sop's Island, NL	
"Austurá" (East River)		Rivière Trois Pistoles, QC	Scoudouc River, NB	(Bakers Brook, NL)	
Fjöll (Mountains, High hills)		Appalachian Mountains	Shepody Mountain, NB	Long Range Mts, NL	
Hóp (Tidal lagoon)	Miramichi River/ Chaleur Bay	New York Harbour, NY	Riverside-Albert/ Shepody, NB	Gambo Pond, Bonavista Bay, NL	Southeast Nova Scotia

TABLE 7: SUMMARY AND COMPARISON OF PROPOSALS BY AUTHOR

## Collecting the Clues:

- A. Straumsfjord = Sop's Arms, NL  
East River = Bakers Brook, NL  
Hóp = Gambo, Freshwater Bay, NL  
Mt's = Long Range Mountains, NL
- B. Straumsfjord = Bonavista Bay, NL  
East River = Bakers Brook,, NL  
Hóp = Codroy River, NL  
Mt's = Long Range Mountains, NL
- C. Straumsfjord = Gaspé Bay, QC  
East River = Rivière du Bic, QC  
Hóp = Chaleur Bay, QC  
Mt's = Chic-Choc Mountains, QC
- D. Straumsfjord = Aspy Bay, NS  
East River = Mabou River, NS  
Hóp = Lower River Inhabitants, NS  
Mt's = Cape Breton Highlands, NS
- E. Straumsfjord = St. Ann's Bay, NS  
East River = Rivière Ouelle, NS  
Hóp = Passamaquoddy, ME/NB  
Mt's = Appalachian Mountains
- F. Straumsfjord = Halifax Harbour, NS  
East River = Scoudouc River, NB  
Hóp = Riverside-Albert/ Shepody, NS  
Mt's = Shepody Mountain, NB
- G. Straumsfjord = Southeast NS  
East River = River John, NS  
Hóp = Cobequid Bay/ Minas Basin, NS  
Mt's = Cobequid Mountains, NS
- H. Straumsfjord = Saint John, NB  
East River = Rivière Trois Pistoles, QC  
Hóp = New York Harbour, NY  
Mt's = Appalachian Mountains

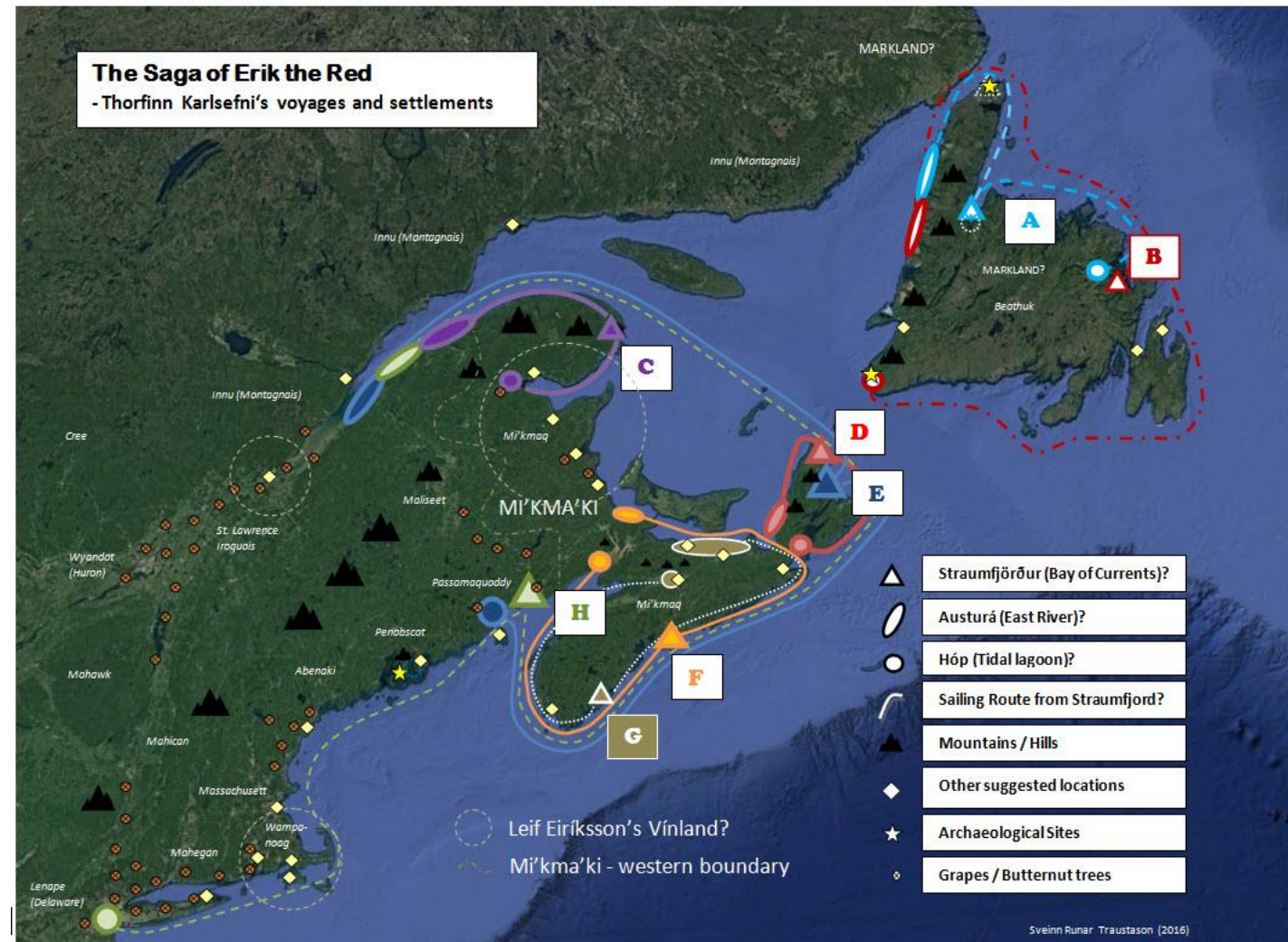


FIGURE 7-12: ES 2. CLUES TO THE LOCATION OF STRAUMSFJORD AND HOP

### 7.5 Where are Straumfjord, 'East River' and Hóp?

After collecting the clues from my research, I have put together eight different proposals that I will analyse further. These proposals are based on the premise that the sentence *“They saw mountains (near East River) which they felt to be the same as those near Hóp, and both these places seemed to be equally far away from Straumsfjord”* is correct. As I mentioned earlier, I believe it is correct, since it gives *“the impression of being detailed, rational and original”*, that according to Thorlaksson (2001) may be the only part of the sagas we can trust. This part in the saga seems to be a genuine observation, signalling the relationship between these three locations. The Saga writer had no reason to lie or alter this description in any way. The eight proposals have been given names according to the proposed location of Straumsfjord.

### Proposal A – Sop’s Arm, Newfoundland

This proposal is based on the article, *Falling into Vinland: Newfoundland Hunting Pitfalls at the Edge of the Viking World* (Jónas Kristjánsson, Bjarni F. Einarsson, Kristján Jónasson, Kevin McAleese and Þór Hjaltalín 2012).<sup>63</sup> This article argues that “Vinland is the modern day Newfoundland, and that Straumfjord of the sagas, where Thorfinn Karlsefni and Gudrid Thorbjarnardottir attempted settlement could be Sop’s Arm in White Bay on the North coast of Newfoundland.” The authors further suggest that „Kjalarnes“ is Quirpon Island at the northern top of Newfoundland, just east of L’Anse Aux Meadows; East River and „Einfætingaland“, is in the West Coast of the Great Northern Peninsula; „Furðustrandir“ are on the East Coast of the Great Northern Peninsula; „Straumsey“ is Sop’s Island, and „Hóp“ is Gambo Pond in Bonavista Bay.

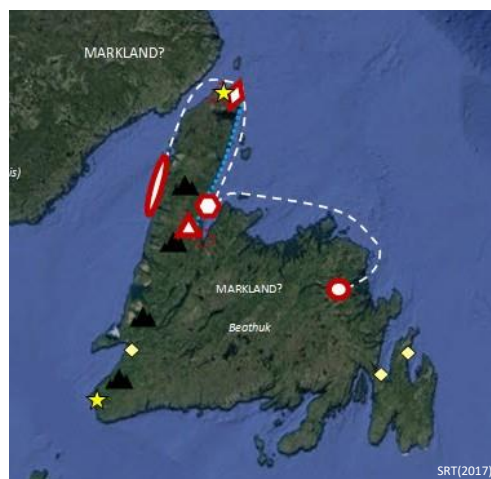


FIGURE 7-13: SOP'S ARM

Pros: Furðustrandir and Kjalarnes fit fine with the descriptions in the Saga and, just like Straumsfjord, Sop's arm has mountains and an island near its mouth. From here you can sail either north and west, or east and south.

Cons: Eiriks Saga locates East River and Hóp at, or on either side of, „the same“ mountains. In this proposal, however, there are no mountains between Hóp (Gambo Pond) and East River. This proposal is therefore based on the premise that the saga writer made a mistake. Sop’s Island is not teaming with birds and the currents around it are not particularly strong. Also, this

<sup>63</sup> [www.researchgate.net/publication/234802722](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/234802722) Falling into Vinland



proposal puts Hóp in a place where there are no vines, butternuts, or self-sown wheat and it does not explain the presence of butternuts in L'Anse Aux Meadows.

Conclusion: Unlikely, given the criteria.

#### Proposal B – Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland

This proposal suggests Straumfjord is in Bonavista Bay NL; Straumsey is one of the islands in the bay; Furðustrandir is the eastern shore of the Great Northern Peninsula; Kjalarnes is Quirpon Island; Furðustrandir is the East Coast of the Great Northern Peninsula; East River is Bakers Brook; and Hóp is one of the Codroy Rivers. The mountains mentioned in the Saga would be the Long Range Mountains.

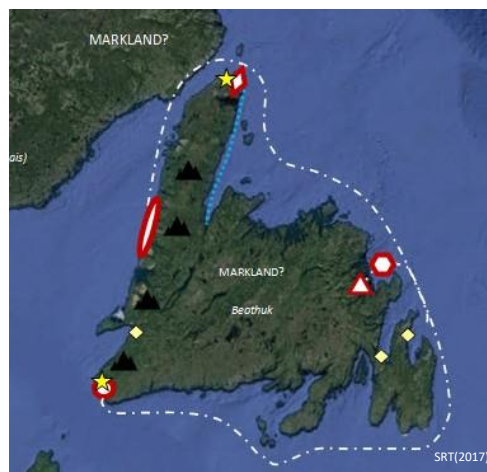


FIGURE 7-14: BONAVISTA BAY

Pros: The saga narrative seems to fit well with the landscape despite the East River and Hóp not being on opposite sides of the Long Range Mountains. The distance is correct. Near Terra Nova National Park Visitor Centre is Terra Nova Bird Sanctuary and Mt. Stamford, the most prominent peak in the bay. The strong Labrador Current runs to the east of the bay. The islands in the bay are well known for bird life and may have had colonies of the Great Auk in the past. From Bonavista Bay you can sail either north and west, or east and south. There are tidal pools (barachois) in both the Little- and the Grand Codroy Rivers. This proposal also attempts to explain the recent Norse archaeological site at Point Rosee.

Cons: This proposal puts Hóp in a place where there are no vines, butternuts, or self-sown wheat and it does not explain the presence of butternuts in L'Anse Aux Meadows. The tides are not particularly high in Codroy and would hardly fit with the description in the saga.

Conclusion: Possible. Needs further research.

#### Proposal C – Gaspé Bay, Quebec

This proposal is based in part by the ideas of Birgitte Wallace who believes Hóp is either in Chaleur Bay or in Miramichi Bay but also inspired, in part, by the ideas of Gustav Storm, H. P. Steensby, Matthias Thordarson and Halldór Hermannsson, that Straumfjörður was located in Chaleur Bay, *"where the tide rises from five to ten feet."* Storm, however, placed both Vinland and Hóp on the south east coast of Nova Scotia. In this proposal I place Hóp in Chaleur Bay and Straumfjord in Gaspé Bay. The bird island is Bonaventure Island and the Chic Choc Mountains separate East River from Hóp.

Pros: Chaleur Bay is one of only two places in the Gulf of St. Lawrence where you would find both grapes and butternut trees. Bonaventure Island is teaming with birds and fits perfectly with the island described in the saga. It has strong currents, or a “strong swell between the island and the shore,”<sup>64</sup> and is located near the mouth of Gaspé Bay. From Gaspé Bay one can sail either north and west, or east and south. Chaleur Bay has a few tidal lagoons including Bathurst Harbour, Eel River Gully and Bassin de la Rivière Nouvelle with a tidal range of 3m. The Chic Choc Mountains (between East River and Hóp?) have 25 peaks higher than 1000m. Cap-des-Rosiers is well known for its treacherous waters and its shipwrecks.

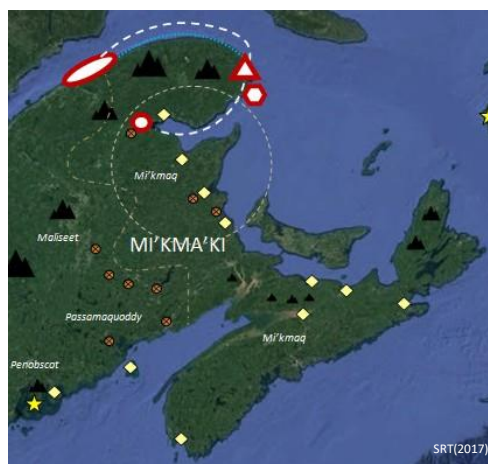


FIGURE 7-15: GASPÉ BAY

Cons: The Saga maintains that Thorfinn sailed „a long time“ but the sailing distance from Gaspé Bay to Chaleur Bay is only a day’s sailing. In this proposal, Furðustrandir would have to be the northern shore of Gaspé Peninsula, north-west (and then south-west) of Cap-des-Rosiers. This does not fit well with the saga that describes Furðustrandir to the north of Straumsfjörður and to the south of Kjalarnes.

Conclusion: Possible. Needs further research.

#### Proposal D – Aspy Bay, Cape Breton Island, NS

This proposal considers Straumsfjord to be Aspy Bay; Straumsey as St. Pauls Island; East River as Mabou River and Hóp as Lower River Inhabitants (or potentially River Bourgeois). Kjalarnes would be Cape North, as suggested by Bergthorsson (2000).

Pros: Fits somewhat well with the narrative in the saga. The landscape is beautiful with mountains and there are strong currents around St. Pauls Island. The location of Aspy Bay would be very strategic and logical as the next outpost south of L’Anse aux Meadows, in a direct line with Point Rosee, and serve a similar purpose being a gateway to the lands further south and west.

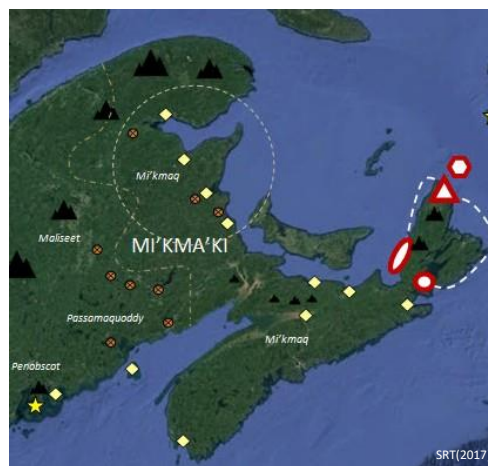


FIGURE 7-16: ASPY BAY

<sup>64</sup> <https://www.ec.gc.ca/meteo-weather/default.asp?lang=En&n=8EBF321D-1&offset=22&toc=show>

Cons: The distance (from Straumfjörður to Hóp) seems a bit short and the landscape around Lower River Inhabitants does not fit the description in the saga all that well.

