





**The Inuit-Metis of Sandwich Bay:  
Oral Histories and Archaeology**

By

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### **Abstract**

During the nineteenth century the Inuit-Metis, Inuit and migratory fishermen in southern Labrador constructed and lived in similar sod dwellings. On the surface, the archaeological remains of these dwellings are almost identical, making it difficult to determine the ethnicity of the occupants. To date only one known Inuit-Metis sod dwelling has been excavated and further research is needed to determine how Inuit-Metis ethnicity can be identified in the archaeological record. Focusing on Sandwich Bay, Labrador, this thesis combines oral histories, archaeology, and documentary evidence to examine the lifeways of the Inuit-Metis's ancestors and to determine how their ethnicity transcends to the archaeological record in comparison to Inuit and European ethnicities.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### 1.1 Introduction

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries many English settlers came to the coast of Labrador to work in British trading and fishing stations. These settlers were almost exclusively unmarried males and many eventually took Inuit women as wives. These unions produced a generation of ethnically and culturally "mixed" children (Kennedy 1997: 8). When this generation was old enough to marry they sought out other people of mixed Inuit and European heritage. This "ethnic endogamy," Kennedy explains, "reinforced ethnic consciousness" and resulted in distinct communities of people who are now known as Inuit-Metis (1997: 8). Currently there are over 6000 Inuit-Metis living along the southern coastal and interior waterways of Labrador. Since the formation of the Labrador Metis Association (now the NunatuKavut Community Council) in 1985, Inuit-Metis communities have experienced a cultural awakening and there is now a growing interest among the Inuit-Metis to learn more about their past. There is very little historical documentation of the Inuit-Metis, making oral histories and archaeology the ideal tools for studying Inuit-Metis history.

The primary objective of this research is to determine how Inuit-Metis ethnicity can be identified in the archaeological record in southern Labrador. During the nineteenth century, the Inuit, migratory fishermen and Inuit-Metis families all constructed and lived in similar sod dwellings (Figure 1.1). On the surface, the archaeological remains of these dwellings are almost identical, making it difficult for archaeologists to determine the ethnicity of the occupants and thus determine whose history they reflect (Figure 1.2). A

minimal number of European and Inuit sod dwellings have been excavated in southern Labrador, and their ethnic signatures have been tentatively established, but to date only one known Inuit-Metis sod dwelling has been excavated, namely FkBg-24. This dwelling is located on North River in Sandwich Bay, Labrador, and was excavated in 2008 by Matthew Beaudoin. Although Beaudoin et al. (2010) were able to draw some preliminary conclusions from this excavation, further research on Inuit-Metis sod dwellings is required to verify their conclusions and to determine how Inuit-Metis ethnicity transcends to the archaeological record in comparison to Inuit and European ethnicities. This thesis examines Inuit-Metis settlement patterns and house construction style in comparison to those of Inuit and migratory fishermen, to determine if there are any observable trends for the Inuit-Metis in the archaeological record. In order to do this, I combine oral histories, archaeology and aspects of postcolonial theory.



**Figure 1.1.** During the nineteenth century, the Inuit, Inuit-Metis and migratory fishermen in Labrador all constructed and lived in similar sod dwellings, as shown in the above photos taken in southern Labrador. *Top left* shows an Inuit house (photo taken by Rupert Baxter in 1891). *Top right* shows a Newfoundland fisherman's tilt in Paine's Cove, Labrador (photo taken by Eliot Curwen in 1893). *Bottom* shows an Inuit-Metis family in front of their house in Fox Cove, Labrador (photo taken by Eliot Curwen in 1893). Courtesy of the Rooms Archives.



**Figure 1.2.** From the surface, the archaeological remains of sod houses are almost identical, making it difficult to determine the ethnicity of the occupants. *Left* shows FkBg-24 prior to excavation (photo taken Lisa Rankin in 2002). *Right* shows an Inuit sod house on Norman Island, Labrador (photo taken by author in 2010).

### 1.2 Interpretive Framework

There is no concrete definition of ethnicity, but for the purpose of this research ethnic groups should be understood as “culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture and common descent” (Jones 1997: 84). In order to maintain an ethnic group, a consciousness of difference must be achieved. This relies on both internal and external perceptions. Both the members of the group and non-members of the group must perceive the ethnic group as different. Ethnicity is not static. It is ever-changing and adaptive. Burley et al. (1992 :4) point out that a comprehensive theoretical framework for studying ethnicity in historical archaeology has yet to be developed.

Discussions of ethnicity have been the source of considerable debate in the historical archaeological community. My research is essentially an ethnohistoric study

drawing on oral history, documentary evidence and archaeology to explore the Inuit-Metis past. This research is informed by culture contact theory and post-colonial theory. The study of Inuit-Metis ethnicity underscores two major issues regarding ethnic studies in archaeology. *First*, there is no straightforward relationship between material culture and ethnicity. In the past, methodologies were used that equated a “one-to-one relationship” between ethnicity and material culture (Loren 2008: 113). Additionally, the presence of European artifacts on an Aboriginal archaeological site was seen as an indicator of the inevitable disappearance of Aboriginal cultures and the amount of European artifacts versus Aboriginal artifacts was used as a measurement of assimilation (Rubertone 2000: 428). Archaeologists now understand that these past methodologies over simplified the complexity of colonial processes and do not convey how individuals used material culture “in seemingly inconsistent combinations in process of forming new social traditions” (Loren 2008: 113).

It has been pointed out by postcolonial theorists that colonialism is not merely about the meeting and maintaining of two separate cultures, the colonizer and the colonized. Colonialism leads to changes in these cultures and even the creation of new cultures (Gosden 2001: 241). Traditional views of colonialism regard the colonizers as having all the power to shape cultures in colonial contexts and deny agency to the colonized. In reality both the colonizers and the colonized had agency (Ferris 2009; Gosden 2001). Postcolonial theory deviates from prevalent assumptions of acculturation, dependency and cultural obscurity (Ferris 2009: 167). Ferris explains that this theoretical approach goes against previous notions of Aboriginal peoples as “a passive backdrop for the socioeconomic motivations and histories of Europeans” (2009: 167).

The history of Labrador's southern coast indicates that the categories of "colonizer" and "colonized" are far too rigid to be applied to the Europeans and Inuit who resided there. These two groups heavily influenced the lives of one another. In nineteenth century southern Labrador, the many Inuit had similar access to European materials as the Europeans. Furthermore, the Europeans also appropriated well-adapted Inuit tools and house construction styles. This mutual appropriation has resulted in similar archaeological assemblages so ethnicity cannot be assigned based on the presence or absence of artifacts. Additionally, the intense interactions between these groups eventually gave rise to the present day Inuit-Metis. Often regarded as a "hybrid" culture, the ethnically "mixed" population of nineteenth century southern Labrador further complicates the relationship between material culture and ethnicity as one would expect to find both Inuit and European artifacts. Archaeologists need to examine how the same objects were used and adapted by different peoples to maintain a separate identity and continue social and cultural processes in a vastly changing place. Although people were using the same items, different ideologies may have influenced different uses and conceptualizations of the item. This thesis examines how the Inuit, Inuit-Metis and Europeans influenced one another and adopted each other's construction styles and material culture while maintaining separate and distinct identities that are visible in the archaeological record.

*Second*, in an attempt to understand the past and link this past to the present, many archaeologists may be imposing contemporary notions of an ethnicity onto past peoples that may not have shared these notions. The term Metis was first applied to "ethnically mixed" communities in Labrador in 1975. Prior to this, these people referred to

themselves, and were referred to by others as *Settlers* and most Settlers tried to hide their Inuit heritage (Kennedy 1997). In 1985 the Inuit-Metis asserted a collective identity by establishing the Labrador Metis Association (now NunatuKavut). This collective identity is based on a common "mixed" Inuit and European heritage and denotes the group's ethnicity as neither Inuit nor European, but Metis. The Inuit-Metis's recent ethnogenesis raises many questions for archaeologists. It is not known if people of mixed Inuit and European heritage saw themselves as ethnically distinct or if they shared a collective identity in the nineteenth century, and how this collective identity differed from the Inuit and the Europeans who frequented the coast. Recently, archaeologists have been attempting to determine whether the ancestors of the Inuit-Metis merit their own archaeological definition or should be included in the realm of either the Labrador Inuit or European.

The analysis of FkBg-24 by Beaudoin et al. (2010) indicates that they do in fact merit their own definition, but the results of this study are preliminary and it is not known if the site excavated is an anomaly or representative of nineteenth century people of mixed heritage in Labrador. In the first half of this thesis I examine the history of Sandwich Bay, while showing that the inhabitants of the area with mixed ancestry participated in a separate community and shared a way of life that differed from the Inuit and Europeans on the coast and therefore they most likely shared a collective identity. Throughout my thesis I argue that the ancestors of the present day Inuit-Metis shared a distinct history and ethnic group and that this is represented in the archaeological record. Therefore the Inuit-Metis do in fact warrant their own archaeological definition.

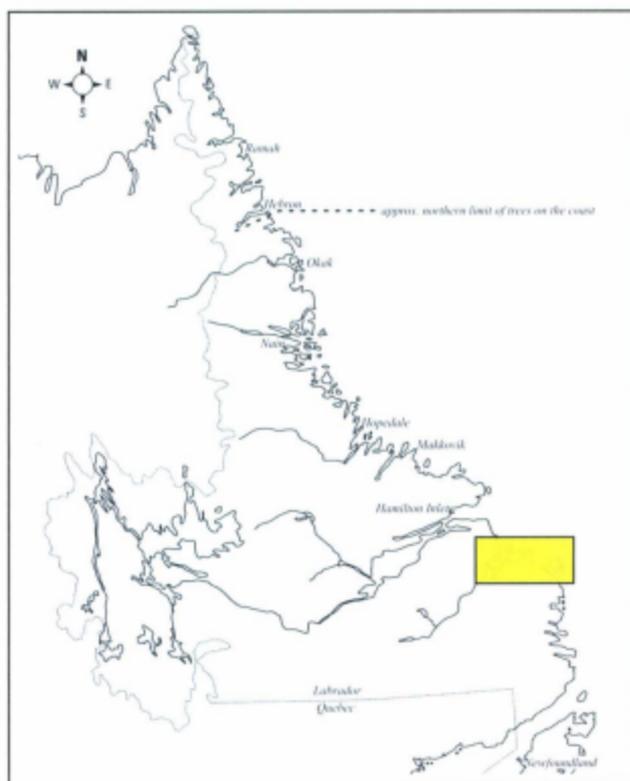
The term *Inuit-Metis* may not best describe the ancestors of the present day Inuit-Metis. The recent shift from *Settler* to *Metis* indicates a change in the way the Inuit-Metis understand and interpret their identity. This shift also changes the way the Inuit-Metis portray their identity to others (from a group of settlers to an Aboriginal Nation). Although the term *Inuit-Metis* may not accurately portray how the people of nineteenth century Sandwich Bay understood their ethnicity and communicated it to others, it is still used to describe the ancestors of the present day Inuit-Metis in this thesis. I should also note that the people interviewed during this thesis were all of mixed Inuit and European heritage and felt that they were part of a greater community with a shared past, although not all of them used the term *Inuit-Metis* to describe themselves. A few interviewees felt that this term had political connotations that they wished not to identify themselves with. The term Inuit-Metis is used in my thesis to write about people of mixed Inuit and European heritage who share a common history, community and way of life. This term does indicate a political affiliation with the NunatuKavut Community Council.

### 1.3 Methodologies

Sandwich Bay is located on the south-eastern shore of Labrador (Figure 1.3). Currently, over 600 people live in the region. The majority of Sandwich Bay's population reside in Cartwright, one of the largest towns in Labrador. Sandwich Bay was first inhabited by Europeans in 1775 when Captain George Cartwright established fishing stations there. Sandwich Bay was chosen as my study area mainly due to the recent archaeological and genealogical research conducted there. Sandwich Bay is also the location of the only excavated Inuit-Metis site in Labrador. Further investigation of Inuit-

Metis sites in the area will help construct a regional archaeological assemblage for the Inuit-Metis. Recent archaeological work carried out by Lisa Rankin (2010, 2011), Natalie Brewster (2005), and Phoebe Murphy (2011) on Inuit sites in the Bay has provided a good regional comparison for Inuit-Metis sites. Additionally, genealogical research conducted by Patty Way, a well known Labrador genealogist, as well as Sandwich Bay's small population and isolation have made the area ideal for family history research.

Prior to my fieldwork I had to familiarize myself with historic maps of Sandwich Bay. One map in particular, Aivektök oder Eskimo Bay, composed in 1872 by T.L. Reichel was particularly useful. On an inset of Sandwich Bay, Reichel recorded the names of people that he encountered and marked them on the map and by indicated them as "Eskimo", "Mixed", or "Englander and Newfoundlander" (Figure 1.4). It is not known what Reichel's criteria for a "mixed" household was, as genealogical research has indicated that some of the households labelled "Englander and Newfoundlander" were in fact not strictly "European and Newfoundlander". It was from this map, that Beaudoin et al. were able to identify FkBg-24 as an ethnically mixed household. Although this was an important starting point for my research, the inset only recorded winter houses and only offered a glimpse of what was happening in nineteenth century Sandwich Bay. During this time I also composed a series of interview questions and received approval from the Tri-Council and Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland.



**Figure 1.3.** Map of Labrador with research area highlighted.

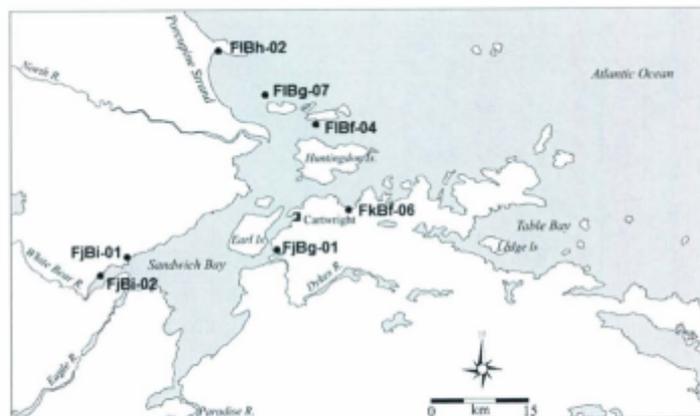


**Figure 1.4.** Inset of Sandwich Bay from Aivektók oder Eskimo Bay, composed in 1872 by T.L. Reichel. Households are recorded as either “Eskimo” (thick orange line), “Mixed” (thin blue line), or “Englander or Newfoundland” (thin red line). Note C. And D. Williams in top right hand corner labelled as “Mixed” indicates the location of FkBg-24. Courtesy of Hans Rollmann, Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

The use of oral histories is particularly important to my research because it is impossible to ascribe ethnic affiliation to unexcavated sod houses in southern Labrador. The goal of the interviews was to make use of historic maps and family trees and ask questions regarding the locations of the interviewees' ancestors' settlements and the kinds of daily tasks their ancestors performed (for list of guiding questions see Appendix A). During July and August 2010 I conducted interviews with ten residents of Sandwich Bay in order to locate archaeological sites with a known Inuit-Metis affiliation. During the interviews I used extant family trees for residents of the area to ensure ethnic affiliation of sites and created maps containing Inuit-Metis place names that indicated who lived where. Recording Inuit-Metis place names was important because many Sandwich Bay residents do not use place names that appear on existing maps. It is also important to record Inuit-Metis place names because they may represent Inuit-Metis relationships with the land and also indicate possible places of archaeological interest. The interviews followed a semi-structured format where guiding questions were used to direct the interviews; however, interviewees were encouraged to speak freely and openly and with as much detail as possible. All of the interviewees signed consent forms before the interviews were conducted and all of the interviews were tape recorded.

During August 2010, I conducted an archaeological survey of various regions of Sandwich Bay that were indicated as possible Inuit-Metis occupation sites during the interviews, with the help of Lewis Davis, Doris Davis and Brandon Morris, all residents of Cartwright. The survey areas included Goose Cove, Muddy Bay, Muddy Bay Brook, Norman's Island, Cape Porcupine, White Bear River, Dove Brook and Dumpling Island. During this survey, four new sites were identified (FkBF-06, FjBg-02, FIBh-02, FjBi-01)

and two previously recorded sites were re-visited (FIBg-07, FIBf-04) (Figure 1.5). At the sites, I photographed and mapped any visible features as well as excavated 40cm x 40cm test pits.



**Figure 1.5** Map of Sandwich Bay indicating sites looked at during survey.

After returning from the field, all interviews were transcribed and analysed. Other areas of interest established during interviews that were not visited during the summer were compared to previously recorded archaeological sites to determine a possible Inuit-Metis affiliation. All sites with probable Inuit-Metis affiliation were compared to contemporaneous Inuit and migratory Newfoundland fishermen sites, with a particular focus on settlement patterns and house construction style, to answer the following questions:

- *Are all Inuit-Metis sites located in similar settings and do they include similar features?*

- *How do these sites compare to the site of FkBg-24 excavated by Beaudoin?*
- *How do Inuit-Metis sites differ from previously excavated contemporaneous Inuit and migratory European fishing settlements in the region?*
- *Do the Inuit-Metis reflect the merging of two cultures into a hybrid culture?*

In the end I identified a series of archaeological sites that have known family associations, and therefore ethnic affiliation, that can be subject to further excavation.

#### 1.4 Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 examines the viability of incorporating oral histories into archaeological research. It also discusses how local place names emulate local history while contributing to a community identity. The final section of the chapter evaluates how the incorporation of oral histories and local knowledge into archaeological research worked for this project as well as some community members' reactions and feelings towards the project.

Chapter 3 discusses resource exploitation by the Inuit and various European groups and how this exploitation led to the permanent settlement of Sandwich Bay and the formation of the Inuit-Metis. It also examines traditional Sandwich Bay life, arguing that Sandwich Bay residents shared a common lifestyle and heritage, distinct from the Inuit and Europeans, and participated in a separate community.

Chapter 4 describes the changes that occurred in Sandwich Bay during the twentieth century. The Spanish Influenza, formal education, and government sponsored

resettlement programs were among the biggest factors that influenced a dramatic change in settlement patterns and way of life in Sandwich Bay. Despite these changes the Inuit-Metis have been able to hold on to their traditions which have very much formed their present identity.

Chapter 5 analyses Inuit-Metis settlement patterns and house construction styles in Sandwich Bay, which are then compared to contemporaneous Inuit and migratory Newfoundland fishermen sites in Chapter 6. I argue that there is an observable pattern for the location of Inuit-Metis sites and the construction of Inuit-Metis houses.

Chapter 7 reviews my research questions and conclusions. It also offers suggestions for future research that would build upon my findings and enhance our knowledge of Inuit-Metis history in Sandwich Bay, as well as inter-ethnic interactions in southern Labrador.

## **Chapter 2: Oral Histories, Maps and Archaeology**

### 2.1 Introduction

While attempting to reconstruct the history of Aboriginal peoples in North America, Western archaeologists have often ignored what contemporary Aboriginal communities can tell us about the past. As part of a growing trend, an increasing number of archaeologists are now trying to supplement their research by incorporating oral histories and local knowledge into their work. This chapter examines this trend, as well as discusses the local forms of knowledge in Sandwich Bay and how they were used in my research.

### 2.2 Oral Histories and Archaeology

History is important to all cultures, and although all cultures have a different way of interpreting, understanding, structuring and relaying the past, history serves many of the same social, economic and political functions across cultures. History can be used to confirm identity, both personal and collective, as well as establish social and political status (Carlson 2007: 49). Every culture must determine what is important enough to be included in their history. History is constructed based on the values of the culture constructing it and as these values change over time, so does the way the culture's history is interpreted. History is rewritten by each generation of historians, who take present concerns into account while interpreting history (Lutz 2007a: 4).

It is believed by many academics that the role of the historian is "...to re-create the conscious thoughts of a person from another era" (Carlson 2007: 46). However, Carlson points out that "...in attempting to meet this objective, historians have

occasionally committed some of the worst acts of intellectual colonialism, appropriating and misrepresenting the motivations, intentions, understandings, and voices of marginalized people from past eras" (2007: 46). When it comes to the writing of North American Aboriginal histories, Western historians and archaeologists have favoured Western forms of knowledge over Aboriginal ones. Where Western notions of the past are seen as historical facts, Aboriginal notions are often demoted to nothing more than beliefs or opinions (de Sousa Santos 2007: 4). Aboriginal oral histories are often seen as unreliable and unscientific by academics. Some archaeologists argue that there is often no way of proving that oral histories are true because there are no written documents to validate them. Collingwood argues that "...an historian who accepts testimony of an authority and treats it as historical [in the absence of verifiable evidence]...obviously forfeits the name of historian" (Carlson 2007: 66). However, Fontana points out that written histories are nothing more than oral accounts written down (1969: 367). Many people feel that archaeologists have acted as if only they are capable of understanding the history that has led to contemporary Aboriginal cultures in North America (Watkin 2005:192). Until fairly recently, Western scientists and historians have taken it upon themselves to write the only "true" and "accurate" interpretation of the past. In the 1960s and 70s many scholars tried to write against the ethnocentric interpretations of the past; however, "...in a well-meaning attempt to be relativist" these scholars applied a "universal rationality across the European-Indigenous cultural divide", which ended up downplaying Indigenous belief systems and further projected European ideals onto the rest of the world (Lutz 2007b: 32-33).

Currently, more researchers are attempting to use oral histories and Aboriginal interpretations in their methodologies (Brink 2004; Dongoske, Jenkins & Ferguson 2000; Friesen et al. 2000). The use of oral histories in archaeology gives insight into past cultures that would be impossible to learn from the archaeological record. Using oral histories with external corroborations, such as archaeology, provides a good methodology for understanding Aboriginal history because it accounts for Aboriginal perspectives and broadens the view of the Western interpretive frame (Galloway 2006: 55; Garza and Powell 2001: 54). It also allows Aboriginal people the chance to contribute to the academic writing of their history.

There is very little historical documentation of the Inuit-Metis in southern Labrador making the combination of oral histories and archaeology ideal for studying their history. Both the Europeans and the Moravians wrote extensively about Labrador; however, neither recorded much information about the Inuit-Metis. The Europeans were not interested in such marginal groups and the Moravians were mainly interested in the Inuit who settled at or near the mission stations in northern Labrador. With the exception of a small number of diarists including Lydia Campbell and Margaret Baikie, the Inuit-Metis also did not literarily record much of their history due to a lack of formal education; however, they preserved much of their history orally. These oral histories serve a vital role in learning about Inuit-Metis past life ways and interpreting the archaeological record.

