

**Understanding Inuit-European Contact along the Labrador Coast: A Case for Continuity**

By

© Amelia Fay

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation examines the effects of an increasing European presence on Labrador Inuit society from the late sixteenth- through early nineteenth centuries. Previous research on this topic has tended to focus on site-specific analyses and often divided the coast into North and South, creating a dichotomy that ignored Inuit mobility and emphasized the arrival and placement of Europeans along the coast. I explore this topic diachronically, highlighting the Inuit response to their changing social landscape by investigating its effects on constructions of gender, status, and prestige within Inuit society.

Archaeological data collected from Black Island, Labrador were selected as the focal point for this research as the occupants of this dwelling were noted in a 1776 Moravian census and included Mikak, a Person of National Historical Significance. The data from this site was compared with extant collections from eight other sites (10 houses and 3 middens) spanning over 200 years from various locations along the Labrador coast. Using quantitative and qualitative analyses I compare artifact categories representing both European-made and traditional Inuit materials to explore any significant changes over time or regional differences. Quantitatively these assemblages differ, but not in a uniform pattern, suggesting that access to these items was not limited to a particular region along the coast nor did it differ greatly from the earliest encounters to the established period of intensive contact. The same cannot be said for the qualitative analysis as some sites presented unique and prestigious artifacts in their assemblages.

The results of this study show that for roughly 250 years Inuit sites spanning the coast had more in common than previously assumed; perceived changes in their settlement, subsistence, and material culture strategies were not simply reactionary. Instead these changes were part of gradually evolving relationships within their physical, social, and material worlds. I suggest that exploring the nature of Inuit-European contact through a long-term perspective situates these changes and removes the peaks from previous work that highlighted change over continuity and emphasized difference over similarity.

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## CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

Much of the archaeological research on the contact period in Labrador has focussed on either site-specific analyses, or site comparisons with tight temporal confines. These studies have provided a rich dataset for a specific place and time but lack a broader, more contextualized understanding of Inuit-European contact. Due to these parameters, the eighteenth century has often been considered a period of great change along the Labrador coast for both Indigenous populations and European newcomers. This assumption is understandable; while various European groups had visited the coast since the sixteenth century to exploit the rich natural resources, it was during the eighteenth century that they began to settle permanently. Although it appears that these changes emerge in the eighteenth century with this permanent settlement of European groups, much of what marks this century are part of long-term developments. In order to gain a better understanding of what took place and, more importantly, *why* things unfolded as such during this pivotal period in Labrador history we must take a different approach.

The goal of this dissertation is to explore these issues from a multiscalar perspective where change and continuity are examined as a dynamic process over both time and space. Instead of focusing on one particular time period this study analyzes archaeological site assemblages ranging from the late sixteenth century through the early nineteenth century. The selected assemblages also represent three geographic regions of Labrador coastline. By focussing on long-term history of Inuit occupying the coast, the social and economic complexities of the eighteenth century emerge in a much more

contextualized manner and contribute to a better understanding of Inuit-European relations. My research questions centre around this relationship: What were the effects of a European presence in Labrador? Did these effects change over time? What was the Inuit response to an increasing European presence?

In order to address these questions I have used archaeological data collected from Black Island, Labrador and compared it with extant collections from various time periods along the coast. Black Island was selected as the focal point for this research based on information from a 1776 Moravian census that lists Mikak as a resident. Mikak was recently (2012) designated a Person of National Historical Significance by the Canadian government based on her influence in the granting of British land to the Moravian missionaries and her involvement within the Inuit-European coastal trade network. Knowledge of who this woman was, and her role within Inuit society, made this site the ideal location to explore my research questions but also created additional questions. Did an increasing European presence affect women and men differently? Did certain members of Inuit society emerge as important liaisons between European and Inuit society as the documentary record suggests, and if so, can we identify this distinction or status/prestige among the Labrador Inuit within the archaeological record?

Labrador remains a relatively under-researched area when compared to other regions of North America, in part due to its remote location but perhaps more likely due to the lack of an archaeology program in the vicinity, as the program at Memorial University of Newfoundland was not established until the late 1960s. Archaeological research in Labrador intensified in the 1970s with the Smithsonian-lead Torngat

Archaeological Project (TAP), which consisted of large-scale coastal surveys that set out to record sites and relied on test-pitting to investigate the culture history of the region. Some of the seminal works about Labrador archaeology emerged from this research program and many of those involved continued their work in the region (Fitzhugh 1980, 1989; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Jordan 1974, 1978; Kaplan 1983). By the 1990s archaeological research on the Labrador Inuit had tapered off, with only a few conducting research projects along the coast (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Loring 1998; Woollett 1999). Until this point, the goal of most research in Labrador was to determine the culture history of the region: which cultural groups occupied which regions, for how long, and their settlement and resource strategies. These research projects paved the way for an abundance of research that emerged during the 2000s, much of it through Memorial University, that began more detailed site-specific research and inter-site comparisons (Brewster 2005; Higdon 2008; Jurakic 2008; Murphy 2011a; Rankin et al. 2012; Rankin 2014a; Swinarton 2008; Whitridge 2006, 2008, 2012).

While research in Labrador is currently experiencing another florescence, and many researchers are investigating the contact period (Arendt 2011; Rankin 2013a; Swinarton 2012, 2015; Whitridge 2008, 2012), a comprehensive analysis that explores this period from a long-term historical perspective and at various locations along the coast has not been undertaken. My research synthesized previous and ongoing research into this framework to provide a better understanding of the contact period from a broad, as well as site-specific, perspective. In so doing, my work not only complements the

projects that are currently underway in the region but also brings attention to the importance of a multiscale theoretical paradigm.

Although there is potential for earlier encounters between the Labrador Inuit and European explorers, this dissertation begins with the sixteenth century when Basque and French whalers and fishermen began frequenting the southern coast. Inuit interactions with European groups became increasingly more common as time went on. By the end of the eighteenth century the Labrador coast had been visited by Basques, French, British, Americans, and German Moravian missionaries. These interactions and relationships changed as contact went from brief and sporadic encounters to a year-round presence with colonial and christianising goals. Understanding the Inuit response to this changing social and economic landscape requires an in-depth investigation into how they lived, and how aspects of daily life changed or remained the same. Studying Inuit dwellings, and the remaining material culture, from a variety of regions and time periods can provide insights to this dynamic period of history that may be missing from earlier site-specific analyses. The multiscale theoretical approach allows for a consideration of these changing relationships and motivations instead of compartmentalizing the contact experience into regional or time-specific blocks.



Figure 1.1: Map showing study area (Labrador). Star indicates main excavation site (Black Island).

## **Thesis Organization**

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework that guides this research. My approach uses a multiscale perspective to find a balance between the generalizations and complexities of Inuit-European contact. In striking that balance it situates the details of local experience (short-term events) within a broader social context (long-term historical processes). Recently, multiscale approaches have been successfully applied by Ferris (2009) on his work on the south-western Ontario Ojibwa and Oliver's (2010) research into the social history of the Fraser Valley in British Columbia. Inspired by their work I combine theories that tackle the medium and short-term events of the Labrador coast within a framework that also addresses aspects of long-term processes, like historical

contingency and the physical environment. It is through this combination of approaches that I believe the Inuit-European contact experience can be explored to its fullest potential.

In keeping with the long-term approach, in Chapter 3 I outline the historical background for the region, beginning with the pre-contact Inuit migration into Labrador in the fifteenth century and culminating with the turn of the nineteenth century. The intent of this brief historical overview is to provide the reader with an understanding of the changes and continuities working in tandem as historical process. Much of what is presented here is further elaborated in my discussion (Chapter 8) as I combine the archaeological and ethnohistoric data to situate short-term events within the long-term context.

Chapter 4 takes a detailed look at one of the most influential Inuit women from the historical record, Mikak, and examines how her life history fits within the historical trajectory of the Labrador Inuit. Much of this information is synthesized from the work of J. Garth Taylor (1983, 1984) and Marianne Stopp (2009), who analyzed many of the primary documents to piece together her life story from the European perspective. In addition to Mikak's biography I also provide details of another influential individual in the coastal trade network, her husband Tuglavina.

In Chapter 5 I present the archaeological data from excavations on Black Island (HeCi-15), one of Mikak's known places of residence. My complete excavation of House 2 from this site provides rich detail into the lives of the occupants. The abundance

of trade goods within the dwelling indicates the family wholly embraced European goods and suggests direct involvement within the coastal trade network. Furthermore, my full excavation is indicative of a shift in methods within Labrador Inuit research that urges the complete excavation of dwellings rather than a reliance on testing, as much more can be gained from the whole-house context and architecture. In addition, household comparison between sites has also proved useful when the entire dwelling has been excavated, as will be apparent in Chapters 6 and 7.

In Chapter 6 I provide the background information for my comparison sites, explain why I selected them, and describe the information they provide in comparison to Black Island. I targeted sites from numerous locations along the coast with extant collections dating from the late sixteenth-nineteenth centuries. As previously mentioned, the relative lack of fully-excavated houses made locating comparative sites and samples a challenge. Comparing an entire dwelling assemblage to a test trench is complicated. With that in mind, I make it clear when the comparisons are household-to-household versus household-to-test pit/trench and I use relative frequencies when analysing the data rather than numerical counts.

In Chapter 7 I compare the data from nine sites, including Black Island, by creating artifact categories that represent both European-made and traditional materials. This comparison includes both quantitative and qualitative analyses to explore any significant changes or regional differences diachronically. Then Chapter 8 situates the comparative analyses within the broader theoretical and historical framework and offers

suggestions for future directions in Labrador Inuit research. While this dissertation fills in some of the gaps in our knowledge, much more needs to be done.

## CHAPTER 2 : THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### Introduction

The goal of my research is to focus on situating local contact experiences, like Mikak's, within a long-term analysis of cultural change and continuity among the Inuit before, during, and after contact. The archaeology of contact situations has long been an area of interest within the discipline, yet it was only during the 1980s that it became, and continues to be, the focus of a broad range of theoretical applications. Prior to this, the field was dominated by theories of acculturation guided by nineteenth century thought which saw Europeans as superior and cultural progression as strictly linear (Herskovits 1937; Redfield et al. 1936). During the 1980s and 1990s, the focus shifted to acknowledge and include Native responses to contact situations. Much of this theoretical shift was motivated by social and political forces which illuminated the fact that the current understanding of contact situations was inadequate. Silliman (2005:56) identifies two of these influential forces in North America: the approach of the 1992 Columbian quincentennial, the 500-year anniversary of Columbus's 1492 voyage; and the passing of the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act by the U.S. Congress. In addition, Bruce Trigger's (1980, 1984, 1989) observations on the colonial nature of archaeology motivated a shift towards decolonizing the discipline and eventually to the creation of the emerging field of Indigenous Archaeology (Atalay 2006; Bruchac et al. 2010; Nicholas 2010). While these events and ideas prompted enhanced theoretical research on contact situations, other areas of archaeological inquiry were also advancing

(for example, agency, gender, inequality), many of which could be further applied to the study of culture contact.

Prominent throughout these various approaches was the notion of the ‘duality of structure’: a question of how social institutions (structure) and self-determination (agency) drive social reproduction (Dobres and Robb 2000). In order to tackle this duality, archaeologists began to borrow theories from other social sciences (sociology, anthropology, history) to try to reconcile this issue within the discipline. The direct borrowing from other disciplines has at times proved problematic; without critical analysis many of these theories have been introduced in a ‘cut-and-paste’ fashion (Barrett 2001; Monks 1999). The discussion produced from the introduction of such borrowed theories has brought in a host of dichotomies such as: dominance/resistance; colonialism/contact; group/individual; global/local; core/periphery; prehistory/history; and change/continuity. While some of these are useful contrasts, others tend to reinforce ethnocentric notions of European superiority and Indigenous passivity. That being said, what this inter-disciplinary borrowing did for archaeology was provide an appropriate venue for the exploration of complex processes like cultural change and, when used critically in an archaeological context, enhanced the discipline’s theoretical standing as a social science.

What came out of this conglomeration of analytical approaches from the 1980s onward was a diverse body of literature relating to various aspects of contact situations and colonialism. The goal of this chapter is to synthesize these broad-ranging approaches into a meaningful discussion on how archaeological constructions of contact situations

have evolved over time, with increasing input from other disciplines, and how the diversity in analytical approaches fosters novel applications for each unique contact situation. In this sense I am not promoting a grand theory for the archaeology of contact, but rather highlighting the merits and drawbacks of a variety of approaches that have been used thus far, and how I have determined which ones to incorporate into my own research. In order to begin this discussion, I will first briefly touch on the acculturation theories and narratives that dominated the discipline prior to what I consider a ‘theoretical awakening’ during the 1980s. Following that, I have identified five thematic areas that permeate the literature: environmental, ecological or evolutionary approaches; practice theory and the concept of agency; multiscalar analyses and long-term studies; non-linear approaches that deal with contingency and chaos theory; and finally, colonialism. I will discuss each of these areas at length in order to illuminate the ways in which they have either enhanced our understanding of contact situations or, at times, set us back. Finally, I will discuss how and why I have incorporated a combination of these approaches, forming an “eclectic” approach, for my research on the Labrador Inuit-European contact situation (Bintliff and Pearce 2011).

### **Acculturation Narratives**

Much of our early understanding of North America and the history of westward expansion was framed in grand- or master-narratives that placed Europeans at the forefront and relegated Indigenous peoples to the margin (Oliver 2010; Richter 2001). These narratives were aided by a-historical perspectives of Indigenous groups that assumed dramatic change occurred immediately upon first contact and lead to the rapid

loss of cultural identity and a reliance on the dominant (European) society (Farnsworth 1992; Ferris 2009:10; Morantz 1992; Rubertone 2000). Acculturation master narratives, sometimes aptly referred to as negative master narratives, were rooted in nineteenth-century thinking that emphasized progress and advancement (Ferris 2009). Within these narratives Indigenous people's decline was viewed and described as inevitable due to the march of progress and natural (cultural) selection (Williamson 2004:178). This view of cultures depicts change as systemic and responsive only to external stimuli, thus denying any internal agency or history in the process of change (Ferris 2009:11). Since Indigenous people were seen as unchanging and were without written records, they were perceived as having no history, a notion that persisted well into the early twentieth-century. Paradoxically, while Indigenous groups were presented as unable to adapt, any changes that did occur were viewed as evidence of people in the process of losing their culture (Williamson 2004:180).

Anthropologists of the 1930s began to determine and dictate the authentic and inauthentic elements of Indigenous cultures. The level of acculturation was determined by the presence/absence of cultural material from the dominant (European) culture; the more European material present, the more acculturated the particular Indigenous group (Lightfoot 1995, 2005). These artifact ratios were misleading as by focussing solely on artifact quantities, they misrepresented the direction and degree of culture change (Lightfoot 1995:206; Prince 2002:52). Furthermore, the entire model of acculturation has been criticized for the passive and directional outcome and deeply embedded ethnocentrism (Lightfoot 1995; Williamson 2004). Similarly criticized was the

application of world systems theory- used to explain the rise of modern capitalist societies at a global scale- to explore contact situations. This type of top-down approach overemphasized the role of the core (European society) in controlling or structuring events in the periphery (Dietler 1998; Schreiber 2005). It erased the dynamic nature of contact situations by focussing solely on one part of the equation and ignoring the complexity of the relationships within the area of contact. It has also been described as too homogenizing, making different colonial forms look the same due to their creation by the same set of economic forces and by glazing over any of the inevitable variability when two (or more) cultures meet (Gosden 2004:17).

Theories of acculturation and core/periphery models are inadequate for understanding the complex relationships individuals and groups have with one another and their material world, and the great variety that occurs in contact situations over time and space. While cultural change does not take place solely in contact situations, as theories of acculturation once maintained, the visibility of cultural change is heightened in the negotiations and contestations of contact. What the following sections will show is that there are a variety of ways in which to explore contact situations, covering a range of analytical scales. Many of these approaches are interrelated, incorporating a variety of theories from other social and natural sciences. A unifying feature is the emphasis on variability and the rejection of the deterministic and generalizing theories of acculturation that frame contact situations in a one-sided light.

### **The Three ‘E’s’: Environmental, Ecological & Evolutionary Approaches**

If used alone as causal factors of cultural change, environmental, ecological, and evolutionary approaches would reek of determinism. Fortunately, most scholars recognize this and have incorporated these approaches within much broader analytical frameworks (Clark 2000; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Kleivan 1964; McGhee 1972). Despite the inadequacies of using these three factors as solitary explanations for cultural change they each have some merit worth mentioning here. Kleivan (1964:63) notes that the environment does not “create” culture, but instead serves to both constrain and permit human activities. More specifically, the environment has a significant influence on economic activities, such as the availability of certain animal resources. As most early contact situations between Indigenous and European groups relied on the trade of natural resources, one could argue that the environment was an influential factor in the economic aspects of contact (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:351). Cleland (1993:111) strengthens this notion by suggesting that economic relationships are crucial for examining the rate and direction of cultural change because trade, both direct and indirect, motivated various social, political and ideological interactions. That being said, the environment does not solely affect economic activities; human groups have had to negotiate various environments in order to survive, many times in harsh and changing climates. McGhee (1972:125) notes that climate had an *indirect* causal relationship with cultural change among the Inuit as there was evidence for continual adaptation to changing environmental conditions. Once again this is presented as a partial explanation for cultural change not the entire explanation, but what is of note here is that we cannot

ignore environmental factors completely. Humans interact with, and adapt to, their environment and therefore *some* cultural variety likely stems from different and changing environments (Kaplan and Woollett 2000).