Conclusion: Possible. Needs further research.

#### Proposal E – St. Ann's Bay, Cape Breton Island, NS

This proposal considers St. Ann's Bay to be Straumfjörður; Bird Island as Straumsey; River Ouelle, which flows from Gaspé Peninsula into St. Lawrence River, as East River; Cape North, on Cape Breton Island, or Cap-des-Rosiers, in Quebec, as Kjalarnes. Hóp would be located somewhere in the Bay of Fundy, possibly in Passamaquoddy Bay, or Acadia National Park in Maine, where there are views of the Appalachian Mountains further north.

Pros: This proposal fits somewhat well with the narrative of the sagas. St. Ann's Bay is a beautiful mountainous *fjord* in a strategic location on Cape Breton Island. Near its mouth is an island, „Bird Island“, that is teeming with birds.

Cons: This proposal does not give a clear location for Hóp, unless Hóp („í Hópi landit“) refers to the whole area, i.e. The Bay of Fundy. The Appalachian mountains midway between Hóp and East River, although the tallest in the region, are far inland and can not be seen from the coast unless you are on top of Cadillac Mountain, the highest mountain in Acadia NP, where one can only see Mount Katahdin (1606m) “on exceptionally clear days”.<sup>65</sup>

Conclusion: Possible. Needs further research.

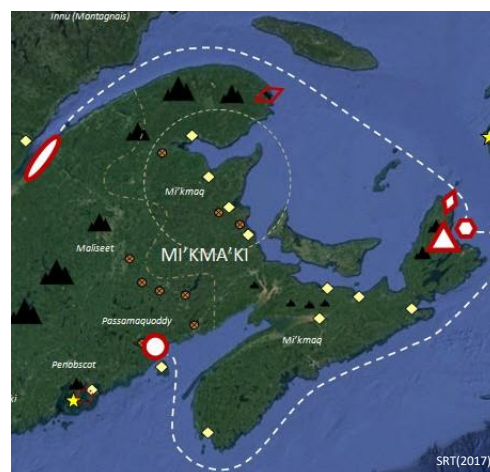


FIGURE 7-17: ST. ANN'S BAY

<sup>65</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cadillac\\_Mountain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cadillac_Mountain)

### Proposal F – Halifax Harbour, Nova Scotia

This proposal is based on Jon Bojer Godal’s book from 2012, “Kor låg landet som bar namnet Vinland” (Where lay the land that carried the name Vinland). Godal argues that Straumsfjord is the Bedford Basin, or Halifax Harbour, in Nova Scotia, Straumsey is McNabs Island; East River is Scoudouc River, near Shediac NB, and Hóp is near Riverside-Albert in the Bay of Fundy. Godal suggests Kjalarnes is Cape Canso and the mountain, which can be seen from both East River and Hóp, is the Shepody Mountain near Riverside-Albert.

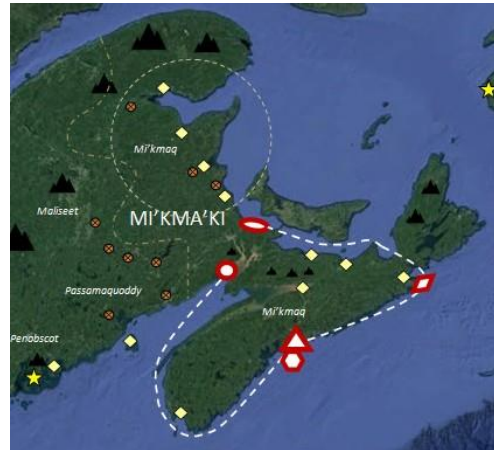


FIGURE 7-18: HALIFAX HARBOUR

Pros: The narrative fits somewhat and the distance between points is correct. The tides in the inner part of Bay of Fundy are the highest in the world, but would refer to Hóp rather than Straumfjord.

Cons: Shepody Mountain is both small (255m), and far away from Scoudouc River, and can not be seen from there. The Scoudouc River flows more north than east and is not the first river flowing east after entering Northumberland Strait from the Strait of Canso. McNabs Island is not teaming with birds. The Bedford Basin has no mountains. Although part of the Bay of Fundy, Riverside-Albert is not a tidal lagoon and there are no registered vines or butternut trees growing there.

Conclusion: Unlikely, given the criteria.

### Proposal G – Lobster Bay, Nova Scotia

This proposal is inspired by both Jon Bojer Godal and Mats Larsson’s proposal that suggests Straumsfjord refers to Lobster Bay in southern Nova Scotia. In this proposal I suggest that East River is River John near Tatamagouche Bay in Northumberland Strait and Hóp refers to the Cobequid Basin, or a smaller tidal lagoon in Minas Basin, such as Diligent River or Parsboro Harbour. The Cobequid Mountains (360m) separate Tatamagouche Bay and the Minas Basin.

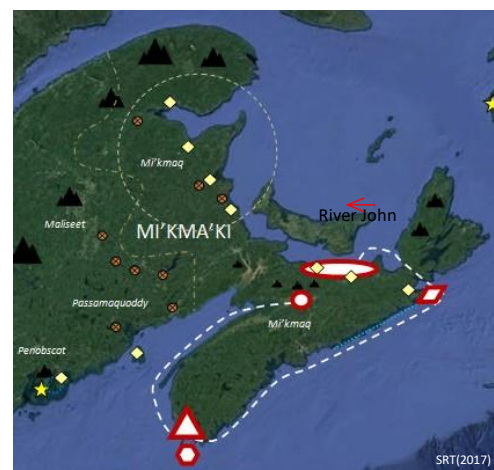


FIGURE 7-19: LOBSTER BAY

Pros: Lobster Bay, was named “La Baye Courante” (Bay of Currents) by Samuel de Champlain on his second voyage to Acadia in 1604. The landscape fits better with the saga narrative than Godal’s proposal. The Cobequid Mountains are close to both the north and south shore and, although small, they are 100m taller than Shepody Mountain and can be seen from both sides.



The tides in the Cobequid Basin are the highest in the world. The islands near the mouth of Lobster Bay are teeming with birds. Samuel de Champlain wrote: *“On one island we saw so great a quantity of birds, called penguins, that we killed them easily with sticks ... At the two others there is such an abundance of different sorts of birds that one could not imagine it, if he had not seen them.”*

Cons: The distance from Lobster Bay to River John is 300km longer (almost twice as long) than to the Minas Basin. From Lobster Bay to the Minas Basin is less than two days sailing. There are no mountains in Lobster Bay and, as far as I know, there were no vines or butternut trees in the Minas Basin in 1000AD.

Conclusion: Possible. Needs further research.

#### Proposal H – Saint John, Bay of Fundy, New Brunswick

This proposal is based on Páll Bergþórsson’s book *Vínlandsgátan, Wineland Millennium* (2000). The author, a meteorologist and Vinland enthusiast, suggests that Straumsfjord refers to the Bay of Fundy, with Saint John as the settlement; Straumsey is Grand Manan Island; East River is Rivière Trois Pistoles in Quebec; Kjalarnes is White Point, near Cape North; and Hóp refers to New York Harbour. Bergþórsson suggests the mountains between East River and Hóp are the Appalachian Mountains.

Pros: Vines and butternut trees grow along the Saint John River and there are strong tidal currents in the Bay of Fundy. Grand Manan Island, and particularly some smaller islands nearby such as Machias Seal Island, are teeming with birds.

Cons: The Appalachian Mountains are far inland and can not be seen from the coast. New York Harbour is not a typical tidal lagoon. The distance from Saint John to Rivière Trois Pistoles is roughly 800km longer, almost twice as long, as the distance from Saint John to New York City.

Conclusion: Unlikely, given the criteria.

Note! These proposals will be dealt with in my suggestions for tourism routes in chapter 9. Further maps and information for all proposals can be found in the Appendix.



FIGURE 7-20: SAINT JOHN, NB

## 7.6 Conclusion:

<u>Definite:</u>	None
<u>Possible:</u>	B, C, D, E, and G
<u>Not likely:</u>	A, F, and H
<u>Impossible:</u>	None

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## 8 VINLAND-MI'KMA'KI TRAIL SURVEYS

### 8.1 Survey methods

For this thesis I created three types of surveys. The first for the purposes of Marketing Research, the second for the Product Development and the third for Case Studies.

The aim of the survey questionnaires was "to assess the level of interest and the feasibility for a potential new tourism product called "The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail" in Atlantic Canada."<sup>66</sup> Further details about the survey are attached as an Appendix.

For these surveys I used a free version of SurveyMonkey that allows 10 questions and provides some assistance with formulating the questions.

### 8.2 Market research survey for a potential new tourism product

This survey was sent out to 17 recipients in six countries, Canada (6/4), USA (3/2), Iceland (4/4), Norway (1/1), Australia (1/1) and the UK (2/1). Thirteen recipients, 76.5%, responded. The recipient list is attached in Appendix 14.

Q1: What is your first reaction to the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail concept?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Very positive	38.46%	5
Somewhat positive	53.85%	7
Neutral	7.69%	1
Somewhat negative	0.00%	0
Very negative	0.00%	0
Total		13

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<sup>66</sup> The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail - NTO/DMO Tourism Product Development Survey (SRT 2017)

**Q2:** Do you think the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail is something your customers, and other visitors, would be interested in exploring and experiencing, or not?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Definitely interested	23.08%	3
Probably interested	61.54%	8
Neutral	7.69%	1
Probably not interested	0.00%	0
Definitely not interested	0.00%	0
Other (please specify) <b>Responses</b>	7.69%	1
Total		13

- Must be interested in ancient (Viking) History to travel on this kind of journey.

**Q3:** By applying your experience and your best judgement, using the Explorer Quotient (EQ) traveler types, what would you consider to be the most marketable target groups for this product?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Authentic experiencers: (spontaneous, discrete, ethical, eco-conscious, independent, open-minded, curious)	38.46%	5
Cultural explorers: (positive, open-minded, curious, risk-taker, flexible, easy-going, energetic, creative)	69.23%	9
Free spirits: (open-minded, ambitious, enthusiastic, fun-loving, adventurous, curious, social)	15.38%	2
Cultural history buff: (idealistic, positive, open-minded, independent, detailed, curious, progressive, considerate)	69.23%	9
Personal history explorer: (conforming, traditional, ambitious, aspiring, anxious, social, family-oriented)	30.77%	4
Gentle explorer: (conservative, reliable, traditional, solitary, selective, discriminating, fun-loving)	0.00%	0
No-hassle traveller: (flexible, rational, spiritual, careful, energetic, open-minded, discriminating consumer)	7.69%	1
Virtual Traveller: (community-minded, traditional, cautious, practical, modest)	7.69%	1
Rejuvenator: (family-oriented, traditional, ambitious, impulsive, relaxed, discriminating, social)	0.00%	0
Other (please specify) <b>Responses</b>	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 13		

- *Response not registered*

**Q4:** By applying your experience and your best judgement, what would you consider to be the most marketable prize range and length of stay for this product, all inclusive?

	\$ 0 - 1900	\$ 2000- 3900	\$ 4000- 5900	\$ 6000- 7900	\$ 8000- 9900	\$ 10000 or more	Total Respondents
6 nights or less	40.00% 2	60.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5
7- 13 nights	25.00% 2	62.50% 5	37.50% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8
14- 20 nights	0.00% 0	40.00% 2	20.00% 1	40.00% 2	20.00% 1	0.00% 0	5
21 nights or more	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	66.67% 2	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3

- *Sorry, this is pure, 100% guess work.*
- *To cover Atlantic Canada you will need the longer period of time so you want to consider a couple of shorter options*

**Q5:** By applying your experience and your best judgement, what would you consider to be the best and most cost effective marketing tools, media and communication channels, for reaching these consumer segments?

Answer Choices	Responses
Radio and television	15.38% 2
Newspapers and press advertising	7.69% 1
Brochures, billboards and leaflets	23.08% 3
Social media and e-marketing	84.62% 11
Other (please specify) <b>Responses</b>	15.38% 2
Total Respondents: 13	

- *Trade shows*
- *A bit of all the above. Define the target audience; select the applicable press for advertising and advertorials. Brochure sent by marketing. Social media is the most cost effective method today.*

**Q6:** If the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail was available today, how likely would it be for you to consider marketing and selling the product?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Extremely likely	7.69%	1
Very likely	0.00%	0
Somewhat likely	61.54%	8
Not so likely	23.08%	3
Not at all likely	0.00%	0
Other (please specify) <span>Responses</span>	7.69%	1
Total		13

- N/A

**Q7:** In your own words, what aspect(s) of this new product do you like the most?

11. *It is a new way to see this area. Provides cultural travellers a different perspective of the region.*
12. *uniqueness history spectacular outdoor hiking experience*
13. *Historical, cultural Outdoors Location(s)*
14. *It opens the door to more tourism opportunities in an area now underserved.*
15. *The Vikings and the UNESCO sites have always been lures to explore the region. We have had less success with the Mi'kmaq Nation's because of the lack of consistency with the product offerings. Hopefully a fresh start would create new and exciting offerings.*
16. *Mi'kmaq people*
17. *I like the concept of a journey through the region's history and landscapes. Would need a better understanding of how it would actually work though in terms of packaging into a holiday - is it simply a designated route to which we would then need to add our own transport, accommodation, activities etc?*
18. *It is unique. The historical aspect will intrigue many.*
19. *More emphasis on "true" history and further validation of indigenous inhabitants in N-America*
20. *Unique new product, niche product*
21. *Difficult to say I would like to consider it more. On the surface it seems informative, interesting and a cultural experience to be involved with.*
22. *The historic aspect. The archaeological site at L'Anse aux Meadows. Vinland. The program will give a great insight into the Vikings travel and exploration in Vineland.*

**Q8:** In your own words, what improvements and/or changes would you suggest for this product, which would make it more attractive to you and potential travelers?

1. *My market is Canadians. Typically they would plan this type of trip as individual components that they put together themselves. For many the trail may be something they discover they can do at the destination after they've already decided to go. As a result any*

*package type pricing isn't relevant as it would be rare for a Canadian to purchase this way (and we don't offer that type of product as a result).*

2. *just getting the word out will be the most beneficial - and problematic - competing with MANY other ideas and products*
3. *Outside of Newfoundland and L'Anse aux Meadows, the culture and association to the the Mi'kmaq Nation's is closer between the Gael and Scottish communities...and the French (Acadian/Metis)...*
4. *Consistency*
5. *The tourleader should be a known person beeing able to attract clients*
6. *More clarity on what the 'Trail' actually is and what it includes.*
7. *no comments*
8. *The Spiritual, the old ways and belief aspects*  
*I like the program as is and I'm sure it will help the visitor to experience the history of the Vikings and their travels.*

#### Q9: How innovative is the product?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Extremely innovative	7.69%	1
Very innovative	46.15%	6
Somewhat innovative	30.77%	4
Not so innovative	0.00%	0
Not at all innovative	0.00%	0
Other (please specify)	15.38%	2
Total		13

- *The Norse culture in Atlantic Canada is less featured outside Nfld....which creates an innovative opportunity*
- *It is innovative and on a very grand scale to incorporate all of Atlantic Canada. There are other driving routes and trails in the country that perhaps offer a similar concept, such as the Viking Trail route which runs along Newfoundland's west coast.*

#### Q10: Do you have any other comments, questions, or concerns?

1. *Critical to the success of this product for the FiT traveller would be a very well designed website that showcases the trail, attractions along the way, accommodation and facilities, etc. It would need to be mobile responsive as well. For further insight into how package travellers may respond I would suggest contacting the few Canadian tour operators (Anderson Vacations, Atlantic Tours, etc).*
2. *When can we start selling it?? !!*
3. *I know these lands, and the peoples.... Would be interested in seeing your results... Slan-cha/Skal*
4. *I'm probably not a good candidate for this survey. I'm more likely to be an end-user, rather than someone whose customers and clients would use the trail.*

5. *Good luck and let us know of any developments, would be keen to hear more as the project progresses!*
6. *No not comments as such but good luck with it  
Program like this is important in my opinion, to keep the history alive, the historical sites well maintained. The program is excellent for study tours and people interested in the saga.*

### 8.3 NTO/DMO Tourism Product Development Survey

This survey was sent out to 22 recipients in six countries, Canada (8/4), Iceland (2/2), Norway (2/1), Denmark (1/0), Ireland (1/0) and the UK (8/4). Twelve recipients, 54.5%, responded. The recipient list is attached in Appendix 15.