### 2.3 The Way Oral Histories Work

There is an assumption that oral histories work fundamentally the same way as Western written history (Carlson 2007: 47). Western scholars working with Aboriginal knowledges often assume that different cultural perspectives are bridgeable by Western concepts (Cruikshank 2007: 370). However, oral histories do not always work in the same way as Western histories. The content of oral histories can constantly change depending on the discussion and dialogue, and the personal relationship and cultural understandings between the teller and the listener (Cruikshank 2007: 370). As a result of these factors, oral histories are usually never the same twice.

Every society has its own method of determining what is legitimate history. In communities reliant on oral histories, keepers of history are not only obligated to keep track of information, they must also be able to relate historical material to meet societal changes, while ensuring that the factual components remain accurate (Carlson 2007: 67). Although what constitutes as legitimate history may differ among cultures, it does not mean that one form of history is more valid than the other.

Western academics use references, such as primary sources, to check the validity of historical information. Members of communities that use oral histories rely on authorities rather than references. Carlson explains that, authorities are best thought of as "the non-literate equivalent of an archives and historian combined into a single being" (2007: 67). It is very important to ensure that the knowledge that is passed down remains accurate. The authority one has as a keeper of history is reliant on personal and family reputations. In Sandwich Bay, these keepers of history are referred to as "Aunts" and "Uncles". There is a general consensus among community members that these Aunts and

Uncles have an extensive knowledge of their family history and the history of Sandwich Bay. I was referred to my interviewees by members of the community based on their reputation as Aunts or Uncles. During an interview, if an interviewee was unsure of the information they had given me, I was often referred to another Aunt or Uncle to validate the information.

#### 2.4 Maps and Place Names

Maps are often seen as objective, neutral representations of the landscape, but many researchers have pointed out the political nature of maps (Wood 1992; Smith 2003; Stone 1988). Maps are thought to be produced by scientific measures and therefore are true depictions of the natural world. It is through this alleged scientific objectivity that maps are able to hide their cultural subjectivity and claim authority by controlling sense and meaning of the landscape (Smith 2003: 71-72; Wood 1992). Maps are culturally defined projections of the land that encode knowledge about the landscape. Maps often “render unnecessary and are opposed to subjective folk experiences of the landscape, through for example stories and myths..., or popular terminology as revealed in place names” (Johnson 1996: 115). Folk experiences and local terminologies can reveal a lot about the mentalities of local people (Basso 1996; Herman 1999; Nash 1999). Opposing folk experiences of the land and rendering them unnecessary is an imposition of authoritative ideologies about land. Therefore, maps do not necessarily tell us about the relationship that local people have with the land. More often, they represent the relationship that removed authorities have with the land. Sandwich Bay is an example of this.

Most Sandwich Bay residents do not use the place names that are found on maps. They have their own “local place names”. Some differences between chart names and local place names are small and some residents consider them to be a difference in pronunciation. For example, the chart name Trunmore Bay is locally referred to as Tramore, but the ‘Bay’ is also dropped. However, many of the local place names are quite different than the chart names and emulate the local history while contributing to a community identity. Smith explains that place names reflect “the culturally meaningful landscape of the local population. They are mnemonic codes for local stories and traditions, recognised by and part of the shared memory of the local community” (2003: 78).

For example, the island named Newfoundland Island on charts is known as Prisoner’s Island to local people. Many people explained to me that “there was really a prisoner on it” (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010). According to an article in *The Edinburgh Advertiser* (23 January 1818: 50), while working on a fishing boat at Dumpling Island, Labrador, S.H. Brown killed a Mr. Pierce on July 15, 1817 during an argument about the amount of food the men consumed. Brown was then kept on the island now known as Prisoner’s Island until the fishing season was over.

...he killed the guy but they weren’t going back cause what they would do is come over and fish in this area for a couple of months. Then when the fish is all dried you gather up what you got and your crew got but also probably bartering with others. You load your ship up and sail back to England so of course they’re not sailing back to England to bring him to court in June. They’re not going ‘til like September-October so he had to be kept and so that’s where they kept him. And so it’s called Prisoner’s Island because that is really truly what it was” (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

This piece of local history may have been long forgotten if the island was not named Prisoner's Island. Similarly, a small island between Earl Island and Diver Island remains unnamed on charts. Locally this island is known as either Rum Island or Rum Jar Island. The story behind its name is as follows:

A bunch of fellows one time stole a small keg of rum from the Hudson's Bay Company. They hid it on that little island there. And in the evenings they used to row up there and have a few drinks. I think they did get caught in the end of it. But that's where they hid it, right. (Anthony Elson, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 29, 2010).

Smith argues that on a map "What is named is considered significant; what goes unnamed is not" (2003: 73). Rum Jar Island is a very small island and its lack of name on charts may reflect its unimportance to foreign cartographers; however, the local name shows its significance to the community. Prisoner's Island and Rum Jar Island represent local history and folklore. The use of these names denotes a shared memory and reinforces a sense of identity and belonging to the landscape for community members (Smith 2003: 78).

Community members think that it is important to keep the local place names and are often frustrated that local people were not consulted when foreign cartographers were mapping and naming the area.

I think it's important to keep the local names. I don't know where these names would have come from. This Duck Point and this, this, this and this. I really don't. I have no idea. I guess somebody came here with a map and whatever, decided maybe I'll stick my name there kind of a thing, you know if you don't know what it's called. But see that's another thing too, instead of, when someone would come in to do mapping or writing or whatever it might be, instead of asking the local people, I guess they were assuming that everybody, not being educated wouldn't know very much, but who knows

better about a place than local people. You know, a place where you grew up and that, eh. I don't think anybody do really. You can come here and write all you like when you go away, you know but if it's not accurate, what's good of it you know. Cause you bring it back a few years later for someone to read and they say what on earth is that? Where's that kind of thing. So I think it's important to keep with the local names. (Anonymous resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

With the completion of the Trans-Labrador Highway, many residents have taken notice of road signs that broadcast names that are not the names that Labrador residents use or in some cases road signs that label the wrong area. These road signs make the mis-naming of places by outsiders a lot more apparent to Sandwich Bay residents than maps. To many Sandwich Bay residents these road signs are a blatant reminder of their feelings of insignificance to and isolation from the rest of the province.

It's so hard to convince them sometimes that it's not you know, what they gots there is not right. So I don't know where they get their information from or if they want to do it on their own. But they see, some people who are really disturbed about it, you know. Now I have myself, in fact, when I drove last winter when the road was open for the first time I took a drive over there just to have a ride on the road. And as I was looking there were two signs one on each side of the Bay saying Paradise River, and I said don't be silly, what's going on here, you know? And I spoke to several people about it and told them, you know, to contact a member and tell them, because that has got to be changed. And I, what I think happened, you know, somebody in St. John's said, boy take this a sign and its going to mark Paradise River and drive up 'til you comes to this bridge crossing this brook and put up that sign there, but they meant the bridge the other way, see (Chesley Lethbridge, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 15, 2010).

Most Sandwich Bay residents did not learn place names from maps but from growing up on the land. When travelling around the Bay by boat, many residents do not use maps because they have learned the lay of the Bay through experience with older

generations. Often the difference between local place names and chart names is forgotten. The wrong chart names have proven dangerous to people not from the Bay.

... that one there is quite important cause Green Island on your map is not Green Island. Someone actually ran aground because of that. In their boat. Because they asked the local people, a local person for sailing instructions when he left Cartwright and he said "You're ok as long as you keep around Green Island". You know, like we'd say, but Green Island being on the map, wherever it is on the map there, course he went up around that Green Island. First thing he did was ran aground at the shoals. So you know, there's, there's other, there's good reasons for keeping the local names in the right place as far as I'm concerned. That's one reason for sure. Cause the fellow who gave him the instructions said you know, "you're ok as long as you keep around Green Island, there's lots of water" and this that and the other thing. But because it was Green Island on his map then that's why he went there and he ran aground. Yeah, I don't know if he wrecked his boat but you know, he did go aground (Anonymous resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

It was important for my research to record these local place names not only because I needed to know where on a map people were referring to when they used these local place names, but also because these local place names could give important clues to where archaeological sites may be located. For example, many local place names carry the names of some of the first settlers to the region. The local place name Pardy's Head, which is Paradise Point on a chart, was the place where George Pardy first settled in Sandwich Bay during the early 1800s with his Inuit wife. Place names that contain the names of people are often indicators that people lived in or used that place.

## 2.5 Review of Community Participation

Taken as a whole, the project was quite successful. Not only were Inuit-Metis sites identified and a more complete understanding of Inuit-Metis ethnogenesis and past

life ways was established, the Inuit-Metis contributed to an academic writing of their history.

So there's no knowledge, like local knowledge as far as I'm concerned, you know. That's why I keep saying if someone was to come here and try and write something, why not ask the local people? Because, such as what you're doing yourself. It's absolutely wonderful, I think it is. It needs to be done. It really do (Anonymous resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

Few discrepancies were found when analyzing the oral histories. These discrepancies were minor and did not have a great impact on the outcome of the project. For example, the majority of discrepancies that arose were that interviewees did not agree that a certain family lived at a certain place. One interviewee would say that their family lived somewhere and then another interviewee would say that it was their family who settled there. Most of these discrepancies were put to rest when further investigation indicated that one family did live at the settlement, but it was then passed on to the other family through marriage. Beck and Somerville (2005) developed the concept of *conversations* to analyze the combination of archaeology and oral histories. They list many different kinds of 'conversations' that can occur. When analyzing the oral histories as conversations instead of static facts, the minor discrepancies between histories can lead to the most productive kinds of 'conversations' (Beck and Somerville 2005). By viewing the information gathered from the interviews as conversations, it is made apparent that history is being told from a specific family perspective. When these perspectives are put together instead of discarded when they are opposing, a more complete picture of Sandwich Bay history is revealed.

Overall the community's response to my project was very positive; many interviewees said that such research should have been conducted years earlier while the previous generation was still alive. Many people felt that Sandwich Bay was often overlooked by researchers and were happy that an outsider was taking interest in their history.

But today I find, it kind of annoys me a little bit I think there should be more information written about Labrador. Because, even the fellow who was here yesterday, like he hardly knew anything about Labrador, and I think the reason for that is because there is nothing written about it for people to learn, you know. Same as anywhere else in the world, like you can pick up a book and read about Africa or Australia or somewhere like that and learn quite a bit. I think you can anyway. But Labrador, there's nothing. Pretty well nothing and people that do come here get a big surprise. I mean all they expect to see is ice and snow and igloos (Anonymous resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 32, 2010).

Some difficulties arose while trying to find interviewees. Although community members were excited to identify the best people to interview, many of these people would not agree to be interviewed. Many elderly people in the community were reluctant to participate because of a distrust of outsiders. Furthermore, they often felt embarrassed about having little formal education and unfortunately did not feel they could contribute to a university-based project. However, the people that did agree to be interviewed were enthusiastic and passionate about sharing their history with me.

The people of Sandwich Bay share a collective history that has undoubtedly shaped their current identity. This history is reflected in their local place names, which serve as a constant reminder of a shared past and reinforces a community identity. History remains an important part of Sandwich Bay culture and as the Aunts and Uncles of the community try to relay their history to a new generation many oral histories are now

being recorded and published to make them more accessible (for example *Them Days Magazine* or the works of Chesley Lethbridge). These publications serve the same purposes and follow the same format as oral histories. They are an adaptive compromise for communicating old histories to a modern world.

## Chapter 3: Historical Background

### 3.1 Introduction

"I found about a hundred and forty tierces of salmon on shore, the salt nearly expended, and fish still plentiful. The people informed me the fish came in so fast after I left them, that they were obliged to take two of their nets up, and fish with two only" Captain George Cartwright, July 26, 1775 (Cartwright 1911: 176-177).

Rich seasonally available resources have attracted people to the coast of Labrador since the melting of the glaciers, approximately 9,000 years ago (Kennedy 1995: 16). Labrador's climate is ultimately defined by the Labrador Current, which is made up of two cold arctic currents and one warmer current, known as, the West Greenland Current or Irminger Current. These currents combine at Chidley and flow south along the coast. Labrador's long cold winters and short summers are a direct result of the Labrador Current. Kennedy gives the example that Sandwich Bay is at the same latitude as Manchester, England, yet their climates vastly differ (Kennedy 1995: 13). Labrador is said to have two coast lines: an inner coast which is made up of protected bays and inlets and an outer coast of exposed capes and islands. The inner coast is home to boreal forest and fauna, and the outer coast is often regarded as "the ocean breadbasket" (Kennedy 1995: 13). Labrador's harsh climate minimizes the number of marine and terrestrial animal species that periodically live along the coast in cycles of "abundance and scarcity" (Kennedy 1995: 13); however, many of these animals visit the coast during different times providing resources to humans continuously throughout the year. Even so, a great

deal of human mobility between the inner and outer coast is required to optimally exploit these resources (Kennedy 1995: 13).

This chapter examines how resource exploitation led to the permanent settlement of Sandwich Bay by Europeans, many who married Inuit women, giving rise to the present day Inuit-Metis population of the area. Section 3.2 discusses resource exploitation by the Inuit and various European groups along the coast of Labrador. Section 3.3 looks at the European business ventures in Sandwich Bay which led to permanent settlement of the area and Section 3.4 examines life for early residents of Sandwich Bay.

### 3.2 Southern Labrador prior to Permanent Settlement

#### 3.2.1 The Inuit in southern Labrador

The Thule culture originated in Alaska around AD 1000 (Kennedy 1995:17). The present day Inuit arose from this culture. During the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD the Thule began to migrate eastward through the Canadian Arctic reaching Greenland by the middle of that century (Ramsden and Rankin n.d.: 8). At approximately AD 1500 ancestors of the present day Inuit, migrated into northern Labrador (Ramsden and Rankin n.d.: 10). The Inuit eventually made their way as far south as the Strait of Belle Isle; however, the nature and extent of the Inuit's presence in southern Labrador is still highly debated. Until the 1980s the general assumption was that the Inuit did not permanently reside farther south than Hamilton Inlet prior to the eighteenth century. Inuit presence in southern Labrador before this time was interpreted as short term and for the purpose of trade

(Auger 1993). However, within the last 30 years, many different lines of evidence have been produced that run counter to this assumption. To date, there is still little known about Inuit presence in southern Labrador and the nature of their presence is still debated. Regardless of when the Inuit began to permanently reside in southern Labrador, they were present in Sandwich Bay when Europeans began to permanently settle the area in the late eighteenth century. Stopp (2002) argues that archival and archaeological evidence indicate an Inuit presence in southern Labrador prior to the eighteenth century, and that this presence was during both the summer and winter months. She also argues for the presence of family groups rather than trading parties. The archaeological evidence of Inuit in Sandwich Bay supports this view (Rankin et al. 2011).

Ethnographic and archaeological evidence suggests that the Inuit followed a seasonal settlement pattern that allowed them to optimally access resources through Labrador's cycles of abundance and scarcity. Excellent knowledge of the environment was an asset as resources were only availed at specific places during specific times (Stopp 2002: 95). They Inuit lived in conical skin tents during warm season and sod hoses during the cold season. At the beginning of the fall, the Inuit would move to their winter habitation sites, usually located in inner island environments. During this time they would hunt caribou, seal, migratory birds, hare and porcupine. They would also hunt fox, marten, minx, beaver, and muskrat. The furs of these animals were both personally used by the Inuit and traded to Europeans for European goods (Brewster 2005: 24-5).

During the winter, specialized hunting groups would travel by dog sled to the ice edge to cooperatively hunt ringed and bearded seals from breathing holes. Walrus, whales

and seal, could also be hunted from the edge of open water. Ice fishing for cod also took place. Additionally, during the winter, the Inuit would hunt fox, hare, and porcupine. March and April were generally a time of low subsistence productivity and the Inuit relied heavily on the caribou, seal and fish caches they made during the summer and fall (Brewster 2005: 25-6).

During the spring the sea ice would begin to break up and the Inuit would move from their winter habitation sites to seaward islands. This move would ensure access to open water and its resources. The Inuit used kayaks to hunt seals, walrus and sea birds. They also hunted caribou, eider ducks and fished cod, capelin and char. In addition, eggs collected from nests were also an important source of subsistence at this time (Brewster 2005: 26).

In the early summer the Inuit would move from their outer island camps to larger camps where resources were more plentiful, usually within a bay or on an inner island. At this time the Inuit would hunt bearded, ringed, harbour and harp seals. Fishing also took place during the summer (Brewster 2005; 26). In the late summer, some families went to the interior to participate in communal caribou drives. The meat collected from these drives was stored in caches for the winter. Other families stayed on the coast to collect berries and hunt seal. Fishing also took place and the catch was dried and stored for later use (Brewster 2005: 23-4).

Recent excavations of Inuit sites dating between the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century at Snack Cove (Brewster 2005) and Indian Harbour (Rankin 2010, 2011; Murphy 2011) have pointed to multi-seasonal Inuit occupation in Sandwich

Bay since the late-sixteenth century. The excavations have also shown that although the Inuit had possession of numerous European goods, they lived a relatively traditional lifestyle (Brewster 2005).

### 3.2.2 Basque in southern Labrador

The Basque were the first Europeans to harvest the rich Labrador resources. They may have arrived on the coast of Labrador by the early fifteenth century (Rompkey 2005: 18). By the beginning of the sixteenth century they had established a substantial whaling industry in the Strait of Belle Isle (Kennedy 1995: 19). The Basque whaling industry employed approximately 2000 men seasonally (Kaplan 1985: 54). It was rare for the men to winter in Labrador, but on two occasions ships were caught in an early freeze-up and crews had to stay the winter (Kaplan 1985: 54). During the 1580s Basque whaling ships were increasingly being used for the Spanish war against England. Along with decreasing whale populations in southern Labrador (Kennedy 1995: 19), the discovery of the Spitsbergen whale population in the 1590s and the subsequent British and Dutch whaling industries, caused the Basque industry to fail and the Basque presence in Labrador declined (Kaplan 1985: 54; Rompkey 2005: 19).

### 3.2.3 The French in southern Labrador

The French were the next Europeans to establish a strong presence in Labrador (Rompkey 2005: 22). By the beginning of the eighteenth century the French were regularly fishing along the coast of Newfoundland; however, they initially avoided

Labrador. It was not until the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when the French lost the right to bare fishing fleets in Newfoundland that they began to use the resources that Labrador had to offer (Kaplan 1985:57-58). Through a system called seigneuries, men were allocated tracts of land along the coast of Labrador where they were encouraged to settle year round for optimal participation in the seal fishery as well as the seasonal fishery (Rompkey 2005: 23; Kaplan 1985: 58). The French were able to control trade in Labrador through a coastal chain of forts and posts (Rompkey 1985: 24). The Inuit were very interested in European goods and the French were encouraged to build relationships with the Inuit to obtain baleen, oil and skins (Kaplan 1985: 58). However, relationships between the French and the Inuit were often hostile, stemming from "contradictory notions of property and exchange" (Kennedy 1995: 20). In 1763, Labrador was ceded to the British with the signing of the Treaty of Paris but the French were given the right to catch and dry fish along the French Shore in Newfoundland (Rompkey 2005: 27).

#### 3.2.4 The British in southern Labrador

The 1763 Treaty of Paris marked the beginning of British control over the Labrador coast, which was placed under the jurisdiction of Sir Hugh Palliser, the governor of Newfoundland. The British worked hard to improve relationships with the Inuit in Labrador. Palliser initially discouraged year round settlement in Labrador, which was outlined in the *Regulations for Labrador Fishery, 1765*:

2. That no person whatever shall resort to Labradore to fish or trade but ship fishers annually arriving from His Majesty's Dominions in Europe lawfully cleared out as Ship fishers, carrying at least 21 men all engaged to return after the season is over to the King's Dominions in Europe (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2000a).

Palliser's regulations were eventually relaxed in 1773 after it was determined that wintering over in Labrador was necessary to maximize the salmon and seal fisheries (Rompkey 2005: 28). By then the British had allowed the Moravian Missionaries to settle the north coast of Labrador in an effort to draw the Inuit north to trade, away from British operations in the south.

### 3.2.5 Migratory Newfoundland Fishermen in Labrador

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) awarded the French fishing rights along the 'French Shore', a stretch of the Newfoundland coast between Cape Bonavista and Point Riche. The Treaty of Paris (1763) reaffirmed these rights while also ceding St. Pierre and Miquelon to France for French fishermen. In 1783, the French Shore was redefined by the Treaty of Versailles to include the coast between Cape St. John's and Cape Ray (Kennedy 1995: 56). During the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815) the number of French fishing along the French Shore reduced considerably and many Newfoundland fishermen began to use the area. After 1815, the French returned to Newfoundland forcing the Newfoundland fishermen to find new fishing premises, many in Labrador. Newfoundland's population also rapidly increased during the eighteenth century as many Irish immigrated to Newfoundland because of famine and economic failure in Ireland. The increase in

population put further pressure on already depleting resources and caused more Newfoundlanders to migrate north in the summer to fish along the coast of Labrador (Kennedy 1995: 57).

Migratory Newfoundland fishermen began to fish the coast of Labrador as early as 1766. The number of Newfoundland fishermen in Labrador increased over time and by the 1820s, the migratory Labrador fishery was firmly established. The fishery steadily diffused north over the nineteenth century. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Newfoundland fishermen were only found between the Straits and Hamilton Inlet but after the mid-nineteenth century, Newfoundland fishermen began to venture further north (Anderson 1988). There were three different kinds of fisheries practiced in Labrador: *floaters*, *banker*, and *stationer*.

Floaters usually came from Conception Bay, Trinity Bay, Bonavista Bay, and Notre Dame Bay communities. Floaters sailed to Labrador on privately owned schooners, which they lived on during the fishing season. They would leave Newfoundland in June and stopped fishing in early September to October. Floaters heavily salted their fish and took them back to Newfoundland to be cured (Kennedy 1995: 61). The floater fishery is also referred to as the "green fishery" because the fish were not sun dried. Unmarried women were often hired to work as cooks on the schooners. They also did other important work like cleaning, mending and laundry (Patey 1983).