Clark (2000) takes a much different approach. He looks to evolutionary ecology to offer explanations of a particular phenomenon, the origins of hereditary inequality or rank in human societies. The human body is the product of biological evolution, and while Darwinian evolution does not presume that the evolutionary process is progressive, it does suggest that it is contingent on environmental circumstances (Clark 2000:93). Following this, Clark suggests that archaeologists should try to determine the environmental conditions that would provide the opportunity for institutions of rank to emerge. He argues for a dual model of evolutionary ecology and cultural-historic processes to explain the origins of hereditary inequality/rank. Within his analysis he determines that the origins are more likely contingent upon cultural conditions and decisions made by individuals than a necessary consequence of ecological processes. Clark demonstrates that combining multiple lines of evidence, or multiple analytical frameworks, can add greater depth to our understanding of human behaviour and their relationship to others and their environment. For example, paleoclimate data for Labrador has recently been incorporated into studies of cultural change during the eighteenth century, which shifted the focus away from environmentally deterministic motivators for change towards a more complex understanding of social change (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Woollett 1999, 2007). However, since such an environmental

approach is inadequate on its own then it must be combined with other cultural and social forces in order to explain cultural change.

### **Practice Theory & the Concept of Agency**

Central to much social science inquiry is the relationship between social structure and agency. Beginning in the 1970s, as a response to the structuralist and functionalist approaches which emphasized institutions as top-down constraints on individual choice, social theorists Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1976, 1984) grappled with finding a balance between structure and agency. In so doing, they developed theoretical paradigms that stressed the interrelatedness and cyclical relationship between structure and agency, ideas that have since permeated the social sciences. Archaeology caught on to these theories during the 1980s when post-processual archaeology, inspired by post-modernist social theories, was in its early development stages. This period of archaeological theory-building saw a shift toward more humanized and dynamic negotiations between individuals, communities, and institutions (Dobres and Robb 2000:4). Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory and Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration, along with the concept of 'agency', greatly appealed to archaeologists who rejected generalizations and began to adopt these ideas for their various explorations of the past.

### The Concept of Agency

The wholesale borrowing of sociological theory for archaeological contexts has been criticised (Barrett 2001; Monks 1999). Problems arise when ideas, developed within the context and language of another discipline, are adopted without critical reflection. For one thing, there is little consensus within archaeology about what

‘agency’ actually means (Dobres and Robb 2000). Hodder (2000:23) argues that agency has come to be seen in terms of the resources (both material and symbolic) needed in order to act. That is, what is available to *allow* action to take place, rather than in terms of individual intentionality and creativity. Gero (2000:34) discusses three different ways that the concept of agency is commonly used: as an emphatic noun, i.e. something one *has* or does not *have*; as an opportunity to act, similar to Hodder’s statement; and finally, as a universalized and decontextualized concept that reduces the diverse ways in which humans take action. None of these conceptualizations seem applicable to the study of contact situations which, in and of themselves are incredibly variable, where everyone has both the *ability* and *opportunity* to act in some capacity.

Another complicated quality of the agency concept is that it is often equated with individualism, an ambiguous concept in archaeology (Barrett 2001; Cowgill 2000). While recognizing that it is rare for archaeologists to identify named individuals, Hodder (2000:22) embraces the idea of ‘the individual’, arguing for a shift away from agency and the construction of social beings towards individual narratives of lived lives and events. This idea is partially inspired by phenomenological approaches that place emphasis on the local and the personal, focusing on how subjects experience the world through the body, or Heidegger’s notion of ‘being-in-the-world’. Hodder suggests that structural notions of agency and phenomenological accounts should be supplemented by the examination of lived lives accessed through individual events (Hodder 2000:25). What Hodder is really referring to is a matter of scale, a commitment to the small-scale, daily events that highlight intentionality and uncertainty and pay tribute to the variability that

might be treated as “noise” in large-scale analyses. At issue then is the matter of scale in terms of individuals versus collectivities. Although members of the same class, gender, and/or ethnicity may have many interests in common, no two individuals will have identical perceived interests (Cowgill 2000:56). In many cases it is best to be thought of in terms of coordinated group action rather than the actions of individuals.

Thus it appears that the concept of agency in archaeology seems to be one of ‘anything goes’; more of a “platitute that can mean both everything and nothing” than a theoretically sound paradigm (Dobres and Robb 2000:3). With no consensus as to what agency means or how it should be used, archaeologists have borrowed the idea and run with it with varying degrees of success. Less problematic than the adoption of the concept of agency, though not without issue, has been the use of practice theory.

### Practice Theory

Silliman (2001:192) states that the best definition of practice is *anything* people do, and argues that problems arise when people take the definition as *everything* people do. If practice is considered to be *anything* people do, then practice theory describes the “continuous and historically contingent enactments or embodiments of people’s ethos, attitudes, agendas and dispositions” (Pauketat 2000:115). Important to practice theory is the idea of an unquestioned, or second-nature, shared knowledge-base that forms the basis of these dispositions and social interactions, called ‘doxa’ (Pauketat 2000; Silliman 2001). Doxa operates at a variety of scales and can refer to particular circumstances, materials or social relations. The creation and dissolution of doxa is a political process with strong links to ideology and tradition (Silliman 2001). Doxa can be continually

contested and negotiated, but one individual's action has no historical consequences unless other people participate. Therefore, the real concern of practice theory is not in individual actions, but in the practice of many people in social negotiation (Pauketat 2000:117). What makes practice theory a useful framework for archaeology is the idea that daily practices can provide significant information regarding identity, ideology and social relations (Lightfoot 2005; Scarry and Maxham 2002). Even more useful for the study of contact situations is that these day-to-day activities become heightened and politically charged during the negotiations and contestations of contact.

In contact situations where the social relations are unequal, daily practices become “politically charged markers of stereotyped bodies and groups” (Silliman 2001:195). The lived experience then becomes an arena for exerting social agency, expressing resistance, compliance, or even coping strategies within rigid power structures. Things like the organization of space and the built environment, the performance of mundane tasks, and the use of material culture represent these lived experiences. By examining the basic aspects of daily life, archaeology has the ability to enhance our knowledge of poorly documented populations of the past (Lightfoot 1995, 2005). The choices and decisions made by individuals, families, and entire communities were informed by their knowledge of the way the world worked at that particular moment and future expectations (Ferris 2009:1). In other words, these actions are historically contingent, and the concepts of time and tradition are essential for understanding patterns in the past. Taking this in to account, many have applied the concept of agency within their practice theory analytical frameworks.

### Agency through the Lens of Practice Theory

Despite disagreement on what agency actually means, most agree that individual actors are socially constituted in both sociocultural and ecological surroundings that serve to define their goals as well as constrain their actions (Brumfiel 2000:249). As such, it is agreed upon that there is in fact a highly dynamic relationship between individuals and social structures, though the degree and extent of this relationship fluctuates. While some think of structure as consisting of the principles and resources that both enable and constrain agency (Joyce 2000), others think the idea of constraining structures should be removed and instead viewed as a field of possibilities (Barrett 2001:150). Regardless of the various debates on what ‘structure’ entails and what ‘agency’ means, the idea that structure and agency produce and maintain each other is clear (Ferris 2009). An additional point of consensus is the notion that agency is historically particular and that the concept of agency must be conceptualized in terms which are “historically situated or embodied” (Barrett 2000:62; Johnson 2000). If agency is historically situated, action too is situated in time. Actions can be thought of as occurring in the present, based on the memories of past actions, and the anticipated future outcome of either intended or unintended consequences (Barrett 2000:61). This lifecycle of action is what produces such great variation in human behaviour as it is largely shaped by the specific historical traditions which have contingent, and thus unpredictable, trajectories (Williamson 2004:192). This emphasis on historical context is what enables archaeologists to consider the great variability in contact situations.

The creation and maintenance of cultural identity through practice, particularly through daily activities, is reflected in the material remains. Here material culture can be conceived as “technology operating through a sequence of dynamic processes reflecting culturally and historically specific contexts of interaction, meaning-making, and choice” (Ferris 2009:21). A more agent-centered approach to the study of material culture in contact situations, one embedded in the framework of practice theory, shifts the emphasis from acculturation to ‘transculturation’ (Silliman 2005:66). That is, it highlights the complexity of cultural and individual interactions and choices. Through this analytical lens we see many instances where individuals apply both novel and traditional uses to their adopted material culture as a way to rework or reinstate their identity, rather than perceiving the adoption of European goods into Indigenous societies as a shift towards increasing Europeanness (Silliman 2001:195). The rates of change and/or continuity in artifacts are dependent on these ideologies within the cultures themselves, ideologies that can be altered through the social negotiations of contact (Duke 1991). Viewing the materiality of practice as strictly representational of the social system detracts from the situated nature of practice itself, thus one must be mindful that material culture also facilitates agency and structures practice (Barrett 2001:157). That is, while material culture can be used to interpret actions, intentions, and ideology, it must also be understood as partially structuring that practice.

People are creatures of habit, capable of rational thought whose choices and decisions are informed by the experiences of the past and the anticipated outcomes of the future. While the majority of people behave rationally most of the time, at times strong

emotions and fatigue can override reason and impair judgement (Cowgill 2000:54). Reasoning is thus a major factor that influences action. A deviation in form or function of a particular artifact can demonstrate a shift in what was reasoned to be practical and acceptable within a given context (Wobst 2000). Sinclair (2000:200) describes this informed reasoning process as a “constellation of knowledge”, which while at times variable, is most often habitual, producing routine action. The reasoning behind the introduction of new material types and forms would have been processed through these same constellations of knowledge. This explains why there is evidence for direct replacement of some material types and the novel use of new material forms in contact situations. People are making choices and decisions based on what they already know (their constellation of knowledge), and their future expectations. Far too often scholars imply that the Indigenous incorporation of European materials reflects ‘agency’; arguing that Indigenous peoples were *active agents* in contact and colonial situations because they determined which objects to incorporate and how to do so. These types of statements are based on faulty understandings of what agency means (see Gero 2000). Thinking about it in terms of constellations of knowledge removes the ethnocentric, and problematic, notion that Indigenous groups and people *have* and express agency when they incorporate foreign objects into their lives because it implies that *everyone* has the ability to make informed choices and do so as part of human nature.

### Summary

Despite the issues involved when adopting theoretical concepts from different disciplines, both practice theory and the concept of agency (in various forms) have

provided useful applications for the archaeological study of contact situations. Some have placed a strong focus on what the concept of agency means for archaeology, and how it should or should not be used in constructions of the past. Others have incorporated the concept of agency into their conceptions of practice theory as a means to understand individual actions and intentions, and the intended or unexpected consequences of those actions. Especially applicable to material culture studies, practice theory has provided a venue for the exploration of how aspects of ideology and identity are negotiated and materialized through daily activities. While the methods for using practice theory and agency may vary, consistent throughout is the idea that structure and agency produce and maintain one another. It is a dynamic relationship in constant flux and negotiation. These various applications of practice theory and agency have turned the focus to individual choice and small-scale or regional levels of analysis. This type of analytical framework enables a closer examination of variability within contact situations by acknowledging the importance of historical context in terms of both historically situated individuals and their actions. A focus on the small-scale was an important step for a discipline that was previously so focused on long-term generalizations that it completely ignored variability, yet others have identified the value of approaching contact situations from a multiscale approach, one that does not prioritize either the long- or short-term, but looks at the interrelated nature of culture contact and change/continuity over a full range of timescales.

## **Multiscalar Approaches**

Many have criticized agent-centred approaches for focusing too much on the individual and ignoring the role of structure (Bintliff 2006). As an interpretive middle ground, some archaeologists have developed multiscalar approaches that serve to acknowledge the specific historical context within which social processes operated. This idea of ‘historicism’ within multiscalar analyses recognizes that change evident at short- or medium-term timescales can take on different meanings when a longer context is considered (Ferris 2009:19; Fogelson 1989). The idea behind this approach stems from the work of Braudel (1972) and later French historians of the *Annales* School who developed a model of historical time that took into account different timescales and the interplay between them. On one end of the scale there are *événements* or short-term events that pertain to political history, narrative, specific events and individuals. Next there are *conjonctures*, or the medium-term, concerned with social and economic history, and ideologies, often occurring within the lifespan of the actors. Finally there is the *longue durée* or long-term structures such as the role of landscape, technologies, world views or *mentalities*. Braudel described this final time segment as the slow moving history that can only be observed by watching over long periods of time (Bintliff 1991; Braudel 1972). Finding the right balance between the various timescales, without favouring one over another, proved difficult and many have even criticized Braudel’s ability to handle short-term events and his shift away from the individual as a primary agent of history (Bintliff 1991; Fogelson 1989). Some archaeologists have instead chosen to interpret these scales as operating along a continuum (Ferris 2009:19), though

this proves problematic when the discipline is divided into two time periods; prehistory and history, each with their own theoretical and methodological approaches.

### Prehistoric/Historic Divide

Lightfoot (1995:200) argues that the current separation of prehistory from historical archaeology detracts from the study of long-term culture change. This divide is rooted in the false and overly simplistic view that archaeology is a generalist record of long-term behaviour, and history is a particularist record of short-term events (Williamson 2004:191). Despite an awareness of this false distinction, the divide persists and places the people who study post-contact Indigenous sites and Indigenous responses to culture contact in a peculiar situation. The study of post-contact Indigenous sites is largely determined by whether or not the material remains are associated with European colonies. Those that are, such as plantations, missions, and trade outposts, are studied by historical archaeologists while those that are not, are undertaken by prehistoric archaeologists (Lightfoot 1995:203). The consequence of this divide is that while contemporaneous, these sites will be analyzed and interpreted using different methodological and theoretical approaches which is not conducive for site comparison (Lightfoot 1995). This is especially important when examining long-term cultural change and multi-ethnic or pluralistic contact situations. Culture contact studies must rely on an integrated approach to prehistory and history, one that views the continual processes of cultural change over the long-term (Ferris 2009; Lightfoot 1995).

### Long-term Change and Continuity

In order to achieve a balance between the generalizations and complexities of contact, scholars need to move beyond single-scale discussions of how people interacted with the land and with each other (Oliver 2010:204). Moving between the details of local experience and larger-scale social formations allows for a deeper understanding of the long-term processes of change and continuity. Archaeology has shown that human populations were constantly in “contact” with external peoples, ideas, and material culture and that Indigenous cultures were manipulating their landscape and undergoing change long before the ‘contact period’ (Ferris 2009; Oliver 2010). Whitridge (2008:291) suggests decentring contact by exploring a long-running history that includes contact with Europeans, but is not defined by it. Conceptualizing change and continuity as happening continuously within daily negotiations of social processes adds depth to the notion that European contact acted as a catalyst of change amongst Indigenous groups. It serves as a critical revision to the conventional notions of European-Indigenous histories (Ferris 2009). Oliver (2010:163) suggests getting rid of dualities like ‘pioneers’ and ‘Native peoples’ from the old acculturation master narratives and instead offers an interpretation of the contact situation that describes it as “complex entities realized at different spatial and temporal scales”. By the complexity of spatial and temporal scales he is referring to the fact that contact situations are historically situated in both time and space and therefore must be understood at the local level, as well as by establishing it within long-term historical transformations. That is to say, this type of approach recognizes the importance of the interplay between social structures and processes

operating within and between households, communities, and nations, while also attending to the maintenance and continual revision of identity at these various levels over the long-term (Ferris 2009:2). Thus, when contact is conceived as a continuum it becomes a process that is historically situated in time, place, and local agency but also one that is contextualized within a longer time span, one that archaeology can access (Ferris 2009:27).

Rather than focussing entirely on continuity and change in material culture, some scholars have turned their focus to shifts in settlement and subsistence strategies as better indicators of the long-term processes at play. Much like material culture, settlement and subsistence activities reflect the variety of decision-making strategies that are informed by past knowledge and negotiated through social and environmental constraints (Ferris 2009). Their point of departure lies in the length of time needed to detect changes and continuities. There is a seemingly slower rate of alteration involved with settlement, traditional livelihood, and social organization as compared to material culture. Ferris' (2009:57) research on the south-western Ontario Ojibwa demonstrates that while material culture had changed significantly by the nineteenth century, there appears to be no significant alteration in settlement-subsistence. The adoption of European goods seems to have assisted in improving the traditional Ojibwa livelihood, yet does not seem to have altered settlement-subsistence activities.

In a similar vein, Ramsden's (2009:296) research on the small-scale changes in the structure of a Huron village over the course of its lifetime was able to detect aspects of both individual house histories and major structural changes throughout the village

itself. His analysis combines an interpretation of changing house structures and village organization with the material assemblage. In so doing, he was able to create a clear picture of continuity and change within individual households and the entire village itself. By shifting his focus to include the settlement and social organization of the village with the material analysis he was able to identify two factions within the community, traditional and progressive, and the associated tensions and negotiations between them (Ramsden 2009:313). This level of analysis created a deeper understanding of the politics within and between households throughout the community and the broader region, an understanding that would not have been possible without a shift in focus to the small-scale and contextualization within the larger spatial and temporal histories.