Q1: What is your first reaction to the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail concept?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Very positive	41.67%	5
Answer Choices	Responses	
Definitely interested	33.33%	4
Probably interested	58.33%	7
Neutral	8.33%	1
Probably not interested	0.00%	0
Definitely not interested	0.00%	0
Other (please specify)	Responses	0.00%
Total		12

Q2: Do you think the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail is something travelers would be interested in exploring and experiencing, or not?



**Q3:** By applying your experience and your best judgement, using the Explorer Quotient (EQ) traveler types, what would you consider to be the most marketable target groups for this product?

Answer Choices	Responses
Authentic experiencers: (spontaneous, discrete, ethical, eco-conscious, independent, open-minded, curious)	66.67% 8
Cultural explorers: (positive, open-minded, curious, risk-taker, flexible, easy-going, energetic, creative)	83.33% 10
Free spirits: (open-minded, ambitious, enthusiastic, fun-loving, adventurous, curious, social)	41.67% 5
Cultural history buff: (idealistic, positive, open-minded, independent, detailed, curious, progressive, considerate)	75.00% 9
Personal history explorer: (conforming, traditional, ambitious, aspiring, anxious, social, family-oriented)	41.67% 5
Gentle explorer: (conservative, reliable, traditional, solitary, selective, discriminating, fun-loving)	33.33% 4
No-hassle traveller: (flexible, rational, spiritual, careful, energetic, open-minded, discriminating consumer)	25.00% 3
Virtual Traveller: (community-minded, traditional, cautious, practical, modest)	16.67% 2
Rejuvenator: (family-oriented, traditional, ambitious, impulsive, relaxed, discriminating, social)	8.33% 1
Other (please specify) <span>Responses</span>	16.67% 2
Total Respondents: 12	

**Q4:** By applying your experience and your best judgement, what would you consider to be the most marketable prize range and length of stay for this product, all inclusive?

	\$ 0 - 1900	\$ 2000 - 3900	\$ 4000 - 5900	\$ 6000 - 7900	\$ 8000 - 9900	\$ 10000 or more	Total Respondents
6 nights or less	40.00% 2	100.00% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5
7-13 nights	0.00% 0	20.00% 1	100.00% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	5
14-20 nights	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2
21 nights or more	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	2



**Q5:** Although most scholars agree Vinland refers to an area in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the exact location has never been established and may never be proven archaeologically. The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail will therefore be based on best knowledge and most fitting locations based on the descriptions in the Vinland sagas and the Mi'kmaq oral traditions. By applying your experience and your best judgement, how important do you think it is that only scientifically proven locations are included on the Trail?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Extremely important	0.00%	0
Very important	8.33%	1
Somewhat important	50.00%	6
Not so important	16.67%	2
Not at all important	0.00%	0
Other (please specify)	Responses	25.00% 3
Total		12

- Trade shows

**Q6:** In your own words, based on your experience and best judgement, what do you consider will be the biggest advantages (Strengths and Opportunities in the SWOT analysis) for the proposed Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail?

1. Nature, storytelling and viking history
2. Lanse aux Meadows is sustainable via Parks Canada. It is supremely authentic/ reconstructed authentically for great experience. Opportunities for Mikmak experiences in e.g. crafts working? Bringing to life stories. Genuine meeting of cultures. Training of story tellers.
3. The mixture of culture is possible to bring on some curious people. It also gives the project flexibility in representation and experience. The cross-nationality also gives a bigger market but this could also work as a disadvantage has people might not relate to the product.
4. An interesting way of combining different cultural and ethnic histories, bringing everyone together inclusively.
5. Authenticity Indigenous tourism is a growing segment of tourism, in demand at the national, regional and provincial level
6. The discovery of an unknown history.
7. The Viking brand has a proven, durable appeal. Concepts of migration are currently a 'hot topic' in media / cultural enterprises of various kinds. The project includes scope to engage a range of interest groups.
8. Exotic location, in the sense that it is different from most other tours and holiday packages. It will appeal to visitors from the US market who are interested in the Viking presence. Personally, I find the combination of Viking and Mi'kma'ki exciting, and I would love to hear the storytellers share from the Mi'kma'ki oral tradition!
9. the story
10. Opportunity for cultural experience development and the adventure of exploring the Saga through multiple destinations.

- 
11. *Regional Partnerships, Broader Experience, Different Experience Offer, People and Program Based Experience development*
  12. *Interesting history (varied) and beautiful coastal landscape. The history of the Mi'kmaq nation.*

Q7: In your own words, based on your experience and best judgement, what do you consider will be the biggest challenges (Threats and Weaknesses in the SWOT analysis) for the proposed Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail?

13. *The second part of the name is a hard sell*
14. *Weakness is potential colonial attitude. Political rejection. Ensuring good communities buy-in. Training of story tellers.*
15. *This is a rather large trail to visit and cost could be the greatest threshold.*
16. *Finding enough material about Vinland!*
17. *having all stakeholders committed to this initiative*
18. *To coordinate all the people concerned.*
19. *The focus may need tightening (at present it is possibly too inclusive from a thematic point of view). Lack of authenticated sites / monuments / heritage assets beyond L'Anse aux Meadows (from a purely 'Viking' point of view). Could present sustainability issues (i.e. dependent on live interpretative staff).*
20. *Getting across that this is not a traditional "go and have nice weather" holiday, but a holiday where it might well be rain and wind and chilly, but it will nonetheless be fun and give you memories for life! I guess the adventurous quality of it needs to be emphasised.*
21. *getting them there*
22. *Lack of awareness of the Saga in broader markets, niche passion, partnership and transportation challenges, (although these could present entrepreneurial opportunities) including direct air access.*
23. *Large Geographic Area with Island & Mainland Connection Issues, Two provincial governments with different rules, Partner Buy In from all Groups*
24. *Marketing the trail. Keep the partners/stakeholders happy.*

Q8: In your own words, based on your experience and best judgement, how would you measure the success rate for a proposed new tourism product like this one? Do you think the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail has the potential of achieving that?

1. *It fits well with arctic travel for the high end market, cultural travellers and nature explorers*
2. *Yes, as a rural development project. I would think that minibus loads of people might be best size for this experience. This offers opportunities for local entrepreneurs advertising to cruise parties. Training would be essential.*
3. *Well with time and passion it might accomplish the goal of becoming a new tourism product.*
4. *I think it could be a very successful product. Clearly the actual number of people doing the trail can be quantified and people can be asked about their experience and whether it has enhanced their visit.*
5. *Identifying the stakeholders, have them work together and actually develop a product.*
6. *Yes, but the cost and the work to arrive at the end of the process will be hard and difficult.*

7. *Footfall at project-linked sites / coverage in local and national media / access via digital platforms to project web resources / economic benefits to wider community. Yes, the potential is there.*
8. *Initially, I would measure the success rate via feedback from the customers. Not via profit. I think it will take a few years before it is profitable. But positive feedback is a success in itself. I think the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail has great potential for achieving that, if you reach the right target group of adventurous people.*
9. *have you got the money*
10. *How engaged are potential partners for cultural experience offering? Is it group or self guided tour model? What is the awareness of this cultural connection in key markets? And how does it motivate travel, how many are passionate enough about this topic to devote their vacation to exploring this trail? Suggest more market research is required and greater understanding of potential experiences, prior to developing success indicators.*
11. *Success rate would be measured in actual sales of new Experience Offer with increase in visitation numbers at various sites throughout*
12. *Success rate 70-80%.*

**Q9:** How innovative is the product?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Extremely innovative	25.00%	3
Very innovative	33.33%	4
Somewhat innovative	33.33%	4
Not so innovative	0.00%	0
Not at all innovative	0.00%	0
Other (please specify)	8.33%	1
Total		12

**Q10:** In your own words, what improvements and/or changes would you suggest for this product, which would make it more attractive to potential visitors? Do you have any other comments, questions, or concerns?

1. *Theme the name and shorten it. Not sure the Inuit version is easy to sell. Add wildlife watching and more to do underways to tailor it to the high end market. More exclusive, less volume.*
2. *I would consider involvement of local Universities. The devt. of Orcadian archaeology has been reliant on research output and outside media used as marketing tool. Consider calling it an Experience?*
3. *One of the main obstacles is probably the size of the area to visit. This brings in some cost and longer travel. This suits probably best those who are older, childless or have upcoming children...in short those who have time.*
4. *I worry that there are not actually enough stories about Vinland to populate the trail. The name is of course very attractive. Perhaps the Celtic story of the area could be incorporated too.*

- 
5. *it needs to be "market ready" ...i.e. the product needs to be full developed and user ready and then marketed*
  6. *I don't have enough information to give you more comments. Good luck!*
  7. *A tighter focus: e.g. less dilution of focus on Norse-Mi'kma'ki interaction.*
  8. *I don't know all the details of what you are planning, but if I were going on this holiday, I would love to visit or maybe even spend the night in both a traditional Mi'kma'ki camp and a Viking longhouse, to try to "be" on both sides of this cultural encounter. I would love to learn to sing a Mi'kma'ki song or hear stories by a campfire. I would enjoy it more if it felt genuine, not as a kind of pre-packaged heritage-as-commodity kind of thing. I would like to feel that I'm not destroying the place or culture by visiting, so if my visit was eco-friendly and not too intrusive, that would be the best.*
  9. *the story around it*
  10. *Recommend further testing market appeal with potential visitors and gaining better understanding of partner opportunities before exploring further.*
  11. *It has to draw on as many Experiential and Program based offers as possible. People want to be engaged into the local culture along with learning about the connections of the past ones. A marketable offer that can be fully bookable online could reap most success.*
  12. *The name Viking is a very strong brand name. Use that also - partly at least? Could be difficult to market the name Mi'kma'ki outside Canada (lik in Europe).*

## 8.4 Survey summary and conclusion

Nearly all recipients in both surveys consider the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail concept either "somewhat positive" or "very positive," and more than half of recipients consider the product either "very innovative" or "extremely innovative". The results were similar for the potential interest of customers or other visitors to explore and experience the trail. When asked what part of the product they like the most, the answers ranged from, it was "*opening the door to more tourism opportunities in an area now underserved*" to "*it is unique*". A quarter of the recipients mentioned the Mi'kmaq - Native American angle specifically and on a positive note.

When asked how likely it would be for the recipient to market and sell the Trail if it was available today the majority, 8 recipients, thought it was somewhat likely, 3 did not think it was likely, while 1 considered it "*extremely likely*". Given the various background of the recipients, the kind of businesses they represent, the limited information provided in the survey and that this is a niche product that does not fit most company's portfolio, I would say the results were better than expected. The survey may even have resulted in finding a company willing to market and sell the product once it is ready.

On the subject of the most marketable price-range and length of stay, there were large variation between the answers. The majority of the recipients, 62%, believed 7-13 nights was the most marketable length of stay, while 38% considered either 6 nights or less, or 14-20 nights,

were most marketable depending on the price. Perhaps the most interesting result is that 60% believe “6 nights or less” can be sold for \$2-4000, 40% believe “7-13 nights” can be sold for \$4-6000, 40% believe “14-20 nights” can be sold for \$6-8000 and 20% believe “14-20 nights” can be sold for \$8-10.000. This result is a good indicator for the price range we could be looking at depending on the length of stay. This obviously needs further research but the category of \$8-10.000 for 14-20 nights may offer the best return-on-investment potential if we manage to reach those customers. Just looking at the numbers, and for the purpose of testing the waters, I would be inclined to organise a good quality 14 day tour for around \$8000.

The majority of the Product Development Survey recipients (69%) considered the most marketable target groups for the Trail would be the “*Cultural explorers*” and “*Cultural history buffs*,” followed by “*Authentic experiencers*” (38%), “*Personal history explorers*” (31%) and “*Free spirits*” (15%). The results from the Marketing Research Survey were similar, although a little more dramatic, with “*Cultural explorers*” receiving 83% of the vote, “*Cultural history buffs*” 75% and “*Authentic experiencers*” 67%, followed by “*Personal history explorers*” and “*Free spirits*” with 42%. “*Gentle explorers*” received 33% and “*No-Hassle travellers*” 25%. (Note that recipients could vote for more than one category). The vast majority of the recipients (85%) believed the best, and most cost effective, marketing tool for reaching these target groups, and consumer segments, would be by using social media and e-marketing.

On the issue of what possible improvements and/or changes the recipients would suggest for the product in order to make it more attractive to travellers, the answers ranged from “*consistency*” to a request for “*more clarity on what the ‘Trail’ actually is and what it includes.*” One recipient said, “*Getting the word out will be the most beneficial - and problematic - competing with MANY other ideas and products.*” Another said, “*I like the program as is and I'm sure it will help the visitor to experience the history of the Vikings and their travels.*”

A few recipients left some final comments. One said, “*Program like this is important in my opinion, to keep the history alive, the historical sites well maintained. The program is excellent for study tours and people interested in the saga.*” Another said, “*Critical to the success of this product for the FiT traveller would be a very well designed website that showcases the trail, attractions along the way, accommodation and facilities, etc. It would need to be mobile responsive as well. For further insight into how package travellers may respond I would suggest contacting the few Canadian tour operators (Anderson Vacations, Atlantic Tours, etc)*” and one concluded, “*When can we start selling it?? !!*”

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## 9 VISIT VINLAND (DEVELOPMENT AND MARKETING PROPOSALS)

### 9.1 Visit Vinland

The idea behind Visit Vinland is to tie together in one coherent product all the trails and tourism products that focus, in one way or another, on the history and heritage of Atlantic Canada prior to the European Colonization of the region.

Visit Vinland will obviously not replace other brands such as Atlantic Canada or Canadian Maritimes but coexist in order to attract other segments and perhaps manage to spice up the experience for everyone else. Aboriginal Tourism, Viking Tourism and Heritage Tourism are all very small segments that have little potential to attract large crowds of people on their own, however, working together *“with the right tourism product, in the right place, properly priced and promoted”* I believe there is great potential for attracting high yielding and long staying visitors to these sites.