Little is known about bankers, most likely because it was the smallest of the three fisheries. Bankers traditionally came from Newfoundland's south coast and usually arrived in Labrador between mid-August and September. Similar to floaters, they lived on

schooners, where they also salted their catch. These schooners were significantly larger than the ones used for the floater fishery. Bankers fished from dories for approximately one month then returned to Newfoundland to dry their fish (Kennedy 1995: 61).

Most stationers came from the Conception Bay area. They left Newfoundland during June, usually on large government subsidised coastal steamers, although a few travelled on their own schooners or paid to travel on other schooners (Kennedy 1995: 61). Eliot Curwen describes the three week journey to Labrador of a Newfoundland stationer and his crew during the summer of 1893:

This man paid \$30 for this passage of himself, wife and boy, a maid & two men on a schooner and for this had a space allotted to him 8 ft. wide & 6 ft. long on the top of the cargo of salt below deck; on the salt he placed his luggage, consisting of food & everything he would want for four months' work, including sails & nets, and when he had placed his bed on top of this, there was only 2½ feet between it and the deck; this space – 8 ft. by 6 by 2½ - was the only space his crew of 6 had of their own to move about in (Rompkey 1996: 51).

Stationers carried out their fishing operations from permanent "rooms" that they either built themselves or rented for the summer. They fished from small boats and cured their fish on land at their rooms. A stationer crew was usually made up of brothers and sons, although many brought their wives and daughters with them to do cooking and cleaning as well as help to cure fish. In some cases stationer fishing crews were made up of unrelated men, who were looking to make money in the fishery (Munro Lewis 1988: 70). Stationers adopted a dwelling construction style that mimicked the houses of the Inuit and Inuit-Metis.

The fishery began to fail at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the number of floater, banker and stationer fishermen traveling to Labrador each summer reduced drastically. Despite this decline some Newfoundland fishermen continued to seasonally visit the coast of Labrador until the 1992 moratorium (Kennedy 1995).

### 3.3 Settlement in Sandwich Bay

#### 3.3.1 Captain George Cartwright

George Cartwright was born in Marnham, England in 1739. He was a captain in the British army but quit his position 1770 (Rompkey 2005: 31). His business interest in Labrador was sparked in 1766 when he first sailed to Newfoundland and Labrador with his brother John Cartwright, the first lieutenant of the *Guernsey* under Commodore Hugh Palliser (Stopp 2008: 24). Cartwright partnered with Francis Lucas, Thomas Perkins, and Jeremiah Coghlan to hunt, trap, fish and trade with the Inuit in Labrador and pursued his first merchant venture in 1770 at Cape Charles, Labrador (Stopp 2008: 25; Rompkey 2005: 31). His Cape Charles stage was taken over by his biggest rivals on the coast, Noble and Pinson in 1772 (Stopp 2008: 25). He established a new post in Sandwich Bay in 1775, where he formed the community of Cartwright. He also gave the English names to much of the area. Many of these names are still used today, including, White Bear River, Eagle River, and Muddy Bay. His crew were the first Europeans to substantially use the area. Cartwright suffered continuous business setbacks and went bankrupt in 1784. His Labrador possessions were sold to rival Noble and Pinson for a quarter of what

Cartwright believed they were worth. He spent the remainder of his life in Europe and died in 1819 (Kennedy 1995: 38).

Cartwright established good relationships with the Inuit and many of his men are said to have married Inuit women and permanently settled in the area (Kennedy 1995: 41, 44). One of Cartwright's shipwrights named Learning permanently settled in Sandwich Bay and many of his descendents in the area still bear his name (Fitzhugh 1999: 140). Cartwright's fishing establishments at Sandwich Bay lead to future European economic endeavours and permanent settlement in the area. The friendly relationships he fostered with the Inuit created a social climate where intermarriage between the two ethnic groups was possible.

### 3.3.2 Hunt and Henley Company in Sandwich Bay

Permanent settlement in Sandwich Bay was driven by the Labrador fisheries. The earliest settlers came to the Bay during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, many who abandoned ship. However, the majority of the settler population arrived during the mid-nineteenth century as Hunt and Henley Company employees (Fitzhugh 1999: 140).

That company [Hunt and Henley] started a blubber factory here in Independent Harbour, ahh... Dumpling... Dumpling Harbour on, at Sandwich Bay here. Blubber factory meant where they rendered out the seal fat to get the oil and cod liver, right. And while [my great grandfather, John Lethbridge] worked there the same company started a salmon factory in Eagle River, in Sandwich Bay here. And he was asked to go there to supervise that

operation for the simple reason I suppose, one good reason was that he was a tinsmith by trade... Not only was he an ordinary tinsmith, he was a whitesmith. Whitesmith now, meant that he could work with silver, white silver. That's, that's, that's about 80% pure. It's not pure silver right. But he could make tea pots and stuff like that. So he was an expert. He did his apprenticeship in England before he arrived over here. So that's why he was brought over especially for that. Now he settled down there in Eagle River and he raised a family there (Chesley Lethbridge, Resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 15, 2010).

Some of John Lethbridge's duties as a Hunt and Henley Company employee are outlined in this 1854 agreement:

It is hereby agreed between John Lethbridge and Messrs. Hunt and Henley the said John Lethbridge agrees to cut 2500 Turn of Firewood or more at Eagle River to have assistance in hauling it out of the woods for which he is to receive Five Pounds (£5) per M. The said Hunt and Henley agrees to ship him from the Fifteenth June to 15th September following as an able seaman for which he is to have Six Pounds Currency per Month and two quintals of fish.

CARTWRIGHT 3rd October 1854. pp HUNT AND HENLEY  
GEORGE GOODRIDGE  
JOHN LETHBRIDGE

(Memorial University of Newfoundland 2000b)

The Hunt and Henley Company started operating in Labrador around 1830 when they bought out Noble and Hines's Temple Bay operation (Fitzhugh 1999: 140). In 1836 they obtained the rights to Cartwright's Sandwich Bay posts (Fitzhugh 1999: 140) from Philip Beard & Company of Dartmouth, who had previously purchased them from Noble and Pinson (Fitzhugh 1999: 465 n17). After setting up their operation in Sandwich Bay,

the Hunt and Henley Company quickly became the most important commercial firm in southern Labrador (Fitzhugh 1999: 140; Kennedy 1995: 99). The company was mainly interested in salmon, which they smoked or salted. They began canning the salmon around 1850 and operated canneries at Eagle River and Paradise River (Fitzhugh 1999: 140). The company's Sandwich Bay ventures also included trading posts at Cartwright and Pack's Harbour (Figure 1.4) (Kennedy 1995: 140) and a sealing post at Dumpling Island (Fitzhugh 1999: 140; Chesley Lethbridge, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 15, 2010). Hunt and Henley continued to dominate trade in southern Labrador until 1873 when the Jersey banks that financed many of the old British-based Labrador companies, including Hunt and Henley, went under, and the company was bought out by the Hudson's Bay Company (Fitzhugh 1999: 140; Kennedy 1995: 100; Rompkey 2005: 49).

#### *The Hunt and Henley Company at Dumpling Island*

...in the 1800s [Dumpling Island] was actually the hub of the traders and the shops. Like now it would be Cartwright, but Cartwright didn't, Hudson's Bay and stuff like that, whatever companies didn't actually go right into Cartwright until let's say late 1872, or something... initially Dumpling was that commercial centre and it would be blocked with schooners and that's where people met people, and that's where people got married and it was just like, you know it was like a center... where ever they cod fished they probably had to bring it to Dumpling to be graded and sold and that kind of thing (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010) (Figure 3.1).



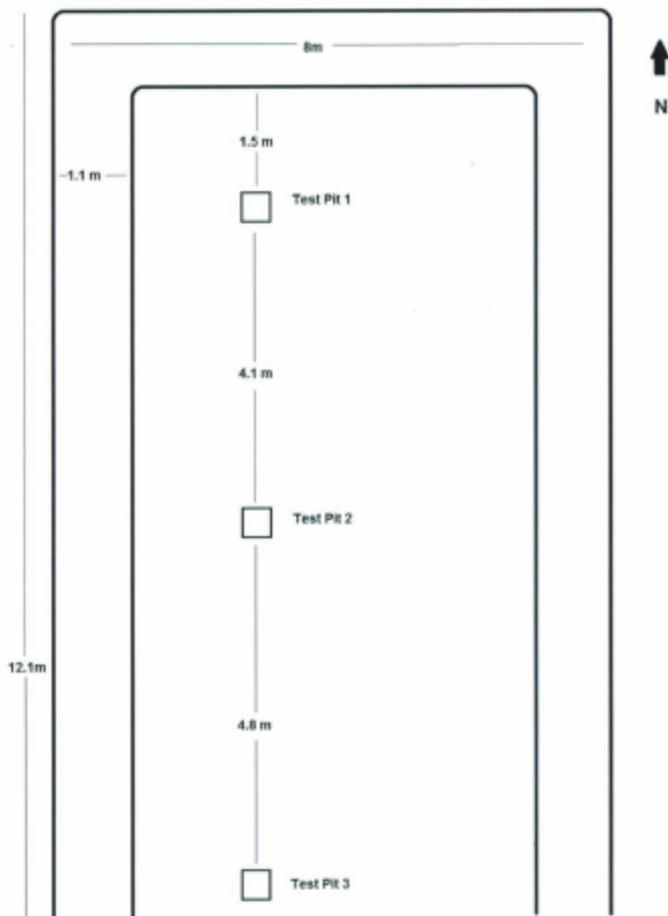
**Figure 3.1.** 1893 Eliot Curwen photo “Nova Scotia Schooners sailing out of Dumpling Harbour”, courtesy of the Rooms archives.

On August 5, 2010, I visited Dumpling Island 1(FIBF-04), a site previously recorded by Marianne Stopp in 1992 (Figure 1.5). Stopp’s archaeological site report (1992) notes the grave of Israel Roswell, who died on August 13, 1863 at the age of 21, along with a house, house post, and possible midden and garden. When I visited the site the grave stone was no longer present. I came across two possible house depressions on the northwest side of the island as well as a depression of a large structure measuring

approximately 8m x 13m with walls that measure about 1.1m in width (the south wall was not visible) (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). A resident on the island informed me that this structure was the Hunt and Henley Company post. Hunt and Henley Company records that were signed at Dumpling Island can be viewed on the *Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage* website (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2000b). Three test pits were taken from the interior of the structure. These test pits produced iron nails, glass sherds, 19<sup>th</sup> century ceramic sherds, late-eighteenth-early-nineteenth-century English clay pipe bowls (Figure 3.4), and flint (Table 3.1). The few artifacts recovered point to a mid-19<sup>th</sup> century occupation of the site. Dumpling Island is a very significant archaeological site due to the island's commercial importance during the nineteenth century. Further investigation of this site would undoubtedly lead to a better understanding of the nineteenth century fisheries in Sandwich Bay.



**Figure 3.2.**  
Photo of large structure at Dumpling Island. Taken from southwest side of structure.



**Figure 3.3.** Large structure at Dumpling Island. Test pits measure approximately 40 X40 cm.



**Figure 3.4.**  
Late-eighteenth-early-  
nineteenth-century  
English pipe recovered  
from test pit 1 at  
Dumpling Island

**Table 3.1.** Artifacts recovered from Dumpling Island 1

| Test Pit 1   | Test pit 2  | Test Pit 3   |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Iron nail</li> <li>• 2 late 18<sup>th</sup> early 19<sup>th</sup> century English kaolin Pipe Bowls</li> <li>• Iron flakes (not retrieved)</li> <li>• Wood (not retrieved)</li> <li>• Charcoal (not retrieved)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flint</li> <li>• Sherd of yellow factory made slip ware</li> <li>• Sherd of creamware</li> <li>• Possible redware sherds</li> <li>• Green glass sherd</li> <li>• Blue glass sherd</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Iron nail</li> <li>• Brick (not retrieved)</li> </ul> |

### 3.3.3 The Hudson's Bay Company in Sandwich Bay

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) began operating in Labrador after the 1821 amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, when they

began buying out traders with the intention of establishing a chain of trading posts along the coast of Labrador (Rompkey 2005: 48). After acquiring the Sandwich Bay locations, the HBC closed down the salmon canning factories because they preferred traditional smoking and pickling methods for preserving fish and moved the company's headquarters to Cartwright. At this point the HBC was importing few employees to Labrador so they contributed little to the population of Sandwich Bay. The salmon fishery remained the HBC's principle industry; however, they also encouraged winter trapping, so many settlers built their winter homes at old cannery locations and extended traplines further into the interior (Fitzhugh 1999: 140-141). The company had three collecting boats for Eagle River, Earl Island and Paradise River, which accommodated "the dispersed, seasonally occupied settler camps" (Kennedy 1995: 105). The Hudson's Bay Company played an important role in and had a vast influence over the lives of Sandwich Bay residents.

In its day, HBC had sway over the lives of those who lived within its ambit. While the settlers were to the greatest possible degree self-sufficient, living off the land and sea, the company was a major factor in controlling their income and subsistence (Rompkey 2005: 55).

...every boy that, as he was growing up he wanted to work down at the Hudson's Bay Company, right. That was their dream. Work down at the Hudson's Bay Company. (Sam Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 17, 2010)

The Hudson's Bay Company monopolized trade in Sandwich Bay without any rivals until 1900 when Samuel Butler Russell Fequet from Old Fort, Quebec opened a

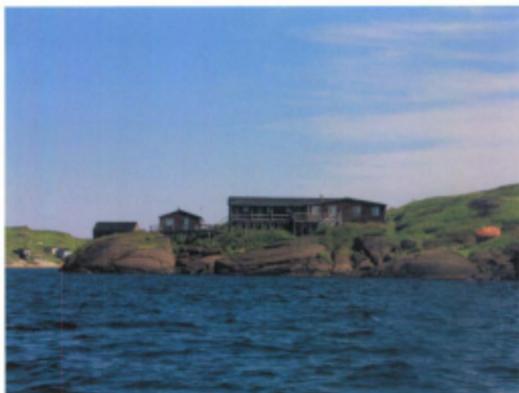
trading post at Paradise River (Rompkey 2005: 114). Around 1908, Fequet bought the old Hunt and Henley Company store and fish plant at Pack's Harbour (Figure 3.5) (Kennedy 1995: 140; Rompkey 2005: 115). He also operated a small power driven sawmill at Red Island Brook, near Paradise Arm until 1925. In 1918 he relocated to Cartwright (Figure 3.6) where his S. Fequet and Sons store still stands (Kennedy 1995: 140).

Fequet, ah, Sam Fequet used, to be, there used to be a company here, see Samuel Fequet and Sons. They, got, there's still an old store that got Fequet's name on there... And, ah, he started a trappin' and fishin' business, eh. Because here in Cartwright, see and a few places around the Bay, Hudson's Bay they had the monopoly over everything, eh. And they had high prices like they do now on everything. So he came then around from Quebec. And he settled there first and after that he had a saw mill that he, he had a saw mill. Then after that he came down, he came down to Cartwright. Had a big fishing place out to Pack's Harbour (Sam Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 17, 2010).

Although Fequet proved to be a worthy adversary for the Hudson's Bay Company until his company went out of business in the mid-twentieth century, both companies were able to operate in Sandwich Bay for some time. This was primarily due to the loyalty of the Sandwich Bay residents who supplied the companies with fish and furs.

...Well some people, see, was dedicated to where ever they sold their fish and salmon and what not to... That's where they got grub. See dad was dedicated to Hudson's Bay. And see there's some people that been here was dedicated to, well the Paradise people and the West Bay people and that were dedicated to Mr. Fequet, see (Sam Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 17, 2010).

In the early twentieth century the fur trade began to decline; however, the salmon fishery remained an important part of the HBC's Cartwright post. The company became increasingly focused on retail and after World War II the Cartwright post became a retail store which operated under the HBC until the late 1980s (Archives of Manitoba 2010). In 1987, a group of investors purchased HBC's *Northern Stores Department* and in 1990 re-adopted "The Northwest Company" as the formal name for the business venture. The Northern Store now operates under the Northwest Company (Figure 3.7) (The North West Company 2005).



**Figure 3.5.** Fequet fishing operation at Pack's Harbour, Labrador. Photo taken 2010.



**Figure 3.6.**  
Fequet Store in  
Cartwright,  
Labrador. Photo  
taken by Eliza  
Brandy February  
2011



**Figure 3.7.** Northern Store, Cartwright, Labrador. Photo taken by Eliza Brandy in February 2011.

### 3.4 Traditional Lifeways in Sandwich Bay

As stated above, most European settlers came to Sandwich Bay during the first half of the nineteenth century. These settlers were almost exclusively unmarried males, many who eventually married local Inuit women. During his mid-nineteenth-century travels between Forteau and Dumppling Island, Anglican Bishop Feild of the Church of England recorded that there was only one European female resident. The rest were either Inuit, mixed (Inuit and European), or Indian (Kennedy 1995: 84-5; Fitzhugh 1999: 102). Fitzhugh (1999: 102) suggests this means "the wives of both first and second generation Atlantic Shore Settlers were Aboriginal". These unions produced a generation of ethnically and culturally "mixed" children (Kennedy 1997: 8-9). It was noted by missionaries in Labrador that this first generation considered themselves neither European nor Inuit, and when it came time for them to marry they sought out other people of mixed ancestry (Kennedy 1997: 8). Genealogical research for Sandwich Bay indicates a similar trend. People of mixed ancestry usually married each other rather than marrying Inuit or people from outside the Bay, resulting in a distinct community in Sandwich Bay. It appears that the ancestors of the Inuit-Metis were also seen as distinct by both the Inuit and Europeans. The Inuit referred to this population as *Kablunangajuit*, an Inuktitut word meaning "partly white" (Kennedy 1997: 8). Similarly, Europeans who visited the coast of Labrador referred to them as "mixed" or "half-breeds" in their journals and censuses. Based on this information, it seems likely that the Inuit-Metis had a distinct ethnicity during the nineteenth century, although this ethnicity appears to have been altered over time.

An 1870 Sandwich Bay census taken by Rev. James O'Hara indicates that the largest "nationality" at the time was "White and Eskimo mixed" and people claiming to be white but O'Hara believed their parentage is "doubtful" (Table 3.2). O'Hara (1870) also documented that there was 40 houses in Sandwich Bay at that time. Traditional Sandwich Bay life was largely self-sufficient, relying heavily on marine and terrestrial resources. This heavily resource-dependant life resulted in families settling in small enclaves throughout the Bay, rather than one centralized location. Most families had three houses, which they would move between throughout the year to obtain resources. These houses included a winter house and two summer houses, one for salmon fishing and one for cod fishing. Some families cod and salmon fished at the same location so they only had one summer house.

Winter houses were built in the heavily sheltered areas of the Bay, to protect the house from the harsh Labrador winters and to supply the family with timber (Figure 3.8). The most time and resources were put into the construction of these houses.

[In the winter they would] ...well, just basically survive. Like hunting and fire wood to heat their houses. And that was pretty much it, cause all there was was the fishery, right. And after, and after the fishery was over there wasn't basically anything to do other then, while you kept busy all the time trying to survive, right (Cecil Bird, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 9, 2010).

**Table 3.2** Ethnicity of Sandwich Bay residents in 1870

| Nationality                      | Number of Residents |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Pure Native Whites               | 27                  |
| Native White, Parentage Doubtful | 78                  |
| White and Indian Mixed           | -                   |
| White and Eskimo Mixed           | 69                  |
| White, Eskimo, and Indian Mixed  | 1                   |
| N.A. Natives                     | 1                   |
| Eskimos                          | 13                  |
| Newfoundlander                   | 37                  |
| Canadians                        | -                   |
| Yankees                          | -                   |
| English                          | 24                  |
| Irish                            | -                   |
| Scotch                           | -                   |
| Danes                            | 1                   |
| ?                                | -                   |
| Russians                         | -                   |
| Errors                           | 2                   |
| <b>Total</b>                     | <b>253</b>          |

*Information taken from "A census of the Labrador Coast from Nain to Sandwich Bay not including Moravian Settlements taken personally by Rev. James O'Hara mainly in the Spring of 1870".*

Surviving the harsh Labrador winter meant taking part in winter activities that included trapping fur bearing animals (fox, beaver, marten, minx, otter) to sell to local merchants, ice fishing, and caribou and big game hunting. Families would have a dog team which would assist in their winter activities. During the summer months the dogs would be kept on a small island where they would be fed a couple times a week. Sealing was also an important part of traditional life because it provided food as well as water proof material for clothing.

Oh, mother, she loved seal. And she was, she was an excellent seal, ah, working seal skins. Like making boots and whatever. She was, b'y she was just about professional. She used to sell a lot of seal skin clothing and boots and what not. Yeah. Yeah, make a pair of boots for a dollar, eh. You know. Take a full day to make a pair of, make a pair of skin boots. That was what it used to take her. Funny thing was she did... They used to make seal skin boots and they were water tight, you know. Yeah, they were water tight. You could go out in the water with them on. They never used to drive the needle through the, however they'd make it. They'd never drive the needle through the skin, through the hide. Somehow or another they used to do it so the needle didn't go through it. It used to be whatever stitch you'd call it. I know one was a, one was a heel stitch. That's all I can remember. And there was probably a tongue, what they called a tongue stitch, was the tongue of the boot. Yeah. And some way or another, the leg was made with some sort of a double, double thing. Used to take a long time, b'y. She had a certain old needle, too. A needle with a square, almost a square top. Well, they used to call them square top needles. All done by hand (Sam Parady, resident of Cartwright Labrador, July 17, 2010).

Boat building and repairing was also done throughout the winter. The winter house is also where most families kept a small garden. The soil at the summer house locations would be too rocky to grow crops, so before packing up for the summer families would plant

vegetables that require little care because they would not return to the winter house again until the fall.

[Gardens were] never really super successful though... And with my grandmother that was the case. They got their garden ready. They went to Muddy Bay for two months. So you come back and you see what grew itself. You know...So they did that and they did it a bit. But they didn't do it a lot. Because of storage probably. They only did stuff that, like potatoes, which you could store pretty easily. They would salt cabbage down and I think like greens and, greens and potatoes were probably the two biggest things that they did, because you can pretty well leave them alone, right. And even if your turnips don't grow into turnips then at least the leafy stuff can all be cooked in boiled meat and that was good. So, even if your turnips were a failure it would still be eatable, so... So the garden just couldn't be a priority. Like fishing takes too much work. So, like even up to Dove Brook, too. They used to have potatoes and cabbage and they'd just plant them in the spring and then leave. And like it's a surprise when you go back in the fall, as to how much, how much did you get, right (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

In the spring families would pack up their houses and move out to their salmon fishing stations.