### Summary

Multiscalar approaches have the capacity to examine short-term and local events within long-term and regional historical contexts. Inspired by Braudel's model of historical time these approaches have attempted to strike a balance or interpretive middle ground on the structure/agency debate. Multiscalar approaches think of historical processes as a continuum, and recognize the importance of considering short- and medium-term situations in a longer context in order to acquire a deeper and more contextual understanding. Problematic for the study of contact situations using this idea of a continuum is the persistent divide between prehistory and historical archaeology. When contemporaneous sites are examined and interpreted through different methodological and theoretical frameworks it makes for a difficult comparison. Ideally this divide should be removed in order to assist the future development of the

archaeology of contact situations, where the comparison of contemporaneous sites at the local, regional and perhaps even global levels could be facilitated.

One perceived problem with the multiscale conception of time relates to understanding how processes operating in each timescale are structured in relation to each other. While it has been suggested that the link lies within memory, Bintliff (2006:177) doubts how individual or collective memory can convey events into the medium- or long-term without being transformed through memory loss or reinterpretation in the process. Instead he points out that indeterminacy dominates over predictable outcomes, making it far too complex and variable over time and space to meet a demand such as the way processes in time are structured in relation to each other (Bintliff 2006:185). Rather than ask how these processes come together across various time scales, Bintliff suggests that the problem of structure and agency should be reformulated to ask how we can reconcile scenarios that are beyond prediction yet at the same time full of trends (Bintliff 2006:186). His answer to this lies in a shift towards theories from the natural sciences that deal with contingency and non-linear modeling.

### **Non-linear Approaches: Contingency & Chaos Theory**

Persistent throughout the majority of approaches discussed so far, and a central principle of all history, is contingency. Everything from individual actions and small-scale events to long-term processes are historically contingent. The past is the result of the uncertain interplay between chance occurrences and adaptive pressures (Bintliff

2006:186), and therefore the final result will always be contingent upon everything that came before (Gould 1989:283). Thus, variation in human behaviour is largely shaped by specific historical traditions which have contingent, and therefore unpredictable, trajectories (Williamson 2004:192). The diversity of historical possibilities demonstrates that the eventual results cannot be predicted at the outset, and only understood after the fact (Gould 1989: 51). Understanding non-linear dynamics can serve to illuminate the process of human history through the notion of different trajectories and their constraints (Williamson 2004:193). Non-linear modelling is based on a combination of punctuated equilibrium, contingency, and chaos theory or chaos complexity.

Chaos theory interprets past processes as being divided into two interrelated categories: “contingencies, the conjuncture of events occurring without perceptible design; and necessities, constraining circumstances compelling a certain course of action” (Williamson 2004:193). These concepts are used to describe the role of event (contingencies) and structure (necessities). In this framework, necessities are structuring properties that serve to enable and constrain, within which small differences are a constant component. These small differences can become increasingly complex over time and large change within the system occurs when small alterations in circumstances and the role of contingency becomes exaggerated to the point of “chaos” (or what is called a bifurcation point) (Williamson 2004:194). In other words, the more complex a system becomes, the further it tends to be from equilibrium (Bintliff 2006:187). The use of the word ‘chaos’ might be a bit confusing or misleading. In this context it is not referring to utter disorder or confusion, but instead it refers to the behaviour of systems

that follow deterministic laws yet appear random and unpredictable. Chaos is the unpredictable result triggered by these contingent events. In human systems, the trajectory that will be followed is often a reflection of “the interrelationship between the past history of a system, external constraints (environment), and aspects of human culture” (Williamson 2004:194).

Chaos theory was first developed in mathematics and later applied to biology, computer science, philosophy, and physics. This might explain its overly complex way of emphasizing the importance of contingency in historical processes. A few archaeologists, for example Bintliff (2006:187), have applied the ideas of punctuated equilibrium and chaos complexity to archaeological analysis of the rise and fall of cities, and the emergence of villages, territories, and city-states. An easier way to think of the importance of contingency is the simple realization that “the actual outcome did not have to be, that any alteration in any step along the way would have unleashed a cascade down a different channel” (Gould 1989:284). This idea of what might have been has interesting implications for our understanding of contact situations and the past in general. For example, Ramsden (2009:314) concludes that in light of what unfolded at the Wendat occupied Benson site, where the traditionalists prevailed and the progressive (pro-European trade) faction moved away, the outcome of the broader picture for the region (which was actually the opposite) *could* have been entirely different. This ‘broader picture’ is made up of all the small events at the village level, each with varying outcomes, and thus the history of the region could have developed quite differently. The same applies for any contact situation, where choices and decisions were determined by

past knowledge and future intentions, yet every situation had the potential to unfold differently. This becomes especially interesting in contact situations falling under the rubric of colonialism, where the balance of power was unequal, themes of dominance and resistance prevail, and where one can think of how the various choices, decisions, and responses could have resulted in entirely different outcomes.

### **Colonialism**

Archaeology, specifically historical archaeology, has explored the topic of colonialism for a long time, but has mostly focussed on the European colonies, their material culture and links to the imperial nations. Within the past thirty years the focus has shifted to look at Indigenous responses to the colonial process, and toward the consideration that colonialism is a two-way process where both parties shape and influence the nature of the contact situation. While the archaeological study of colonialism can at times be narrow in focus, with British-, Spanish-, and French-oriented historical archaeologists having limited contact, and this parochialism is even more prominent with the divide between prehistory and history, many recent volumes on the study of culture contact and colonialism have attempted to rectify this by including papers from a range of geographic and temporal situations (Cipolla and Howlett Hayes 2015; Dyson 1985; Ferris et al. 2014; Fitzhugh 1985; Murray 2004; Stein 2005; Wesson and Rees 2002). What is now apparent is that there are many facets to ‘colonialism’; it is not a uniform process but instead highly variable, dependent on time and place. Within the study of colonialism there are debates regarding terminology, considerations of the

varying levels and degrees of colonialism, and prominent themes of dominance, resistance, and power.

### Culture Contact versus Colonialism

Separating culture contact from colonialism is quite difficult because the nature of culture contact is incredibly variable and there is no such thing as an isolated culture. The factor that differentiates colonialism from other aspects of contact is the issue of power (Gosden 2004:5). 'Culture contact' generally refers to groups of people coming into or staying in contact for a variable length of time and usually includes a variety of elements such as exchange, integration, and even slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and diaspora. Conversely, 'colonialism' is generally defined as the process by which a nation-state exerts control (power) over people and territories outside of its geographic boundaries (Silliman 2005:58). Although it might seem like a semantic debate, because it is obvious that culture contact and colonialism are inherently linked, the uncritical use of this terminology can have severe theoretical, historical, and political implications (Silliman 2005). While in historical terms there has been an end to 'colonies' and 'colonization', in reality, the effects of these processes are ongoing for many Indigenous people. Silliman (2005:59) offers a different description of colonialism, one that refers to the dual processes of attempted domination by a colonial/settler population and the resistance, acceptance, or coping by Indigenous peoples. Framing it in this light, 'colonialism' reflects the intersections and entanglements of identities, relations, and power as it is experienced on both sides. Notions of 'contact' downplay the severity of the interaction and the different levels of power, inequality, domination, and oppression

(Silliman 2005). Ferris (2009:168) has suggested getting rid of the distinction between ‘colonialism’ and ‘contact’, and the concept of ‘contact’ altogether. He argues that viewing contact as a continuum, seen through a wider historical context of before and after, renders the term ‘contact’ as meaningless. In this sense the colonial period becomes conceived as a series of context-specific processes, both external and internal, that shape what he calls “changing continuities” and historical trajectories (Ferris 2009:169). By getting rid of this terminology Ferris is not necessarily downplaying the severity of the colonial process, but instead offering a balanced perspective of cultural interaction situated in time and place that acknowledges the longevity of colonial and other historical processes at work. Thus the terminology becomes much less important than the process itself.

### Typology of Colonialism

Gosden (2004) developed a typology of the forms of colonialism that fits nicely with Ferris’ (2009) ideas on the colonial process because it stresses the long-term nature of colonialism. This typology was created as a way to make sense of this highly variable process but should not be viewed as a linear progression as all three colonial forms can exist simultaneously (Gosden 2004:25). Inherent to his discussions of colonial forms is the importance of materiality:

It is the values attached to things and the manner in which these values can be remade across the colonial encounter that is crucial to many forms of colonialism...[because] material things are the basis of much local strategy (Gosden 2004:20).

His model of colonialism, across all forms, requires a focus on: the nature of power and its relationships; material culture and human relations with the world; and an understanding of agency (Gosden 2004:24). Gosden's three colonial forms include colonialism within a shared cultural milieu, the middle ground, and *terra nullius*. These match Ferris' (2009) suggested historical continuum of symmetrical exchange, cultural entanglement, and asymmetrical interaction.

Colonialism within a shared cultural milieu (symmetrical exchange) is the most difficult colonial form to identify because its limits are within an area where culture is shared and spread, and the forms of power are generated within understood norms of behaviour. Power is present through the elite's acquisition of new forms of social and cultural capital, the power to differentiate themselves, and the non-elite's desire to achieve the same acquisitions, resulting in new forms of inequality (Gosden 2004: 32). This form can be described as colonialism without colonies, as any exploitation occurred within communities rather than between them and power tended to reside in the objects themselves rather than the individuals who acquired them. On the colonialism spectrum this would be the mildest form and furthest away from the modern view of violent and tragic colonial encounters. Moving between these opposing poles on the spectrum is the idea of a middle ground.

The middle ground (cultural entanglement) is created through the mutually beneficial exploration of differences, a process that brings systems of value together to create working relationships. Key to this form is the notion of mutual need and a relatively balanced sense of power where both parties think they are in control.

Interaction leading to change tends to be innovative, selective, and the product of situation-specific logic (Ferris 2009:26). Central to these cross-cultural negotiations was material culture and the value(s) attached to things. A prime example of this middle ground form is the fur trade, where no decisions were made without culturally appropriate gifts appealing to both sides (Gosden 2004:31). Middle ground colonialism reveals how Indigenous agendas helped shape the trajectory of later relationships, and how they made sense of new material culture based on their pre-existing meanings and traditions (Silliman 2005:63). Initial contact encounters in North America took this middle ground form until the situation escalated into Gosden's final form, *terra nullius*.

The form that largely influences modern conceptions of colonialism, one that was most destructive and recent, is *terra nullius* (asymmetrical interaction). This form of colonialism exists when there are prevailing fixed categories of difference. Distinguishing this form from the previous types was the appropriation of land through ownership by crown or private citizens (Gosden 2004:114). Ideologies (like *terra nullius*) based on notions of racial superiority were used to justify this seizure of land and death of Indigenous peoples through war and disease. An influential and driving force behind this form of colonialism was the rise of the capitalist system which sought to find new raw materials and markets. Combined with technological advances in transportation, communication, and production, this form of colonialism swept the globe. It is within this form that the themes of dominance and resistance are most prominent.

### Dominance/Resistance

Resistance generally refers to action in opposition to structure. In colonial situations, this would be in resistance to a dominant culture structured by perceptions and actions of inequality, racism, oppression, labour control, economic marginalization, and dispossession (Sassaman 2001; Silliman 2005:59). What is interesting for archaeology is the development of collective resistance through the establishment and negotiations of traditions and actions of non-compliance (Sassaman 2001:219). Resistance is expressed to maintain cultural coherency, often through innovative responses to dominant pressures that contribute to the creation and reaffirmation of Indigenous cultural systems, ideology, and material culture (Prince 2002:52). Collective resistance is often made and reproduced through egalitarian social relations, mobility, and an ongoing process of separation. Separation does not necessarily refer to geographic distance, although it can; rather it should be interpreted as a process of asserting difference (Sassaman 2001). Difference is asserted through the adoption of foreign material culture and ideas according to existing social and ideological structures (Ferris 2009; Prince 2002). It is often used as a method for identity maintenance, where identity is continually reworked in opposition to the structures of domination. Resistance in the form of differentiation becomes a manifestation of power, the key component to all colonial forms (Sassaman 2001).

### Power

Central to all forms of colonialism is the notion of power; power to act, power over people, power from acquisition of material objects, and power in the form of

resistance. Power is not a simple concept in colonial situations because it is so multifaceted. Negotiations of power can be found in actions, social space, and material culture. Social inequalities result from power imbalances in any or all of these negotiated realms. Key to any interpretation of colonialism is an understanding of these constructions of power relations (Rogers 2005). Gosden (2004:153) places great emphasis on the power of materials and attached values to move people, both culturally and physically, to accept new material forms and set up power structures around the desire for material culture. In his conception, power operates as a duality through the power of the objects to increase desire, and the power of the individual to place a value on the object and eventually acquire it. Rogers (2005:332) agrees that archaeologists need to understand how objects are linked to the motivations revealed in both individual and group actions. Others perceive power as often depicted in resistance through the creation of identity in opposition to the structures of domination. Identity formation, or re-formation, empowers actors to mark difference in order to retain their distinction (Sassaman 2001:235). It would be important to look at how the various modes of power are created through relations between people and material culture for any comparative understanding of colonialism (Gosden 2004:24).

### Summary

The archaeological examination of colonialism highlights its multifaceted nature as a highly variable and historically contingent process. Regardless of the terminology used, and the implications of the choice of terminology, culture contact and colonialism refer to the long-term processes of cultural entanglement through negotiations of power,

appropriation of material culture, and identity creation and maintenance. Colonialism is not a uniform process; instead many have divided the processes of colonialism into a continuum or spectrum of forms that reflect the diversity and different extent of colonial encounters over time and space. Notions of dominance and resistance within contact situations draw attention to the most important feature of colonial interactions, the idea of power. Power manifests itself in a number of ways: the power to act and acquire desired goods, the power some people use to dominate others, and the power in resistance to the pressures of domination. Power is negotiated through actions, social space and material culture and social inequalities are the result of power imbalances in any or all of these negotiated realms. Every contact situation involves these negotiations of power, and every situation is different. Contact situations illuminate the creative and innovative experiences and responses that take place when cultures meet. An emphasis on creativity diminishes the persistent connotations of colonialism such as the violent impact, and domination and resistance, framing contact/colonial cultures in a different light. Instead, contact/colonial cultures are acknowledged as being created by all who participated in them, so that everyone had agency and social effect, and where coloniser and colonised alike are radically changed by the experience (Gosden 2004:25).

## **Discussion**

Many of the analytical frameworks I have described are interrelated, and many studies combine aspects of the various approaches. While I have placed these approaches in somewhat rigid categories for discussion, the boundaries are much more permeable and lines become blurred within the larger context of the study of contact situations. The

one-sided theories of acculturation have been replaced by these multidimensional investigations that provide a much more nuanced account of contact. Some approaches place emphasis on the local or small-scale (practice theory, agency, chaos theory), while others contextualize the small-scale within long-term processes (multiscalar, colonialism).

A unifying feature within these approaches is that of historical contingency; the notion that all ideas, actions, and events are contingent in time and place. There is recognition that individual choice, interpreted through the concept of agency, both shapes and is shaped by local context and history. This interrelationship of structure and agency operates under these contingent factors to produce unique situations, particular to that time and place, that could have developed differently had alternative choices been made. Thus, anyone who uses practice theory or agency as their analytical approach is also dealing with contingency. That being said, structure is also historically contingent and any changes within can be detected through a longer timescale analysis. Multiscalar approaches, and analyses that stress colonialism as a long-term process, situate the local/short-term within a longer timeframe and are able to tease out any structural changes and continuities while perceiving contact as part of a longer historical continuum.

Each of the approaches I have presented here has its merits and drawbacks, yet it seems that the combination of multiple approaches produces the most interesting, and successful explorations of contact situations (see Ferris 2009; Oliver 2010). Contingency is what produces such great variability in human populations, and thus renders the idea of

some grand theoretical application to the study of contact situations completely useless. If there is not one method or right way to study contact situations in archaeology, then what direction should future research take? I suggest that future research continue this trajectory of combining analytical approaches to suit the unique needs of the different regions and situations under study. The Inuit-European contact situation in Labrador perfectly illustrates why this type of combination approach is ideal.

### Inuit-European Contact in Labrador

The study of Inuit-European contact in Labrador presents the perfect opportunity for a combination of analytical approaches. This “eclectic” approach, explored by Bintliff, Pearce, and their contributors (2011), argues that we should not be limited by one view but rather be able to pick and choose approaches that will assist with providing interpretations for individual studies instead of trying to make the data “fit” one model. In Labrador geographic and temporal scale are represented by the different extent and timing of contact along the coast, the physical environment served to both permit and constrain human activities and mobility, and power and identity are negotiated through the spatial and material realms. ‘Contact’ in Labrador is difficult to define because it manifested itself in different ways in different times and places. An archaeological exploration of Inuit-European contact in Labrador must take this into account by merging the local histories within the broader coastal network.