### 9.2 Why Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail?

In the survey someone asked why I am linking the Norse and the Mi'kmaq? There are a number of reasons to that. First of all, the Norse did not come to an empty land. They came to a land fully inhabited by the ancestors of the Mi'kmaq and the Beothuk. The Beothuk have sadly since disappeared. Most of the area that scholars now perceive as Vinland, or the Vinland region, already had a name when the Norse arrived. It was, and is, called Mi'kma'ki. It is therefore only natural and common courtesy to use both names on the trail. One could in fact argue that the trail should only be called the Mi'kma'ki Trail, which is a valid argument, but that would, however, not work for this thesis. Another person in the survey pointed out that “the “second part of the name (Mi'kma'ki) is hard to sell.” That may be true, at least in the European market since most Europeans have never heard of Mi'kma'ki and do not know what it is. For this reason it may prove helpful for Mi'kmaq Tourism, to associate with a stronger brand, at least when marketing in the Nordic Countries and Europe. However, this would obviously be something for the Mi'kmaq people themselves to decide.

I believe there are advantages for both parties to cooperate in one way or another. While the Vikings visited these shores for a brief period of time in around 1000 AD, the Mi'kmaqs have a history of many thousands of years living in this land. It is their history, culture, mythology, art and culinary traditions that are the real treat when travelling on the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail. In marketing terms one would say that while “Vinland” is the bait, “Mi'kma'ki” is the catch.

### 9.3 Vinland Trails - Planning and development

#### The big picture

What I am proposing in this thesis is a “Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail” that connects with existing themed, pre-colonization, heritage trails in Atlantic Canada, i.e. “the Viking Trail”, “the Glooskap Trail” and “the Cabot Trail”. The idea is to strengthen the existing tourism product that focuses on the period prior to permanent European settlement in the region. I further suggest developing additional trails e.g. “the Beothuk Trail”, “the Innu Trail”, “the Iroquois Trail” and “the Basque Whaling Trail” to further expand on the Pre-European settlement theme in the region. I also suggest expanding the Viking Trail all the way from Deer Lake in Newfoundland to Halifax International Airport in order to attract incoming visitors to the primary international airport in Atlantic Canada. In order to connect the Viking Trail with the larger product I have decided to call the new section of the trail *The Vinland-Viking Trail*. In this thesis I am, however, not able to elaborate further on those potential trails and will focus instead on the “Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail” and the “Vinland Centre”.



FIGURE 9-1: VIKINGS AND INDIANS

#### Attractions and events

The Vinland Centre, could house a Viking Ship that allows visitors to try rowing and sailing like the Vikings. It could house Viking horses, that visitors can ride, and Viking farm animals that children can feed. The Centre can join forces with Viking re-enactment groups and Scandinavian Viking Centres and organise market days, storytelling sessions and various Viking events throughout the year. The Centre could also join forces with the Mi'kmaq Culture and Heritage Centre and organise various First Nation events and exhibitions. The connection with the Mi'kmaq is very important and one can argue the Centre should be called the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Centre to better reflect that importance. A Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Centre could thus house a reconstruction of a Mi'kmaq Village as well as a Viking Longhouse. Whether the two groups decide to unite in building a joint visitor centre or build two separate centres I feel very strongly that these should be built in close proximity and in close cooperation.

## 9.4 Vinland Trails - Marketing

### Treasure Trail - Finding Straumfjord and Hóp!

In chapter 5 we identified 5-8 potential locations for Straumfjord with Straumse, 'East River' and Hóp. The next thing to do is to create "treasure" trails for people to take, on their own or in organised groups, in search for the "true locations" for these sites. This can be organised like a game where visitors to the Vinland Centre are given maps with clues about places and objects they need to find. Every week, or month, there is a winner. This treasure hunt, and the winning prizes, would take visitors to places they otherwise would not have visited, to see and experience parts of Atlantic Canada they otherwise would never have known, including various Mi'kmaq sites. If this is done correctly as a joint effort between local and first nation communities, tourism companies, local businesses, airlines, ferries and marketing offices and perhaps with the help of a radio and TV programs, this could become a very interesting experiential tourism product.

For most Scandinavian "treasure hunters" the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail would start at Halifax International Airport. Alternatively Blacks Harbour, for those arriving by car from the US; Rimouski, for those arriving from Quebec/Montreal; and Deer Lake, for those arriving from St. John's. There could be two main Vinland Trails. The Vinland-Viking Trail, that would connect Halifax international Airport with the Viking Trail in Newfoundland via the Cabot Trail, and the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail that follows, in a circular route, the coastline of Nova Scotia, PEI, New Brunswick, and Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec. This is also as close as we can get to following the ancient borders of Mi'kma'ki. The trails would have various connections and shortcuts providing flexibility for travellers. These trails should provide Vinland "treasure hunters" with lots of opportunities to search for, and find, all the interesting places mentioned in the sagas, including Straumfjord, Straumsey, Kjalarnes and Hóp.

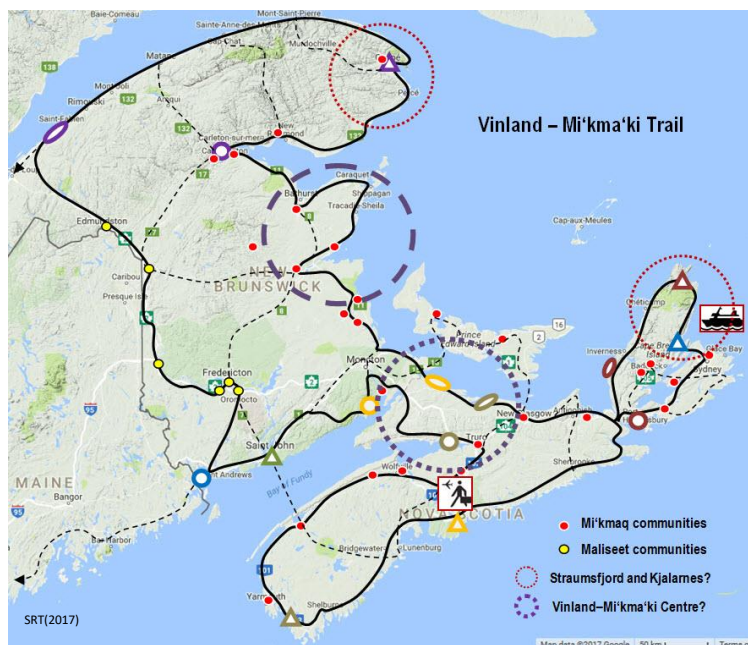


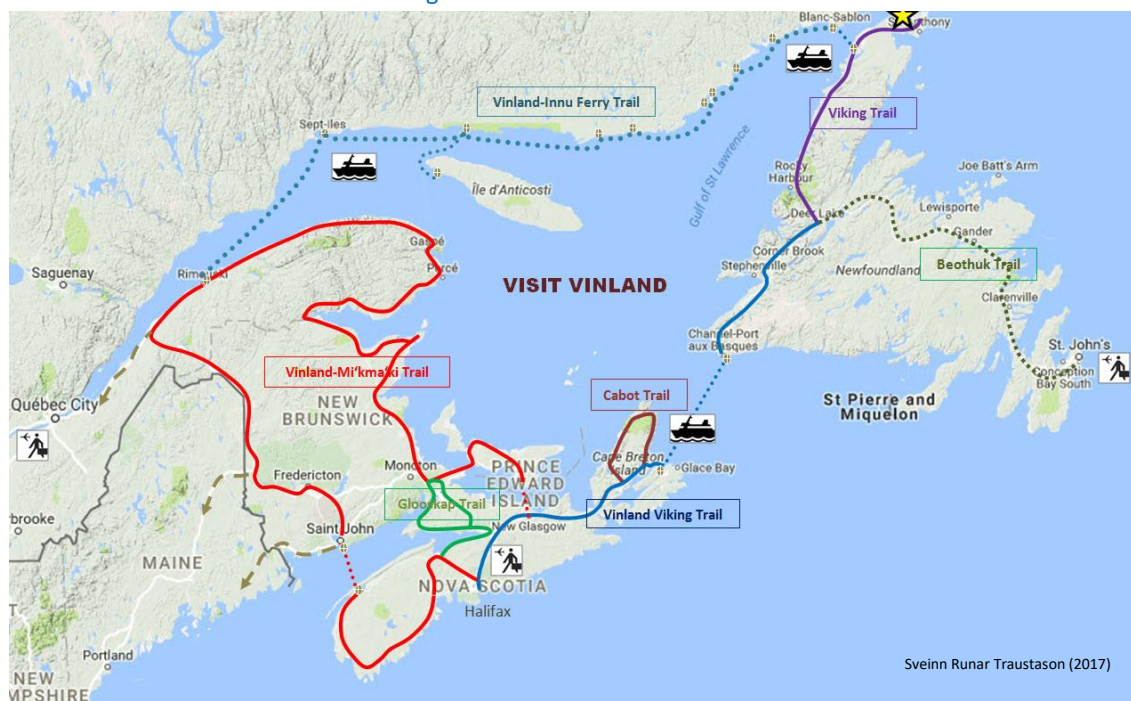
FIGURE 9-2: VINLAND-MI'KMA'KI TRAIL



### Other potential Vinland Trails

The way I see it there should eventually be a Vinland-Round Trail, around the whole Gulf of St. Lawrence connecting all the various trails on the way, including the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail, the Cabot Trail, the (Vinland) Viking Trail, and the Mi'kmaq Glooskap trail. What all these trails have in common is their focus on the history and heritage before European colonisation of Atlantic Canada. On this theme there is potential for other trails, including a (Vinland)-Beothuk Trail from Deer Lake to St. John's, and a (Vinland)-Innu Trail in Labrador-Quebec. There are also many sites connected with the Basque whalers and fishermen in Newfoundland and Labrador, that could add up to a (Vinland)-Basque Trail.

Figure 9-3: Visit Vinland - Vinland Trails



The Vinland-Beothuk Trail would be an addition to the (Vinland) Viking Trail and cover large parts of Newfoundland. On these Newfoundland trails most Scandinavian “treasure hunters” would start in either St. John’s or Halifax. If coming from Quebec or Montreal, however, some might opt taking the ferry from Rimouski to Blanc Sablon and northern Newfoundland. From St. John’s the trail would start in Beothuk territory. The traveller would learn about their history and culture and visit some of their sites on Avalon Peninsula. This trail is also a perfect opportunity to learn about the history of John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto), Basque whalers and other European visitors and settlers from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. John Cabot presumably landed in Bonavista in 1497 as the first European since the Norsemen 500 years earlier. This is however contested by the Nova Scotians who believe Cabot landed on Cape Breton Island, hence the Cabot Trail.

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## 9.5 The Vinland Centre

### Function and purpose

The “*Vinland Mi’kma’ki Visitor Centre*”, or more plainly “*The Vinland Centre*”, would function as a heritage interpretation centre. Its main purpose, apart from attracting tourism to the region, would be to tell the story of the Vinland voyages, the Vinland Sagas and the Norse/ Viking culture of the time. It would also tell the story of the native people of this land that had lived here for millennia before the Norsemen arrived and teach us about their culture and way of life. It would bring the visitors back in time to an era when the American continent, and the Vinland region (Mi’kma’ki) in particular, was still unspoilt. The Vinland Centre should provide a perspective on two cultures, both rich and proud, but neither superior to the other, how they met, traded and fought. It should tell the story of how history and environment shapes the life of people in two different continents. The Vinland Centre should tell stories of voyages and explorations into the unknown, of courage, faiths, traditions, love, hope and dreams and ultimately build a bridge between the people of Canada and the Nordic Countries.

### Location and Design

The Vinland Centre should ideally be located where there is evidence of Norse activity on the mainland. However, since this may never happen, the site should match the description in the Vinland Sagas as closely as possible. The site should look as untouched by human activity as possible so that visitors can easily imagine what the place looked like 1000 years ago when Viking ships sailed along those shores for the very first time.

The choice of location is between three saga-sites:

1. Leif’s summer camp in Vinland where grapevines and butternuts grew. The camp was in all likelihood located either in Chaleur Bay or Miramichi Bay in New Brunswick.
2. Straumfjord, the beautiful mountainous home of Thorfinn, Gudrid and their Vinland born son, Snorri. For this site we have a few options that need to be researched further. The most probable locations are in the north of Cape Breton Island, or on the east end of Gaspé Peninsula.
3. Hóp, the bountiful place with a tidal lagoon in the south. There is great uncertainty regarding the location of Hóp and therefore should, in my opinion, be discarded as an option for the Vinland Centre.

The design of the Vinland Centre should be based on Norwegian style longhouses, built from wood, since wood was in all likelihood the predominant building material in both Leif’s summer camp and in Straumfjord.

Potential locations based on Leif's summer camp:

**Kouchibouguac National Park** is one of the most unspoiled areas in the Maritime region. It has forests, barrier islands, sand dunes, and three tidal lagoons that face the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Three rivers and five main streams flow into these tidal lagoons. Incidentally the Mi'kmaq name, Kouchibouguac, means "river of the long tides." Much of the park area is low and flat with the dominant vegetation being beach grass and strand wheat. In the vicinity of the park there are three Mi'kmaq communities: Elsipogtog; Indian Island; and Bouchtouche. Further up the Richibucto River is the Richibucto River Wine Estate, that grows a selection of award winning wine, and Richibucto Resort with Maple Leaf Farm, that



FIGURE 9-4: KOUCHIBOUGUAC NATIONAL PARK, NB

houses the only Icelandic horse farm in the province. The National Park is near a main road, 40min drive from the town of Miramichi and 3-hour drive from Halifax Stanfield International Airport. It has good infrastructure and facilities, two campgrounds, canoe, boat launch and fishing port. It has eight hiking trails and a network of bicycle trails that are open in the summer and a cross-country skiing trail open in the winter. Kelly's Beach, a very long sand dune with a boardwalk trail is one of the more popular beaches in region. These popular sites and the park's various public activities attract thousands of visitors each year.

**Caraquet bay**, near Village Historique Acadien, which is a rather unspoilt area and has all the necessary facilities. On the map Caraquet bay seems to be a tidal lagoon. It lies west of the Acadian Peninsula and southwest of Miscou Island and the Miscou Gully. The Caraquet River is a salmon fishing river. The site fits with the description in the saga. Bathurst and Eel River can also be identified with descriptions in the saga, but seem to have lost their unspoilt qualities.

**Bay du Vin**, in Miramichi Bay. The name in itself has a quality that would simplify marketing efforts.

**Pictou** in Nova Scotia. Pictou lies west of a headland and south of an island. It is a strategic location near an international airport at a junction between three provinces with a ferry connection to Prince Edward Island and close to the Mi'kmaq Cultural and Heritage Centre in Millbrook. There is also a Mi'kmaq community in Pictou.

*Note! There are probably numerous other potential sites that would need to be thoroughly researched, analysed and rated according to a given criteria.*

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#### Potential locations based on Thorfinn's Straumsfjord:

**Gaspé Bay** is a beautiful mountainous bay on the eastern edge of the Gaspé Peninsula. The northern shore of the bay is in Forillon National Park that includes Shiphead and Cap-des-Rosiers, both contestants for the location of Kjalarnes. On the south side of the bay is Percé Rock National Park with Bonaventure Island which is home to the largest migratory bird refuge in North America.

**Aspy Bay** is in Cape Breton Island near Cape Breton Highlands National Park, and on the Cabot trail. It is a beautiful mountainous bay between Cape North and White Point that are both contestants for the location of Kjalarnes. St. Paul Island lies 24km to the north in Cabot Strait, in direct line with Point Rosee in Newfoundland.