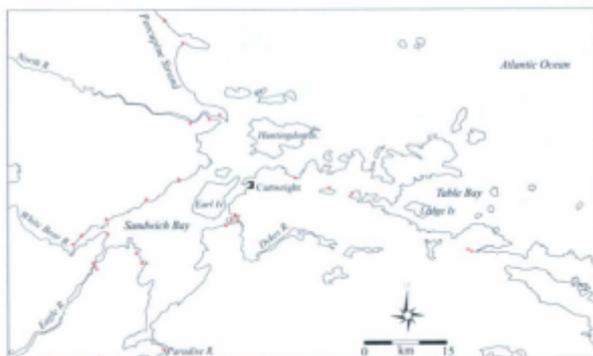
Because you've got to ship everything. They used to take everything. Grandma told me that. They had quite a bit in Muddy Bay, which is their place but when the time came to go the motor boat would be ready and you'd have a cleanup day like you're packing up to go. You got your food ready, you got this ready and you even tie up a couple of the mattresses cause there might be beds or flo-, maybe there's just floors for kids to sleep on so you tie up your mattress with a piece of rope. And pass the mattress out. And she said the last thing she would do is sweep. And then she'd throw the broom and dust pan in the boat. Cause she'd take it all to there. And when you ties up the mattress you put the clock down in the mattress. In the middle, so the clock would safely take the journey. And, off you go. And some people even had to

take their stoves and everything... Yeah. So. But if some people were a little better off well maybe there was a stove in each place kind of thing. Right, so, you only had to take a few household things. But you packed up the boat and then it was all slow put put put put... So they'd be forever getting there. But then they'd get there. It would work out (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

Salmon fishing lasted from the middle of June to the end of July. The salmon stations were mostly located within the Bay, but further out from the sheltered winter locations (Figure 3.9). After the salmon season, families would then move on to their cod fishing location which were usually located on the islands outside of the Bay (Figure 3.9). The summer fishing houses were usually not as solidly built as the winter houses.

Whereas the fishing place, the fish, the fish may die. Like fish come and go. So you don't want to put too much into your fishing house because five summers from now you might have to shift over to another bay or another cove to, to go fishing because the fish don't seem to be coming there anymore (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

Despite this, both the winter and summer houses were passed on through the family. Other summer activities included berry picking and egg collecting, activities usually carried out by women and children. Some women would also collect grass for basket making (for a complete list of seasonal activities see Table 3.3) (Cecil Bird, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 9, 2010). Families would remain at their cod fishing stations until late-September-early-October, when they would return to their winter locations.



**Figure 3.8.** Winter settlements in Sandwich Bay according to interviewees.



**Figure 3.9.** Summer settlements in Sandwich Bay according to interviewees.

Table 3.3. Traditional seasonal activities carried out by Sandwich Bay residents. Adapted from Anderson (1984: 33) and Davis (1981: 23) with Information added from interviews and Fitzhugh (1999: 143).

| Activity                   | Jan | Feb | Mar | Apr | May | Jun | Jul | Aug | Sept | Oct | Nov | Dec |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|
| Boat Building              |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Timbering (winter)         |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Net Mending                |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Ice Fishing                |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Egg collecting             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Gardening                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Salmon and cod Preparation |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Salmon Fishing             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Cod Fishing                |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Washing and curing cod     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Berry Picking              |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Sealing                    |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Small Game                 |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |
| Caribou and Game Hunting   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |

It was important for families to collect not only enough resources for their own survival but also enough for trade with local merchants. Salmon and cod, as well as the furs collected during the winter, were traded to local merchants (Hunt and Henley Company, Hudson's Bay Company and Fequet and Son) on a credit/debit system until the coming of the cash economy in the early twentieth century. Through this system people in Sandwich Bay had access to European goods and food, valuable resources they could not procure from the land (Kennedy 1995: 102).

Rich resources attracted humans to the coast of Labrador for centuries prior to permanent European settlement. Permanent settlement in Sandwich Bay was driven by European economic endeavours primarily based on marine resource procurement. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, people in Sandwich Bay lived a transient life, heavily dependent on procuring these resources for various companies as well as their own survival. They participated in a distinct community and shared an identity. Their lifestyle remained largely unchanged until the beginning of the twentieth century when a variety of factors lead to rapid changes in Sandwich Bay society.

## **Chapter 4: Twentieth Century Changes in Sandwich Bay**

### 4.1 Introduction

At the beginning of the twentieth century, life in Sandwich Bay began to change considerably. The 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic drastically reduced the population of Sandwich Bay, and as a result, many people began moving from their dispersed settlements into Cartwright. Later, access to education worked as an incentive for more families to give in to the centralization process. Finally, government sponsored resettlement programs that were in place during the 1950s until the 1970s pressured the remaining outlying families to relocate to Cartwright. The new settlement pattern that emerged during the twentieth century altered the residents' way of life, and created an environment where industrialization and modernization were possible. Centralization, modernization and industrialization provoked cultural changes in Sandwich Bay, but despite these changes residents have been able to hold on to their traditions. Their present identity is very much rooted in their past.

### 4.2 Factors Influencing 20<sup>th</sup> Century Changes in Settlement Pattern

#### 4.2.1 The Spanish Influenza in Sandwich Bay

I have been reckoning up the total death toll for this district of Sandwich Bay and find the figures as follows: Cartwright, 15 dead. Paradise, 20. Separation Point, 7. North River, 13. Strand Shore, 9. Grady I. Hare Islands, 4, making a total of 69. -*Rev Henry Gordon* (Buckle 2003: 111)

The Spanish Influenza is thought to be the deadliest infectious disease outbreak in history. The highly contagious disease quickly spread across the globe in 1918 and 1919 and killed between 20 and 40 million people, more than any other infectious disease in history. Unlike most influenza outbreaks where the highest mortality rates are among young children and the elderly, the highest mortality rate for the Spanish Influenza was healthy adults (Ghendon 1994: 451-452).

The Spanish influenza first reached Newfoundland and Labrador in September 1918 (Higgins 2007: par 1) and rapidly swept through the communities, having the most devastating effect in Labrador. The Spanish Influenza killed 19% of Labrador's population and less than 1% of Newfoundland's population (Higgins 2007: par. 8). Northern Labrador was hit the hardest by the influenza and in some places it killed almost 90% of the local population. The disproportionate mortality rates between Newfoundland and Labrador were the result of unevenly distributed aid. Unlike Newfoundland, Labrador lacked the adequate medical resources and personnel needed to prevent the influenza from spreading (Higgins 2007).

When the Newfoundland government was made aware of the disastrous conditions in Labrador in the fall of 1918 help was not sent. It was not until the spring of 1919 that the first vessel came to Labrador providing only "a gang of men and several thousand feet of dressed board, all for the express purpose of effecting the disposal of the dead" (Buckle 1998: 80). Outraged by the Newfoundland government's response to the circumstances in Labrador, Rev. Henry Gordon, who was stationed in Sandwich Bay at the time, wrote:

I came across some copies of a Newfoundland paper in which I was absolutely staggered to read for the first time the abominable behavior of the Newfoundland Government towards Labrador in her terrible plight last fall. The SEAL (our last steamer in the fall) had returned to St. John's with areport of the awful state of the distressed on this coast due to the Spanish Influenza. A deputation waited on the Government to ask for the dispatch of a relief ship, with medical aid and food. The Government not only refused to send a ship, but one of its leading ministers deliberately remarked, "Let them starve, the Government will be saved the trouble of feeding them." At present I am so mad about it that I can hardly give my mind to anything else. The attitude of the Newfoundland Government towards Labrador was always a scandal, but this is adding insult to an already long list of injuries. Labrador pays at the very least \$10,000 a year in taxes to the Newfoundland Government; she has not one single representative in the House of Assembly, she has no resident Magistrates, Police, Relieving Officers, no roads, no winter wire or wireless communications, no railway, nothing that any people need for the advantages of life. And to think that this Government Body, which takes all and gives nothing, should condemn a magnificent race to starvation and death. One's heart has almost broken with the sufferings of those poor people (Rompkey 2005: 66-67).

The Spanish Influenza first reached Sandwich Bay after a mail boat docked in Cartwright with four infected crew members. Within a couple of days most community members had contracted the illness. By the spring of 1919, the Spanish Influenza had killed 69 of Sandwich Bay's 300 residents, almost a quarter of the population (Figure 4.1) (Higgins 2007: par. 9). Among these casualties were Herbert Earl and his young daughter. In his journal, Rev. Gordon wrote about the conditions of their deaths:

From the Strand Shore [*north of the community of north River*] came a tale of extraordinary suffering. Herbert Earl, his wife, and two little children, live at a place called Cape Porcupine, ten miles from the nearest house. Early in November, the man died. They were out of "grub" for some days before any of them were taken sick. Herbert was expected in Cartwright at the end of October. After his death, the poor woman and her little ones fought a long and hard battle with starvation. For a time they were able to get mussels from the shoals, also seaweed and even cast-up jelly fish, but as the ice came in, this source of supply was stopped. The little girl could not fight it out and died about the middle of the month. The woman and her boy struggled on, living on anything they could get a hold of. One of their wretched dogs starved to

death, and they actually devoured it. It was the first week in December before any one got to them, and only just in time. Added to their other tortures, one wonders what it must have meant to the poor people to live on in the house with the two dead bodies still in the only bunk! (Buckle 2003: 109).



**Figure 4.1.** Sandwich Bay residents burying Spanish Influenza casualties. Courtesy of Anonymous resident of Cartwright.

Community members believe that Herbert Earl and his family were not originally from Sandwich Bay and were temporarily living there at the time of the Spanish Influenza. After being rescued, Earl's wife and son left Sandwich Bay. Although not much is known about the family, their story is still present in the community's collective memory.

Yeah, well, I don't know where that man come from cause there isn't many of them here but there is some Earls up in the straights area south of this, eh ... And, there's also Earls on the island. But where he was from, I don't know. I

wouldn't know, eh. How long he was around here before died, eh. But they say that's what happened to him. You know he couldn't get out to do any of his shopping, and they starved, eh. All he was living on was stuff you can get off the land like caribou and stuff like that, and shellfish, eh ... When that happened they were the only family that was there [Cape Porcupine]. The man and his wife and the one son and a daughter. The old man and the daughter, they died there. The wife and the son they survived but they were in pretty bad shape when they were... see what happened in the cold or the flu, I mean it was a long time people started moving around. And people were scattered around much and they were quite a ways apart, eh. But there was no one else between there and the nest lot of people in North River, see. Well, they all just about died over there in North River and they couldn't get there for a long time. And the people down in West Bay and in that area they couldn't get up there because of some snow coming froze up some, eh ... They were just about finished. There was nothing to eat for quite a while, eh. And of course, after the frost comes then ... mostly they couldn't get nothing to eat but shellfish, eh. Yeah ... They probably decided, they might have burned it [the house], eh (Ken Martin, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 4, 2010).

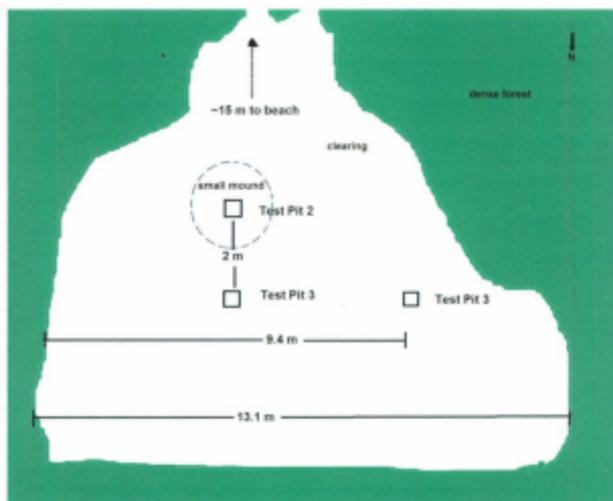
#### *Cape Porcupine (FIBh-02)*

On August 3, 2010, while surveying a portion of Cape Porcupine, I came across a clearing of what is locally known as the site of Herbert Earl's house. The site, FIBh-02, is approximately 10 x 13 m and is located approximately 15 meters from the beach (Figures 1.5, 4.2 and 4.3). There are no visible features with the exception of one small mound. Local people believe that Earl and his daughter were buried at the site and the house was later burned down. Three test pits were excavated in the clearing and signs of a wooden floor and intense burning were apparent. Kaolin pipe, glass, iron nails, animal bone and mussel shell were found in the test pits (Table 4.1 and 4.2). Ceramics sherds, including hand painted pearlware, banded pearlware, transfer printed whiteware, mocha decorated creamware, and ironstone, were also recovered (Figure 4.4). The sherds are small making pattern identification difficult. The production dates for these ceramic types fall between

the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century (Miller 2000). This site represents a sad yet historically significant part of Sandwich Bay's history. An excavation of this site could demonstrate the conditions people were living under during the Spanish Influenza epidemic, as well as give clues as to how residents of Sandwich Bay were coping with these conditions.



**Figure 4.2.** Photo of clearing at Cape Porcupine where Herbert Earl's house is said to have been located. Photo taken looking northwest towards location of Test Pit 3.



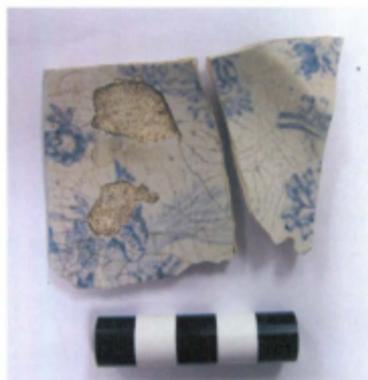
**Figure 4.3.** Drawing of clearing at Cape Porcupine where Herbert Earl's house is said to have been located. Locations of 40 x 40 cm test pits are shown.

**Table 4.1.** Artifacts recovered from test pits at Cape Porcupine.

| Test Pit 1   | Test Pit 2  | Test Pit 3   |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 Pipe stems</li> <li>• Transfer printed white ware</li> <li>• Unknown burned ceramic (2 sherds)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ceramic-iron stone?</li> <li>• Banded pearl ware</li> <li>• Pearl ware (2 sherds)</li> <li>• Refined earthenware blue transfer print</li> <li>• Refined earthenware</li> <li>• White glass</li> <li>• Pipe stem</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hand painted pearlware (6 sherds)</li> <li>• Ceramic-iron stone? (2 sherds)</li> <li>• Refined earthenware-burnt (5 sherds)</li> <li>• Pearlware</li> <li>• Creamware-mocha decoration?</li> <li>• Light blue glass (2 sherds)</li> <li>• Green glass</li> <li>• Top portion of copper key</li> <li>• 4 iron nails</li> </ul> |

**Table 4.2.** Fauna recovered from test pits at Cape Porcupine.

| Taxon                      | Element           | Test Pit |
|----------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| Cod                        | Frontal           | 2        |
| Cod                        | Opercle           | 2        |
| Cod                        | Subopercle        | 2        |
| Cod                        | Lachrymal         | 2        |
| Cod                        | Unknown           | 2        |
| Shell                      |                   | 2        |
| Harp Seal                  | Femur             | 2        |
| Mammal                     | Unknown           | 2        |
| Rodent- probably porcupine | Incisor           | 2        |
| Harp Seal                  | Scapula           | 3        |
| Harp Seal                  | Thoracic vertebra | 3        |
| Mammal                     | Unknown           | 3        |
| Mammal                     | Rib               | 3        |



**Figure 4.4.** Hand painted pearlware ceramic recovered from Test Pit 3 at Cape Porcupine.

The Spanish Influenza has had a long-lasting effect on the community of Sandwich Bay. Some residents feel that the influenza is what caused some community members to move from outlying settlements to congregate at Cartwright:

Seemed like, after the, a lot of people died in the flu, making the people that was left kind of move, move together. Well, that's what I like to think of it, you know looking back on the time they moved (Cecil Bird, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 9, 2010).

The influenza is also what catapulted the establishment of formal education in Sandwich Bay. The highest mortality rate for the Spanish Influenza in Sandwich Bay was among adults, leaving a large number of children orphaned. A boarding school was built in the Bay in 1920 to house these children. Formal education continued to encourage the trend toward centralization in the Bay.

#### 4.2.2 Education

Prior to the Spanish Influenza epidemic, formal education in Sandwich Bay was provided by an itinerant system that was introduced in southern Labrador toward the end of the nineteenth century by the Colonial and Continental Church Society. A teacher would move between communities from Battle Harbour to Cartwright, mainly during the summer months, providing as much education as the severe time restraints would allow (Buckle 2005: viii). In larger communities, the teaching would take place in small buildings, but in some places the teacher would have to " 'make do with fishermen's cabins or sod huts' " (Buckle 2005: viii).

Rev. Henry Gordon arrived in Cartwright in 1915 to work as the overseer of the Sandwich Bay Mission of the Church of England. He would travel between the forty communities spread throughout the Bay providing pastoral care (Buckle 2003: 3). During his travels, he quickly became aware of the shortcomings of the itinerant system of education. The brief and dispersed nature of the teacher's visits prevented any real formal educational progress (in some cases school was only in session for one week of the year). Gordon had hoped to build a boarding school in Sandwich Bay since his arrival. He made tentative plans and even contacted Clara Ashall, a teacher he had met at a parish in Liverpool, inviting her to take the position of headmistress. A lack of available funding for the construction of the school put the project on hold (Buckle 2005: xiii).

Gordon's boarding school project took on a sense of urgency in 1919 after 40 children were left orphaned by the Spanish Influenza. With the help of Dr. Harry Paddon, who was in charge of the Grenfell medical work in Labrador, Gordon was able to raise the funds for the construction and operation of the school. Ashall arrived in Cartwright in 1919 to work as an itinerant teacher in the Bay, as well as look after many of the orphaned children, until the school was ready for operation. The Labrador Public School was opened in Muddy Bay on November 1, 1920 (Figure 4.5) (Buckle 2005: x-xi). Gordon worked as the school's Warden until 1923 when the Grenfell mission took over responsibility for the school (Buckle 2005: xiii n3). Gordon and Ashall married in 1921 and Ashall continued to work at the school until the couple moved back to England in 1925 (Buckle 2005: xii). The Labrador Public School operated in Muddy Bay until it was burned down on February 26, 1928, by a student (Buckle 2005: xiii n3).



**Figure 4.5.** “First Labrador Public School, Muddy Bay”. Photo taken between 1920 and 1922. Taken from the Henry Gordon Fonds, Courtesy of the Rooms Archives.

Unlike the residential schools that were operating throughout Canada at the time, it is said that children at the Labrador Public School were encouraged to learn about and take part in traditional activities. Ashall arranged the school’s schedule so that children would have time to pursue traditional interests and skills (Buckle 2005: xi). She strongly believed that the “... children should be identified with the life and occupation of their native land as much as possible” (Buckle 2005: xi) and brought this belief to her teaching philosophy and the philosophy of the school. Despite this, stories of abuse,

perhaps from after Ashall left the school, are still present in the community's collective memory (Figure 4.6).

Yeah. Apparently there, I guess I don't know, I never ever heard sexual abuse or anything happen but I mean there was a lot of physical abuse. Like some of the people that was looking after the kids, you know, they would tell the boys to do something, to bring you some wood and they wouldn't do it, they'd take them and they'd probably whip'em or something ... I think, not every kid's gonna be 100%. No one is anyway. Some of them was bound to be bad, so what they done, they started giving them a hard time, some of the people that were leaders or whatever ... And so apparently they cau-caught the place afire. This one particular boy. But he took a beatin' for it too... But see that's stuff that don't, you don't really even want to know about it. But there was, there was a big school there (Malcolm Parady, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 15, 2010).

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement was implemented on September 19, 2007. The goal of this settlement was "to achieve a fair and lasting resolution of the legacy of Indian Residential Schools" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2009: par. 1). Former residents of the Labrador Public School felt that the school was in fact an Indian residential school and requested to be included in this settlement in 2007. The decision to include the school was initially put on hold in 2007 because the "research and assessment [were] incomplete" (Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada 2007: 8). In 2009, Canada denied the Labrador Public School inclusion in the settlement because the school was operated by a religious organization, not the Government of Canada (Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada 2009: 23).



**Figure 4.6.** “The Crying Rock” at Muddy Bay. Residents at the Labrador Public School supposedly came to this rock to cry when they missed their parents or were punished by school administrators (personal communication with Lewis Davis).

*Labrador Public School (FjBg-02)*

With the help of Lew Davis, on August 2, 2010, I surveyed the premise of the Labrador Public School in Muddy Bay (Figure 1.5). The concrete foundation of the school is still present measuring 18.3 x 30.5 m (Figure 4.7). No test pits were made. The owner of a nearby cabin informed us that his family has made several surface finds including old ceramic sherds, flatware and scrap metal (Figure 4.8). An excavation of this

site could lead to a better understanding of how this particular school operated as well as give insight into the lives of the children who lived at this school. This site could also serve as a comparison site for residential schools that have been previously excavated in Canada.



**Figure 4.7.** Photo of cement foundation of the Labrador Public School taken August 2, 2010, facing North.

After the Labrador Public School was burned down in 1928, a new school was built in 1930 in Cartwright. The school was named after Mrs. C. S. Lockwood, who donated the money for the construction of the school and dormitory. Lockwood continued to

operate as a boarding school until the early 1970s (Buckle 2005: xiii n3). The promise of an education for their children attracted more and more families to Cartwright throughout the mid-nineteenth-century. In 1968 a new eight-room school was opened in Cartwright named the Henry Gordon Academy (Buckle 2003: vi).



**Figure 4.8.** Surface find placed on southern wall of school foundation at Muddy Bay.

#### 4.2.3 Resettlement

For some years past there has been a lot of talk about the way the population of Newfoundland are scattered into so many hundreds of settlements along so many thousands of miles of coastline. It has long been felt by thoughtful people that the terribly scattered nature of our population has made it very expensive for the Government to provide public services to all the people, such as post offices, telegraph offices, telephones, coastal boats, hospitals, roads, snow clearing, schools and many other services. Many people have felt that there are hundreds of settlements more than there should be, and this feeling has been expressed by a great many people in recent years. -*J.R. Smallwood, Premier of Newfoundland, 14 February 1957* (Maritime History Archives 2005).

After Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation in 1949, the provincial government began implementing a number of policies to encourage modernization in the province. None of these policies were as controversial as the various resettlement programs that were employed between 1954 and 1976. During this time, numerous small settlements were abandoned as the residents were relocated to larger, more substantial communities. There were two main goals to these programs. First, the government wanted to provide government services, such as health care, education, and post offices, as well as modern services such as telephones and electricity to as many people as possible. To reduce the costs of these endeavours, the government wanted to minimize the number of settlements these services were to be provided to by congregating people into larger settlements. Second, the government also wanted to modernize the fishery (Maritime History Archives 2004). During this time, modernization of the cod fishery was taking place in the form of the frozen fish market which eventually rendered the traditional inshore, small-boat salt fishery obsolete. The government wanted to further the development of the offshore trawler fishery, fish plants and new harbour facilities. This

new fishery required a centralized labour force, so as the government worked toward industrializing the larger centers, it also worked toward enticing families to move into these centers (Maritime History Archives 2004).

Three resettlement programs were implemented during the 1950s to the 1970s. The first was Centralization, which began in 1954 and last until 1964 when the federal government decided to assist the provincial government in its resettlement initiatives and introduced the Resettlement Program. This program was renewed in 1970 and lasted until 1976. Although the specific policies of these programs differed, the general policy remained the same: families were offered a cash grant to relocate to a designated area (Martin 2007). Initially everyone in the community had to agree to relocate in order for grants to be provided, but by 1967 only 80% of the "householders" (head of the household) needed to agree to move (Martin 2006a: par. 3).

Although many families in Sandwich Bay were already relocating to Cartwright, the resettlement programs accelerated this process. The majority of people in Sandwich Bay who relocated while these programs were in place moved after 1967 (Kennedy 1995: 188). In 1970 Cartwright was removed from the list of government approved receiving communities, and families no longer received a grant for relocating there (Kennedy 1995: 191). People who relocated during this time often cite education for their children and an uncertain or poor fishery as their main reasons for resettling (Kennedy 1995: 188).

Throughout the course of these programs Premier Smallwood constantly insisted that resettlement was entirely voluntary: " 'The one thing that we will not do is to force anybody to move. That would be dictatorship' " (Maritime History Archives 2005). Despite such assertions, many people felt intense pressure from the government to move

(Fitzhugh 1999: 143). The cash grant also served as a large incentive as many families in the Bay were experiencing poverty as a result of the changing fishery and were desperate to receive income. Consequently, many families felt they had no choice but to participate in the resettlement programs and relocate to Cartwright.

As was the case for many settlements in Newfoundland and Labrador, resettlement created many new problems for people in Sandwich Bay. For many people resettlement is associated with social dislocation and a loss of way of life. While discussing the possibility of resettlement, many communities experienced divisions within families and the community as a whole (Martin 2006b). Resettlement also created new social divisions within Cartwright. Small neighbourhoods within Cartwright began to develop as people from smaller settlements began to move into town and wanted to stay near to their previous neighbours (Kennedy 1995: 204). These neighbourhoods have remained very much segregated (Kennedy 1995: 204; Rompkey 2005: 115); however, with the present generation living in Cartwright their entire lives, the town is beginning to feel less divided (Pace 2008: 80). Many people who moved to Cartwright also found that salmon births and trap lines had already been claimed for miles around and they had a hard time making a living (Fitzhugh 1999: 143). Kennedy (1995: 205) affirms "resettlement has removed people from the land, increasing their dependency on government, and with that, their vulnerability".

#### 4.3 Industrialization and Modernization

Centralization created conditions where industrialization and modernization could occur in Sandwich Bay by bringing together a large labour force. Industrialization, as

well as an increase in formal education, created new job opportunities and an increase in occupational diversity. For example, during and after the Second World War, military instalments and radar stations were built near Cartwright. The construction of these facilities created new jobs for Cartwright residents (Kennedy 1995: 182). The increase in formal education also allowed some young people a chance to follow career paths other than the traditional fisher and trapper occupations. The diversification of occupations was further propelled by the steady decline and final collapse of the commercial cod fishery in 1992 (Kennedy 1995: 3) and the subsequent closure of the commercial salmon fishery in the Bay in 1996 (Pace 2008: 47). The increase in different occupations has undoubtedly caused cultural change in Sandwich Bay and altered the residents' attitudes towards work and money (Kennedy 1995: 184). Although many residents are still involved in the thriving crab fishery that has recently developed in Sandwich Bay (Fitzhugh 1999: 143), this fully modernized fishery does not require the same life-style and degree of family mobility that the previous salmon and cod fishery relied upon. The new occupations in Sandwich Bay do not foster the same kind of culture that the traditional fishery once did.

Centralization also led to the modernization of Sandwich Bay. Industrialization and the construction of the military and radar facilities better connected residents to the outside world. Community members had greater access to foreign goods and were constantly being introduced to new, modern, ideas and luxuries. The availability of these foreign goods changed values and influenced cultural change (Kennedy 1995: 184). Centralization, industrialization and modernization resulted in drastic changes in Sandwich Bay lifeways and culture. Despite these changes, residents are still very connected to traditional Sandwich Bay life.

#### 4.4 Keeping Traditions in Contemporary Society

Among other forces, the Spanish Influenza, the introduction of formal education facilities, and government sponsored resettlement programs caused a shift in the area's settlement pattern from small dispersed settlements to a large centralized community. Centralization created opportunities for industrialization and modernization of the area. Centralization, industrialization and modernization had an immense impact on Sandwich Bay culture. Despite these changes contemporary Sandwich Bay residents remain connected to past lifeways by evoking traditions in their usual practices.

Residents of Sandwich Bay are still connected to the places they or their families once lived (Pace 2008). For many of the older generation, these places are still considered home even though they no longer live there. Most families in Cartwright have at least one recreational cabin that is visited in either the winter or summer. These cabins are built where their families originally settled in the winter or fished in the summer, and just as before these properties are still passed on through the family.

So I grew up here in Paradise River. And then we'd move from Paradise River to Pack's Harbour every summer for as far back as I can remember. And my father used to fish like everybody else, of course and for quite a few years. Most of his life. Yeah, but that's the only place that I've ever lived like when I was a child was Paradise River and Pack's Harbour. I didn't live anywhere else. So you can see that's the reason that I come home every year. It [Pack's Harbour] is home. It always has been to me ... Ah, now my grandparents, um, let me see. Well they did pretty much the same as what we did, right because it was carried on from family to family, from generation to generation, you know (Anonymous resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

Although some settlements have been abandoned for at least half a century, they are still seen by community members as belonging to certain families.

On Huntingdon ... OK. That whole head really because they had Fox Cove and Bale's Island, all that end of that, but Snack Cove in particular even to this modern day is still Davis (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010).

The strong association that community members still have with these old settlements connects them to traditional Sandwich Bay life and has helped build current Inuit-Metis identity.

While Sandwich Bay has seen an increase in occupational diversity over the past half century, most people are still involved with traditional activities and are still reliant on local resources for some of their subsistence needs. Hunting, fishing, trapping, berry picking and egg gathering are still practised and provide a significant portion of the residents' diets. More importantly, young people are interested and involved in these activities. By continuing to practice these activities, community members are connecting to traditional lifeways and building their identity upon this connection.

Sandwich Bay went through extensive changes during the twentieth century and today, Cartwright is very much a modern rural town. However, modernity should not be equated with assimilation into "mainstream Canadian culture". Sandwich Bay has a distinct culture that differs from other cultures in Canada. Although Sandwich Bay culture experienced drastic changes throughout the twentieth century, culture is not static; it is adaptive. These changes should not be regarded as cultural deterioration (Linnekin 1983). The people of Sandwich Bay have held on to their traditions and way of life. They have adapted these traditions, however, to make them relevant to the modern world (Figure 4.9). After all "Tradition is a conscious model of past lifeways that people use in

the construction of their identities...but the selection of what constitutes tradition is always made in the present; the content of the past is modified and redefined according to a modern significance” (Linnekin 1983: 241). These traditions have helped shaped contemporary Inuit-Metis identity.



**Figure 4.9.** Nineteenth century dog team trails are still used today to travel between Cartwright and old settlements, but where a komatik was once used, a skidoo now takes its place. *Left*, “Dog Team in Woods” photo taken by Rev. Henry Gordon, 1917, courtesy of the Rooms Archives.

## **Chapter 5: Inuit-Metis Archaeological Sites**

### 5.1 Introduction

During the interviews, informants identified areas that their ancestors lived during the winter (Figure 3.8) and warm weather seasons (Figure 3.9). During my fieldwork I visited a small number of these places and recorded three archaeological sites: White Bear River (FjBi-02), Goose Cove (FkBf-06), and Dove Brook (FjBi-01). After the field season the places identified during interviews were compared to previously recorded archaeological sites in Sandwich Bay, and several sites with a probability of being occupied by ancestors of the present day Inuit-Metis were identified (Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1). This chapter examines these sites, as well as FkBg-24, the only fully excavated Inuit-Metis site, to see if there is any observable patterns for Inuit Metis site locations and house construction styles. The artifacts recovered from test pits were few and void of context, so they will not be examined in great detail. Inuit-Metis settlement patterns and house construction will be compared to settlement patterns and house construction of the Inuit and migratory Newfoundland fishermen in Chapter 6.

### 5.2 Inuit-Metis Sites

As previously discussed, the Metis of Sandwich Bay lived a transient life, seasonally moving between the inner and outer Bay in order to optimally procure resources. Most families had three houses: a winter house and two summer houses. Winter houses were located in the inner sheltered areas of the Bay, close to traplines and timber resources. In the spring families would move out to their first summer house, their

salmon station. These houses were usually located within the Bay but further out than the sheltered winter houses. At the end of June families would then move on to their cod fishing house. These houses were usually located on the outer islands of the Bay. The Inuit-Metis were highly resource dependent causing families to settle in dispersed alcoves within the Bay in the winter to ensure each family had enough resources for the season. Summer houses were usually located closer together, reflecting the communal work required for the fisheries (Pace 2008).



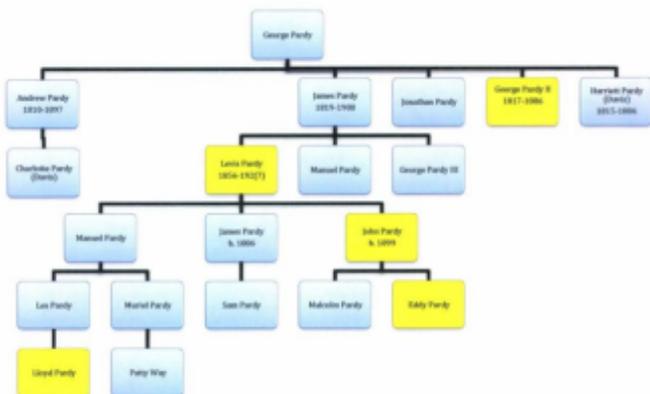
**Figure 5.1.** Map of Sandwich Bay indicating possible Inuit-Metis sites. Information taken from Site Record Forms, on file at the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office.

**Table 5.1.** Possible Inuit-Metis Archaeological Sites in Sandwich Bay. Information taken from Site Record Forms, on file at the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office

| Site Name                   | Borden Number | Site Description  |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---|
| Isthmus Bay 2               | FkBd-08       | -6 sod houses<br>-mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century<br>-warm season habitation |
| Cape North 1                | FkBd-05       | -3 sod houses<br>-warms season habitation                                 |
| Snack Cove 4                | FkBe-23       | -rectangular sod structures<br>-historic<br>-warm season habitation       |
| North River 1               | FkBg-31       | -sod house<br>-19 <sup>th</sup> century<br>-cold season habitation        |
| Sandy Cove 1 (Hare Harbour) | FkBe-25       | -sod house<br>-19 <sup>th</sup> century<br>-cold season habitation        |
| Jackie's Point 1            | FkBg-32       | -sod house<br>-19 <sup>th</sup> century<br>-cold season habitation        |
| Porcupine Strand 19         | FkBg-25       | -sod structure<br>-historic<br>-cold season habitation                    |
| Porcupine Strand 20         | FkBg-26       | -2 rectangular sod structures<br>-historic<br>-cold season habitation     |
| Porcupine Strand 21         | FkBg-27       | -rectangular structure<br>-historic<br>-cold season habitation            |
| White Bear River            | FjBi-02       | -3 rectangular structures<br>-historic<br>-cold season habitation         |
| Goose Cove                  | FkBf-06       | -20 <sup>th</sup> century house remains<br>-cold season habitation        |
| Dove Brook                  | FjBi-01       | -20 <sup>th</sup> century house remains<br>-cold season habitation site   |

### 5.2.1 White Bear River (FjBi-02)

George M. Parly was one of the first Europeans to permanently settle in Sandwich Bay. He arrived in Sandwich Bay sometime between 1800 and 1810. Many present day Sandwich Bay residents can trace their genealogies back to George M. Parly and his wife. He married an Inuk woman whose name is unknown and they settled at Parly's Head but later moved to Paradise River. George M. Parly continued to cod fish at Cape Porcupine. They had at least five children: Harriett (1815-1886), who married Charles Davis (1810-1873), Andrew (1820-1897), who settled at Cape Porcupine, Jonathan, who settled at Table Bay, George II (1817-1886), who settled at White Bear River in the late 1830s, and James (1819-1908) who settled at Paradise River (Fig. 5.2).



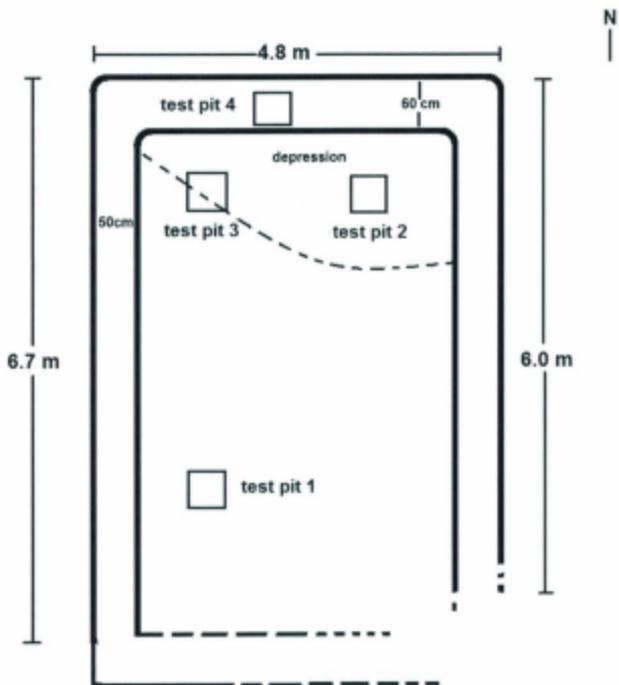
**Figure 5.2.** Simplified genealogy for Parly family displaying the inheritance of the White Bear River property. The genealogy only includes family members that are discussed in text, and does not include spouses.

James's first wife, Eliza Bird, died young and James temporarily brought his family to live with his brother George II in White Bear River. In his 1863-64 census, Rev. Hutchinson recorded James living in White Bear River with ten other people (Buckle 1998: ix). James eventually moved back to Paradise River and remarried. According to the Reichel map, In 1872 James lived in Paradise River and George II lived in White Bear River (Figure 1.4). This map indicates that they were both of "mixed" European and Inuit ancestry. Although George II did marry a woman named Elizabeth (1817-1882), they did not have any children, and George II passed on his property to James's son Levis Pardy (1856-192?). Levis was married to Sarah Davis (1856-1930) and they had several children (Figure 5.3). The family salmon-fished at Black Head (just north of Cartwright). They cod-fished at Bale's Island, a small island just off of Snack Cove, Huntingdon Island. The family continued to winter at White Bear River until Sarah and her son James Pardy moved to Cartwright in the late 1920s. The property has continued to be passed down through the family and is still used today.



**Figure 5.3.** Pardy family Huntingdon Island in 1893 by Eliot Curwen. Courtesy of the Rooms Archives. *Back row* Levis Pardy, Martha Davis (sister of Sarah), Alvina and Thomas. *Front* Manuel, Harriet, Sarah (Davis) Pardy holding Eliza, Edward, James, and William (Rompkey 1996: 68).

On the advice of Lloyd Pardy, I went to White Bear River on August 4, 2010 to examine three rectangular house depressions that had been occupied by his ancestors during the winter (Figure 5.1). The site is situated in a densely forested area, just east of a small brook known as Andrew's Brook. During this survey only one structure was located (Structure 1); however, Lloyd Pardy later sent photos, GPS coordinates and structure measurements of the other two structures. Structure 1 measured approximately 7m x 5m. Four 40cm x 40cm shovel test pits were excavated, three inside the structure and one in the wall of the structure (Figures 5.4 and 5.5). One iron nail and window glass was recovered from the test pits. The interior test pits revealed decomposing wood floor. The interior of the house appeared to be dug below the surrounding ground, although one side of the interior structure is much higher, possibly representing a fallen wall or roof. Structure 2 is the closest structure to the Andrew's Brook, as well as the closest to contemporary cabin. It measures 6.7m x 5.8m. Structure 3 is situated between the other two structures. It was not measured but is the smallest out of the three structures and the interior appears to be shallower than the other two structures (Lloyd Pardy, personal communication). All three structures have numerous large trees growing in the interiors and walls of structures. A sawpit is located south of the structures. This site is important because the three houses were most likely occupied at different times by a family labelled as "mixed", therefore this site may show a chronological "evolution" of Inuit-Metis material cultural and architecture.



**Figure 5.4.** Line drawing of Structure 1 at White Bear River (FjBi-02). The locations of 40cm x 40cm test pits are indicated.



**Figure 5.5.** Southwest corner of Structure 1 at White Bear River (FjBi-02).

#### 5.2.2 Goose Cove (FkBf-06)

Charles Davis (1810-1873) arrived in Sandwich Bay around 1830. He was originally from Wales, but he sailed from Plymouth, England with Charles Williams, the occupant of FkBg-24. Charles Davis is thought to be either a convict or a draft evader because his original surname was Francis but he changed it to Davis after arriving in Sandwich Bay. He married Harriet Pardy and set up their winter settlement in Goose. He was recorded living in Goose Cove in Rev. Hutchinson's 1863-64 census (Buckle 1998:

x) and again on Reichel's 1872 map (Figure 1.4). They also had a fishing place in Fox Cove, Huntingdon Island. They had at least ten children (Davis 1981: 6). Their oldest son James (1834-1913) married Charlotte Pardy and are said to have lived at Goose Cove. Some of their other children also remained at Goose Cove (Davis 1981). Goose Cove was occupied until the 1960s and although other families have been recorded living there (Buckle 1998: x), the Davis family occupied the cove for approximately 120 years and Goose Cove is still regarded as a Davis place by the residents of Sandwich Bay.

I visited Goose Cove (FkBf-06) on the morning of August 2, 2010. Goose Cove is located approximately 10 km northeast of Cartwright (Figure 5.1). The area is heavily wooded and sheltered. There is also a small brook located in the center of the cove. Like most places in Sandwich Bay, Goose Cove is only accessible by boat during certain times of the day, causing intense time restraints and preventing an extensive surveying of the area. Outlines of what appeared to be twentieth century wooden houses were located; however, no test pits were put in. Scrap metal and old windows were also scattered about the surface (Figure 5.6). Although only twentieth century remains were located during this survey, a more extensive survey of the area would undoubtedly reveal substantial evidence of Goose Cove's 120 years of Inuit-Metis occupation.



**Figure 5.6.** Twentieth century structure remains at Goose Cove.

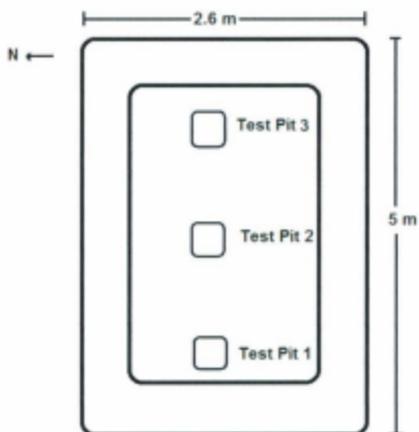
### 5.2.3 Dove Brook (FjBi-01)

George Bird (1778-1869) was the first European to winter at Dove Brook. It is not known who he married but they settled in Dove Brook in the early 1800s and had several children. Over time other families started to settle in the area and Dove Brook became one of the larger communities in Sandwich Bay, with its own church that was sometimes also used as a schoolhouse (Buckle 2005).

Bird was first though, and what happened is his son was married to a woman and when his son died the wife remarried the Painter man which brought the Painters into the little spot, like. Because everything was very connected. Once you married into a family then, that's about the only way you got into their cove or into their area. Cause it's almost like being placed in association with family or family names. Dove Brook is quite a big place actually. There's still cabins up there and there's still a little abandoned church there and you know it was a proper little community there at one point. But everyone descended from that generation of settlers. And even today, the six or seven cabins that maybe far down but everybody is descended from that one guy at the top. The one guy. So that's Dove Brook (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright Labrador, July 23, 2010).

In 1863-64, a total of 23 people comprised of five families (Bird, Painter, Learning, Martin, and Heard) were recorded living in Dove Brook (Buckle 1998: ix). On the 1872 Reichel map (Figure 3.1), James Martin, John Bird and Silas Painter are marked as living in Dove Brook. John Bird and Silas Painter are listed as "mixed", while James Martin is listed as "Englander or Newfoundlander". Although one household in Dove Brook was marked as "Englander of Newfoundland", Dove Brook is still best interpreted as an Inuit-Metis settlement.

Dove Brook is located approximately 27km southwest of Cartwright (Figure 5.1). The settlement area is a large clearing surrounded by a dense forest. Remains of an old sawmill are located on the south side of the brook. The north side of the brook was briefly surveyed on August 4, 2010. Contemporary cabins were surrounded by remnants of old twentieth century houses. The old church is still standing but is in poor condition. High vegetation and time constraints prevented a thorough survey of the area. The archaeological remains of only one rectangular structure were located (Figures 5.7 and 5.8). The structure measured approximately 3m x 5m with high walls measuring approximately a half a meter high. Three test pits were excavated in the interior of the structure revealing a probable mid-twentieth century use based on the recovered artifacts. Although no signs of a nineteenth century occupation were recovered, there are multiple lines of evidence that indicate Dove Brook was occupied during the nineteenth century and a proper survey of the area should point towards this.