Acknowledging the potential for earlier Norse or other European interaction prior to the Inuit colonization of Labrador, and the limited number of pre-contact Inuit sites along the Labrador coast, it seems that initial Inuit-European contact took place during

the sixteenth century, both in the north with sporadic contact with European explorers and in the south with more in-depth interactions with Basque and French whalers and fishermen (Richling 1993; refer to Chapter 3 for historical background). Thinking in terms of Gosden's (2004) spectrum of colonial forms or Ferris' (2009) historical continuum, this phase of contact could be described as the middle ground or cultural entanglement, where both parties are engaged in mutually beneficial trade relations. Intensive contact, and later colonialism, did not occur until the eighteenth-century when trade relations increased and the Moravian missionaries first settled in the north. When we place Europeans on the map of Labrador at their various locations we often neglect the importance of Inuit mobility. The implication is that 'contact' for the Inuit travelling up and down the coast was incredibly variable depending on where they were and which European group they were dealing with. An investigation of the Inuit-European contact situation should thus consider the full range of contact possibilities that would have been experienced by different groups of people moving along the coast. Actions and decisions would be based on their knowledge of past experiences that they would share with one another as they negotiated each new interaction. Rather than perceive and emphasize the experiences of the north as distinct from those in the south, the two regions should be considered as part of a larger geographical and historical continuum.

Environmental constraints should also be considered because they tend to have a significant influence on economic and subsistence-settlement activities. Kaplan and Woollett (2000) have tackled these issues with their research that combines high-resolution paleoenvironmental, ethnohistorical, and archaeological data (see also

Woollett 1999, 2007). They acknowledge that research on cultural change must consider both systems-centered and agent-centered perspectives, and thus take into account external factors, such as environment, with the internal workings of Inuit culture (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:351). Furthermore, the environment can both constrain and enable seasonal mobility as ice conditions and weather can determine when and how people move across the landscape. My examination of the Inuit-European contact situation in Labrador will include this type of environmental consideration, though much like the concept of contingency it is applied as more of an underlying theme than a distinct theoretical construct.

Cultures are created and maintained through practice, in particular through daily activities, so any investigation into long-term cultural change and/or continuity should consider the aspects of daily life. This would include the organization of social space and material culture. One way the Labrador Inuit negotiated their social and economic relationships was by adopting some aspects of European material culture through their own pre-existing meanings and traditions (Cabak and Loring 2000; Jurakic 2008). This appropriation of some European material culture highlights features of Inuit identity and cultural continuity. Recognizing that material culture plays an important role in identity formation, often through distinction or differentiation, and through negotiations of power, is an important aspect to the study of culture contact. What material culture analyses in contact situations really need to consider is that change and continuity are actually parts of the same process, once again situating it within a longer time-frame (Ferris 2009; Silliman 2005; Walker and Lucero 2000).

The majority of previous research on the nature of Inuit-European cultural interaction and change/continuity among the Labrador Inuit has often focused on only one aspect of daily life, such as household structure and organization, or material culture (Cabak and Loring 2000; Richling 1993; Whitridge 2008). While some have combined a few or more variables, such as those pertaining to the environment and socio-cultural organization (Gullov 1985; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Woollett 2007), few have approached this contact situation from a multiscalar or diachronic perspective (here this refers to both geographical and chronological scale). Kaplan's (1983) dissertation was the first large-scale comparative study that looked beyond ecological factors as the sole explanation for cultural change. Her work examined resource availability, demographic trends, and the nature of Inuit-European contact for insight into the changes in Inuit social and economic organization. While this work investigated sites diachronically, it still placed change at the forefront rather than considering change and continuity as a dual process. My research builds on the work of Kaplan by situating local contact experiences within a long-term framework that explores the duality of change and continuity without emphasizing one over the other. Furthermore, my work includes more recent data on the southern Labrador Inuit that has emerged since Kaplan's seminal research.

### **Chapter Summary**

Cultural change does not take place solely in contact situations, as older theories of acculturation once asserted, but change does become more visible through the negotiations and contestations of contact. Earlier theories of acculturation and core/periphery models that once dominated the field are now recognized for their

inadequacies in understanding the complex relationships individuals and groups have with one another and their material world, as well as the great variety that occurs in contact situations over time and space. I have presented a variety of ways in which to explore contact situations, by discussing a range of different analytical approaches, many of which are interrelated, united by an emphasis on variability and contingency. The differences between them are a matter of scale.

Contingency basically implies that history could have turned out differently had alternative choices been made. All ideas, actions, and events are contingent in time and place, both shaping and shaped by local context and history. Thus all variability can be attributed to contingency. Chaos theory was presented as one framework used to explore contingent factors; however its scientific base leads it towards a more generalizing explanation. Contingency as considered within a historical context illuminates and encourages great variability. Persistent throughout all of the analytical frameworks presented here, including those that considered environmental factors, contingency is represented as important to both structure and agency, as well as the short-term/local and long-term perspectives.

The various applications of practice theory and agency focus on individual choice and small-scale or regional levels of analysis, providing a closer examination of variability within contact situations. As such, both practice theory and the concept of agency have been used to understand individual actions and intentions, and the intended or unexpected consequences of those actions. A shift in focus to the small-scale was an important step for archaeology, as it was previously focused on long-term generalizations

that blurred or ignored variability, yet also important for archaeology are the multiscalar approaches that have been implemented to look at the interrelated nature of culture contact and change/continuity over a full range of timescales. Inspired by Braudel's (1972) model of historical time, multiscalar approaches have the capacity to examine short-term and local events within long-term and regional historical contexts. In order to assist the future development of the archaeology of contact situations, where the comparison of contemporaneous sites at the local, regional and perhaps even global levels could be facilitated, the divide between prehistory and historical archaeology needs to be removed. Furthermore, this disciplinary divide hinders the incorporation of analytical approaches that deal with colonialism, especially those that combine it with a multiscalar framework and place colonialism on a continuum. Colonialism is not a uniform process, but rather a highly variable and historically contingent one. The terms 'culture contact' and 'colonialism' both refer to the long-term processes of cultural entanglement through negotiations of power, appropriation of material culture, and identity creation and maintenance. A closer inspection of these cultural entanglements can illuminate the creative and innovative experiences and responses that take place when cultures meet.

What stands out from this overview of analytical approaches is that the great variability in human populations is entirely based on contingency. The most interesting, and successful explorations of contact situations are ones that acknowledge the contingent nature of human history and use a combination of analytical approaches suitable for the unique situations under study. In the case of my research on Labrador

Inuit-European contact, I understand and acknowledge the importance of contingency in shaping the Inuit-European experience as well as the environmental factors that greatly influence daily life, but I see these as peripheral themes that every archaeological project should consider. My own research incorporates these themes with a greater focus on situating a local/small-scale history, excavations from Mikak's house on Black Island, within the broader geographical and temporal scale of Labrador Inuit-European contact, and explores the ideas of dominance/resistance, power, the individual and the collective in action. In using a multidimensional and multianalytical perspective I intend to better understand these complexities of Inuit-European contact.

## CHAPTER 3 : BACKGROUND

### Introduction

The Labrador coast has been the setting for many cultural interactions since its first occupants arrived nearly 8,000 years ago (Figure 3.1). As the first cultural group to settle the coast, the Maritime Archaic would eventually have contact, and perhaps be in competition for resources, with the Pre-Dorset groups that appeared along the coast around 4,000 BP. The nature and extent of this contact has been explored by Fitzhugh (1984), Hood (2008), and Hutchings (2011). Further cultural overlap occurred between Intermediate Indian and Late Pre-Dorset groups (3,500-2800BP), Late Recent Indian and both Dorset and Thule (1,800-400BP), and potentially, though now unlikely, overlap between Late Dorset and Early Thule (800BP) (Hood 2008).

The term 'Thule' is an archaeological construct that refers to the ancestral pre-contact Inuit who originated in Alaska and spread into the Canadian Arctic, subarctic, and the coast of Greenland (Ramsden & Rankin 2013). Their seemingly rapid migration may have been a motivated one, primarily in search of iron and other European goods from potential previous contact with Norse colonies in Greenland, although this theory is not universally accepted (McGhee 2000, 2009; Ramsden and Rankin 2013:7). The earliest radiocarbon dates for Thule occupation along the Labrador coast range from 800-600BP (AD 1200-1400; Fitzhugh 1994) but these dates remain tenuous due to Thule propensity to occupy Dorset house sites, resulting in mixed deposits of Dorset and Thule material (Hood 2008), and the unreliable materials used to procure these dates (Ramsden & Rankin 2013). Many choose a less contentious date for the early Thule and place their

arrival during the fifteenth century with a gradual migration south along the coast (Kaplan 1985; Woollett 2007). Some Nunatsiavut beneficiaries dislike the term ‘Thule’ as they feel it creates an unnecessary divide and removes their cultural continuity. Out of respect for this position I use the phrase ‘pre-contact Inuit’ when referring to the first Inuit populations along the Labrador coast.

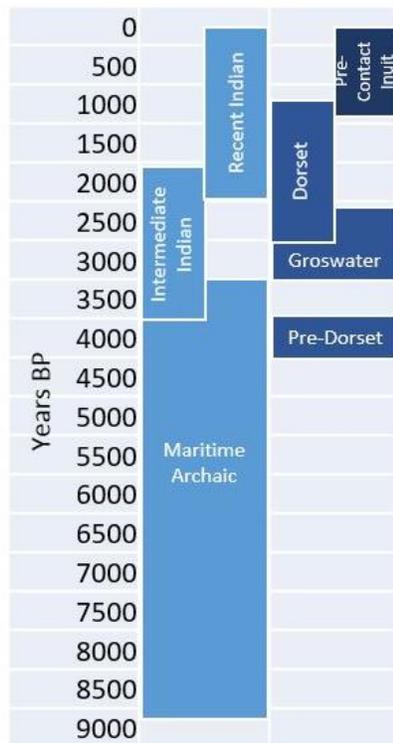


Figure 3.1: Pre-Contact Labrador Chronology.

The timing of the transition from Thule to Early Contact Period or Historic Inuit has been debated. Woollett (2007: 71) places the transition as occurring between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, yet evidence exists for permanent Inuit settlements with European materials in their assemblages south of Hamilton Inlet during the sixteenth

century (Martijn 2009; Rankin 2010a, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2014a; Rankin et al. 2012; Stopp 2002, 2012; Stopp and Jalbert 2010; Stopp and Wolfe 2011). Furthermore, sites classified as ‘Thule’ in the north also have traces of iron in their assemblages and tend not to resemble ‘Thule’ sites seen elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic; this brings us to question whether our archaeological classification of ‘Thule’ exists in Labrador at all (Ramsden & Rankin 2013). A recent analysis of currently acceptable radiocarbon dates from the Baffin, Ungava, and northern Labrador regions suggests that this migration into Labrador occurred at the tail-end of the ‘Thule period’, just prior to the emergence of regionally distinct Inuit cultures (Rankin 2009:19). This suggestion is also supported archaeologically with the lack of any artifactual evidence supporting a Thule presence in Labrador prior to the fifteenth century (Rankin 2009:19). It seems more likely that the pre-contact Inuit migration into Labrador occurred relatively late, around AD 1500, and might have corresponded with the arrival of Europeans in southern Labrador for the fishery (Ramsden & Rankin 2013). Archival evidence places Inuit in the Gulf of St. Lawrence at least as early as the mid-sixteenth century, and the archaeological evidence suggests multi-season occupations rather than the previously assumed seasonal forays (Martijn 2009; Stopp 2002). Rather than a gradual migration down the coast, this later entry into Labrador suggests a rapid migration, with groups appearing as far south as Sandwich Bay *at least* by the mid-seventeenth century if not earlier (Ramsden & Rankin 2013).

Regardless of the precise dates for the Pre-contact/Contact Inuit transition, we know that various forms of Inuit-European contact started as early as the sixteenth

century and continued and intensified into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In order to provide the background necessary to understand the complexities and social climate of the eighteenth century I will first summarize aspects of Pre-contact Inuit life as many of these continued into the Early Contact Period and are important for understanding cultural continuity. I will then summarize the nature of Inuit-European contact that took place from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries and conclude with a discussion of trade and the development of the long-distance trade network.

## **Pre-Contact Inuit**

### Subsistence Economy

While it no doubt varied from region to region, some generalizations can be made about the Pre-contact Inuit subsistence economy. Prior to European contact, Pre-contact Inuit groups practiced a modified maritime adaptation: hunting large marine mammals such as the bowhead or Greenland right whale while also relying on some interior resources (Kaplan 1985:48). The Inuit subsistence economy was closely tied to their environment, specifically with regards to ice formation and the animals that could be hunted (Hawkes 1916). Ice formations were thus an important feature for the Inuit annual cycle. Only certain species, such as the ringed seal, can survive under the landfast ice -ice that is firmly attached to the shore- that forms in the fall and extends approximately 40-50km offshore (Woollett 2007:75). In contrast, a wider variety of animals can be found at polynyas, pockets of water that remain ice-free in the winter due to winds, currents or upwellings, and at the *sina*, the seaward edge of landfast ice (Woollett 2007). Finally, pack ice carried by the Labrador Sea current is strongly

associated with the bi-annual harp seal migration (Sergeant 1991). Knowledge of these ice conditions and location of campsites relative to polynyas and the *sina* were imperative to the Inuit and their seasonal hunting strategies. These seasonal hunting strategies meant that the Labrador Inuit were highly mobile throughout the year depending on the season and the resources they required and as such their annual subsistence cycle is best described by season.

### *Fall*

Around mid-October the Inuit would move to their winter camps in the outer coastal zone and settling at good locations for intercepting harp seals on their southward migration, many of which would be cached for winter use. The month of November was when bowhead whales would appear in their greatest numbers (Taylor 1974:52). Successful whaling occurred along the coast from Nachvak Fiord to modern-day Hopedale with the exception of the Nain archipelago, where the whales avoid the island studded region (Taylor 1974). *Arvertok* is the Inuttitut name for Hopedale, which translates to the place of bowhead whales and was one of the more successful whaling areas along the coast (Brice-Bennett 2003:15). Bowhead whales could weigh up to 60,000 lbs., enough to support a village of approximately 200 people for an entire winter (Brice-Bennett 2003:15). The slow travel speed of the whale made them easy to intercept despite the fact that they required a large number of hunters in order to be successful (Taylor 1974). Although the Inuit had specialized whaling technology, such as the larger whale harpoon and float system, there were limitations and at times the whale would get away taking the equipment with it. Whaling was a dangerous endeavour, and the risk of

death for the hunters was high. It was also an expensive enterprise as many skins were required to make umiaks for use in the hunt (Grier 1999; Rankin and Crompton 2016a; Whitridge 1999). Whale hunting was thus unpredictable, required a cooperative hunting effort, and was considerably more risky than hunting smaller marine mammals (Taylor 1974). Despite the risks, whales were desirable because the Inuit would utilize all parts of the whale; the blubber would be rendered into oil for cooking and as fuel for both light and heat, the bones and baleen would be used in house construction and for some household objects, and of course the meat would be consumed (Kleivan 1966). Whaling took a considerable amount of time, labour, and effort, but other subsistence activities also took place, especially if the weather was too poor for whaling. Open-water sealing from kayaks was a less-risky and more reliable pursuit, and Inuit diet was also complemented by fishing (Taylor 1977:18). The end of this season was marked by the formation of fast ice, signalling the end of whaling/sealing from boats.

### *Winter*

In mid-December the Inuit shifted their focus to sealing at breathing holes which was highly productive for ringed seals immediately after freeze-up. Ringed seals were an important resource, valued for both their meat and blubber, and are the main seal species that remains under the ice through the winter (Woollett 2007). As winter progressed, storms and deep snow would affect this form of sealing, making breathing holes difficult to find and transportation a challenge (Taylor 1974). In many years this season was the most difficult, because food was hard to come by. Some groups would venture inland to

hunt for caribou in February and others would continue fishing to supplement their diet (Taylor 1969).

During March and April hunting productivity remained low. Seal hunting near rattles, a narrow passage swept by strong tides, at the *sina*, and artificial breathing holes helped produce enough to survive. The proximity of late-winter camps to the *sina* was well planned for these harsh winter seasons (Taylor 1974:54). Ice fishing was also common at this time as rock cod were plentiful. In certain areas inland char fishing also occurred and when food was scarce, and caribou were either hunted or retrieved from caches. Some families would move to live in snow houses while others remained in their winter sod houses until late April (Taylor 1974).

### *Spring*

At the end of April, families would move into tents and relocate their spring camps to the seaward islands where the earliest open water is found. With the melting snow and ice, seal's breathing holes would widen and numerous seals would crawl onto the ice to bask. Bearded, ringed, and harbour seals were the most common until the spring harp migration in June. Open-water seabirds were killed from kayaks and many Inuit would collect their eggs. North of Okak, belugas and walrus would also be hunted (Taylor 1974).

Usually the ice would break up and drift out to sea by mid-June. In July the Inuit would leave their spring camps on the outer islands and move into the bays where they could access a variety of resource zones. The men would often leave camp for several

days to hunt sea mammals from kayaks because all species of seal were now available. Arctic char, salmon and potentially cod fish also became an important resource at this time.