**St. Ann's Bay** is in Cape Breton Island to the north of Bras d'Or Lake and on the Cabot trail. It is a beautiful mountainous bay between the Cape Breton Highlands and Cape Dauphin, a contestant to the location of Krossanes. Further north is Cape North and White Point that are both contestants for the location of Kjalarnes. Just north of the bay is Bird Island (Hereford and Ciboux Islands) support the largest colony of Great Cormorants in North America as well as a number of other species.

## 9.6 Inspiration

#### Lofotr Viking Museum, Norway:

Lofotr Viking Museum at Borg in Lofoten Islands in North Norway opened in 1995. It is a reconstruction of a Viking longhouse Penny on site in 1986-1989. The foundations of the house measured 83x9m, which makes it the largest Viking longhouse in Norway. The house is thought to have belonged to the chieftain Olav Tvennunbrunni who relocated to Iceland with all his family in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.



FIGURE 9-5: LOFOTR VIKING MUSEUM, NORWAY

Despite its isolated location on an island in the north of Norway the museum received over 79.000 visitors in the year 2015<sup>67</sup> making it the most popular museum in Northern Norway and vital for attracting tourism to the region. Lofotr Viking Museum was nominated for the Museum of the Year 2011 (in Norway) and the European Museum of the Year Award in 2013.

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<sup>67</sup> <http://www.lofoten.com/nb/magasinet/reiselivs-aktuelt/31-reiseliv/296-lofotr-med-gode-besokstall>

### Ribe Viking Centre, Denmark:

Ribe VikingCenter<sup>68</sup> in southwest Jylland opened in 1992. The Center has three main areas: 1) *The Market Place*, which is an authentic copy of a site from the early 8th century, 2) *The Great Farm* is a long-house from 980 AD with 5 connected buildings, and 3) *Eight town-houses* are from the year 825 AD. In addition the Ribe VikingCenter organises numerous events. The Center attracts around 45.000 visitors from May to October every year.



FIGURE 9-6: RIBE VIKINGCENTER, DENMARK

### Jorvik Viking Centre, England

Jorvik Viking Centre<sup>69</sup>, in York England, is a museum located on the site where the Viking-Age city of Jorvik once stood. The Centre includes a reconstruction of a part of the excavated city peopled with figures, sounds and smells, as well as pigsties, fish market and latrines. Jorvik Viking Centre opened in 1984 and has had close to 20 million visitors since, making it one of Yorkshire's most popular tourist attractions.

### Midgard Historical Centre

Midgard Historical Centre<sup>70</sup> is a Viking-age museum in Vestfold, Norway, located next to the Borre Mounds that are the largest assembly of monumental grave mounds in Northern Europe. The Centre contains e.g. a reconstruction of a great mead hall from the Viking Age. The Midgard Historical Centre organises a number of Viking events, games and festivals throughout the year. The Viking Hall is a restaurant that serves historical Viking food and drink. In 2015 the Centre received 17.000 visitors.

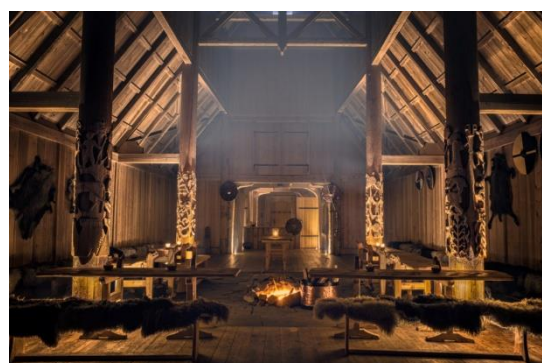


FIGURE 9-7: MIDGARD HISTORICAL CENTRE

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.ribevikingcenter.dk/en/home.aspx>

<sup>69</sup> <https://www.jorvikvikingcentre.co.uk/>

<sup>70</sup> <http://midgardsenteret.no/en/om-midgard/about-the-viking-hall/>

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## 10 CONCLUSION

### 10.1 Research Question and Hypothesis

#### Research questions - Answers

#### ***13. Is the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail and Visitor Centre a viable product for development?***

My answer is Yes. I believe the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail and Visitor Centre is a viable product for development. Based on the evidence gathered in this thesis, and with some additional research, I believe we have enough information to suggest the approximate location of Leif Eirikssons summer camp in Vinland, that could set the basis for developing a Vinland Visitor Centre. For other saga-sites I believe I have managed to narrow down the options to a handful of alternatives. Those, however, require further research.

#### ***14. Can the Saga-Sites, mentioned in the Vinland Sagas, be located? If not, will the Trail be authentic enough?***

My answer is No, not conclusively. We may never find the exact locations of the Saga-Sites in Vinland. I believe, however, by deciphering the sagas I have managed to narrow down the potential locations to a handful. That should make further research all the more focused and result oriented. On the question if the trail will be authentic enough I would say Yes and No. *No* because a historical heritage site is never properly authentic unless it has been validated by archaeological evidence, and *Yes* because the visitors would be fully aware that the Saga-Sites are based on a "best guess" scenario and not deceived to think the sites are anything else.

#### ***15. Is the product marketable? Is there enough interest?***

My answer is Yes. Based on the Market research survey, answered by experts in the field, the result was conclusive. When asked "Do you think the Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail is something your customers, and other visitors, would be interested in exploring and experiencing, or not?" 84.5% answered either "Definitely interested" (23%), or "Probably interested" (61.5%) and no one (0%) answered "Probably not interested" or "Definitely not interested".

#### Hypothesis – Is it true or false?

I believe that my hypothesis, that says "with the right tourism product, in the right place, properly priced and promoted, there is great potential for attracting high yielding and long staying Nordic travellers to Atlantic Canada" is correct.



## 10.2 Recommendations to the Tourism and Regional Authorities

### Consider the Nordic Outbound Market

The Nordic Outbound Travel Market should not be underrated. It is the third largest in Europe, and it is important. The Nordic people have a close connection with Canada since 4% of Canadians are of Scandinavian decent; they have high income and long holidays; they are big spenders when travelling; they are one the closest neighbours to Atlantic Canada; they don't mind the weather and area a good match to the EQ profile for Atlantic Canada. I would recommend to the tourism authorities in Canada that they consider carefully the Nordic Outbound Travel Market and in particular for Atlantic Canada.

### Do further research

This thesis has provided a number of clues for the true location of many Saga-Sites in Atlantic Canada and managed to narrow down the options to a handful. These sites need to be further inspected and researched. I would recommend contacting Sarah Parcak and her team of Space Archaeologists, to see if she could provide further evidence the way she did in Point Rosee<sup>71</sup> in Newfoundland.

### Build cooperation and trust

For this kind of project to be successful there needs to be close cooperation built on trust between public and private interests, provincial and regional authorities, national and regional tourism authorities, tourism associations and businesses, First Nation councils etc. All interested parties need to be included in the preliminary process from the beginning, providing full disclosure and transparency. A way to start this process, after the initial meetings, is to sign a "letter of intent" or a "memorandum of cooperation" and put together a work group, with representatives from all interested parties, and select/hire an experienced team leader. I would recommend using a Consensus-Based Decision Making Process.<sup>72</sup>

### Start planning

Once all formalities are in place, and the work group has set up the criteria and strategy for moving forward, the planning and development process can begin.

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<sup>71</sup> <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2016/03/160331-viking-discovery-north-america-canada-archaeology/>

<sup>72</sup> <http://www.consensusdecisionmaking.org/>



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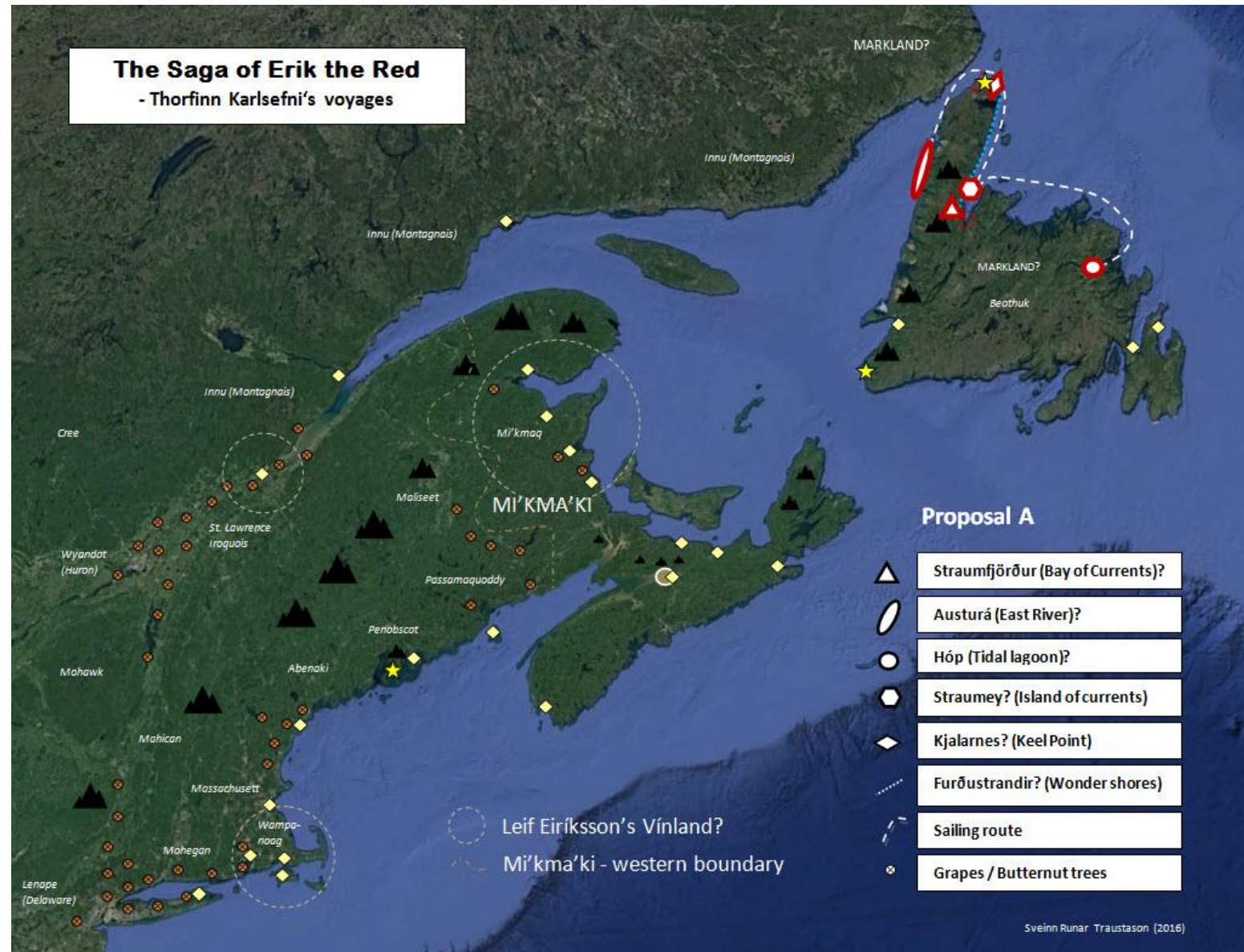
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## APPENDICES

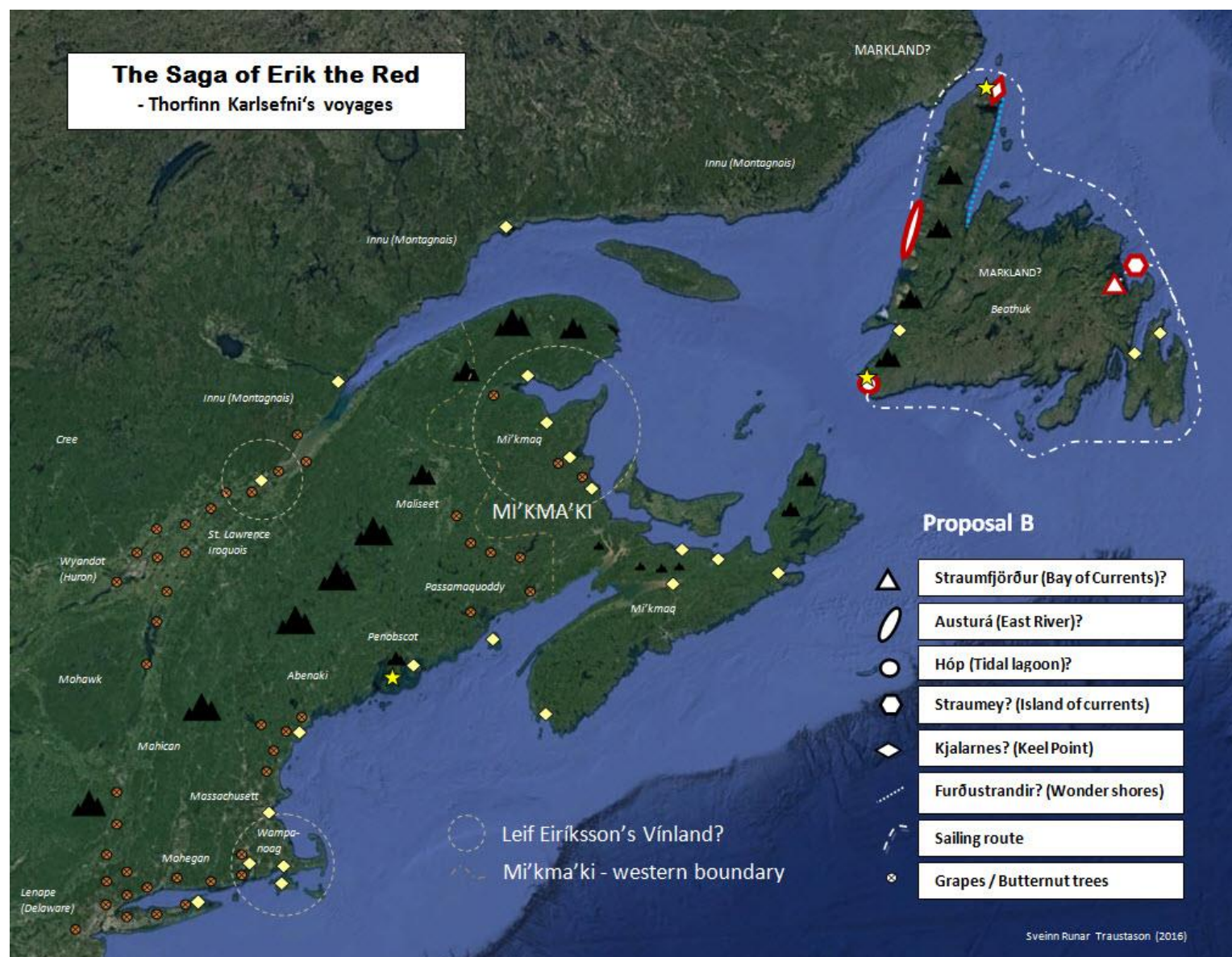
### Appendix 1: (A)