**Figure 5.7.** Line drawing of structure at Dove Brook. Locations of 40cm x 40cm test pits are indicated.



**Figure 5.8.** Structure remains at Dove Brook. *Left*, Lewis Davis standing on wall. *Right*, Brandon Morris standing in interior of structure.

#### 5.2.4 Porcupine Strand 18 (FkBg-24)

Porcupine Strand 18, or FkBg-24, was excavated in 2007 and is the only known excavated Inuit-Metis site. The site is located on the north shore of North River, Sandwich Bay, approximately 10km northwest of Cartwright (Figure 5.1). North River has been occupied since the first half of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century it was one of the larger settlements in Sandwich Bay. The North River settlement had its own cemetery where the headstones of some of the earliest settlers in the Bay are still standing. The house is believed to have been occupied by Charles Williams (d. 1879 at the age of 71) and his descendents (Beaudoin et al. 2010). Charles Williams was from Plymouth England (Fitzhugh 1999: 140), and sailed to Sandwich Bay with Charles Davis around 1830 (Davis 1981:4). He was employed by the Hunt and Henley Company (Fitzhugh 1999: 140). In 1848 Charles Williams married a woman named Mary, who was of Irish and Inuit descent, and they had at least five children together. Rev. Hutchinson's 1863-64 census recorded Charles Williams living in North River with four other people (Buckle 1998: ix). Reichel recorded a C. Williams and a J. Williams living on the north shore of North River in 1872. J. Williams is thought to be one of Charles Williams' older sons, James. Reichel recorded the household as a "mixed" Inuit and European household. The Williams most likely wintered at North River, and may have also used this location for salmon fishing. It is believed that the Williams family cod fished at Huntingdon Island and that this fishing berth was eventually passed on to the Pardy family (Sam Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 17, 2010). The exact date of construction for the structure at FkBg-24 is not known, but it is believed to have been abandoned between 1907 and 1915 (Beaudoin et al. 2010: 154).

FkBg-24 consists of a rectangular sod structure measuring 10m x 4m, and a saw pit measuring 3m x 1m located 10-15m northwest of the structure. Trenches were present around the outside of the house. These trenches most likely represent the area where sods were taken for the construction of the house. The long axis of the house was aligned east to west and a 1m wide entrance was found in the south wall, facing the river. A midden was located just outside of the structure's entrance (Beaudoin et al. 2010).

The interior of the structure is a single open room. A stove platform made from flat stones was located along the southern wall of the structure. Charcoal, charred faunal remains, burned artifacts and fragments of an iron stone were recovered from this area. There was no evidence of a chimney; however, iron stove pipes or an old barrel may have been used as a chimney (Beaudoin et al. 2010: 162). A storage pit was located in the northwest corner of the structure. Window glass was recovered from the site, indicating that the structure may have had glass windows. The structure was constructed by fastening split logs with wrought iron nails. The structure had wooden walls and floor, most likely made from split logs, as well as a wooden roof. The roof was covered with sod or birch bark. Sod was also piled on the exterior of the structure to provide insulation as well as stability (Beaudoin et al. 2010).

The faunal assemblage indicates that seal was the most commonly consumed food source. Mammal, bird, fish and bivalves were also important sources of food (Beaudoin et al. 2010: 163). More than 6000 artifacts were recovered from FkBg-24. Beaudoin et al. (2010: 168) suggests that the domestic artifacts reflect traditional Inuit practices, although involving the use of European goods.

The excavation of FkBg-24 indicates that Inuit-Metis sites in southern Labrador significantly differ from Inuit and European sites, and therefore deserve their own archaeological definition. However, as previously stated, FkBg-24 is the only Inuit-Metis site that has been excavated to date. It is not known if FkBg-24 represents a typical Inuit-Metis site, a regional variation of an Inuit-Metis site, or is simply an archaeological anomaly (Beaudoin et al. 2010: 169).

#### 5.2.5 Other Possible Metis Sites

After the completion of my fieldwork, I compared places identified by interviewees as areas used by their ancestors to previously recorded archaeological sites in the area. Table 5.1 displays previously recorded sites that have a probability of being Inuit-Metis sites based on information gathered during interviews. Table 5.1 is divided into two sections: probable warm season occupation sites and probable cold season occupations sites. Although there is not much information available for these sites, they do appear to support information gathered during interviews about Inuit-Metis settlement patterns and house construction. These sites will be further discussed in section 5.3.

### 5.3 Comparison of Inuit-Metis Sites

#### 5.3.1 Site Location

Traditionally, Sandwich Bay residents had at least two houses, possibly three depending on their salmon fishing location. Salmon fishing may have been carried out at

the winter location, the summer cod fishing location, or in an entirely separate location. It was very seldom that a family spent the winter and summer at the same location as these seasons required the harvesting of different resources located in separate areas of the Bay. For the purpose of this discussion, Inuit-Metis sites have been separated into two groups: cold season occupation sites and warm season occupation sites. If salmon fishing was carried out at the same location as a winter location, it is considered a cold season occupation site because the salmon season is short and the majority of occupation occurred during the winter months. If salmon fishing occurred at a cod fishing location or a separate location, it is considered a warm season occupation site.

According to the interviews, winter locations were chosen based on the amount of shelter the area provided from the winter elements and the resources available in the area. Access to traplines, game, and firewood was vital to winter survival. Families also wanted to be separated from each other to ensure that there was no strain on these resources. The archaeological evidence appears to support this. FkBg-24, FjBi-06, Fkbf-06, FjBi-02 as well as the sites identified in Table 5.1 as having a probability of being Inuit-Metis cold season occupation sites are all located in sheltered areas of the Bay, and have appropriate access to abundant firewood, game, and traplines. Even larger settlements like Dove Brook still have small populations and there would have been enough resources to sustain the population. There also appears to be a trend for choosing settlement locations close to small brooks.

Isthmus Bay 2 (FkBd-08), Cape North 1 (FkBd-05), and Snack Cove 4 (FkBe-23) were identified in Table 5.1 as possibly being warm season Inuit-Metis sites. The location of these sites supports the notion that the Inuit-Metis inhabited outer islands and regions

of the Bay during the summer to participate in the cod fisheries. Most of these sites consist of multiple houses in close proximity to each other, reflecting the cooperative nature of the salt cod fishery.

Both cold season and warm season locations were passed down through the family. These locations could either be passed on to a male or female and it appears there was no set pattern for inheritance (Davis 1981: 11; Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, July 23, 2010). The actual dwelling may or may not have been inherited. According to Davis (1981: 12), although locations were inherited within the Davis family, there were no cases of family dwellings being inherited, as family members tended to build their own new dwellings. However, it appears that FkBg-24 was occupied after the original owner's death, and is thought to be inherited by his son (Beaudoin 2008). Many of the cold season and warm season sites that were occupied during the nineteenth century are still used today by the families' decedents. This has been helpful in identifying possible locations of Inuit-Metis sites; however, this may also limit access to sites and in some cases residents may have built over previous occupations.

### 5.3.2 Structure Construction

Many interviewees stated that their ancestors lived in log or wooden houses that were insulated by sod and moss. Sam Pardy (resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 17, 2010) describes the construction of a traditional Sandwich Bay house:

I think their house was what you call a studded house. Yeah, It was, it was made out of small logs that was, was split down the centre with a, with a, what kind of a saw did they call it, I wonder. It was a pit saw. They sawed, they sawed, they sawed in a pit, eh. It was a pit saw. That's what they were

made of, unhm. And the structure, all that structure was ... One of the main reason why they had it that way was for you know insul... you know it was the warmest it could get back then, because there was really no insulation except for what you can get off the land, eh, like ah, like caribou moss and things like that... But they did build houses, houses with round stakes and stuff like that and then sodded it, sodded it over.

The archaeological evidence supports the statements made by interviewees. As previously stated, FkBg-24 was a wooden structure made from split logs, with sod used as insulation. Test pits taken from Structure 1 at FjBi-02, revealed large amounts of decomposing wood, indicating that the structure was probably made from wood, similar to FkBg-24. The presence of a saw pit on both these sites indicates the importance of wood for both the construction of the house and for firewood to heat the house. The structures at FjBi-02 and the structure at FkBg-24 were all rectangular in shape, as well as several of the structures described in Table 5.1. The site descriptions in Table 5.1 are based on information gathered from site reports, and unfortunately the shape of many of the houses was not recorded.

To date, no warm season Inuit-Metis occupation sites have been excavated or examined at any great length, so it is not known if or how these sites differ archaeologically from cold season occupation sites. Patty Way (resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 23, 2010) suggests that the construction of the two sites differs:

Your best house is your winter house. There's more, more money gone into it. More, yeah, more solid. Like this is your life time house perhaps. Right. Like the one you might leave to one of your sons when you die. Whereas the fishing place, the fish, the fish may die. Like fish come and go. So you don't want to put too much into your fishing house...

It was indicated to me that families would bring all of their possessions when they moved between houses, therefore, the artifact assemblage may not vastly differ between cold seasonal and warm season occupation sites. There may be some artifacts that indicate season activity, like artifacts associated with fishing or trapping. It is likely that faunal remains and site location would be the greatest indicators of seasonality.

Although little is still known about the construction of Inuit-Metis houses, archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence indicates that Inuit-Metis houses were constructed of wood and were rectangular in shape. Thanks to the ethnohistorical data, the seasonality can most likely be predicted based on the location of the site in the Bay.

Additional investigation is needed for both cold season and warm season Inuit-Metis occupation sites. As previously stated, it is not known if FkBg-24 represents a typical Inuit-Metis site in Sandwich Bay; however, it appears that there are observable trends for Inuit-Metis settlement patterns and construction styles. Further attention needs to be given to warm season occupation sites because they represent an important part of nineteenth century Inuit-Metis lifeways. It also needs to be determined if and how these sites differ from cold season Inuit-Metis sites.

## **Chapter 6: Inuit and Migratory Fishermen**

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Inuit (Section 6.2) and migratory fishermen (Section 6.3) who were also present in southern Labrador during the nineteenth century and who left behind similar archaeological remains to the Inuit-Metis. In particular, it focuses on their architecture and settlement patterns. Through a comparison of Inuit-Metis settlements to Inuit and migratory fishermen settlements, Section 6.4 argues that the Inuit-Metis merit their own archaeological definition. Although I have tried to maintain a regional focus, this chapter includes ethnohistorical data and archaeological examples from other regions of Labrador as little research has been conducted in the Sandwich Bay area.

### 6.2 Inuit

The Labrador Inuit experienced great changes to their social and economic structures during the nineteenth century, which eventually resulted in alterations to their settlement patterns and house construction styles. This section examines the changes and variation in Inuit settlement patterns and architecture during the nineteenth century. Section 6.2.1 describes Inuit architecture and settlement patterns prior to the nineteenth century in order to fully discuss the changes that occurred. Section 6.2.2 examines these changes as well as gives an example of an excavated nineteenth century site, Tuglavina. Section 6.2.3 focuses on the Inuit in Sandwich Bay.

### 6.2.1 Inuit Construction Styles and Settlement Patterns Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

When the Thule arrived in Labrador, they were constructing semi-subterranean sod dwellings during the cold season that housed a single nuclear family. These dwellings were comprised of a single room that contained a paved floor, a stone lamp stand, and a raised sleeping platform that ran along the wall opposite the entrance. The walls were made of sod and stone. The sod roof was supported by whalebone or wooden beams. The entrance was a long, narrow, paved passage, known as an entrance tunnel, which sunk below the house floor to prevent cold air from entering. The entrance tunnel was constructed in the same fashion as the rest of the house. During warm weather the Thule lived in conical animal skin tents that were supported by a wood frame and held down by large rocks (Kaplan 1985: 49). On occasion, the Thule also built qarmat structures, usually when it was too cold for skin tents but too warm for sod houses. The construction of the qarmat was similar to the sod house with the exception of a roof made out of animal skins instead of sod (Brewster 2006).

By the late-seventeenth century, a new type of sod house, known as the communal house, appeared along the coast of Labrador (Kaplan 1985: 59). It is during this time period that archaeologists identify the shift from Thule to Inuit culture. Communal houses were constructed with the same materials and in a similar fashion as Thule sod dwelling but were much larger in size, measuring from 7m x 6m to 16m x 6m, and housed two or more nuclear or polygynous families. The communal house is rectangular in shape and contains two or three stone walled sleeping platforms that run along the back and sides of the house, as well as multiple lamp stands, one for each family. These houses contain large amounts of European goods.

Kaplan also notes a change in the winter settlement pattern during this time. The Inuit shifted their winter settlements from outer bays and exposed outer islands to landward islands of coastal island clusters and inner bays. The new locations were generally more sheltered in the winter but also further from sina, possibly indicating a greater reliance on mainland and terrestrial resources (Kaplan 1985: 59). The reason for the shift from single family dwellings to communal houses is unknown, but adjustment to environmental cooling, population growth, sociocultural changes as a result of contact and trade with Europeans, and managing the pressures of competition for a scarce resource (European goods), are some of the hypotheses put forth by archaeologists to explain this shift (Kaplan 1985: 60; Richling 1993). The Inuit also constructed large communal qarmats at this time and continued to live in skin tents during the warm season. The communal house phase lasted throughout the eighteenth century.

#### 6.2.2 Inuit Construction Styles and Settlement Patterns during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

The nineteenth century was a time of regular and intense interaction between the Inuit and Europeans in Labrador, which led to changes in Inuit social structure and economy. The Inuit were participating in the European cash economy which ultimately affected Inuit settlement patterns and subsistence practices, as well as Inuit sod house construction. Faunal assemblages from nineteenth century Inuit sites are dominated by seal bone but also contain large amounts of caribou, fish and fox bone (Kaplan 1983: 248). These assemblages indicate a decreased reliance on large marine resources such as whale and walrus. Diminished whale and walrus populations, the introduction of new

hunting technologies, and the development of new hunting strategies partially explain the observed change in subsistence practices; however, European economic pressures also influenced this change (Kaplan 1983: 249). The large number of fox bones found in nineteenth century assemblages has been linked to a new reliance on trapping. Prior to the nineteenth century, the Inuit only occasionally obtained fox by way of stone traps. The fur was usually used as a decorative trim for clothing and the tail as an amulet. However, Europeans showed a great amount of interest in foxes and other fur bearing animals, and trapping became an important practice for the Inuit (Kaplan 1983: 362). Similarly, although fish was traditionally an important part of Inuit diet, European pressure to participate in the fishery may have also resulted in an increased reliance on fish. The Inuit were focusing on procuring resources for trade with Europeans rather than just for their own use (Kaplan 1983: 249). Many of these resources were different from those traditionally sought by the Inuit.

During the nineteenth century most Inuit began to settle near Moravian Mission stations, HBC posts or other European establishments in order to benefit from the cash economy and gain better access to European goods (Kaplan 1983: 244). The new reliance on trapping also promoted a change in winter settlement locations, as the Inuit needed access to good trapping areas in the forested mainland. The Inuit also shifted from multifamily households back to nuclear or "single" family households at this time. This may have resulted from new hunting techniques. The adoption of European hunting technologies such as guns, fishnets, and metal traps, rendered communal hunting obsolete. The Inuit could now successfully obtain subsistence resources with a minimal number of hunters. This fostered a reliance on Europeans and European goods rather than

the previous reliance on community and self-sufficiency (Kaplan 1983: 249). However, Moravian and other European "moral" influences may have been the biggest factor. It is important to note that although the Inuit shifted back to nuclear households, they experienced a social and economic organization in the nineteenth century that vastly differed from the time prior to the Communal House Phase. Families were now participating in the cash economy and had ties to certain European establishments, rather than participating in communal activities and having ties with one another (Kaplan 1983: 371).

There are over 100 nineteenth century Inuit sites recorded in every coastal region of Labrador (Kaplan 1983: 299). Although nineteenth century Inuit houses contain some traditional Inuit artifacts, the assemblages are dominated by European materials. The archaeological record indicates that sod house architecture was highly variable at this time. Kaplan identifies four categories of sod houses that were used during the nineteenth century. The first is large semi-subterranean sod houses similar to those of the eighteenth century, with multiple lamp stands and sleeping platforms. They also have long entrance tunnels. These houses were occupied during the beginning of the nineteenth century but were used longer in the isolated northern region of Labrador. The second category of house consists of smaller, single nuclear family, semi-subterranean sod houses. These houses contain multiple lamp stands and sleeping platforms, as well as entrance tunnels or simple entrance ways. They are rectangular in shape with the back and front walls being the longest. The third category is similar to the second but the side walls are the longest. Both the second and third categories are found throughout the coast of Labrador. The fourth category consists of small rectangular sod houses with simple entryways that are

constructed at ground level. This category is usually associated with Moravian Mission stations or other European establishments and dates to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century (Figure 6.1) (Kaplan 1983: 244). The development of these categories is an important step in understanding variation among nineteenth century sites. However, it seems that these categories may not be fully representative of the diversity in architecture that occurred during this period and may simplify what this diversity tells us about the Inuit during the nineteenth century. The Inuit settlement known as Tuglavina (IdCr-01) has been chosen to discuss nineteenth century Inuit settlement in great detail because it reflects both a change in settlement pattern and architecture in comparison to earlier sites. It is also one of the best reported nineteenth century Inuit sites.

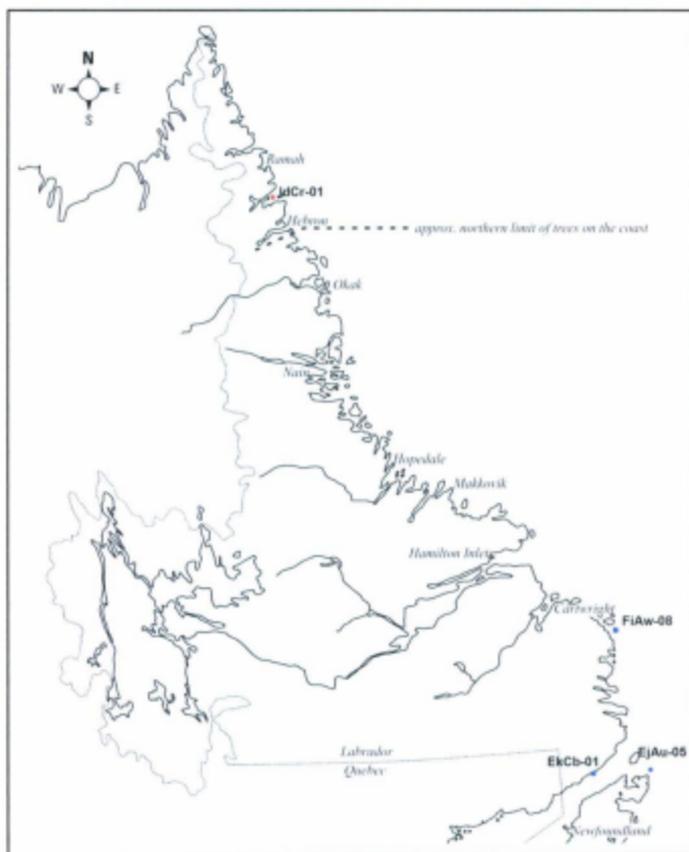


**Figure 6.1.** Nineteenth century Inuit house, Nain, Labrador. Photo from International Grenfell Association photograph collection, 1914. Courtesy of the Rooms Archives.

*Tuglavina (IdCr-01)*

Tuglavina (IdCr-01) is located on Rose Island in Saglek Bay (Figure 6.2) and was excavated by Peter Schledermann in 1970 as part of his MA thesis. As part of his research, Schledermann defined three phases of Inuit habitation in Labrador: the Early Phase (AD 1450-1700), the Communal House Phase (AD 1700-1850) and the Late Phase (AD 1850-present). House 5 at Tuglavina was excavated to demonstrate the Late Phase of Inuit habitation in Labrador. All sod houses dating prior to the Late Phase found on Rose Island are located at Ikkusik, an area with good access to the sîna and materials for constructing winter houses, criteria important for traditional Inuit settlements. All Late Phase sod houses on the island are located at Tuglavina, an area lacking in good access to the sîna and construction materials. Ikkusik appears to be the best location for a winter site, so the later settlement at Tuglavina suggests that the Inuit were choosing settlement locations based on different criteria (Schledermann 1973).

House 5 was a square structure measuring approximately 4.9m x 4.3m. The walls were made of sod and stone, however, the amount of stone used was limited. The house contained a wooden frame and the sod roof was supported by whale bone and wood. The floor of the house was made of wooden boards, and there was a small alcove in the southwest corner, possibly used for storage. The house did not include sleeping platforms, but three possible straw filled mattresses were uncovered in three unidentified areas of the house. European materials as well as an iron wood stove were also recovered from the interior of the house. The entrance to the house was a long entrance tunnel that had a sand floor. The walls of the tunnel were constructed out of sod, stone and whale vertebra. The sod roof of the passage was supported by whale bone. To the left of the house entrance



**Figure 6.2.** Map of Labrador indicating archaeological sites discussed in Chapter 6 that are located outside of Sandwich Bay. Blue dots represent European sites. The red dot represents an Inuit site.

was a small storage room measuring 1.8m x 1.2m. The storage room had a flagged floor and the two side walls were lined with upright rock slabs (Schledermann 1973).

House 5 at Tuglavina dates to the end of the nineteenth century to their early-twentieth century. The excavation of House 5 indicates that its inhabitants had regular contact with Europeans and access to European goods. Although, the inhabitants still retained some aspects of traditional architecture, the construction of the house was being influenced by European construction methods, as it had no sleeping platforms. In this case it would appear that the change in architecture might have occurred because it was better suited to house European materials. The lack of sleeping platforms and the presence of mattresses suggests that the house was built after the acquisition of the mattresses and the construction was altered in order to house them.