### *Summer*

Late summer was the most important time to obtain caribou hides for clothing for the coming winter and many families would go inland to hunt caribou. Those who could not make the inland trip would stay near the coast to fish and would dry them for the winter and share with the returning caribou hunters in exchange for skins (Taylor 1977). The caribou hunting trip was actually more important for the skins rather than the meat, although excess meat would often be cached for winter when food was scarce (Taylor 1974). Berries were, and still are, an abundant resource during the late summer and no doubt would have been harvested by both the coastal and inland groups (Taylor 1977).

### *Summary*

From this summary of the Pre-contact Inuit subsistence economy it is apparent that considerable mobility was required for year-round access to the resources that their livelihood depended on. Success depended on a deep knowledge of the environmental conditions, in particular the ice, and where and when certain resources could be accessed. Kaplan (2012) describes the changes in these patterns over time as the Inuit settled into new regions along the coast, and faced new environmental and social challenges. Thus these subsistence-based strategies were not uniform across time and space, but highly variable.

## 16<sup>th</sup> Century

An increasing European presence, beginning in the sixteenth century, motivated the gradual shift from a purely subsistence-based economy to a trade-based economy although a high degree of mobility, and adherence to the traditional seasonal round, remained throughout the contact period. Basque fishers and whalers arrived on the south coast of Labrador around AD 1536 and set up whaling stations in harbours such as Red Bay (Barkham 1984). While the Basques had considerable experience in the whaling industry at this time, their transatlantic voyage was prompted by the success of Breton fishermen who had pioneered the Strait of Belle Isle to exploit the abundant cod resources in the region (Barkham 1984:515). These whaling stations immediately proved to be a success, and approximately 6000-9000 barrels of oil were sent back to Europe every year. The Basques also brought many European items with them for the long whaling season, predominantly supplies for the station itself: red roofing tiles (which are found in abundance in archaeological assemblages from the region); axes and nails; as well as many hogsheads of wine and cider and other provisions for their consumption (Barkham 1984: 517).

Contact between the Inuit and Basques most likely consisted of opportunistic trade and/or the investigation of Basque caches and shore stations during the winter months, after the Basques had returned home, as there is little evidence to suggest any formal exchange system between the two groups (Kaplan 1985:56). Early European contact was even less substantial along the northern coast (Nain and northwards), although it has been suggested that the northern Inuit may have been visited by Dutch

whalers for trade purposes during the seventeenth century despite the lack of archaeological evidence to support a Dutch interaction (Kaplan 1980). Inuit sites that have been dated to the late sixteenth century contain a substantial amount of European-made materials, many of which seem to have been used in place of traditional (local) materials, for example the substitution of iron for slate in end blades and ulu blades. Thus, the Inuit seasonal round likely remained the same during this time period, despite the acquisition of these new materials.

### **17<sup>th</sup> Century**

In 1694, French explorer and cartographer Louis Jolliet travelled along the coast and noted that the Inuit were already well-equipped with European goods (Taylor 1984a). This is undoubtedly due to the fact that during the seventeenth century the European presence in Labrador increased with the introduction of a seasonal fishery (Trudel 1981). Groups of fishermen would come to Labrador to intensively fish but would then return home to Europe, often leaving items behind for use the following year. The Inuit would have likely investigated these abandoned camps in search of iron and other European goods in the same manner as they had with the Basque whaling stations of the sixteenth century. The nature of the seasonal fishery enabled the Inuit to continue acquiring European goods with little to no interaction (Fitzhugh 1985). Interactions that did take place were typically hostile, on both sides, though there were a few Europeans who attempted friendly trade relations, namely Courtemanche, Jolliet, and Fornel (Trudel 1981). Documentary evidence suggests that these violent interactions were the Inuit response to the French encroaching on their traditional territory (Martijn 2009; Rankin

2015a; Stopp 2002). The entry point for the majority of Europeans was along the south coast of Labrador, and as such European goods were primarily, but not entirely, restricted to the south during this early contact period. The Dutch whaler's approach differed from the European fisherman as they seemed to avoid the crowded waters of the south and head north, particularly focussed on the Davis Strait, north coast of Labrador, and Greenland (Kupp and Hart 1976). Trade relations between the Inuit and these Dutch whalers would have been sporadic and highly unreliable in contrast to the European presence in the south.

By the end of the seventeenth century and leading into the eighteenth century the seasonal fishery began to shift towards a sedentary fishery, particularly among the French, and this permanent year-round presence would have greatly altered when and how the Inuit could have acquired European goods, and continued to place strain on the Inuit-European relationship.

### **18<sup>th</sup> Century**

European expansion in Labrador during the eighteenth century was largely dependent on political and social developments beyond Labrador. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 facilitated the French occupation of coastal Labrador, and, as Crompton (2014) explains, French concessionaires were granted land from which they were permitted to participate in the cod and seal fisheries, as well as trade with Aboriginal peoples (Kaplan 1985; Stopp 2008). Later, in 1763, the Treaty of Paris had control switch from French to British. This created a more restricted economic regime that banned Newfoundland and New England residents from fishing in Labrador waters and proscribed land-ownership

and year-round fishing and trading rights (Stopp 2008:14). In 1765 Governor Hugh Palliser visited southern Labrador to establish a peace treaty in the hopes of promoting peaceful relations between the British and the Inuit. Later his restrictive regime relaxed and in 1770 Captain George Cartwright became one of the first of many British merchants to permanently settle the southern coast to engage in cod and seal fisheries, while establishing friendly trade relations with the Innu and Inuit of Labrador. To clarify, it was largely during the eighteenth century that Labrador fell under colonial European administrative control, first French, then British, and the intensity of Inuit and European contact and colonialism developed.

By the eighteenth century, an extensive coastal trade-network had developed where European goods from the south were being traded by Inuit middlemen for baleen, sea-mammal oil and furs from Inuit in the north (Kaplan 1980, 1985). Part of the restrictive policy established by the British in 1763 included the aim of containing the Inuit in the north, in order to prevent them from interfering with the fishery in the south. At the same time, Moravian missionaries were interested in establishing a mission among the Labrador Inuit. In order to do so, they agreed to work with the British Government towards limiting Inuit activities in the south, in exchange for land to set up their mission stations (Hiller 1971; Kaplan 1985). In 1771 the Moravians established their first mission station in Nain with the main goal of converting the Inuit population, making them the first European group to visit Labrador with specific intentions to alter aspects of the Inuit way of life (Kaplan 1985:64). The Moravians continued their expansion during

the eighteenth century, both to the north and the south, at Okak (1776) and Hopedale (1782).

The shift from a seasonal to a permanent European presence along the coast resulted in regular access to European-made materials, but it also meant more face-to-face interactions between Inuit and European traders, fishers, and missionaries. Despite Governor Palliser's efforts, these interactions were not always peaceful, and while the Moravians hoped to Christianize the Inuit and prevent them from continuing their forays south to trade, they too were unsuccessful. The Inuit were never opposed to travelling for resources, as indicated in their traditional seasonal round discussed above, so their willingness to travel great distances to acquire desirable European goods was not unprecedented. Formalized trade goods like glass beads, pipes, and firearm-related materials are abundant in eighteenth-century Inuit assemblages, particularly from the latter-half of the century (Rollmann 2011).

Although whale oil and baleen gradually became important trade commodities, by the end of the eighteenth century whaling had greatly decreased with the last whale kill on record occurring in 1823 (Taylor 1984a). Some potential factors for a decreased dependency on whales could have been the decline in the number of whales, the dropping price of baleen in the European market, and the changes in Inuit society and culture in general during the late eighteenth century (Taylor 1984:518). Yet while there is a noticeable decrease in whaling during this post-contact period, zooarchaeological evidence from the Okak region shows that it did not disappear entirely until the early nineteenth century (Woollett 2007:81).

## 19<sup>th</sup> Century

During the nineteenth century the Moravians began to experience trade competition with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and independent traders willing to venture into the north. The HBC had well-established trade operations throughout the rest of what is now Canada, but they moved into Labrador in 1831 to try and capitalize on the trade of fur-bearing animals from the Labrador interior. Their early interior posts proved unsuccessful, in part due to the difficult routes and portages necessary for inland trade but also due to scarce resources (Kaplan 1983:178). Knowing that the Moravians and other independent merchants had established a viable trade system along the coast prompted the HBC to move into Hamilton Inlet and then eventually along the coast to be in direct competition with these other trading groups. However it was not until Donald Smith, later Lord Strathcona who would become the 26th Governor of the HBC from 1889-1914, took over the Labrador trade operations in 1858 that they began to see success. Part of this success stemmed from their employment strategies as they selected Inuttit-speaking settlers, typically married to Inuit women, to operate their trading posts.

The term 'settler' was loosely defined by Kleivan (1966:90) as a person who had English as their principal language and lived off of local resources. Many of these individuals were employees or servants of merchants who had married local women and became resident fishermen and trappers on the Labrador coast. Thus, their population density was initially much higher in the southern region before they too ventured north. Kleivan (1966:90) argues that regardless of their ethnic background, all settlers identify

with “white man and his culture”, although recent developments with the NunatuKavut Community Council (NCC) has seen a shift in this perception as people are more willing to embrace their Inuit heritage (Kennedy 2014a). Historically, both Inuit and Moravians developed distinctions of settler populations. A settler coming directly from Europe was described as *kablunak* (white), and the term for those of mixed heritage (Inuit-Metis) was *kablunangajok*, from *kablunak*, white man, and *-ngajok*, one who resembles (Kennedy 2014a; Kleivan 1966). Regardless of the terminology, what emerged during the late-contact period was a population of mixed ancestry, and many of these individuals became successful as independent traders, trappers, and fishermen or were hired by the HBC. This additional European presence was one of many reasons prompting the Moravians to establish more mission stations at Hebron (1830), Zoar (1865), Ramah (1871), Makkovik (1896) and Killinek (1904), so that by the end of the nineteenth century the entire coast of Labrador had experienced some form of contact or colonization.

Greater changes to the traditional seasonal round emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as more individuals participated in trade rather than solely a subsistence-based economy (Kaplan 1985; Rankin 2010b). Gradually more converts throughout the nineteenth century meant increasing populations at mission stations and more participation in mission activities. The Labrador Inuit were relatively fortunate that their communities were not greatly affected by the introduction of European diseases during the early contact period, however this would change in the early twentieth century with the 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic that wiped out numerous communities along the coast.

By separating this discussion of Inuit culture-history into discrete blocks of time (centuries) I have highlighted the increasing presence of European groups and some of the changes that developed over the course of their tenure along the Labrador coast. Most of what has been discussed thus far relates to Inuit subsistence strategies and their changing relationships with European newcomers, but there are other important aspects of Inuit society that need to be presented as they relate to some of the organizing principles of Inuit culture and their material world.

### **Changing Continuities in Inuit Society**

Many of the ways in which the Labrador Inuit negotiated their place in the world around them was through a process Ferris (2009:1) calls “changed continuities”. That is, they maintained their identity through historically situated understandings of self and community, but also renegotiated it with the incorporation of material changes. Thus while some aspects of Inuit society underwent changes, these were part of a much larger process deeply rooted in the past. Some of these changing continuities in Inuit society are directly linked to identity formation, their dwellings and household organization, and different regional traditions that developed through their unique circumstances (Whitridge 2008).

### **Inuit Identity: Gender, Status, and Prestige**

The social construction of identity is stimulated by the perception and acknowledgment of difference in others (Lawrence 2003:4). This ‘difference’ is what is used to distinguish oneself and one’s identity. Given that identity is multifaceted, individuals can negotiate and contest the varying aspects of their identity in their social

and material world. Historical archaeologists face a ‘complex mosaic’ of racial, ethnic and class reflections which have proven difficult to disentangle (Meskell 2002:284).

Isolating particular aspects of identity can prove problematic, and many studies that have focused on one single variable of identity have led to essentializing particular artifacts within a particular group (Loren and Beaudry 2006:256). For instance, acts of sewing, and its various material manifestations, are often linked to women. While in many cases this is an accurate categorization, there are some situations where men would use sewing implements as well. A focus specifically on gendered identity frames material culture in a binary opposition of male/female and limits the potential meanings that can be gleaned from the objects themselves in terms of identity formation in its totality.

Despite some of these criticisms, as a primary structuring principle in society, gender has often been selected for study (Cabak 1991; Davies 2014; Delle 2000; Gullason 1999; Jackson 1994; Kryder-Reid 1994; Wall 2000; Whitridge 1999, 2002). Traditional Inuit gender roles have been described as complementary and symbiotic, where males and females have different but equally important roles that support one another (Bodenhorn 1990; Briggs 1974; Condon and Stern 1993; Frink 2007, 2009; Jarvenpa and Brumback 2006; Stern 2010; Whitridge 2002). These roles have been categorized predominantly with regards to subsistence strategies, thus women maintain the home/hunting camps, process hides and manufacture clothing, and take care of children while men hunt large terrestrial and marine animals and manufacture many of the ‘hard’ tools (for example, ones made from bone, antler, ivory, wood, stone, and metal) (Davies 2014; Whitridge 1999, 2002). While Western convention has been to categorize these

roles as such, there was an inherent flexibility to these defined tasks that was necessary for survival in a harsh climate (Briggs 1974; Condon and Stern 1993; Davies 2014; Guemple 1986; Trott 2006). In fact, many have described Inuit ambivalence towards gender roles based on other fluid aspects of Inuit society, like the genderless nature of Inuttitut and the traditional naming system (Saladin d'Anglure 2005; Jessen Williamson 2006; Trott 2006). Therefore, this gendered division of labour must be viewed as fluid rather than fixed, and this fluidity permeates other aspects of social organization and identity construction (Davies 2014:15).

Moving beyond the gendered division of labour, there are other ways to explore gender relationships within Inuit society. One of the most prominent features described by early ethnographers and missionaries was the practice of polygyny. Polygyny was typically reserved for men of a high social rank, determined either by their hunting prowess, their endowment of relatively rare skills, or their abilities as a shaman (Saladin d'Anglure 2005). The desire for additional wives was two-fold; more wives provided additional labour but also helped increase one's social status (Taylor 1974, see Chapter 4). Many Inuit communities throughout the arctic faced an imbalanced sex ratio, in part due to the high mortality rates (particularly among male hunters), and in some areas through the potential practice of female infanticide (mainly among the Copper Inuit and Netsilik) (Condon and Stern 1993). Evidence for polyandry also exists, but at a much smaller scale (Saladin d'Anglure 2005; Taylor 1974). Competition between men for wives was high, and when there were not enough females to meet the demands for extra wives, wife stealing was common and at times led to murder (Taylor 1974:91). In addition to

polygyny and wife-stealing, spousal exchange was also common (Briggs 1974; Condon and Stern 1993; Saladin d'Anglure 2005; Stern 2010; Taylor 1974). Women were rarely, if ever, consulted on any of these matters. Husbands would take on additional wives and participate in spousal exchanges without any discussion or consideration, therefore despite women's value and high-demand they had relatively little power with regards to their personal relations (Stern 2010). That said, women were not powerless in all social arenas; they could exert influence over decisions made by men and in some cases women assumed very high positions of power within their communities (Bodenhorn 1990; Briggs 1974; Condon and Stern 1993; Saladin d'Anglure 2005).

In some ways, the increasing presence of Europeans, particularly missionaries, helped improve women's situation. In Labrador, women often sought the assistance of the Moravians during times of duress, and many settled near the mission stations to improve their social status and standard of living (Cabak 1991; Davies 2014). Women were able to exert a much greater degree of economic and social independence during the early contact period due to their increased participation in the wage economy (Condon and Stern 1993:395). Indeed, it has been argued that women were just as active as men in the early historic trade with Europeans in Labrador and other areas of the Arctic (Fay 2014; Whitridge 1999:108). Thus, studies of consumption can highlight women's agency, as they were often the ones responsible for choosing which goods made their way into their households (Jackson 1994; Vickery 1993; Wall 2000). Cabak (1991:184) argues that Inuit women were catalysts of change in nineteenth century Labrador because they were in closer contact with the Moravians, and thus they determined which objects were

incorporated and which were rejected. Her research helps demonstrate that Inuit women played an important role in negotiating the colonial situation for the Labrador Inuit as a whole. While Inuit gender relations changed over time, at times in response to pressures from European newcomers, continuities remained, particularly with regards to family and community organization.