PROPOSAL A



## Appendix 2: (B)

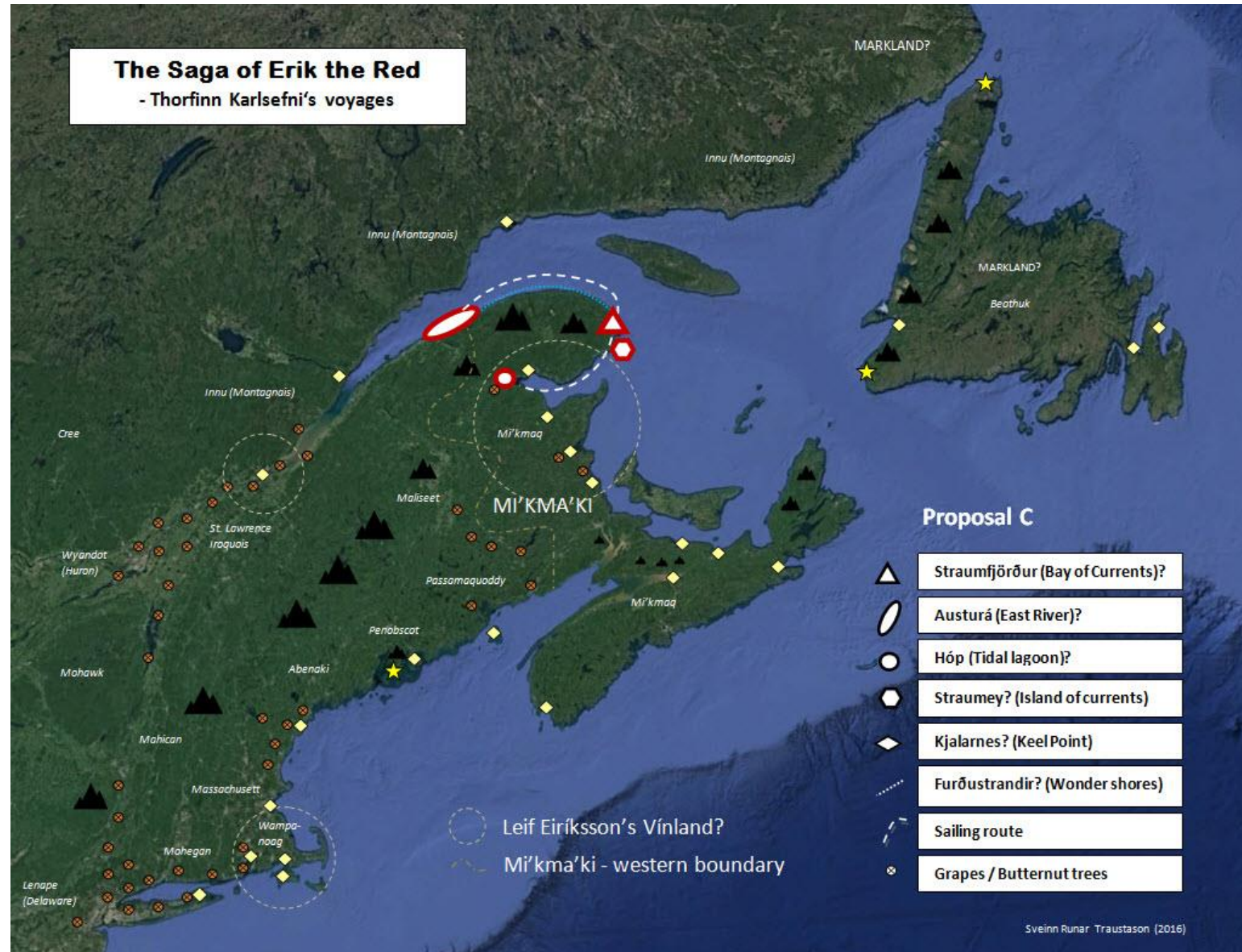
PROPOSAL B





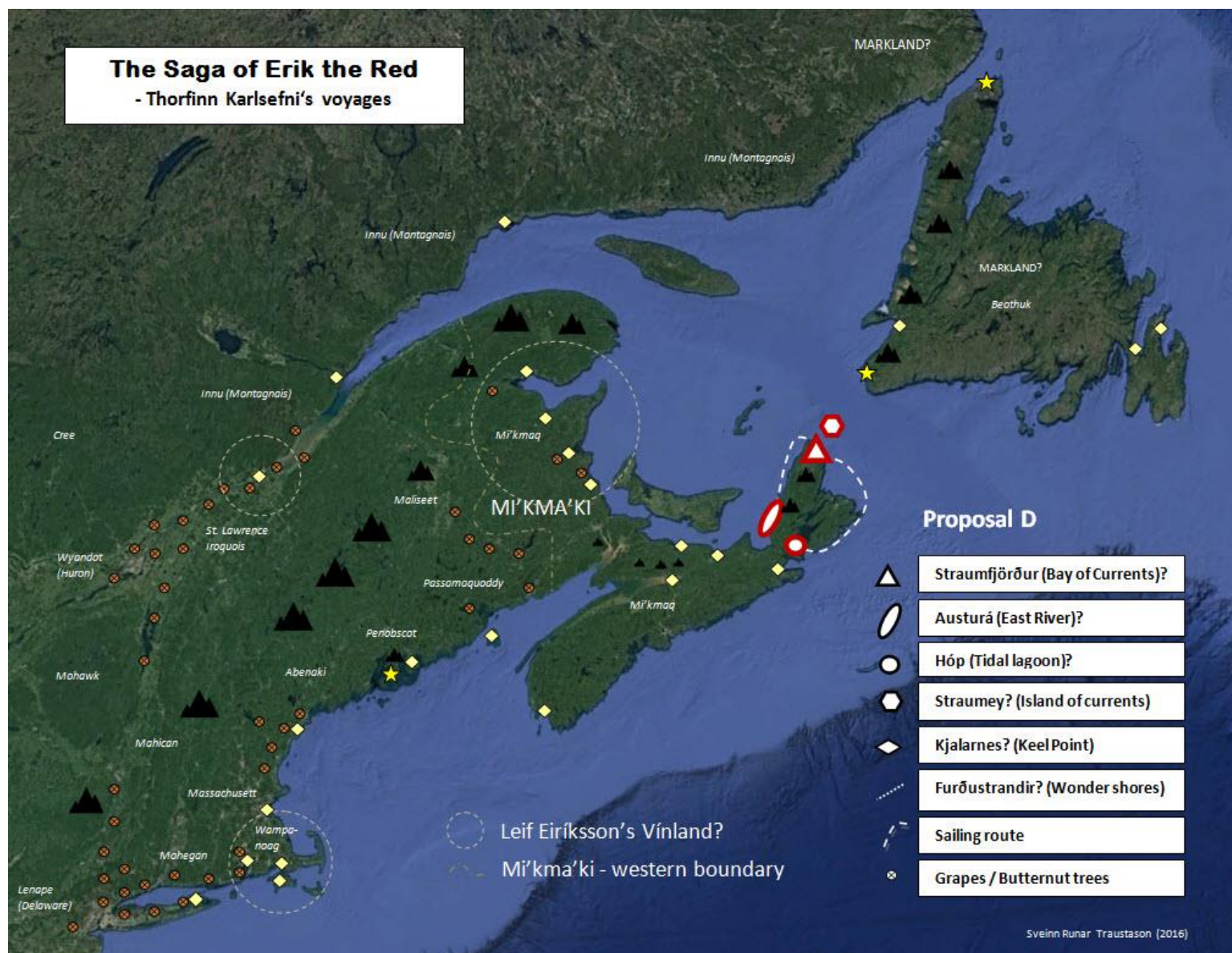
## Appendix 3: (C)

PROPOSAL C



## Appendix 4: (D)

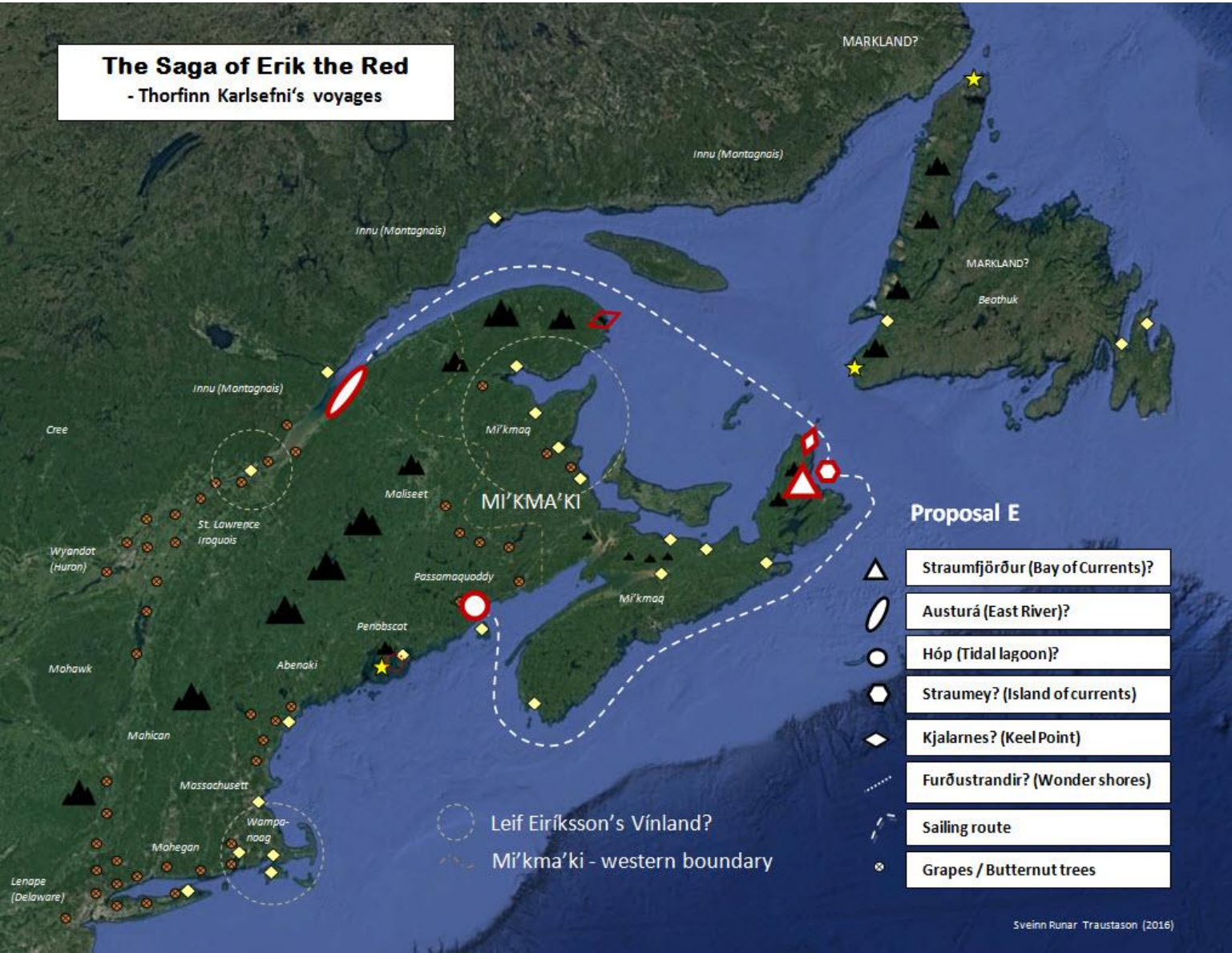
PROPOSAL D





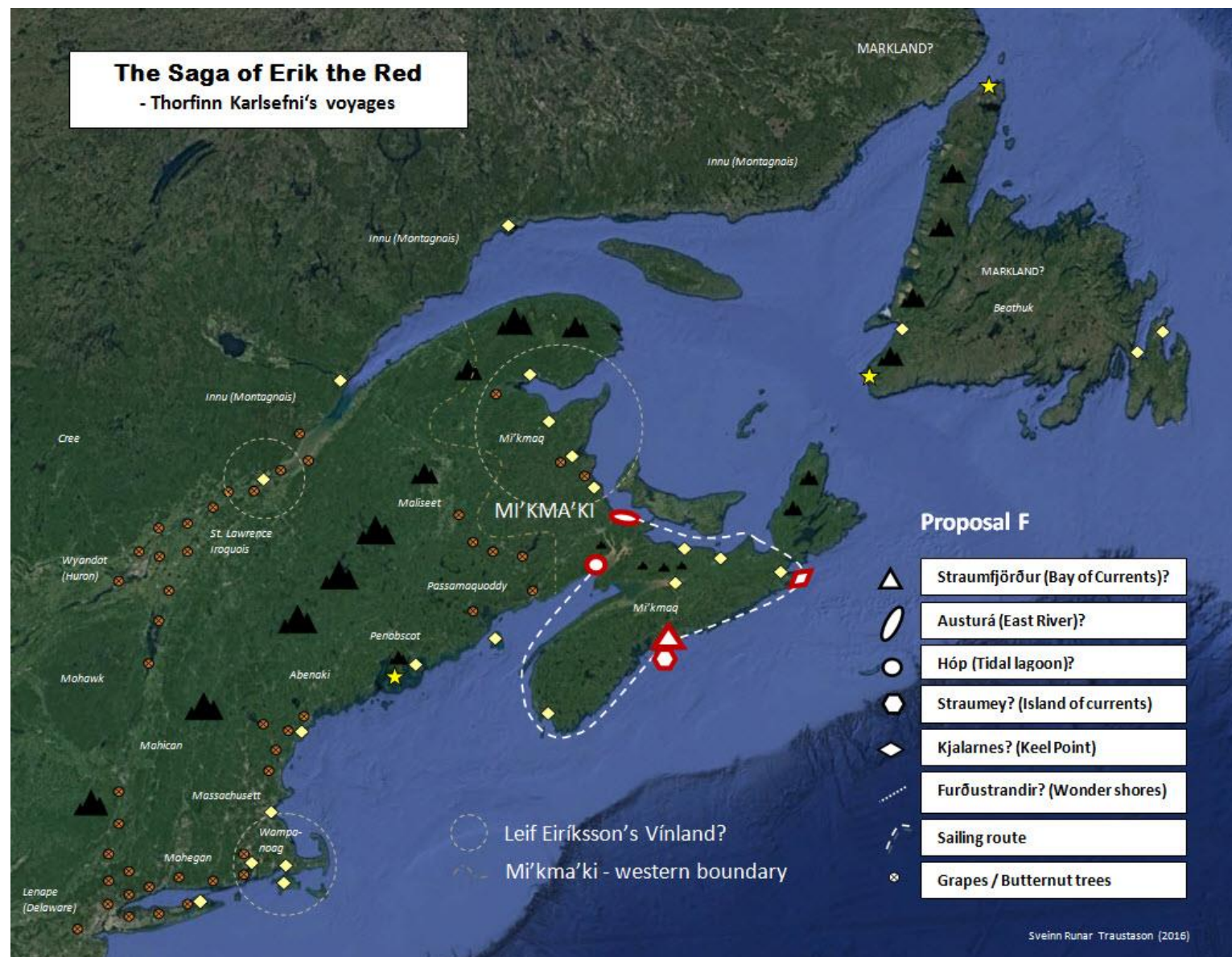
Appendix 5: (E)