### 6.2.3 The Inuit in Sandwich Bay

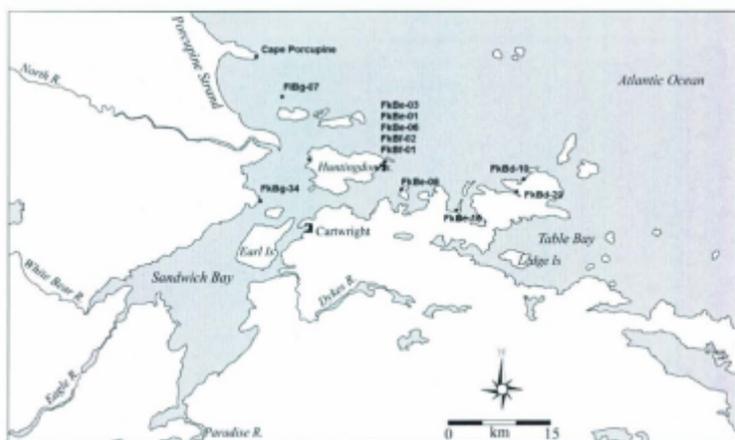
There are thirty archaeological sites in Sandwich Bay that have been tentatively associated with Inuit occupation. Of these thirty sites, only sixteen have undergone enough investigation to demonstrate that they are certainly the result of Inuit activities (Table 6.1). These sites range in date from the late-sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century and indicate a range of activities including warm and cold season habitation, hunting, storage and burials. Thirteen of these sites are habitation sites (Figure 6.3). The recorded Inuit sites suggest that the Inuit were present in Sandwich Bay by the end of the sixteenth century. They also indicate that the Inuit used inner islands and outer

headlands for both cold season and warm season settlements. It is important to note that although there have been no Inuit sites recorded deep within the Bay, this may be due to a

**Table 6.1.** Inuit sites in Sandwich Bay. Information taken from Site Record Forms, on file at the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office.

| Site Name              | Borden Number | Description   | Date   | Type of Site                    |
|------------------------|---------------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| Curlew Cove 2          | FkBd-20       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 house depressions</li> </ul>   | unknown                                      | Cold season habitation          |
| Main Tickle Point 1    | FkBg-34       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 tent rings</li> </ul>  | Historic                                     | Warm season habitation          |
| Baird Cove 1           | FIBf-02       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 circular boulder houses</li> <li>• Boulder caches</li> <li>• Stone fox trap</li> <li>• burial</li> </ul> | 17 <sup>th</sup> -18 <sup>th</sup> century   | Spring or fall camp?            |
| Huntingdon Island 5    | FkBg-03       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 or 6 houses</li> <li>• 6 tent rings</li> </ul>   | 17 <sup>th</sup> century?                    | Warm and cold season habitation |
| Cape Porcupine         | NA            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 sod house</li> </ul>   | unknown                                      | Cold season habitation          |
| Dumpling Island 1      | FIBf-04       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 sod house</li> </ul>   | unknown                                      | Cold season habitation          |
| Tub Island 1           | GbBi-19       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• tent rings</li> <li>• stone caches</li> <li>• possible burial</li> </ul>                                   | -18 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> century? | Warm season habitation          |
| Hare Island 2          | FkBe-08       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cobble pit</li> <li>• Hearth</li> </ul>  |  | Habitation?                     |
| Cape North 2           | FkBd-10       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stone fox trap</li> <li>• Bird graze</li> </ul>  |  | hunting                         |
| Huntingdon Island 1    | FkBf-01       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tent rings</li> <li>• cache</li> </ul>   | 19 <sup>th</sup> century?                    | Warm season habitation          |
| Huntingdon Island 2    | FkBf-02       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• tent ring</li> <li>• caches</li> <li>• fox trap</li> </ul>   |  | Warm season habitation          |
| Snack Cove 3           | FkBe-03       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 sod houses</li> </ul>  | AD1625-1700                                  | Cold season habitation          |
| Snack Cove 1           | FkBe-01       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 tent rings</li> </ul>  | AD1625-1700                                  | Warm season habitation          |
| Snack Cove Island East | FkBe-06       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 tent rings</li> </ul>  | 18 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> century   | Warm season habitation          |
| Blackguard Bay 1       | FkBe-16       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• burial</li> </ul>  | historic                                     | burial                          |
| Norman Island 1        | FIBg-07       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sod house</li> </ul>   | historic                                     | Cold season habitation          |

lack of intense surveying in this heavily wooded area (Rankin et al. 2011: 6). Only three Inuit archaeological sites have been excavated in Sandwich Bay, Snack Cove-1 (FkBe-01), Snack Cove-3 (FkBe-03), and Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-03). The excavations of these sites were conducted in order to gain insight into the nature and extent of the Inuit presence south of Hamilton Inlet from its inception through the eighteenth century.



**Figure 6.3.** Inuit archaeological habitation sites in Sandwich Bay.

Snack Cove is located on the east end of Huntingdon Island in Sandwich Bay. Snack Cove 1 consists of three tent rings. Tent Ring A was excavated in 2004 as part of the Porcupine Strand Archaeology Project. Tent Ring A was a large, roughly rectangular structure with an arc shaped line of tightly placed rocks running through the centre. A hearth was located within the tent ring. Bone, mussel shell, charcoal and wood were

recovered from the hearth. Tent Ring A only yielded two artifacts, one bone and one metal. Snack Cove 1 was likely occupied during the seventeenth century based on tent ring typology and Carbon-14 dating (Brewster 2006).

Snack Cove 3 is located in proximity to Snack Cove 1 and dates to the early seventeenth century. The site consists of a minimum of four houses. House 1, House 2 and House 3 were excavated in 2004 and 2005 as part of the Porcupine Strand Archaeology Project. All three houses were single room, semi-subterranean sod dwellings ranging from square to rectangular in shape. They contained a paved floor and entrance tunnel, as well as a sleeping platform that ran along the wall opposite to the entrance. A wooden frame supported the sod walls of the houses. The excavations at Snack Cove show that although the Inuit had adopted numerous European materials, they still lived a relatively traditional lifestyle (Brewster 2006).

Huntingdon Island 5 is located on Indian Island, a small island in Indian Harbour that is attached to Huntingdon Island at low tide. The site consists of five sod houses and six tent rings. Lisa Rankin excavated House 1 in 2009 and House 2 in 2010, which date to the mid-seventeenth century (Rankin 2011). Both Houses are semi-subterranean sod dwellings with sleeping platforms that run along the side and rear walls. Both Houses contain a paved floor and entrance tunnel as well as multiple lamp stands, indicating multifamily houses. House 1 is rectangular in shape while House 2 is essentially square. House 1 and House 2 contained traditional Inuit and European artifacts, but the assemblages are dominated by European materials (Rankin 2010; 2011).

In 2010, Phoebe Murphy excavated House 3, a large semi-subterranean house measuring approximately 8m x 6m. The house contained a paved stone floor and raised

sleeping platforms along the interior of all the walls. The house contained both European and Inuit materials, but was dominated by French artifacts. The house dates to the early-to-mid-eighteenth century. This house can be considered a traditional communal house (Murphy 2011).

The excavations at Snack Cove 1, Snack Cove 3, and Huntingdon Island 5 indicate that the Inuit were present in Sandwich Bay by the end of the sixteenth century. By the mid seventeenth century, the Inuit were regular occupants of Sandwich Bay and were present throughout the year (Rankin et al. 2011: 12). It appears that during the Early Contact Period and Communal House Phase, the Inuit in Sandwich Bay were constructing distinct sod dwellings that were typical of Inuit houses for those periods. The Inuit were also following a distinct settlement pattern that was influenced by traditional subsistence practices, primarily based on seal. However, prior to the permanent European settlement of Sandwich Bay, the Inuit had regular contact with Europeans, which over time resulted in changes to their social and economic traditions.

#### *Inuit in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Sandwich Bay*

There is little known about the Inuit in Sandwich Bay during the nineteenth century from the archaeological record; however, documentary evidence has shown that the Inuit were present during this time. It is not known if the Inuit population had remained in Sandwich Bay since the eighteenth century, or if they had migrated from northern regions. Rankin et al. (2011: 13) point out that the Inuit in Sandwich Bay may have been banished from Moravian missions or voluntarily moved south. Until 1869, Inuit were also hired and brought to Sandwich Bay from Nain to work for trading stations

in the Bay as the resident population was not yet large enough to sustain the trading posts (Anderson 1984: 37). In 1848 Bishop Feild noted that many of the occupants of Sandwich Bay were “pure Eskimaux, but the majority of Anglo-Eskimaux” (Rankin et al. 2011: 13). However, Rev. Hutchinson’s census dating between 1853 and 1867, which lists the heads of households along with the number of people residing in them, lists only three names of households that are not known to be European or Inuit-Metis. These are Peter Shelmuck whose residence in Main Tickle was home to five people, “Isaac the Indian” whose residence in Main Tickle was home to three people and “Edward the Indian” whose residence in Diver Island was home to five people (Buckle 1998: x). It is known that Peter Shelmuck was Inuit, but it is not known if the designation of the other two households as “Indian” means that they were Inuit or Innu. Similarly, O’Hara’s 1870 spring census (Table 3.2) indicates that only 13 of the Bay’s 253 residents were “Eskimaux”. Reichel’s 1872 map (Figure 1.4) only designates two households as “Eskimo” within the Bay, P. Shelmuck and [?] Henn, both recorded in Main Tickle; however, it appears Reichel only recorded houses within the Bay and the Inuit may have been residing on islands outside of the Bay during the winter. These censuses appear to indicate that the Inuit population in the Bay was decreasing during the second half of the nineteenth century. This may be because many Inuit had settled near the Moravian Mission stations in the north, or because many Inuit were marrying European or Inuit-Metis and were being absorbed into the rapidly growing Inuit-Metis population.

There are three possible nineteenth century Inuit sites recorded in Sandwich Bay, Huntingdon Island 1 (FkBf-01), Snack Cove Island East (FkBe-06) and Main Tickle Point 1 (FkBg-34), all of which represent warm season habitation. Huntingdon Island 1 is

located on the east side of Huntingdon Island and consists of tent rings, a hearth and a cache. A ceramic sherd associated with the tent rings dates the site to the nineteenth century. Snack Cove Island East is located on a small island in Snack Cove, Huntingdon Island. The site includes three rectangular tent rings that date to the eighteenth or nineteenth century based on tent ring typology. Main Tickle Point 1 is located on Main Tickle Point, approximately 10km northwest of Cartwright. The site consists of two historic tent rings. The site is situated in the same location where Peter Shelmuck lived during the second half of the nineteenth century, and may be affiliated with him. These sites show that the Inuit in Sandwich Bay were still living in traditional skin tents during the summer throughout the nineteenth century and therefore probably retained traditional aspects of their sod house architecture during this time.

While on a visit to Sandwich Bay during the 1850s, Lambert de Boilieu, a superintendent hired by an English firm to manage their Labrador business in the Bay of St. Lewis, described Inuit houses he encountered in Paradise River in his journal:

Near this locality I found several Esquimaux had located themselves. As their wigwams were somewhat different from those I had before seen, I may as well describe one: the entrance was by a low, narrow passage some twelve feet long and about three and a-half feet high, entirely formed of sods covered with snow. At the end of this passage was a square room of about fourteen feet, and lightened in the centre by a sort of skylight made from the entrails of the large seal. This was perfectly air-tight, and impervious to wet. The roof was formed in the same way as the passage, and round the skylight were flowers growing out of the whitened sods, like stars (Bredin 1969: 103).

The sod houses described by de Boilieu, indicate that at least some of the Inuit in Sandwich Bay were living in small dwellings that retained traditional construction styles during the nineteenth century. As these are the only Inuit dwellings in Sandwich Bay that Boilieu describes, it is not known if these are representative of the rest of the Bay. De Boilieu also points out that these houses differ from the houses he had observed south of Sandwich Bay. Although Boilieu does not give a good description of the Inuit houses in the south, it appears that these houses likely resembled the fourth category of nineteenth century Inuit sod houses described by Kaplan (1983: 244). The location of these houses is also of interest, as Paradise River is located deep within Sandwich Bay. This group of Inuit may have wanted access to good trapping areas so they could trade furs to Europeans or they may have wanted to be situated close to the Hunt and Company fish factory that was located on the river (Figure 1.4).

Inuit settlement patterns prior to the nineteenth century differ from Inuit-Metis settlement patterns in Sandwich Bay. Inuit-Metis cold season habitation sites are found in the sheltered inner areas of the Bay, while warm season habitation sites are generally located in outer areas of the Bay usually on islands or outer headlands. Both Inuit cold season and warm season sites appear to be located outside of the Bay, on islands or outer headlands. So it would appear that sod houses found within the Bay would probably be Inuit-Metis winter habitation sites while sod houses found outside of the Bay would either be Inuit-Metis warm season habitation sites or Inuit cold season habitation sites, as the Inuit would be living in skin tents during the summer. It is likely that both artifact and faunal assemblages would indicate seasonality and thus the ethnicity of the inhabitants of sites located outside the Bay could be inferred.

However, it is known that Inuit settlement patterns were changing during the nineteenth century in other regions of Labrador and it is likely that the Inuit in Sandwich Bay were also altering their settlement pattern. Reichel recorded two Inuit winter houses within the Bay in 1872 and de Boilieu recorded an Inuit winter settlement at Paradise River during the 1850s. Although these may be isolated occurrences, it appears that there was some alteration to Inuit settlement patterns. During the nineteenth century the Inuit in Sandwich Bay were likely participating in the cash economy and like elsewhere in Labrador probably had a new reliance on trapping. They likely located themselves in similar places in the Bay during the winter as the Inuit-Metis were in order to have optimal access to trapping areas. This may explain the lack of nineteenth century cold season Inuit occupation sites, as an extensive survey of the inner Bay has not been conducted. Unfortunately, there are no recorded nineteenth century Inuit sod house remains in Sandwich Bay. From de Boilieu's account it appears that the Inuit were building small dwellings that retained traditional architecture. It is likely that like elsewhere in Labrador, the Inuit in Sandwich Bay were slowly adopting aspects of European architecture.

Based on de Boilieu's account of Inuit houses in Sandwich Bay, House 5 at Tuglavina and the nineteenth century houses described by Kaplan, it appears that Inuit-Metis construction style was both similar to and different than nineteenth century Inuit houses. The Inuit-Metis structures recorded at FjBi-02 appear to have been dug into the ground, similar to the semi-subterranean Inuit sod houses. These houses, along with the Inuit-Metis house at FkBg-24 also appear to be a single open room, lacking partitions, similar to Inuit sod houses. FkBg-24 and the houses recorded at FjBi-02 as well as several

of the houses in Table 5.1 are distinctly rectangular. Although, Inuit houses are described as rectangular, their archaeological remains post-excavation often appear much more rounded or even oval in shape. Inuit-Metis houses appear to be lacking many of the features distinctive of Inuit houses such as an entrance tunnel and sleeping platforms. Inuit-Metis houses also appear to be primarily made of wood, then covered in sod. These houses also have wooden floors. Inuit houses traditionally had flag stone floors, although many nineteenth century Inuit houses appear to have wood flooring or even a sand or dirt floor. Further investigation through excavation into the Inuit in Sandwich Bay during the nineteenth century is needed for a better comparison of Inuit and Inuit-Metis architecture and settlement patterns.

### 6.3 Migratory Newfoundland Fishermen

This section examines the stationer fishermen from Newfoundland who migrated to Labrador each summer to participate in, but were not limited to, the cod fishery from the late-eighteenth century until the early-twentieth century. Although a great number of fishermen from America and France also migrated to Labrador for the fishery during this period, they primarily participated in the “floater” or “green” fishery and did not impact the archaeological record in the same way as the stationers from Newfoundland and therefore will not be discussed in this chapter. Section 6.3.1 examines two previously excavated sites attributed to migratory fishermen as well as possible Newfoundland stationer sites near Sandwich Bay. Section 6.3.2 compares Newfoundland stationers’ settlement patterns and house construction to Inuit-Metis sites.

### 6.3.1 Newfoundland Fishermen Archaeological Sites

As previously discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, migratory fishermen built rooms along the coast of Labrador and adopted aspects of well adapted Inuit sod house construction for their tilts. The fishermen's rooms varied depending on the size and type of crew operating them. The smallest stations contained at least a bunk and cookhouse, a stage for processing fish and a natural or made brawn for drying fish. Larger stations may have also included a separate bunkhouse for the skipper, a separate cookhouse, a salt store and an attached store selling fish and general supplies (Munro Lewis 1988: 70-71).

Little archaeological investigation has been carried out on nineteenth century migratory fishermen sites in Labrador. This section discusses two excavated sites, Degrat Island (EjAu-05) and Saddle Island (EkCb-01) (Figure 6.2), which have been attributed to the migratory fishery. This section also examines previously recorded sites in and around Sandwich Bay that have a possibility of being Newfoundland stationer sites (Table 6.2 and Figure 6.4).

**Table 6.2.** Possible Newfoundland fishermen archaeological sites. Information taken from Site Record Forms, on file at the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office.

|   |         |   |   |
|---|---------|---|---|
| <b>Handy Islands 2</b>  | FiBg-11 | -8-12 structures<br>-historic   | -suggested by Sandwich Bay residents  |
| <b>Norman Island 1</b>  | FiBg-07 | -rectangular structure<br>-historic   | -suggested by Sandwich Bay residents  |
| <b>Round Island 1</b>   | FkBd-09 | -11 sod houses<br>-15 wooden houses<br>-3 possible bawns<br>-late-18 <sup>th</sup> -late-19 <sup>th</sup> century | -A harbour at Round Island was shared by J. Wills of Dartmouth and 10 outfits from Newfoundland (Anderson 1998: 17).                      |
| <b>Sandy Islands 1</b><br>*approximately 100 km southeast of Sandwich Bay | FiAw-08 | -18 sod house foundations   | -Eliot Curwen (Rompkey 1996: 51-52) describes Newfoundland fisherman's tilt. Other residents appear to be Newfoundland fishermen as well. |



**Figure 6.4.** Archaeological sites in Sandwich Bay potentially related to the Newfoundland Fishery.

*Degrat Island (EjAu-05)*

Degrat Island is a small island located at the tip of Newfoundland's northern Peninsula. The site consists of two rectangular houses. House 2 was excavated in 1984 by Réginald Auger. It measures 7m x 5m. The south wall was formed by a bedrock outcrop. The other walls were formed by blocks of sod and stones piled together. The floor was constructed by fitting flat stones tightly together to cover the interior of the house. The door way was not identified during excavation. Based on ceramic and pipe analysis, the house dates to the late-eighteenth -early-nineteenth century. The house was built over top of a previous seventeenth century French occupation. The artifact assemblage is less diverse than assemblages collected from contemporaneous Inuit sites, pointing towards a specialized settlement (Auger 1993). Auger (1993: 33) argues that the house at Degrat Island was occupied by Europeans and probably functioned as a *pied-à-terre* for the fishermen who were left in the Strait of Belle Isle by fish merchants to lay claim to the harbour and care for the premise.

*Saddle Island (EkCb-01)*

Saddle Island is located in Red Bay, Labrador. The site is most often associated with the sixteenth century Basque whaling industry; however, the site contains many components dating to different time periods, which are associated with people of different ethnicities. Area G of Saddle Island (EkCb-01) was excavated in 1982 and 1983 by James Tuck. During excavation a rectangular stone foundation was recovered, as well as several thousand associated artifacts. Post molds associated with the walls of the structure contained well preserved remains of sawn posts, with remnants of possible red paint

(Tuck 1984: 73). The only extensive investigation of this structure has been the ceramic analysis carried out by Burke (1991) and unfortunately little attention was given to the architecture of the structure. Based on the ceramic analysis, the structure was occupied sometime between 1830-1890. The occupation took place over several years but was seasonal in nature. Red Bay was established as a permanent residence by migratory Newfoundland fishermen from Conception Bay during the mid-nineteenth century (Burke 1991). It is not known if the occupation of Area G was by migratory Newfoundland fishermen or a "liveyere" family. Burke (1991) suggests that both may have occupied the area at different times.

#### *Possible Newfoundland Stationer Sites near Sandwich Bay*

Currently, there are no excavated or confidently identified archaeological sites in Sandwich Bay that represent migratory fishermen from Newfoundland. However, two possible sites representing the Newfoundland fishery have been identified by Sandwich Bay residents: Handy Island 2 (FIBg-11) and Norman Island 1 (FIBg-07). Handy Island 2 consists of eight to twelve historic structures. Norman Island 1 consists of two historic structures and 2 circular pits. The first structure is a sod house attributed to the Inuit. The second structure is rectangular, measuring 3.5m x 8m. These sites are attributed to Newfoundland fishermen by Sandwich Bay residents because there is no recollection of local people or ancestors of local people using the premise. Further investigation of these sites is needed to determine whether the local Newfoundland fishermen affiliation is warranted.

A third site in Sandwich Bay may also potentially represent the migratory fishery. Currently, only three harbours along the Labrador coast are known to have been shared by English merchants and Newfoundland fishermen (Anderson 1988: 17). The harbour at Round Island is one of these harbours. Round Island is a small island approximately 27km east of Cartwright. The harbour at Round Island was shared by J. Wills, a merchant from Dartmouth, and ten outfits from Newfoundland during the mid-nineteenth century (Anderson 1988: 17). Round Island 1 (FkBd-09), recorded in 1992, is situated on the south side of Round Island. Eleven sod structures, fifteen wooden structures and 3 possible bawns were identified. The site may date as early as the late-eighteenth century and may have been used until the early-twentieth century. Round Island was also identified during interviews as an area used by residents' ancestors. Although Round Island 1 may be a good representation of Newfoundland stationers in Labrador, the concurrent affiliation of Round Island with an English merchant and Inuit-Metis ancestors may complicate the interpretation of the site.

Although not in Sandwich Bay, Sandy Islands may also prove to be an example of a Newfoundland stationer site. Sandy Islands is approximately 90km southeast of Cartwright. This site was recorded in 1826 as an area used only by Newfoundland fishermen (Anderson 1988: 18). In 1893, Eliot Curwen described the tilt of a Newfoundland fisherman on Inner Sand Island:

Newfoundland fishermen's tilts are log and plank structures banked up with earth outside, with birch bark and turf roof and often with an empty flour barrel for chimney. They consist of one room, one end which is partitioned off and serves as bedroom for skipper and larder; the rest of the crew sleep in a bunkhouse. When the house is left in the fall the windows are taken home to

Newfoundland and the door left open to allow warm air to enter in spring and melt snow that has come through roof (Rompkey 1996: 52).