Families were organized with male heads of household as the authority figure, and in multi-family dwellings this would typically be the eldest male with the highest social standing (Taylor 1974). At the multi-household community or settlement level this position of authority or leadership was less clear-cut. Authority was accrued by those who could perform well in a number of social arenas, again through their abilities as hunters, shamans, or even exceptional performers (Saladin d'Anglure 2005; Whitridge 1999). Within Pre-contact Inuit societies, the highest authority figure was the *umialik*; literally the 'boat owner', but as Whitridge (1999:26) states is perhaps better understood as 'rich man', with the additional implication of whaling leadership. The *umialik* (pl. *umialit*) directed the hunts and coordinated ceremonial festivals and feasts, and the wife of the *umialik* was responsible for carrying out rituals to ensure a successful whale hunt (Condon and Stern 1993; Whitridge 1999). While the whaling tradition among the Pre-contact/Early-Contact Labrador Inuit has received less scholarly attention than the Western Arctic whaling communities, Taylor (1985) has documented considerable similarities between the rituals and practices of the two regions. For example, whaling could not commence until their kayaks (and *umiaks*) had been covered with new skins (Taylor 1985:122). The *umiak* embodied very significant aspects of social development, material culture, and spirituality

and was viewed as an object of power and prestige (Anichtchenko 2012:158). Although owning an *umiak* was once an indication of high rank and success, owning European-style boats eventually became the true mark of status and prestige during the contact period (Taylor 1974:81; Rankin and Crompton 2016; also refer to discussion on Tuglavina in Chapter 4). Thus, the importance and high status accorded to boat-ownership remained as the Inuit economy shifted from primarily subsistence-based to participation in trade and the market economy.

To summarize, constructions of gender, status or rank, and prestige were continually renegotiated by the Labrador Inuit throughout their history. Rather than viewing these renegotiations as changes, they can be perceived as ‘changing continuities’ as they are historically informed and part of a natural historical process. Archaeological manifestations of identity can be difficult to identify, and since an analysis of identities is very much context dependent, it is much easier to access when the focus is on smaller-scale units of analysis such as the household, community or, at most, regional levels (Cabak and Loring 2000; Dietler 1998; Klein 1991; Loren and Beaudry 2006).

### Dwellings

Inuit households, and the activities contained therein, underwent great changes during the eighteenth century. One of the most noticeable changes was the adoption of what has been called the ‘communal house’ form replacing the earlier single-family dwellings (Woollett 1999). While the components of Inuit dwellings remained the same—stone, sod, wood, and whale bone—the size and interior organization changed in order to accommodate multiple families (Kaplan 1985). Theories on why this transition to a

communal house form took place have been prominent in the literature for decades, with ideas ranging from environmental to social and economic changes (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1985; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1976; Whitridge 2008; Woollett 1999, 2007). The most current research contends that the shift occurred in response to a combination of these factors (Woollett 1999, 2007). By the nineteenth century Inuit dwellings changed again, this time to align more with European ideals.

The end of the eighteenth century begins a transition back to single-family dwellings, which continues through the nineteenth century and reaches the most northern points of the coast during the early twentieth century. Kleivan (1966:36) believed that there was a direct correlation between the intensity of contact with the settler population and the tendency for Inuit to switch to single-family dwellings, a sort of imitation or emulation of settler house-form. However, the moral and economic influence of the Moravian missionaries should not be ignored when contemplating the reason(s) for the transition. At first these Inuit dwellings represent a hybrid house type, constructed of wood but maintaining the sod covering and a windscreen in replacement of the low entrance tunnel, but gradually they become more and more Europeanized (Kleivan 1966).

Documentary information on the gradual adoption of European house-style and materials is scant, but the Moravian missionary records do mention key features of the transition. With the exception of Hebron and the northern regions, where ecological factors affected the adoption of timber houses and use of wood stoves, soapstone lamps are commonly replaced by wood stoves to heat homes by 1840 (Cabak 1991; Kleivan 1966; Loring 1998). Window glass replaced the seal intestine window covering around

1860 and the earliest evidence of plank floors appears in 1870 (Kleivan 1966:37). Sleeping platforms were replaced by beds, although Kleivan (1966) notes that beds continued to function as seats and workspaces for women to do their sewing and needlework, much like the earlier platforms had. These descriptions depict changing continuities in Inuit household structure and organization. The changes that took place were gradual, and the structural components chosen by the Inuit aligned with their preconceived notions of household structure and organization, representing continuity in the spatial function of a dwelling. Of course these changing continuities did not happen at the same time along the coast; regional differences and variations were established as part of unique local traditions and circumstances.

### Regional Differences

Although in the preceding sections of this chapter I have somewhat generalized the history of the Labrador Inuit, there are distinct regional differences. These developed in response to differences in the local environment, which includes interactions with different groups of people. Access to different resources affected how and when these changing continuities evolved along the coast. The study of Inuit-European contact in Labrador has often divided the coast into north and south, creating a dichotomy that ignores Inuit mobility and emphasizes the arrival and placement of Europeans along the coast. This has caused some researchers to focus too heavily on missionary trade involvement in the north while ignoring merchant activity in the south, and vice versa (Fay 2015). Acknowledging these regional differences within the larger coastal context shifts the focus back to the Inuit experience. While the Moravians played a large role in

the European colonization of the Labrador coast, they were not able to establish themselves so firmly without local assistance. One of their earliest and biggest supporters was the Inuit woman Mikak, whose biography is presented in the next chapter and who was an active participant in the long-distance coastal trade network.

### **The Labrador Inuit Long-Distance Trade Network**

Initially after European contact Inuit material culture remained unchanged with the introduction of European materials. European goods were adopted to suit Inuit needs; such as iron spikes and nails hammered into knife blades, scrapers, or harpoon heads; and tile fragments appearing to be used as whetstones (Kaplan 1985:52). This initial incorporation of European goods appears to be a mere replacement of material type with the function remaining the same (e.g. iron ulu blades replacing ground slate).

In 1743 Louis Fornel, the manager of a sealing station in Chateau Bay, increased trade even further by fostering friendly trade relationships with the Inuit and establishing a trading post at North West River (Brice-Bennett 2003:19; Taylor 1984:511). In 1765, Newfoundland's Governor Hugh Palliser visited Chateau Bay and enlisted the help of Moravian missionaries Jens Haven and Christian Drachart to establish a peace treaty between the Inuit and the British. Drachart had learned to speak Inuttitut during his mission work in Greenland and his ability to converse with the Inuit in their native language greatly helped Palliser's cause (Rollmann pers. comm. 2016). According to Cranz's (1820:289,293) report, by this time both the Inuit and French had adopted several of each other's words into their own languages through their frequent trade encounters. In

meeting Haven, it must have impressed the Inuit to hear a European speak their own language.

In 1770 George Cartwright, a friend of Palliser's (Jenness 1965), established a post near Cape Charles and later Sandwich Bay, where he maintained friendly trade relations with Inuit for 15 years (Stopp 2008). Cartwright attributed his success with the Inuit to treating them fairly and firmly, and perhaps this is why many Inuit would travel great distances to trade with him (Hawkes 1916:7). He kept a detailed journal documenting the frequent trading visits by the northern Inuit (north of Hamilton Inlet), and local Inuit traders from Hamilton Inlet, including the various social and technological changes that occurred during that time (Kleivan 1966:11). Shortly after Cartwright's arrival in Labrador the Moravian missionaries, under the guidance of Jens Haven, secured their request for 100,000 acres of land to set up mission stations in the north. Though the British government was initially suspicious of this request, the missionaries' goals fit well with British policy of developing a seasonal fishery in the south as the missionaries intended to keep the Inuit north of Hamilton Inlet (Hiller 1971; Rollmann 2002). In this sense, the Moravians were willing to act as government intermediaries in order to secure their goal of spreading Christianity amongst the Labrador Inuit (Hiller 1971; Taylor 1984b).

### **Moravian Mission and Trade Involvement**

With their land grant secured the Moravian missionaries became the first Europeans to settle north of Hamilton Inlet. Their main concern was the spread of Christianity. A precedent had been set by their mission leaders to avoid mixing mission

work and trade. However, the Moravians quickly realized that engaging in trade activities was required if they were going to maintain their operations as many Inuit continued their travels south, away from missionary influence, to acquire the goods they desired (Hiller 1971; Kleivan 1966; Rollmann 2002, 2011:9). Through trade the missionaries could form close relationships with the Inuit and finance mission activities while at the same time shield their potential converts from the negative influences of southern traders (Hiller 1971; Rollmann 2002; Taylor 1984b). Thus the Conference of Moravian Elders advised the missionaries to trade with the Inuit at fair rates and made it clear that they were not to supply any liquor or firearms (Whiteley 1966:87). A detailed account of the first mission goods used for trade has not been published, although Kleivan (1966:48) suspects that fishhooks, lines, needles and knives would have been among the first trade goods. Eventually the Moravians responded to Inuit demands to supply a greater variety of trade items, including firearms and ammunition, in order to compete with non-Moravian traders (Hiller 1971; Rollmann 2011). An examination of a request for trade goods from the Hopedale mission compared to Cartwright's request shows some remarkable similarities, and presents the great variety of goods that both missionary and merchant brought in for trade (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 List of goods for trade.

<b>A Sample of Trade Items</b>		
<b>Category</b>	<b>Cartwright (1783)</b>	<b>Moravians (1788)</b>
<b>Hunting technology</b>	Arrow heads	Shot
	Dart heads	Duck shot
	small Furriers guns	Fox traps
	Powder	
	Shot	
	Flints	
	Beaver traps	
<b>Sewing &amp; Clothing</b>	Thimbles	Twine (packing and sail)
	Needles (darning)	Needles (multiple varieties and sizes)
	Bugles [glass beads]	Canvas
	Swanskin [flannel]	Duffle (different varieties and colours)
	Stockings	Stockings
<b>Building materials &amp; tools</b>	Small hatchets	Crooked splitting knives
	Handsaws	Grapplings [hooks or small anchors]
	Files	Chisels
	Rope (2" and 1.5")	Nails (1.5" and 1")
	Pitch	Oil pump
	Tar	Large oil funnel
	Caulking irons	Hanging-locks
	Caulking mallets	
<b>Other</b>	Ulus*	Tobacco
	Ivory combs	Brimstone [sulfur]
	Boat's kettles	Metal tea spoons
	Blankets	Wooden bowls (various sizes)
		Buckhandle table knives

\* Cartwright adds "I will get patterns made here and give them to you when we meet in town"

Source: Cartwright's list adapted from Figure 13 (Stopp 2008);  
Moravian's list adapted from '*Goods wanted in Hopedale*' CNS MF 511, Reel 25 pg.: 037237-037238

## **Effects of Trade**

During the eighteenth century, Inuit livelihood gradually moved from subsistence to market production and the Inuit economy became increasingly dependent on market conditions outside of Labrador (Kleivan 1966:44). Despite the fact that the Inuit had been participating in trade and had already established an extensive coastal trade network prior to Moravian arrival, the increasing involvement of the Moravians accelerated this process during the late eighteenth century (Jenness 1965; Kaplan 1985; Kennedy 2009; Kleivan 1966; Rollmann 2002). During the earlier part of the century the majority of Inuit groups practiced a mixed hunting and trading economy and they were very much linked with the larger global economy (Kennedy 2009). By the end of the eighteenth century the Moravians were encouraging the fishing and drying of cod and trapping of small mammals for furs, both items of an increasing value on the European market (Jenness 1965; Kleivan 1966; Rollmann 2002). Eventually this led to changes in Inuit economy, hunting and fishing methods, and even settlement patterns, disrupting their traditional routine during the nineteenth century (Jenness 1965; Kleivan 1966; Rollmann 2002).

The Moravians altered traditional Inuit culture by developing these economic strategies that undermined the established long-distance trade networks. They were further aided by the collapse of baleen in the European market, thus diminishing the value of their trade commodity, and a reduced number of whales and walrus from over-exploitation. As well, newly introduced technological changes, such as firearms and wooden boats, affected the former need for cooperative hunting efforts and further

undermined the structure of the trade network (Kaplan 1985:64). Despite these hardships, increasing trade with Europeans resulted in greater social mobility for the Inuit (Kleivan 1966:44). Evidence of this can be seen with the rise of Inuit entrepreneurs, like Mikak and Tuglavina (see Chapter 4), whose households and settlements became economically linked to the long-distance trade networks, as they gained increasing political, social and economic status (Kaplan 1985:65; Kennedy 2009).

### **Chapter Summary**

This brief examination of Labrador Inuit history demonstrates that much of it was fueled by the desire to acquire European goods. An increasing European presence meant improved access to the goods the Inuit desired, and they quickly developed a strategy to facilitate their trade needs along the coast by using an established long-distance trade network. This strategy was not a knee-jerk reaction but instead part of a long-term process. Stepping back and analysing this history from Pre-contact (pre-sixteenth century) through the early nineteenth century we see a great deal of cultural continuity in Inuit society, even in light of this increasing European presence. The traditional seasonal round persists well into the eighteenth century and although it gradually shifts, Inuit mobility and willingness to travel great distances for resources continues. And until the late eighteenth century, the adoption of European-made goods improved Inuit livelihood without greatly altering settlement-subsistence strategies. This is likely due to the fact that the environment played an equally important role for the European colonizers as they too were dependent on natural resources, and in many cases, assistance from Inuit to harvest them. The changes that emerged are reflections of both Inuit and European

adaptation to changing physical and social environments. Decisions were made based on past experiences and future expectations as these groups negotiated space and their material world. Many of these decisions are best understood by narrowing the focus to the small scale, thus the following chapter presents the biographies of two important Inuit figures whose lives were well-documented through their interactions with Europeans.

## CHAPTER 4 : INUIT ENTREPRENEURS

### Introduction

The coastal trade network became increasingly important in the wake of Inuit-European contact and many families travelled long distances to participate in trade. Two well-documented individuals emerged as prominent traders during the eighteenth century, and they were also important aides for the Moravian missionaries during their initial establishment along the coast. This chapter presents the biographies of these individuals, Mikak and Tuglavina, and frames them within the larger context of contact, trade, and gender relations along the Labrador coast.

### Mikak

J. Garth Taylor and Marianne Stopp have successfully pieced together the details of Mikak's life story from written sources, such as ships' journals and the station diaries of Moravian missionaries, and through an examination of portraiture and oral histories (Stopp 2007, 2009; Taylor 1983, 1984b, 2000). Very little is known of her early life, but it is assumed she was born around 1740 (Dodd 2009). Since much of our information comes from recorded European sources her later life is the focus of this biography. According to Taylor and Stopp's summaries, Mikak first enters the historical record in 1765 when, along with a large group of Inuit, she hosted Jens Haven and the Moravian Brethren who became weather-bound during their reconnaissance to Labrador. At this time she was in her early 20s, and had a partner whose identity is unknown, and a young son named Tutauk (Stopp 2009). During this visit the Brethren stayed in the tent of Tuglavina's brother Seguilla, a known shaman, and witnessed his shamanic dance, which

prompted them to describe him as a ‘sorcerer’ (Stopp 2007). This of course would not be the first time the Moravians would write about shamanic practices in their diaries and Periodical Accounts; much of the Nain diary contains information regarding Tuglavina’s role as a shaman and involvement with trade (Stopp 2007).

In 1767 Mikak, her son, and seven others were captured as part of a revenge attack on a group of Inuit who had stolen wooden boats and killed three Englishmen at a whaling station north of Chateau Bay (Rollmann 2015; Taylor 1983). The commander of the vessel, Francis Lucas, took an immediate interest in Mikak who, like him, was in her 20s and they began to teach each other words in their native languages (Taylor 1983:5). That summer Lucas took his prisoners to St. John’s where they met Governor Hugh Palliser, who Mikak might have remembered from a visit he paid to Chateau Bay in 1765 in order to establish a peace treaty. Palliser was greatly impressed with Mikak’s intelligence and knowledge of Inuit numbers and settlements, and he soon realized that he could use her and the other prisoners to establish good communications and trade with other Inuit along the coast (Stopp 2009:48; Taylor 1983:6). Palliser decided to take Mikak, her son Tutauk and an orphan named Karpik to winter in London where Mikak was reintroduced to the missionary Jens Haven and learned of his goal to secure a land grant for a mission post in Labrador (Taylor 2000). For reasons unknown, Mikak urged the cause of the Moravians while she was in London and, partly because of her efforts, the Moravians received their land grant in 1769. During her stay in London, Mikak was visited by a number of well-connected members of London society, had her portrait painted by John Russell (see Chapter 7 for a copy of this portrait), and was given many

gifts. Mikak returned to Labrador during the summer of 1769 and lobbied among the coastal Inuit for acceptance of the Moravian's presence in the future (Stopp 2009; Taylor 2000).

In 1770, the missionaries met up with Mikak and her family, just north of Hamilton Inlet. By this time she had married Tuglavina, a shaman and influential trader along the coast. Together Mikak and Tuglavina helped identify the place where the Moravian missionaries would establish the first mission post at Nain in the following year (Hood 2008; Taylor 1983, 2000). The location of the Nain mission was contested by the Inuit. They argued that they could not make a living there for more than two months in a year, yet the Moravians persisted in their choice of location, perhaps in an attempt to follow the conditions of their land grant from the British by keeping the Inuit in the northern region (Stopp 2009:51). On their journey with the missionaries, Mikak and Tuglavina seemed responsive to the Christian message, yet once the mission was established in Nain, in 1771, and they were invited to winter there, they declined the invitation and only visited to trade (Taylor 1984b). Traditional Inuit settlement patterns shifted slightly during this time. Typically in the winter months, Inuit would settle into semi-subterranean sod houses, hunting and fishing at the *sîna* (ice edge), *polynyas* (ice-free areas), or hunting ringed seals from landfast ice. From spring to autumn they would become increasingly mobile, as they travelled to acquire different marine and terrestrial resources. With the arrival of the Moravians, the Inuit remained close to the mission for supplies, while at the same time attempting to maintain their traditional seasonal resource harvesting patterns (Stopp 2009). The Moravians wanted to keep the Inuit close, to

prevent them from engaging in traditional practices they frowned upon, such as polygamy, spouse exchange and shamanic rituals, but they also wanted the Inuit to remain economically independent, so as not to form a dependence on mission foods and supplies. This provided the missionaries with a serious dilemma: they did not want to alter the traditional subsistence economy, but that economy required Inuit families to be definitively mobile which in turn kept them away from the watchful eye of the mission. Many Inuit families, including Mikak's and Tuglavina's, continued to follow a traditional way of life, often staying away from the mission station for long periods.