PROPOSAL E



## Appendix 6: (F)

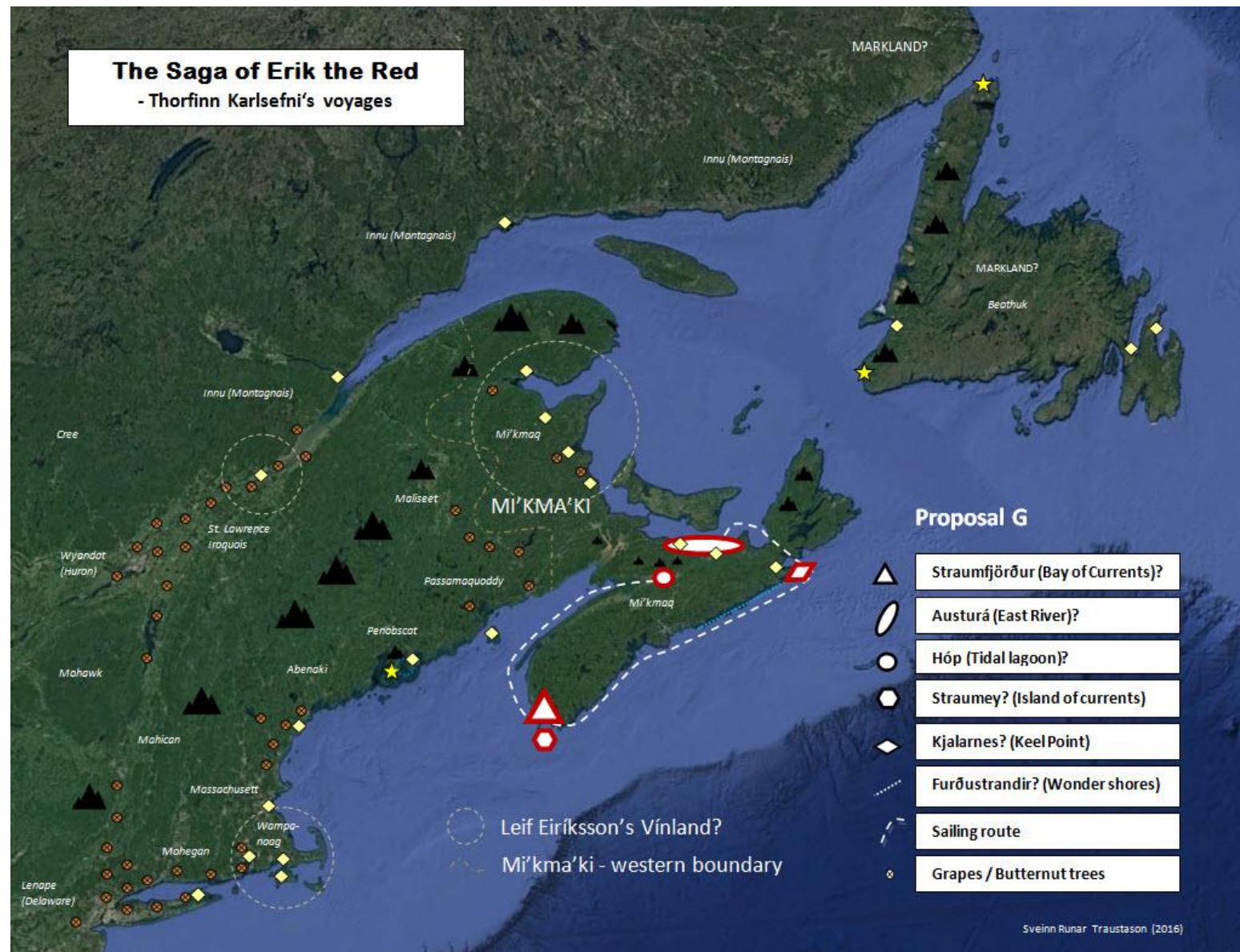
PROPOSAL F





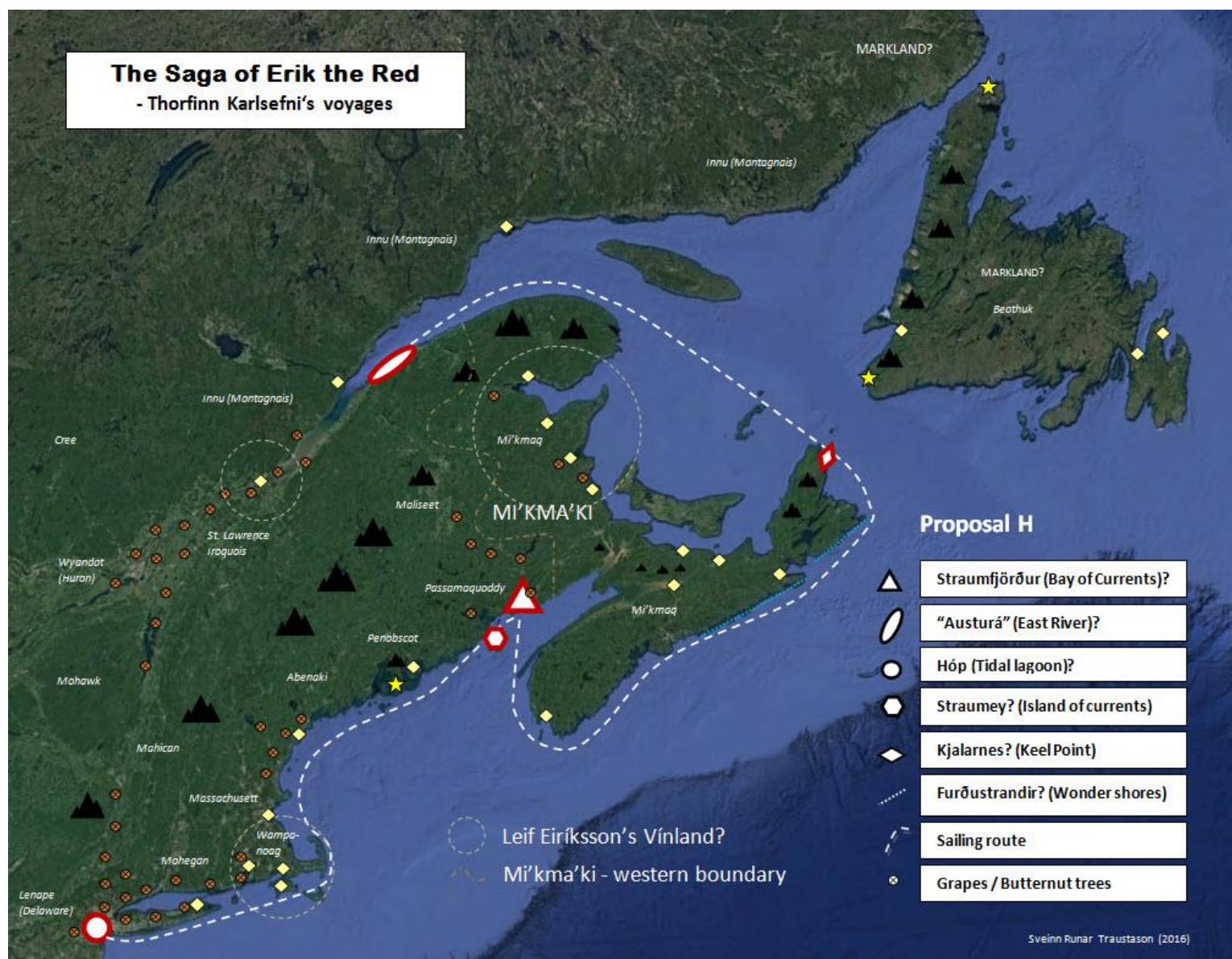
## Appendix 7: (G)