Figure 6.5 shows a Newfoundland fisherman, Joseph Goss, and his wife in front of their fishing tilt at Inner Sandy Island. Figure 6.6 displays the interior of Goss's tilt "Showing open fire, open chimney, rough boarding of interior which will let in light and wind" (Rompkey 1996: 53). Sandy Islands I (FiAw-08) was recorded in 1992 by Marianne Stopp. The site consists of eighteen sod houses. This site may prove to be a better representation of the Newfoundland fishery in Labrador.



**Figure 6.5.** Newfoundland fishermen, Joseph Goss, and wife in front of their Labrador fishing tilt on Inner Sandy Island. Photo taken by Eliot Curwen, 1893. Courtesy of the Rooms Archives.



**Figure 6.6.** Interior of Goss's tilt on Inner Sandy Island. Photo taken by Eliot Curwen in 1893. Courtesy of Rooms Archives.

### 6.2.3 Migratory Fishermen Settlement Patterns and Architecture

Stationer settlements are located on outer regions and islands along the coast of Labrador, similar to the warm season occupation sites of the Inuit-Metis. Good access to fishing berths would have been one of the most important factors when choosing an area to settle. Settlements appear to vary in size. Although a few examples of stationer sites appear to have only one or two structures associated with them, most recorded sites appear to be much larger. Many of the Newfoundland stationer settlements recorded in

Eliot Curwen's 1893 journal were also large settlements. Eliot Curwen describes a migratory fishing settlement at Batteau, Labrador in 1893 (Figure 6.7):

There are some 40 families from N.F. and only one of liv'eres ... The houses or huts were very poor; the small ones consisted of one room with bunks in cupboards or partitioned off; the larger as a rule contained two families; some had the ordinary N.F. stove, but others open hearths on which wood was burnt, the smoke passing up through a barrel in the roof; a usual rent is \$4 for the four months, but many fishermen have built their own houses (Rompkey 1996: 50).

Large settlement sizes reflect the communal nature of the fishery. Newfoundland fishermen may have also preferred to reside in larger settlements during the summer because it could increase their access to goods. These settlements appear to be larger than most Inuit-Metis warm season settlements.

Construction styles of Newfoundland fishermen tilts can be examined through the excavations at Degrat Island and Saddle Island, as well, descriptions of tilts in nineteenth century journals, in particular Eliot Curwen's. Newfoundland fishermen adopted Inuit sod house construction; however, they still retained traditional European architecture. Based



**Figure 6.7.** Batteau, Labrador. Photo taken by Eliot Curwen in 1893.

on Curwen's descriptions (Rompkey 1996) and observations made by Bulter in 1878 (Stopp 2008: 66), fishermen's tilts were similar to Inuit-Metis houses. They were made of wood and had birch bark roofs and most contained some type of chimney. Sods were piled on the sides and roof for insulation. These structures did not include characteristic Inuit entrance tunnels. They also did not include sleeping platforms. Descriptions of fishermen tilts in Curwen's journal indicate that sleeping shelves or bunks were common:

"he slept in a bunkhouse with 4 others; the house was a log hut covered with earth sods and the bunks so narrow that for two to sleep in each the head of one man had to be next the feet of his mate; each bunk was 36 in. wide." (Rompkey 1996: 76) (Figure 6.8).

“Annotation: Earth floor roughly planked in parts, but with bare rocks showing through; walls of logs roughly planked inside and banked up with earth outside; roof of log rafters and birch rhines covered with sods: there was no window, but door was much too small for door frame. There are three shelves or bunks, each 3 ft wide, and on each two men sleep” (The Rooms Provincial Archives Division).



**Figure 6.8.** Interior of Newfoundland fishermen's tilt showing bunks or "sleeping shelves". Photo taken by Eliot Curwen in 1893.

Curwen describes fishermen's tilts as having wood floors (Rompkey 1996). The excavations at Degrat Island and Saddle Island revealed stone floors. These houses date earlier than the ones described in Curwen's journal and may indicate a change in

construction over time. This difference in floor materials may also be the result of available construction materials, nearby saw mills or the preference of the constructor.

Both excavations at Degrat Island and Saddle Island revealed rectangular shaped structures, similar to Inuit-Metis structures. Tilts varied in size depending on the size as well as the makeup of the crew. If a crew consisted of a nuclear family, it is more likely that the tilt would only have a single room and would be smaller. Larger crews composed of unrelated men may include a separate room or partitioned area for the skipper. Larger rooms would have been made up of multiple buildings with different purposes. Newfoundland fishermen sites would also include either a man-made or natural bawn.

The construction of Inuit-Metis houses share similarities with Newfoundland fishermen tilts, but also slightly differ from them. They both are rectangular in shape and are primarily made of wood and then covered with sods for insulation. Unlike Inuit-Metis houses, Fishermen's tilts are likely to contain room divisions or even separate structures for different uses.

#### 6.4 Discussion

The nineteenth century was a time of intense interactions between the Inuit, Inuit-Metis and European fishermen. The cultural landscape was diverse, but these cultures were participating in the same economy and therefore were in constant contact with one another. Within Sandwich Bay the Inuit and migratory fishermen were settling in outer regions of the Bay, where the Inuit-Metis would spend the summer (Table 6.3). During the winter the Inuit-Metis would move back into sheltered areas of the Bay. These cultures were intermingling and intermarrying and were influencing one another. There

was an intense mutual appropriation of material culture that has resulted in similar archaeological assemblages (Table 6.3); however, each group seemed to have remained ethnically distinct and this is represented in the archaeological record.

The Newfoundland fishermen who came to the coast of Labrador adopted an Inuit style of sod house construction, as it was well suited for the Labrador environment. However, they adapted the sod house to meet their cultural ideologies of what constitutes a house and household. Fishermen's tilts generally retained a traditional European rectangular shape. These houses often contained separate rooms or room divisions denoting the importance placed on the distinction between personal and communal space in European cultures (Hall 1966). Fishermen's tilts also do not contain an entrance tunnel and are built at the surface, not dug into the ground like Inuit winter houses and some Inuit-Metis houses. This may be because they were usually residing in Labrador during the summer and did not need the insulation of a semi-subterranean dwelling or the benefits of the cold trap and entrance tunnel. However, it has also been noted that some Europeans did not approve of the entrance tunnel and the semi-subterranean dwelling because they found it to be unsanitary (Kaplan 1983). Although similar to Inuit sod houses, the archaeological remains of fishermen's tilts reflect a European construction style.

Over time the Inuit began to adopt European construction styles, which further complicates the archaeological record. In many cases, typical architectural indications of an Inuit house are no longer present. However, changes in Inuit architecture did not occur simultaneously throughout Labrador. Furthermore, the same changes in architecture did not occur in every site. The Inuit archaeological record for the nineteenth century shows

the greatest amount of diversity in construction styles and lifeways. Changes in architecture probably occurred for different reasons in different regions. In some cases, like the Inuit living at Moravian Missions stations this adoption is the result of direct European influence and the embracing of European ideologies. In other cases the incorporation of European construction styles may have occurred because they were better suited to house larger European materials, similar to what was observed in House 5 at Tuglavina. Similarly, Beaudoin (2008: 132) points out that an entrance tunnel with a cold trap would lose much of its effectiveness in a house that was heated by a wood stove and was built on the surface. This may explain why some nineteenth century Inuit houses do not have entrance tunnels. Other architectural changes may have occurred because the Inuit had increased access to European building materials during this time. Although the Inuit were adopting European architecture, this adoption does not necessarily indicate assimilation. Despite changes in the construction of the house, the interior space may have been used in a traditional Inuit fashion.

During the 1960s the Canadian government forced the Inuit in the Arctic to move into settled communities, with houses that were designed according to Euro-North American traditions. The houses were not designed with traditional Inuit values and lifestyle in mind (Dawson 2006). Through an ethnographic study of spatial organization, Peter Dawson (2006) found that the Inuit still used these houses as traditional dwellings. Despite being designed with another culture's concept of home making and family life, the Inuit continued "to use space in accordance with requirements of traditional activities, and collective nature of their domestic lives" (Dawson 2006: 116). For example, the Inuit would butcher seals in their living rooms although this goes against European notions of

space use and house design (Dawson 2006). The Inuit in Labrador may have been adapting European construction styles in a similar way. Despite using European materials and adopting European construction styles, the Inuit in Labrador may have continued traditional cultural practices, which may be indicated in their use of space and this could be identifiable through artifact distribution and spatial analysis.

The Inuit-Metis's architecture contains aspects of both Inuit and European construction styles; however, Inuit-Metis houses appear to have a closer resemblance to European design. Inuit-Metis houses appear to be rectangular dwellings with the walls, floor and roof made of wood, then covered in sods for insulation. Roofs may also be covered with birch bark. Some houses show evidence of being semi-subterranean. The houses contain a single room that may include a storage cellar and a stove platform. It appears that Inuit-Metis houses do not have entrance tunnels or sleeping platforms. There is also evidence that Inuit-Metis houses include sawpit and garden features. Beaudoin (2008: 149-150) suggests that the European-style house design observed at FkBg-24 is likely because the house was constructed by a European man. The artifact distribution and spatial analysis of the interior of the FkBg-24 structure display a resemblance to traditional Inuit domestic practices. Beaudoin suggests that the interior of the house could be considered a woman's workspace and was organized according to Inuit women's domestic traditions (Beaudoin 2008: 149-150). However, as FkBg-24 is the only excavated Inuit-Metis house, it is not known if it is fully representative of the Inuit-Metis. The excavation of FkBg-24 and the other Inuit-Metis sites examined indicate that Inuit-Metis sites have similarities, and that they differ considerably from Inuit and migratory

fishermen sites. This supports Beaudoin's findings that the Inuit-Metis warrant their own archaeological definition.



## Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis uses an ethnohistoric approach to demonstrate that the ancestors of the present day Inuit-Metis living in Sandwich Bay during the nineteenth and early twentieth century participated in a shared community with its own unique history. This community saw themselves and were seen by outsiders as distinct and therefore shared a separate ethnicity, which appears to be identifiable in the archaeological record. By collecting and contextualizing Inuit-Metis oral histories from Sandwich Bay and examining and comparing Inuit-Metis, Inuit and migratory fishermen sites within the Bay I have attempted to answer the following research questions.

- *Are all Inuit-Metis sites located in similar settings and do they include similar features?*

From the examination of three newly observed sites, FjBi-02, FjBi-01, FkBf-06, and the previously recorded sites in Table 5 that have a possibility of being Inuit-Metis sites, it appears that Inuit-Metis sites are located in similar settings, which reflect the seasonal settlement patterns that were indicated to me during the interviews. Many sites including FjBi-02, FjBi-01 and FkBf-06 are located in inner sheltered areas of the Bay, which according to the interviews would have been cold season locations. These sites provide good access to wood and traplines and appear to contain a saw pit. Many of the sites listed in Table 5 are located on outer headlands and islands outside of the Bay. These sites most likely represent warm season fishing locations. These sites have good access to fishing berths. The sites appear to contain similar rectangular shaped dwellings that were

constructed out of wood and then covered with sods. It appears that these dwellings contained a single open room. Oral histories suggest that winter dwellings would also have a garden located near the house. Further investigation into Inuit-Metis sites is needed to see if these gardens are represented in the archaeological record.

- *How do these sites compare to the Excavation of FkBg-24?*

FkBg-24 is located in North River, an area indicated as a winter settlement during interviews. The location of FkBg-24 is consistent with the settlement pattern described during interviews and observed during the examination of other Inuit-Metis sites. The excavation of FkBg-24 revealed a rectangular structure made primarily of wood, which was then covered in sods for insulation. The architecture is consistent with the observations made at other Inuit-Metis sites. FkBg-24 also contained a sawpit, a feature also found at FjBi-02.

- *How do Inuit-Metis sites differ from previously excavated contemporaneous Inuit and migratory European fishing settlements in the region?*

Inuit-Metis sites share similarities with both Inuit and migratory fishermen sites, but also differ in some respects. Similar to Inuit sod dwellings, Inuit-Metis dwellings appear to contain a single open room. Some Inuit-Metis dwellings, including those recorded at FjBi-02, also appear to be semi-subterranean, similar to Inuit houses. Inuit dwellings usually contain flagstone flooring and the remains of these dwellings are usually rounder in shape, whereas Inuit-Metis dwellings appear have wood flooring and

the remains are distinctly rectangular. However, during the nineteenth century the Inuit throughout Labrador were slowly adopting European architectural styles. Little is known about the Inuit in Sandwich Bay during the nineteenth century but there is evidence that during the mid-nineteenth century they were still living in traditional style sod dwellings. However, it is likely that over time they were adopting aspects European architecture.

It appears that the Inuit in Sandwich Bay traditionally settled on outer islands and headlands of the Bay for both warm season and cold season settlements. As the Inuit lived in skin tents during the warm season, it appears that only warm season Inuit-Metis dwellings and cold season Inuit dwellings would be found on islands outside of the Bay. It also appears that the Inuit did not traditionally settle within the Bay, however, documentary evidence suggests that the Inuit in Sandwich Bay may have been shifting their settlement patterns during the mid-nineteenth century, as they were elsewhere in Labrador and were residing within the Bay. This complicates the once clear distinction between Inuit and Inuit-Metis settlement patterns.

Inuit-Metis architecture resembles migratory fishermen architecture more closely than Inuit architecture. Both Inuit-Metis dwellings and fishermen's tilts are constructed out of wood and then covered in sods for insulations. They both contain a distinct rectangular shape, typical of European house architecture. Both would have also contained chimneys. However, it appears that many fishermen's tilts may have had more than one room or some kind of room division. It also appears that tilts were not semi-subterranean. Migratory fishermen were usually only present in Labrador during the summer. They settled near fishing berths on outer headlands and islands, similar to Inuit-Metis warm season settlements.

- *Do the Inuit-Metis reflect the merging of two cultures into a hybrid culture?*

At first the ancestors of the Inuit-Metis may appear to be a hybrid culture, as they display aspects of both Inuit and European culture in their archaeological assemblage. However, the notion of a hybrid culture may oversimplify how the Inuit-Metis maintained aspects of European and Inuit traditions but were also able to modify them into something entirely new. The ancestors of the Inuit-Metis were constantly negotiating between European and Inuit traditions in order to adapt their culture and ethnicity in a way that would best suit their needs. It appears that Inuit-Metis culture was in fact much more complex than the term *hybrid* suggests.

The Inuit-Metis have continued to adapt their ethnicity by negotiating between European and Inuit. During the first three quarters of the twentieth century, the Inuit-Metis referred to themselves as *Settlers*, presenting their European heritage to others. This would have been advantageous at the time considering migratory Newfoundland fishermen and other outsiders stigmatized Aboriginal people and people of mixed ancestry in Labrador (Kennedy 1997: 13).

The term *Metis* was first applied to people of mixed ancestry in Labrador in the 1970s, a time when the American Indian Movement and other organizations were advocating for Aboriginal rights and cultural renewal as well as and drawing attention to Aboriginal Issues. The 1982 amendments to the Canadian Constitution included recognizing and affirming the existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of Canada's Aboriginal people in Section 35(1) and defining Aboriginal people as Inuit, Indian and Metis in Section 35(2) (Department of Justice Canada 2011). The term Metis was not

defined in the Constitution creating an opportunity for communities of people of mixed ancestry to gain the advantages of having their rights protected by the Constitution. In 1985 the Labrador Metis Association was established to lobby for the cultural and political interests of the Inuit-Metis. Since then the Inuit-Metis have experienced a cultural awakening, and no longer feel ashamed of their mixed heritage. What has been described as the recent ethnogenesis of the Inuit-Metis is simply a community once again renegotiating their ethnicity in order to adapt to a changing world. In Sandwich Bay, the Inuit-Metis's current identity is very much rooted in their past, which has inspired their traditions and influenced how they understand their present community. Their shared past is represented and reinforced by their local placenames and oral histories.

The information gained during interviews undoubtedly lead my archaeological investigation of Sandwich Bay. The local placenames, which emulate local history, gave important clues as to the locations of archaeological sites. The oral histories not only indicated Inuit-Metis settlements, but also the locations of places that played a significant role in Sandwich Bay history. They provided context to the archaeological sites that could not be gained through excavation. The Hunt and Henley trading post on Dumpling Island and the Labrador Public School in Muddy Bay are places that may have been archaeologically overlooked had it not been for the importance stressed upon them during interviews. Unlike the Inuit-Metis dwelling sites that represent a single family unit, these sites represent the community at large. Further investigation into these sites can lead to a better understanding of how the community operated and how people interacted with one

another. The archaeological sites reviewed in this thesis suggest that the Inuit-Metis of Sandwich Bay have a separate identity, which is founded on their unique history.

Preliminary investigations of a variety of Inuit-Metis sites indicate similarities to FkBg-24. However, as none of these sites have been excavated only large generalizations about their visible features can be made. It is not known whether features uncovered during the excavation of FkBg-24 such as a storage pit and stove platform are features that are typical of Inuit-Metis sites. Beaudoin (2008) also suggests that the artifact distribution and the special analysis of the site played an important role in identifying the occupants' Inuit heritage. Full excavations of more Inuit-Metis houses are needed to see if the structural features of FkBg-24 and the artifact distribution are representative of Inuit-Metis sites in Sandwich Bay or are simply an anomaly, representing the choices of the individuals who resided there. It is also important to excavate an Inuit-Metis house that was occupied during the fishing season to see if the architecture does in fact differ from winter houses, as was suggested during the interviews. It would also be important to see if and how artifact assemblages differ based on seasonality.

Furthermore, more archaeological research is needed on both Inuit and migratory fishermen sites for better comparison data. Inuit society during the nineteenth century appears to be less cohesive than it was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result typical nineteenth century Inuit sites do not exist. There is considerable variability among nineteenth century Inuit sites, and there is very little known about how the Inuit were living in Sandwich Bay at that time. Similarly, migratory fishermen in Labrador have not been the major focus of many historical and archaeological research

projects. Migratory fishermen were present in Sandwich Bay up until the mid-twentieth century but very little is known about where exactly they were located. Further investigation is needed into nineteenth century Inuit and migratory fishermen sites in Sandwich Bay to see how their ethnicities transcend to the archaeological record. The nineteenth century was a time of intense interaction between the Inuit, Inuit-Metis and migratory fishermen in Sandwich Bay and more attention should be given to these interactions so that we can better understand how these groups were influencing each other's ethnicities and the resulting material culture. The interactions between these groups caused changes in social organization, economics and lifeways. The Inuit, Inuit-Metis and Europeans were altering their ethnicities to adapt to these changes.

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### Appendix A: List of Chart Names and Their Local Place Names

| Chart Name         | Local Name                          | Notes   |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Trunmore Bay       | Tramore                             |   |
| Munden Island      | Norman's Island                     | This is the Norman's Island referenced in this thesis.  |
| Norman Island      | Pig Island (Tramore)                | There are two Pig Islands. To distinguish between the two, this island is sometimes referred to Pig Island Tramore because it is located near Tramore Bay.  |
| Tinker Island      | Pig island                          |   |
| Farrell Island     | Greenly's Island or Greely's Island | The name of the island may be Greenly's but people pronounce it "Greely's".   |
| Northwest Point    | Old Man's Cove Point                |   |
| Old Man Head       | Indian Head                         | This area was given this name because the landscape looks like the profile of a man's face when laying down.  |
| Shermoks Point     | Shelmuck's Point                    | Shelmuck is the name of an Inuit family that lived in Sandwich Bay in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century. Some current residents trace their ancestors to the Shelmuck family. This point is thought to be one of the places the family summered. |
| North River Point  | Sandy Point                         |   |
| Barron River       | Sou'west Feeder                     |   |
| Herder River       | North Feeder                        |   |
| *no name on chart  | Rum Island or Rum Jar Island        | A long time ago a couple of men stole a small keg of rum from the HBC and hid it on the island. They would row out to the island at night for drinks.   |
| North Head         | Long Point                          |   |
| Huntingdon Harbour | Ranger Cove                         |   |

|                            |                                  |  |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| <b>Curlew Hill</b>         | <b>Flag Staff Hill</b>           | Cartwright originally named the hill Curlew Hill, but local people have called the hill Flag Staff Hill since the 19 <sup>th</sup> century. This is the Hill that flags are hung at for the community of Cartwright. |
| <b>Favourite Tickle</b>    | <b>Cartwright Run</b>            |  |
| <b>Outer Island</b>        | <b>Goodenough's Island</b>       | Goodenough is a family name from the 19 <sup>th</sup> century.   |
| <b>Green Island</b>        | <b>Godfrey's Island</b>          | It is thought that Godfrey is the name of one of Cartwright's men and Cartwright named the island after him.   |
| <b>Leading Mark Island</b> | <b>Green Island</b>              | This is the Green Island that local people use for directions on how to avoid the shoals.  |
| <b>Entrance Island</b>     | <b>Entry Island</b>              |  |
| <b>Muddy Cove</b>          | <b>Shoal Cove</b>                |  |
| <b>Sandwich Tickle</b>     | <b>Main Tickle</b>               |  |
| <b>South Stag Island</b>   | <b>Emmets</b>                    |  |
| <b>Table Hill Cove</b>     | <b>Main Tickle Bight</b>         |  |
| <b>Deep Water Point</b>    | <b>Follows Point</b>             |  |
| <b>Burn Point</b>          | <b>American Point</b>            | Interviewee has found writings from the 1800s where the name "American Point" is used.   |
| <b>Paradise Point</b>      | <b>Pardy's Head</b>              | George Pardy, the first Pardy to settle in Sandwich Bay, settled here with his Inuit wife in the early 1800s.  |
| <b>Barron Lake</b>         | <b>White Bear River Big Pond</b> | Some people call it just Big Pond, some local people do call it Barron Lake  |
| <b>Dykes River</b>         | <b>Muddy Bay Brook</b>           | Dykes River may have been named by Cartwright-one of Cartwright's men named dyke- dyke's river used in journal. but local people have always called it Muddy Bay Brook.  |

|                       |                              |   |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Duck Point            | Rocky Point                  |   |
| Partridge Island      | Thunder and Lightning Island |   |
| Pickens Island        | Pickles Island               |   |
| Newfoundland Island   | Prisoner's Island            | Actual Prisoner kept on island in the summer of 1817. |
| Pigeon Island         | Long Island                  |   |
| Hardy Harbour Islands | Handy Islands                |   |
| East Arm              | Southeast                    |   |