Mikak's family fought with other families in the region over their wealth, as Mikak and Tuglavina combined had substantial wealth and prestige. Shortly into their marriage, Tuglavina stole a second wife, claiming that Mikak was barren from her stay in London. This second wife happened to be Mikak's sister, and Mikak was not happy with the new arrangement, experiencing beatings at the hands of Tuglavina when she expressed her displeasure (Taylor 1984a:20). In 1773, Tuglavina exchanged wives with Pualo, whose wife was yet another sister of Mikak. Pualo was not heavily involved in coastal trade and his name first enters the Moravian documents during this transaction with Tuglavina, and appears later with references to Mikak. For Mikak, this exchange would have meant a serious drop in status and prestige among her fellow Inuit, as Pualo did not carry the same amount of influence. Immediately after the exchange, Tuglavina took off on a month-long trip with his new spouse. Upon his return, the missionaries urged him to stay with Mikak and, though he promised that he would, this promise was broken the following year (Taylor 1984a).

In 1775, Tuglavina and Mikak were heavily involved in the baleen trade and Tuglavina's success enabled him to take a third wife, Pualo's daughter. Mikak's final wife exchange from Tuglavina to Pualo occurred in 1776. Though the Moravians report that Pualo had treated Mikak better, she had to adjust to a lower standard of living since he did not even own a boat (Taylor 1984a:21). On January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1781 (Baptism ND, nos. 11& 12) both Pualo and Mikak's son Tutauk were baptized, but not Mikak, because the lot drawn to discern Christ's will did not admit her to baptism (Dodd 2009; Rollmann pers. comm. 2016; Taylor 1984b). Two years later, against Moravian wishes, Mikak and Pualo decided to go south, at the urging of Tuglavina. By this time, Tuglavina had four wives, an impressive number and a mark of exceptional prestige. More wives not only provided more labour but also demonstrated great wealth (Taylor 2000). The trip Mikak and Pualo took was successful, as they returned north with a new boat and musket, which encouraged them to continue with trips to the south for trade (Taylor 1984a). Mikak lived out the remainder of her life trading in the south with occasional trips north. Her husband Pualo died in 1783, but she was not widowed for long, as she remarried a younger man a few years later. Little is known about her life during this time, for after her rejection of baptism she remained very mobile and continued to trade between the north and south. She returned to Nain in 1795, where she died at roughly 55 years of age, after finally being baptized on her deathbed (Stopp 2009; Taylor 1984a).

### **Tuglavina**

Tuglavina's life, while thoroughly entwined with Mikak's, has been further elaborated on by Bryan Hood (2008) with information culled from the Moravian

Periodical Accounts and various publications by Taylor (1969, 1974, 1979, 1984a). Tuglavina first enters the documentary record in 1770 when the Moravians returned to Labrador and met up with their old acquaintance, and his new wife, Mikak. Hood (2008:216) speculates that Tuglavina's marriage to Mikak was a deliberate strategy on his part to facilitate access to European goods and acquire status, as she had close ties with the English and Moravians following her trip to London. Mikak's return to Labrador no doubt elicited a lot of male interest, as her newfound connections to European and highly prized European goods would have been quite desirable. Tuglavina was not without his own level of status and prestige. Thought to be an *angedkok* (shaman) who also excelled at hunting, he maintained considerable authority among his fellow Inuit (Hood 2008; Taylor 2000). Though considered a trouble-maker by the Moravians during the early years of the Moravian mission, because he often seduced their converts away for trade, we know that he did assist the Moravians many times (Hood 2008:217). In 1775 he took three missionaries in his own boat to search for the site of a new mission station at Hopedale and in 1780 he allowed one of the missionaries to accompany him on a caribou hunting trip in the interior (Taylor 1969, 2000).

As seen through Mikak's biography, her marriage to Tuglavina was a tumultuous one, though this was probably the case for many marriages during that time. Polygyny and wife-swapping were commonplace and so in this sense, Mikak and Tuglavina's marriage could be perceived as 'typical'. In contrast, Tuglavina's success at acquiring wives - he had four by 1782 - was exceptional and definitely a mark of his power and prestige. Throughout his marriage to Mikak, and continuing when he was no longer with

her, he would take his two-masted sloop north to gather baleen, which he would then exchange for European goods in Chateau Bay. He acquired firearms which he also transported north since initially the Moravians were unwilling to supply them and he would often convince others to join him on these trips south to acquire European goods (Rollmann 2011). His career as a trader ended in 1790 when his sloop became unseaworthy and he joined the mission settlement in Nain with his one remaining wife (Hood 2008; Taylor 2000). He had been baptized in Chateau Bay in 1783 when he was seriously ill and received the baptismal name William, but he did not conform to the Moravian expectations and did not join the congregation until 1793 in Nain. He died in 1798 at the age of 60 (Taylor 2000). Tuglavina's entrepreneurial career became increasingly successful when the Moravians settled along the Labrador coast despite the fact that the development of a trade economy was long in the making.

### **'Big men' traders or Entrepreneurs?**

While our knowledge of Mikak and Tuglavina is biased in nature, written from the white male perspective, it is valuable none the less. Much of what we know provides not only rich details of their lives and personal biographies but also of the relationships between members of Labrador Inuit society and their interactions with Europeans. At first glance Mikak and Tuglavina seem extraordinary, and certainly they experienced some extraordinary events and situations during their lifetime, but perhaps their lives were not so different from many Labrador Inuit during this time period. The fact that they are singled out in the documentary record attests more to these exceptional experiences and the fact that they were known to the writers than anything else. While

we know that not everyone participated as heavily in the trade network, there are some very large recorded groups of Inuit travelling south. Many of these individuals remain nameless in the records but that should not diminish their role in the trade economy.

Initially these facilitators of trade were called ‘big men’ (Richling 1993), based on the abundance of records that cite influential men, like Tuglavina, going south to trade. For lack of a better term this description stuck and has been repeatedly used when describing the coastal trade network. A number of problems arise when we take this term at face value; use of the anthropological term ‘big man’ has certain implications, and removes women entirely from the equation and implies a solely male enterprise. Mikak’s southern trade forays with her husband Pualo invite the question as to whether she rather than he might have conducted the actual trade. Were all traders men? What evidence is there to support the idea that women, like Mikak, were also “big women” in the coastal trading network?

Amongst northern foraging societies, a relatively consistent, pan-Arctic gendered division of labour is common (Bodenhorn 1990; Frink 2007, 2009; Jarvenpa and Brumback 2006; LeMoine 2003). This gendered division is actually a complex symbiotic relationship where the success of one depends on the other. While tasks occasionally overlapped, for example men will sometimes sew but only women will make skin clothing, men and women tended to avoid encroaching on each other’s productive spheres (Frink 2007:353). Stern (2010:9) describes how this relationship is deeply rooted in Inuit cosmology where women are associated with *the* essential role in attracting the animals needed for food, clothing, and fuel. Despite recognition of women’s important role within

the subsistence economy, in practice women had very little power or control over their lives (Stern 2010:13). Evidence for this is most pronounced in the aforementioned practices of spousal exchange and polygyny. As Stern (2010:16) further elaborates,

this lack of women's power in sexual relations contrasts markedly with the important role that women played in subsistence work and cosmology, and the two situations are not easily reconciled.

The introduction of new technologies would have changed household activities and altered subsistence strategies. By the end of the eighteenth century fish hooks, needles, knives, nets, traps, and guns were all available at both the Moravian and Hudson's Bay Company trading posts (Kleivan 1966). It was no longer necessary to fashion stone or bone tools when steel tools were readily available, nor was it necessary to sew seal skins together to make *umiaks* (large skin-covered boats), when wooden boats could be obtained. This meant that male hunters and trappers could spend more time away from home acquiring the goods for trade, and that the women could also participate in the market economy through their increased involvement in the cod fishery. In this sense, the introduction of European technology gradually changed Labrador Inuit social and economic strategies. Increased trade participation altered relationships among individuals by producing some changes in the division of labour, gender roles and the status system (Cleland 1993). Yet there is an indication of continuity, at least in terms of the gendered division of labour. Although the tasks performed by men and women changed, and the locations of these tasks were altered, the symbiotic economic-based

relationship continued. The technological changes introduced by Europeans do not appear to have disrupted this feature of Inuit society.

The Moravians kept detailed records and accounts of their travels and trades along the coast. That said, gender roles are not often described. Typically the lives of women are not mentioned, an exception being is the life of Mikak, who appears fairly frequently in Labrador's documentary history. Occasionally men's and women's roles are mentioned, such as, for example, by Lieutenant Roger Curtis in 1774. Curtis writes,

The Esquimaux men are extremely indolent and the women are the greatest drudges upon the face of the earth. They do every thing except procure food, and even in that they are frequently assistants; so that they are at continual labour (Curtis 1774:385).

From this description Curtis acknowledges the fact that women often helped with food procurement, highlighting this symbiotic gendered division of labor.

Lucien Turner (1894) provides a detailed account of men's and women's roles in the Ungava region. While he states that the men go off to hunt larger game, the women bring the wood and water, make skin clothes and boots, as well as hunt small game (Turner 1894:205-206). Again the work of men and women is framed symbiotically and while women's work seems never-ending, Turner emphasizes how the two roles work perfectly well together:

The entire family accompany the [hunting] expeditions; and as the females are often the more numerous portion of the population, they row the umiak at their leisure ... [Turner 1894:206].

Although women participated in hunting and trading expeditions, they are seldom referred to, most especially by name. For example, when missionary William Turner travelled with a group of Inuit inland to hunt caribou in 1780 he mentions women so infrequently that one wonders if they were there at all. Only occasionally does he mention their presence:

Tuglavina ordered everyone to be ready, that we might go in the night. His wives were obliged to make a great fire between the tents and the boat, in order to have light in loading our boat [Taylor 1969:156].

Missionaries Kohlmeister and Kmoch (1814) seldom mention women in their detailed account of their 1811 voyage from Okak to Ungava Bay. Aside from a brief introduction of who was aboard the vessel, in which we learn there were five Inuit women, the remainder of their journal contains one reference to a woman suffering a severe head wound after the ship hit a rock (Kohlmeister and Kmoch 1814:38). Presumably these women had specific roles on board the vessel but the missionaries' primary focus was to record the account of their trip and how they preached their Christian message at every stop along the way. With the exception of their captain Jonathan, they say very little about any of the other passengers, male or female, and refer to everyone by the blanket term 'the Esquimaux' (Kohlmeister and Kmoch 1814). This lack of reference to women in these documentary records may be explained both by prevailing male attitudes towards women during the historical period when they were written, and by the fact that male missionaries and other travellers would have had little contact with Inuit women.

From these few excerpts we can get a sense of male and female roles, and it seems that women were constantly at work either within the home or assisting men with hunting or travelling. As the Inuit economy shifted throughout the eighteenth century women might have had increasing participation within the trade network. Cabak (1991:158) states that during the nineteenth century Inuit women were “shrewd shoppers, often sharper than men, and displayed influence in household purchasing decisions, often making the final choices.” This behaviour may have developed during the eighteenth century as Inuit women gained access to prestigious European goods. These ethnographic and historical sources provide us with some information, albeit written from a male perspective. While we may never know whether women like Mikak actually participated in trade, we know that the social status of the wives of influential male traders increased through the things they came to possess, and when trade was peaceful, the women themselves may have participated.

An uncritical examination of the documentary records and bias within our own interpretations has led to the construction of the Inuit “big man” trader as a key component of the coastal trade network. This assumption does a disservice to the many women who appear to have played an active role in the trade economy as well. I have followed Kaplan’s (1983) use of the term “entrepreneurs” to more accurately reflect the individuals who participated in this trade economy, and to remove any gender bias from our understanding of the coastal trade network (Fay 2014). It also removes the tendency to place males and females in binary opposition and instead considers their complementary economic roles in Inuit society.

## **Chapter Summary**

Within the development of the coastal trade network a number of key individuals emerge, namely those that were particularly well-connected with Europeans and adept at acquiring European goods. It is through this trade network that we begin to see increased wealth accumulation among the Labrador Inuit, and changing roles for both the men and women of Inuit society. Mikak and Tuglavina were just two of likely many entrepreneurial figures that emerged during this period, their lives well-documented due to the nature of their relationship with the Moravian missionaries. Ethnographic and historical sources provide us with some information, albeit written from a white, male perspective. Yet studying only words misses out on the wordless experience of all people (Glassie 1999:44) and since written history leaves out large sections of the world's population, combining what is available with the material record can illuminate a more complete view of the past. The following chapter presents the archaeological data from the excavation of one of Mikak's dwellings on Black Island in the Nain area.

## **CHAPTER 5 : BLACK ISLAND (KHERNERTOK)**

### **Introduction**

Black Island was and continues to be an important place for many Inuit families. Not only does it provide access to numerous natural resources, it is also close to Nain – originally a mission station, now a town and capital of Nunatsiavut (the settlement area for the Labrador Inuit) – making travel between the two fairly easy. Black Island was first investigated archaeologically by J. Garth Taylor in the 1960s as part of a large-scale survey between Nain and Okak. An Inuit sod house site that Taylor recorded remained untouched until I undertook excavations in 2010. This chapter focuses on the site history, field and laboratory methodology, as well as results from the Black Island excavations that took place during the summers of 2010 and 2011.

### **Site Background**

Black Island is located approximately 30km northeast of Nain and is one of the smaller islands within the Nain archipelago, dwarfed by the much larger South Aulatsivik Island to its west (Figure 5.1). The island is about 3.5 km across, with two large bays facing east, one of which contains the site (HeCi-15). The other contains modern cabins (Figure 5.2: black star indicates location of cabins). There is a large freshwater pond at the northern end of the island behind the cabins, but numerous smaller bodies of fresh water are found across the island. The western edge of the island forms part of the ‘seal tickle’ between it and South Aulatsivik Island which during extreme low tide can be traversed by foot. For much of the early twentieth century, the Ford family ran a successful sealing operation on Black Island. This declined in the 1980s when sealskins

and products were no longer profitable. The Fords maintain numerous properties on the island for their personal use along with a few other families who use their cabins year-round for hunting and fishing.

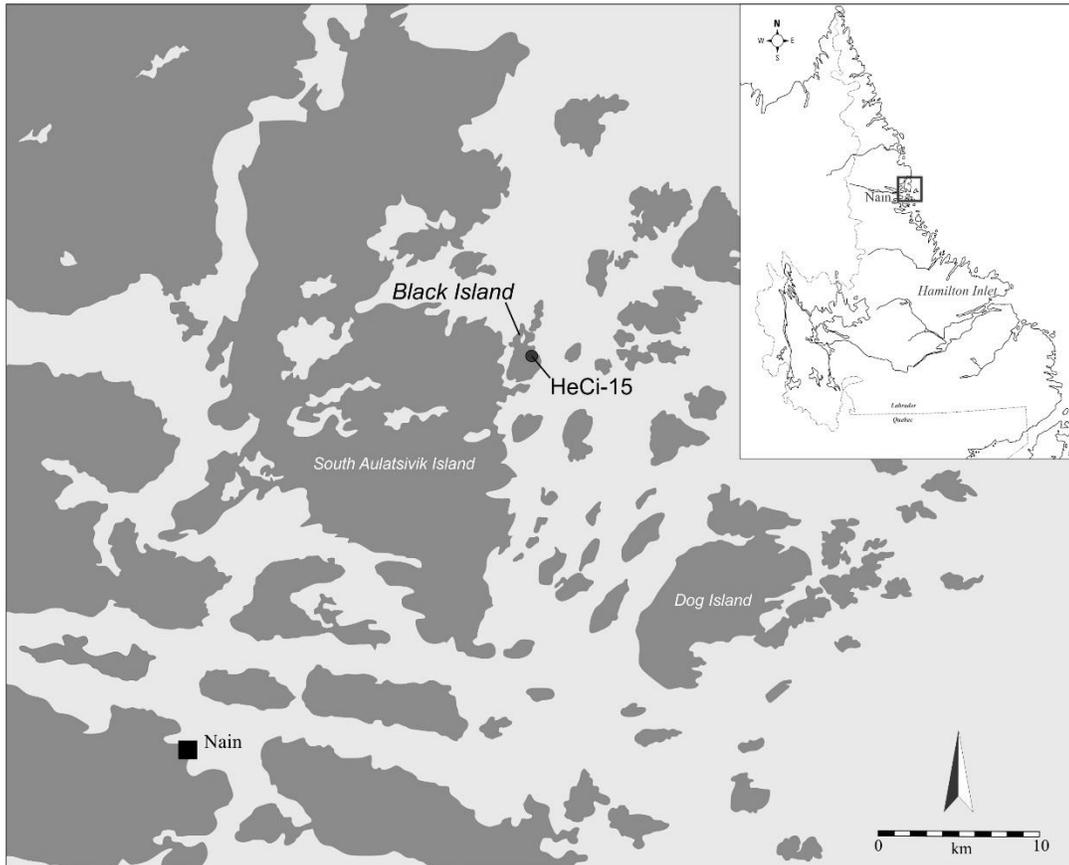


Figure 5.1: Nain area map.