PROPOSAL G



## Appendix 8: (H)

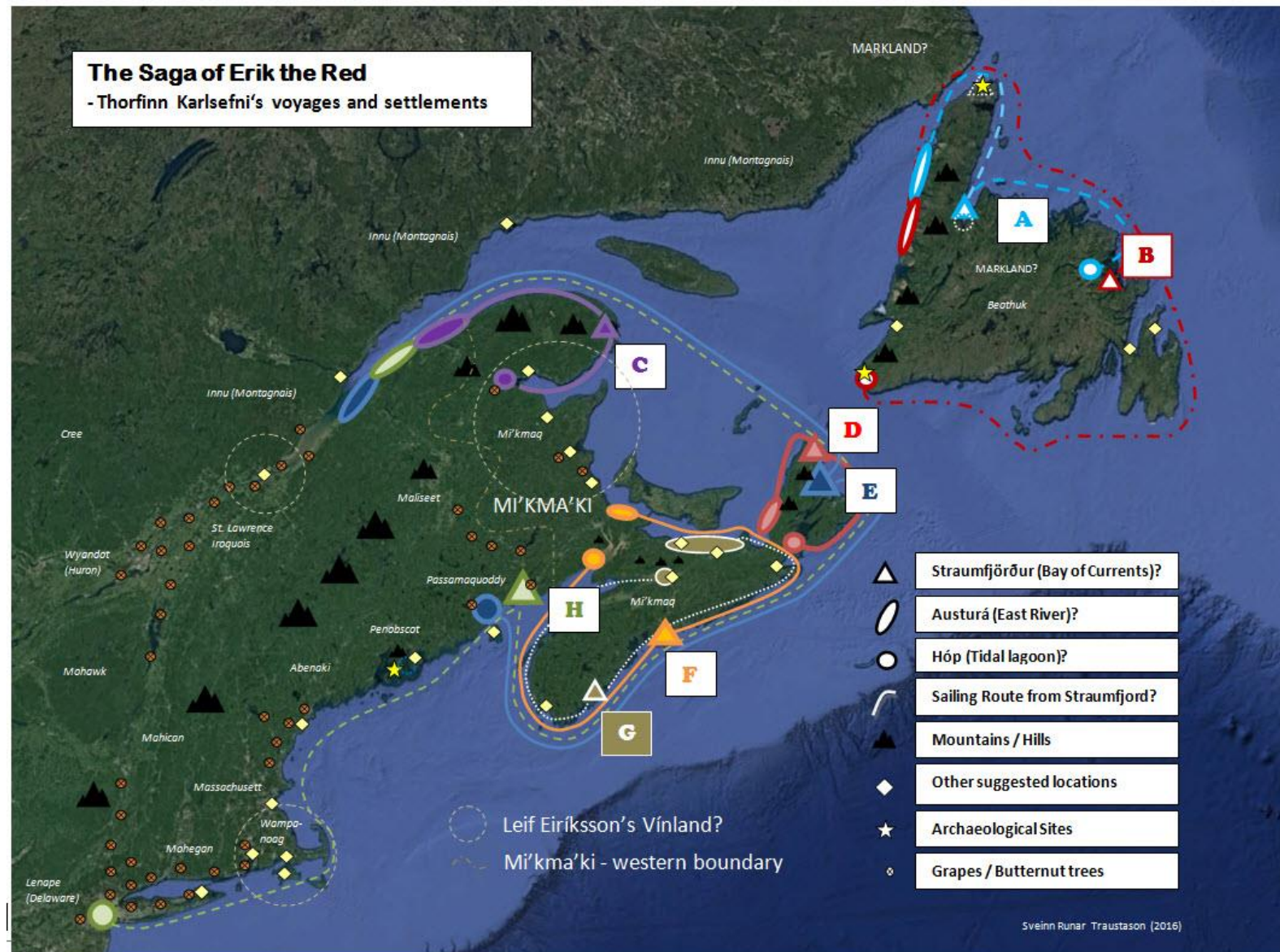
PROPOSAL H





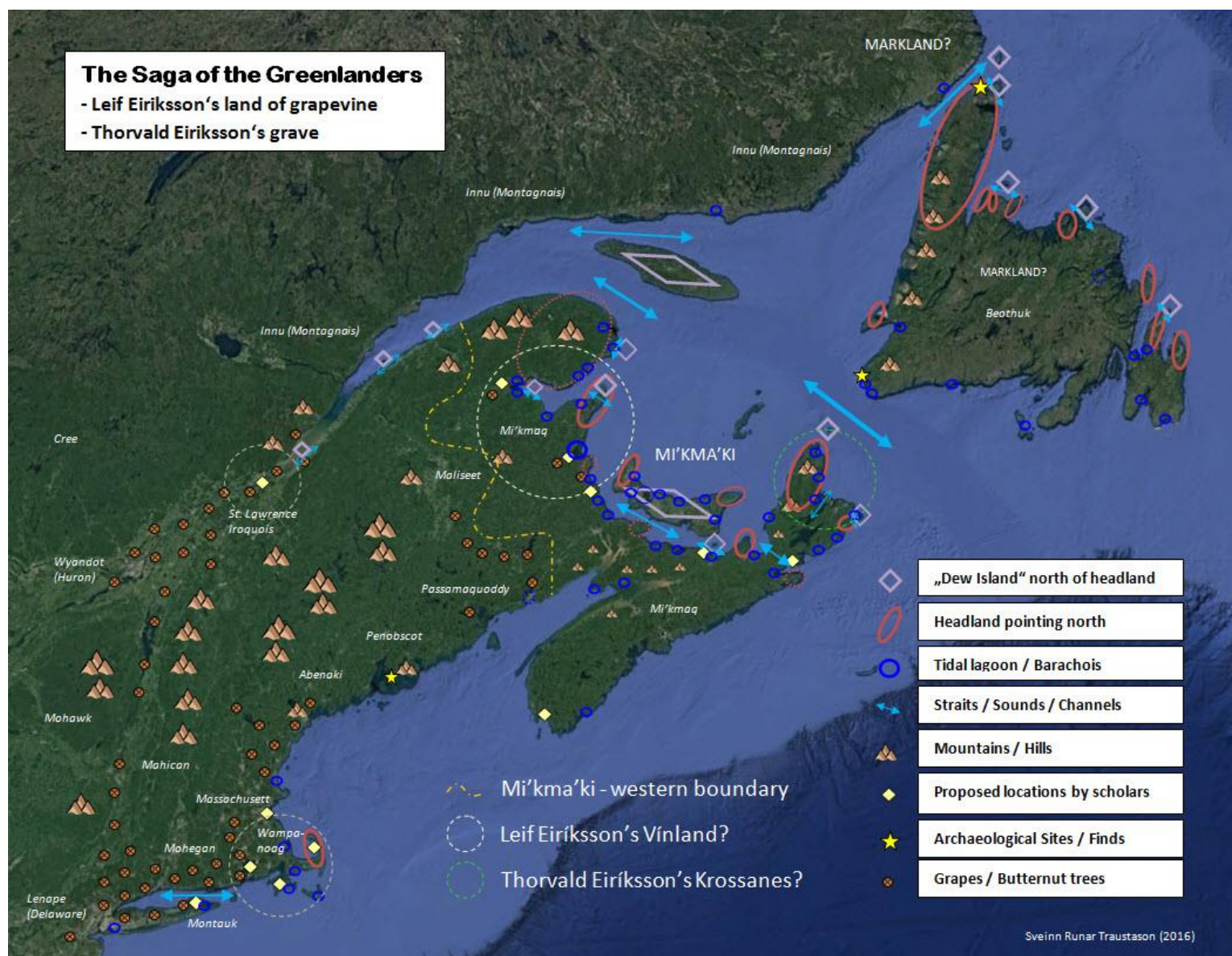
## Appendix 9: ALL

ALL PROPOSALS



## Appendix 10: GS

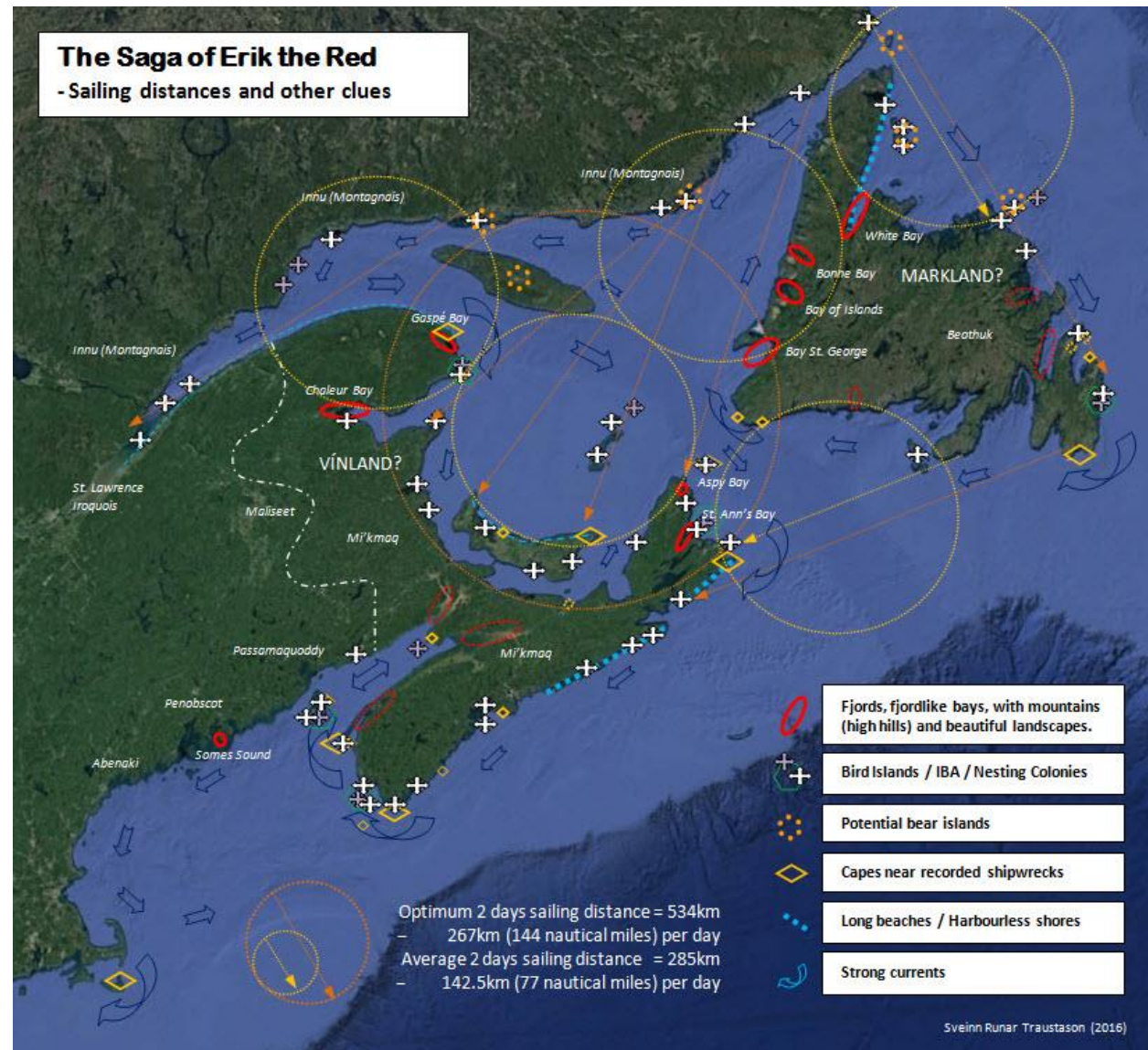
GS - LOCATIONS





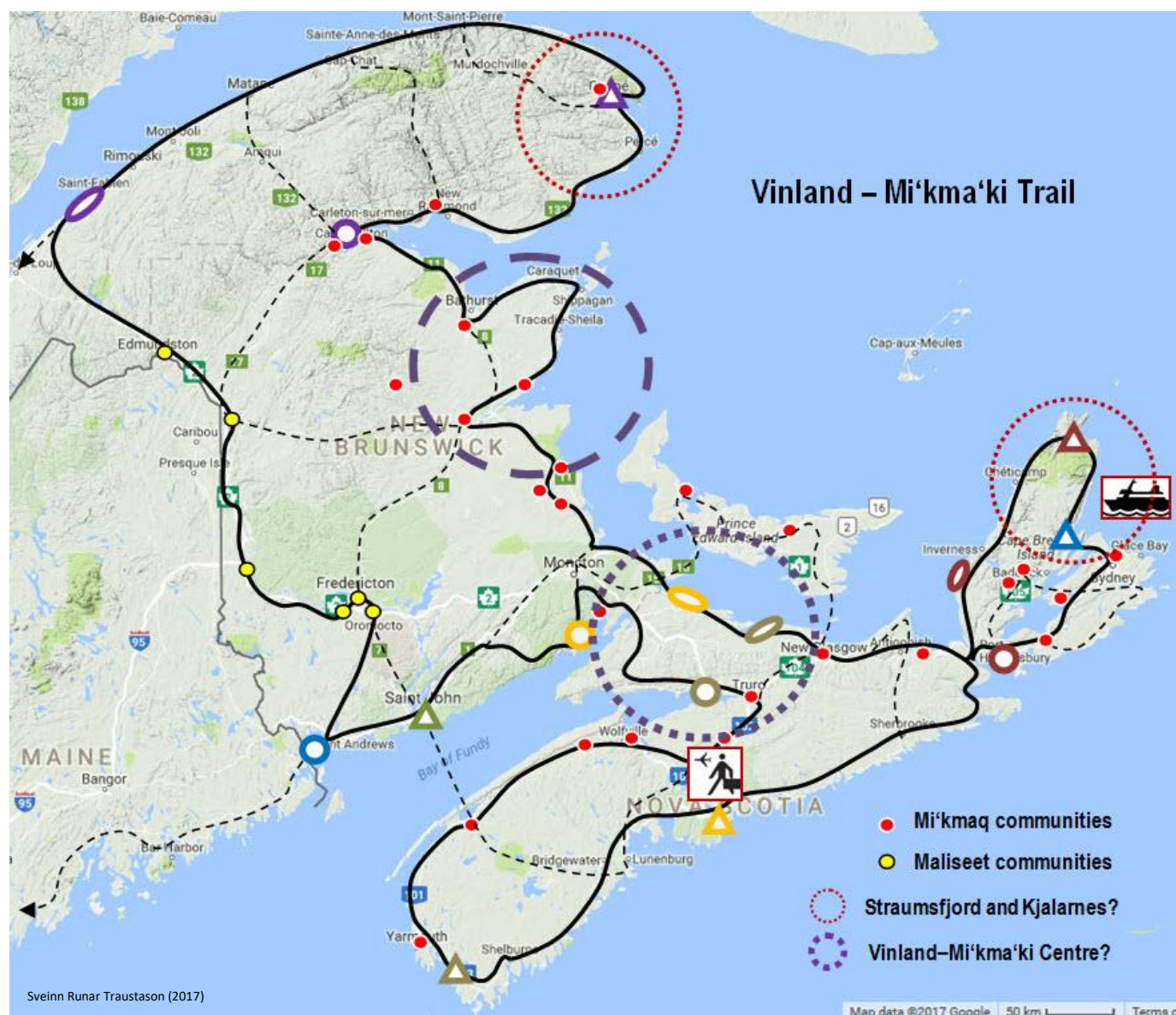
## Appendix 11: ES

ES – SAILING DISTANCES



## Appendix 12: V-M Trail

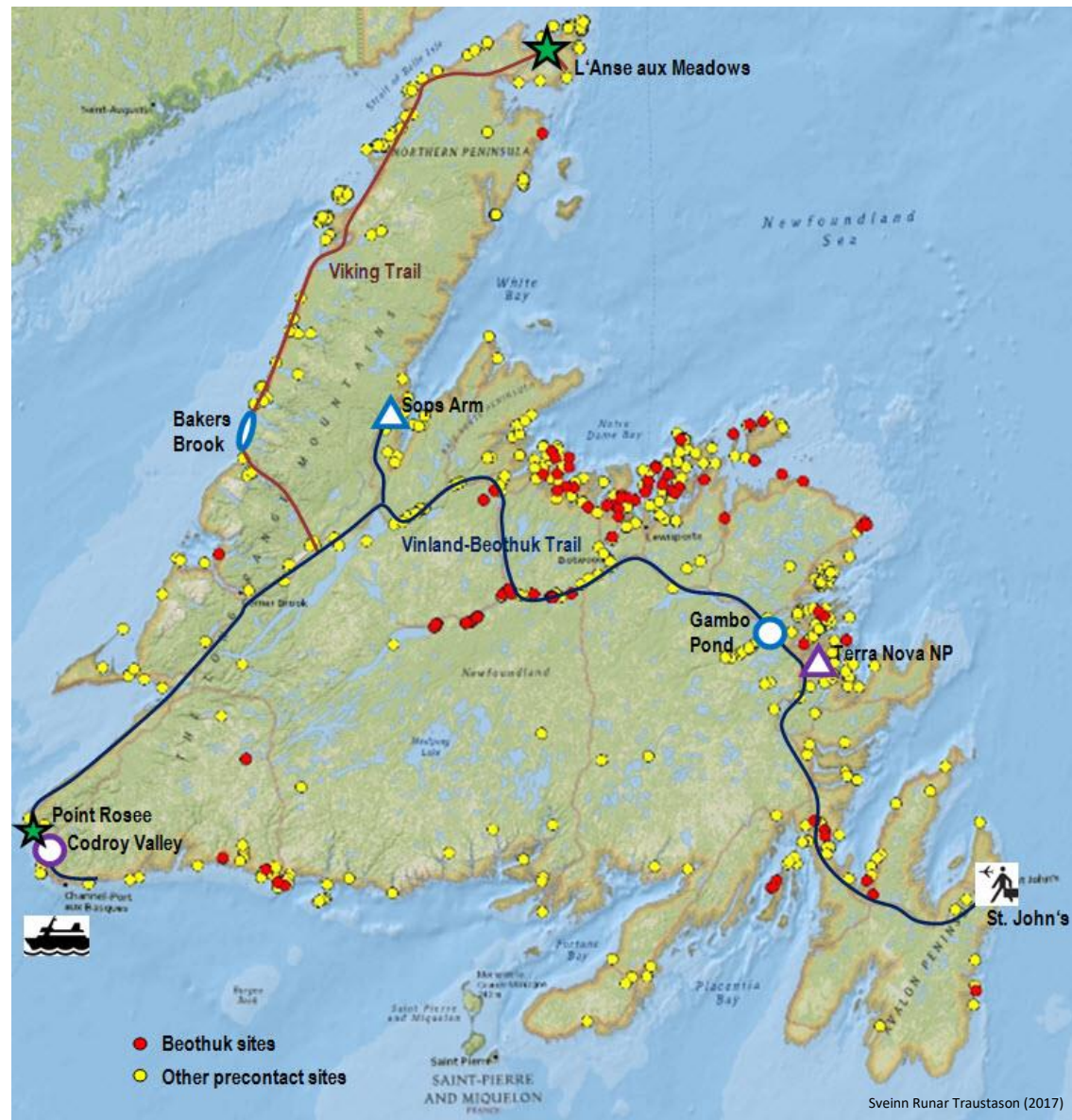
VINLAND – MI'KMA'KI TRAIL





## Appendix 13: V-B Trail

VINLAND – BEOTHUK TRAIL



## Appendix 14: Marketing Research Survey - Recipient Lists

The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail - Market Research Survey					
Survey Recipient				Answer	
				YES	NO
1	Air Canada	Mark S. Sniderman	Manager, Tourism and Strategic Global Partnerships		✓
2	Atlantic Tours, NS, Canada	Richard Arnold	President	✓	
3	Bændaferðir, Iceland	Jónas Þór	Travel consultant and Tour Guide	✓	
4	Canada Travel Specialists, UK		Marketing Manager		✓
5	Carnival Cruise Line, USA	Elaine Drury	Former Director of Business Development	✓	
6	Discover the World, UK	Liz Lunnon	Head of Worldwide product	✓	
7	Escape Travel, Norway	Eli-Ann Nerhagen	Travel consultant	✓	
8	Fehr-Way Tours, MB, Canada	Diane Fehr-Palmer	Owner/Manager		✓
9	Grand Circle Travel, USA		Marketing Manager		✓
10	Great Canadian Travel, MB, Canada	Ian Kalinowsky	President and Owner	✓	
11	Hurstwic, USA	William R. Short	Manager	✓	

## The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail Market Research Survey (cont.)

Survey Recipient				Answer	
				YES	NO
12	Icelandair	Birkir Hólm Guðnason	CEO	✓	
13	Icelandic Tourist Board	Sigrún Hlín Sigurðardóttir	Former Director of Marketing	✓	
14	JGB Consultants, Iceland	Jón Gunnar Borgþórsson	Owner/Manager	✓	
15	Norse Gaels (Facebook site), NS, Canada	Seathan MacNeil	Owner/Manager	✓	
16	Viking Lands, Tours and Tourism, Australia	Heather Linnett	Owner/ Manager	✓	
17	WestJet, Canada	Kim Brown	Senior Manager, Marketing at WestJet	✓	

## Appendix 15: Product Development Survey - Recipient Lists

The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail NTO/DMO Tourism Product Development Survey					
Survey Recipient				Answer	
				YES	NO
1	Destination Viking Association, Scotland	Björn M Buttler Jakobsen	Vice-Chair	✓	
2	Dublinia Heritage Centre, Ireland		The Medieval Trust		✓
3	Gulatinget, THING Project, Norway	Anne Hopland	Project leader	✓	
4	Manx National Heritage, Isle of Man, UK	THING Project	Associated Partner		✓
5	Mi'kmawey Debert Cultural Centre, NS, Canada	Gerald Gloade	Program Development Officer		✓
6	New Brunswick Parks, Canada	Alanda Banks-Macleod	Social Media		✓
7	Orkney College, Orkney, Scotland	Julie Gibson	Orkney County Archaeologist, Lecturer	✓	
8	Kunningarstovan, Tinganes, Faroe Islands	THING Project	Partner		✓
9	PEI - Economic Development and Tourism, Canada	Chris K. Jones	Director, Strategic Initiatives	✓	
10	Shetland Amenity Trust, Scotland	THING Project			✓
11	Sogn og Fjordane County Council, Norway	THING Project	Lead Partner		✓



## The Vinland-Mi'kma'ki Trail NTO/DMO Tourism Product Development Survey (cont.)

Survey Recipient				Answer	
				YES	NO
12	The Highland Council (Dingwall and Seaforth Ward), Inverness	THING Project	Partner		✓
13	The Iceland Saga Trail Association	Rögnvaldur Guðmundsson	Chairman	✓	
14	Thompson Rivers University	John S. Hull	Faculty of Adventure, Culinary Arts and Tourism		✓
15	Tourisme Baie des Chaleurs, NB				✓
16	Tourisme Gaspésie, QC	Dany Joseph	Head of Development and Publishing	✓	
17	Tourism Nova Scotia	Heather Yule	Manager Experience Development	✓	
18	Thingvellir National Park, Iceland, THING Project	Torfi Stefán Jónsson	Project Manager	✓	
19	University of the Highlands and Islands	Ragnhild Ljosheim	Lecturer in Nordic Studies	✓	
20	University of the Highlands and Islands	Andrew Jennings	Post Doctoral Research Associate	✓	
21	Viking Trail Tourism Association	Andre Myers	Business Manager	✓	
22	York Archaeological Trust / The Jorvik Group	Cris Tuckley	Head of Interpretation and Engagement	✓	

### Appendix 16: Three Case Study Surveys - Recipients Lists

Tourism Trails - 3 Case Studies NTO/DMO Tourism Product Development Survey					
Survey Recipient				Answer	
				YES	NO
1	The Viking Trail - Viking Trail Tourism Association	Andre Myers	Business Manager	✓	
2	The Cabot Trail - Destination Cape Breton Association	Kristine Mills	Marketing Coordinator		✓
3	The Saga Trail - The Iceland Saga Trail Association	Rögnvaldur Guðmundsson	Chairman	✓	

## Appendix 17: Vinland Trails