Seals are not the only abundant resource in the region. Char is plentiful during the summer months, berries of all Labrador varieties appear during the late summer and autumn, arctic hare and fox are trapped in the winter, and the occasional caribou or bear can be harvested as well. Polar bears visit the island during the winter. Black bears, wolves, various bird species, and the occasional whale are also present. Black Island continues to be a productive area for traditional Inuit resources.

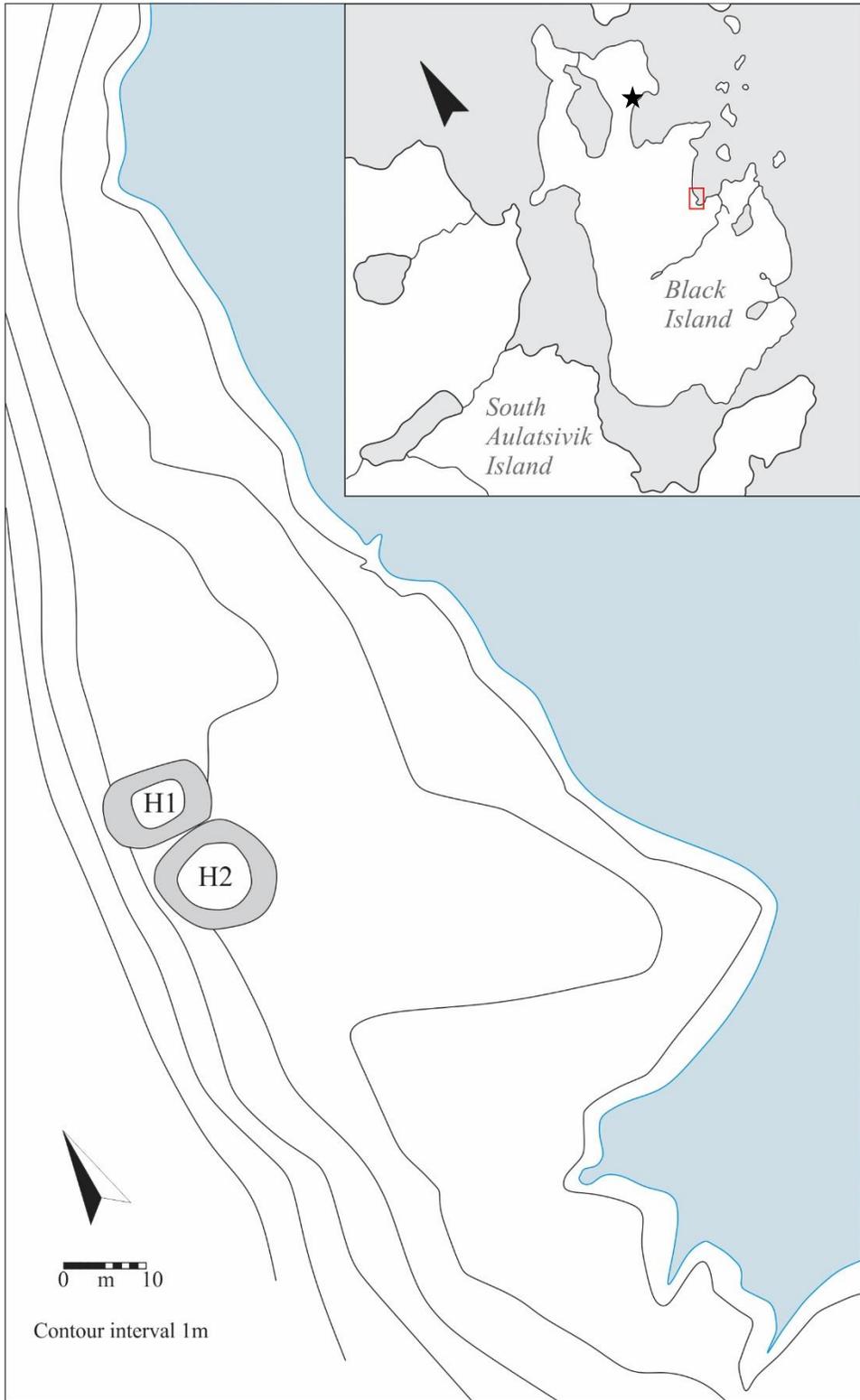


Figure 5.2: HeCi-15 site map.

The first archaeological excavations were undertaken by J. Garth Taylor during his 1966 survey from Nain to Okak. Taylor had taken particular interest in Black Island after locating a Moravian census from 1776 that listed Mikak as one of the 21 occupants from a small two-house settlement. The larger of the two households included the families of Kingminguse, Pualo, and Nerkingoak (Mikak's father) (Taylor 1974:73). Kingminguse was the first Inuk baptized by Moravians in Labrador in 1776. He was given the name Petrus and his importance to the missionaries is clearly documented within the Nain diaries (Rollmann pers. comm. 2016). Thus, these dwellings on Black Island contained a number of prominent individuals during the mid-eighteenth century.

The island itself had been used by many indigenous populations of Labrador prior to Inuit arrival; Maritime Archaic, Groswater, and Dorset sites are present. The only Inuit sod house settlement is located on the eastern side of the island in the cove just south of the cabins. Here Taylor discovered two sod houses on a low beach terrace and began his investigation. He designated the site HeCi-1 but this was later corrected by the Provincial Archaeology Office of Newfoundland and Labrador because William Fitzhugh had used the same designation on a different site. Taylor's field notes from 1966 use the old designation, but for consistency I will use the current borden number of HeCi-15. The site was simply called Black Island, or the Inuttitut name *Khernertok* which translates as 'Black' in English.

From the surface the two houses appear to be connected. Taylor designated the most northerly house as House 1, and the other House 2 (Taylor 1966). Taylor placed a test trench across what he believed was the entrance tunnel for House 1, but found no

evidence of stone walls or typical entrance tunnel features. Instead he found an abundance of rotten wood, including an “upright stick”, which suggested a wooden porch rather than traditional entrance tunnel (Taylor 1966:22). The three test units placed inside House 1 yielded few artifacts (one square nail, and one unmarked clay pipe stem). The shallow deposits began to fill with water, prompting them to stop excavating. Due to time constraints, Taylor limited his testing of House 2 to the entrance tunnel where he placed two smaller test trenches expecting to find evidence for a traditional stone tunnel. Neither of these test units revealed stone walls, but once again contained numerous fragments of rotten wood (Taylor 1966). The only artifact recovered was a bone komatik shoe found just above sub-soil. The test units in House 2 were abundant in faunal material, and Taylor saved the bones to show “the men at Black Island” (presumably members of the Ford family) who were able to identify them as harp and bearded seal. Taylor’s notes state that the weather conditions were not adequate for taking photographs. Although he later managed to take one photograph from a boat in the mouth of the cove, it does not do the site justice since it was taken from a great distance.

In 2006 I visited the site for the first time as part of a Parks Canada survey in the Nain and Okak areas. Lead by Jenneth Curtis, the quick survey was intended to record the locations of previously recorded sites with a GPS, note their condition, and record any new sites we may have encountered. The site appeared in good condition, the houses were fully overgrown with vegetation, and erosion did not seem to be affecting the site despite the fact that the houses were located close to the high tide line.

## **HeCi-15 Field Methodology**

### 2010 Field Season

I returned to the site in 2010 to map and test it for its potential to my dissertation research. My crew consisted of Josh Keddy, a fellow graduate student at Memorial University, and two young students from Nain. My goal for the season was to make a site map using a total station, to identify Taylor's test pits (if possible), and to place my own test pits in order to get a better sense of the site's long-term use and occupation.

The sod walls appeared fairly low, with flat floor areas. Taylor (1966) noted that these dwellings appeared to have been built on the surface and were not semi-subterranean dwellings. Upon clearing the vegetation, this appeared to be an accurate suggestion. House 1 is 8m wide by 5m long and has a south-facing entrance that appears to cut into the north wall of House 2. House 1 is rectangular in shape and its walls are much better defined than House 2. House 2 has a completely different orientation, with an east-facing entrance and, though poorly defined, the structure appears more ovate in configuration. The diameter of House 2 is approximately 7m. Both structures are situated on a low beach terrace about 30m from the current high-tide line (see Figure 5.3).

Using a total station we made a contour map of the site and the visible archaeological features. We then established a grid over the structures and marked out test trenches for excavation in both houses, trying to avoid Taylor's test pits from his 1966 investigation. The units were excavated in quadrants by trowel and all excavated dirt was screened through ¼" mesh. We excavated in stratigraphic levels rather than arbitrary levels. Each stratum received a number and, when it was difficult to determine a change in

stratigraphy, a letter designation was added. Typically three stratigraphic levels were recorded, sometimes with additional A and B designations (Table 5.1, for more detailed profiles see Figures 5.9 and 5.10). All faunal material was recorded by quadrant and stratigraphic level. When possible, three-point provenience data was recorded for all artifacts, if not, they were at least recorded to the quadrant and level of each unit. Each unit was mapped and photographed at the base of each level unless there were no significant changes or structural features present from the previous level. North and East wall profiles were completed for all units and photos were taken for all exposed walls.



Figure 5.3: Houses 1 and 2 with vegetation cleared.

Table 5.1: Stratigraphic Levels

<b>Stratigraphic Levels</b>	<b>Description</b>
Sod	Roughly the top 5cm of vegetation
Level 1	Upper fill
Level 2	Roof collapse and structural fill
Level 3	Occupation (including floor and associated artifacts)
Floor	Typically paving stones or packed sand
Sterile	Light sand with no cultural materials

We started in House 1 with a 1x4m trench extending from the north wall into the centre of the house. The wall itself lacked the stone structural features typical of many sod houses. We exposed considerable amounts of wood, both in the form of collapsed roof beams, and what appeared to be the floor of the structure (Figure 5.4). Only two of the test units (H1 TU 3 & 4) contained flat paving stones, both with a thick layer of rotten wood and organic material on top. In one unit, a piece of wood that resembled a plank was uncovered (Figure 5.5). Few artifacts were recovered from this test trench though there was considerable faunal material.



Figure 5.4: House 1, Test Units 1-4.



Figure 5.5: House 1, Test Units 3 & 4. L: exposed wooden plank; R: minimal paving stones.

We then established four 1x1m test units in the entrance passage for House 1. Rather than follow a straight trench orientation, the 4 units were staggered to follow the curvature of the entrance. Again we found considerable amounts of rotten wood, including a wooden post still in situ that extended a further 20cm below sterile (Figure 5.6). Artifacts were limited, but there was a fair amount of faunal material, including large pieces of worked whale bone. The entrance was not a stone-lined entrance passage, and with the amount of wood and visible post, it is more likely a wooden porch, as Taylor had suggested (Taylor 1966:22).



Figure 5.6: Wooden post in situ.

Taylor's test pit in House 2 could not be identified. In an attempt to avoid it we placed an L-shaped 4 x 1m trench near the centre of the house. These 4 units produced a variety of artifacts and faunal remains, more than double what was recovered from all eight

units associated with House 1 (see results section for details). The floor in House 2 consisted of flat paving stones, hard packed soil and organic material. Rather than remove the stones, we placed tarps along the floor of the trench with the goal of returning in 2011 to fully excavate House 2. We opened an additional 2 1x1m units near the entrance of House 2 but did not have time to complete them and instead placed tarps down prior to back-filling for next season. In total, we excavated 12 1x1m units to completion and began two additional units. These initial test excavations made it clear that I should focus my efforts during the 2011 season on House 2.

### 2010 Results

Following Taylor's 1966 report, and based on my own test excavations, House 1 appears to be of more recent construction. The shallow walls and relatively flat interior surface indicate that this structure was probably not semi-subterranean but rather constructed on the surface. The abundance of rotten wood, both within the structure itself and its entrance, and the lack of stone structural elements suggest a non-traditional construction. Though both dwellings are mentioned in the 1776 Moravian census, it appears that House 1 was occupied much longer and underwent great structural changes. The fact that its entrance cuts into the north wall of House 2 further supports this interpretation as the two dwellings may have been joined at one point during their occupation. With House 2's potential abandonment, House 1 might have borrowed structural materials in its re-construction (Taylor 1966).

Table 5.2: 2010 Results.

2010 Results Item	House 1		House 2	
	#	%	#	%
Pipe fragments	39	33.3	64	22.1
Ceramic sherds	7	5.9	21	7.2
Glass shards	4	3.4	28	9.7
Beads (glass)	0	0	10	3.5
Fabric and cork	5	4.3	0	0.0
Nails/Spikes	35	29.9	48	16.6
Iron objects	11	9.4	24	8.3
Copper alloy	0	0	1	0.3
Lead objects	0	0	2	0.7
Lead projectiles	1	0.9	5	1.7
Gunflints	0	0	5	1.7
Lithics	12	10.3	33	11.4
Soapstone	0	0	3	1.0
Whale bone objects	3	2.6	16	5.5
Baleen	0	0	22	7.6
Bone objects	0	0	4	1.4
Wood	0	0	3	1.0
Leather	0	0	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>100</b>

117 artifacts were recovered from the eight test units from House 1 (four within the house, four within the entrance). These artifacts are discussed below along with the results from House 2 (Table 5.2). The two scraps of fabric looked very much like felted wool. The whale bone objects category consists of three large pieces of worked whale bone that were all found within the entrance to House 1 (Figure 5.7). The lithics category includes fragments of European flint (possible ballast), as well as native Labrador cherts (Ramah and Mugford), and two pieces of slate. While clay pipe fragments are the most abundant find, none had any diagnostic markings. The ceramic sherds are almost entirely creamware, with one piece of Nottingham stoneware. The lack of traditional Inuit material

culture, coupled with the architecture of the house, led me to agree with Taylor's (1966) findings that House 1 was occupied through the eighteenth- and into the nineteenth century.



Figure 5.7: Large pieces of whale bone (lower left corner) found in House 1 entrance.

Test excavations of House 2 proved challenging as there was potential for refuse from House 1 to have been deposited there. Also, the poorly defined nature of the structure itself made preliminary interpretations difficult. While test trenches proved useful for the retrieval of datable artifacts, they did not assist with interpreting the general layout of the dwelling structures. Compared to House 1, there were considerably more artifacts and a much greater variety (Table 5.2). Both European trade goods and traditional Inuit material-types were present. Based on the presence of Jackfieldware and Nottingham stoneware ceramic sherds, along with an abundance of creamware and English salt-glazed stoneware, I determined that House 2 had a stronger eighteenth-

century association than House 1. The 2010 results will be discussed in conjunction with the 2011 data in the remainder of this chapter.

In total, 1284 pieces of faunal material were recovered from the test units in both houses. Of this, 944 (73.5%) were identified to order or lower by Lindsay Swinarton of Université Laval. Various seal species make up the largest category of identifiable specimens, with 848 specimens (89.8%), followed by fox as the next largest species category with only 23 (2.4%) and dog with 18 (1.9%). Surprisingly underrepresented were caribou with 8 (0.9%) and whale with 4 (0.4%) (See Tables 5.7 and 5.8 for complete 2010 and 2011 faunal assemblages for House 2).

### 2011 Field Season

I returned to Black Island in 2011 with the goal of completing the excavation of House 2 and conducting additional testing of House 1, time permitting. We first established a grid in line with our 2010 test units across the entire House 2 dwelling, removed the backfill from the 2010 test units to re-expose the paved stone floor, and established four datum points throughout the house. My excavation strategy was similar to the 2010 season. We excavated by stratigraphic level, three-point provenienced artifacts when possible, and screened by quadrant and level through ¼" mesh. All faunal material was collected by quadrant and level and all nails were measured and recorded prior to reburial at the end of the season.

Excavating the entire dwelling was beneficial for the overall interpretation. In contrast to test trenches where one can only catch a glimpse of the internal structure,

seeing the entire house floor, benches, and cold trap helped easily identify potential activity areas. The stratigraphy differed throughout the house, with very mixed and disturbed areas on the north side of the house (where it may have intersected with House 1), and much deeper and more defined deposits in the entrance tunnel (see Figures 5.9 and 5.10 respectively). While Taylor was unable to find evidence for a stone entrance tunnel, we found a very clear stone wall on the south side and partial wall along the north side of the presumed tunnel, as well as the cold trap (Figure 5.8). The data recovered from our excavations will form the remainder of this chapter.



Figure 5.8: View of the cold trap from the entrance tunnel (note the soil baulk sitting on the house floor above it).



Figure 5.9: HeCi-15, House 2 North Wall Profile (26S-0W).

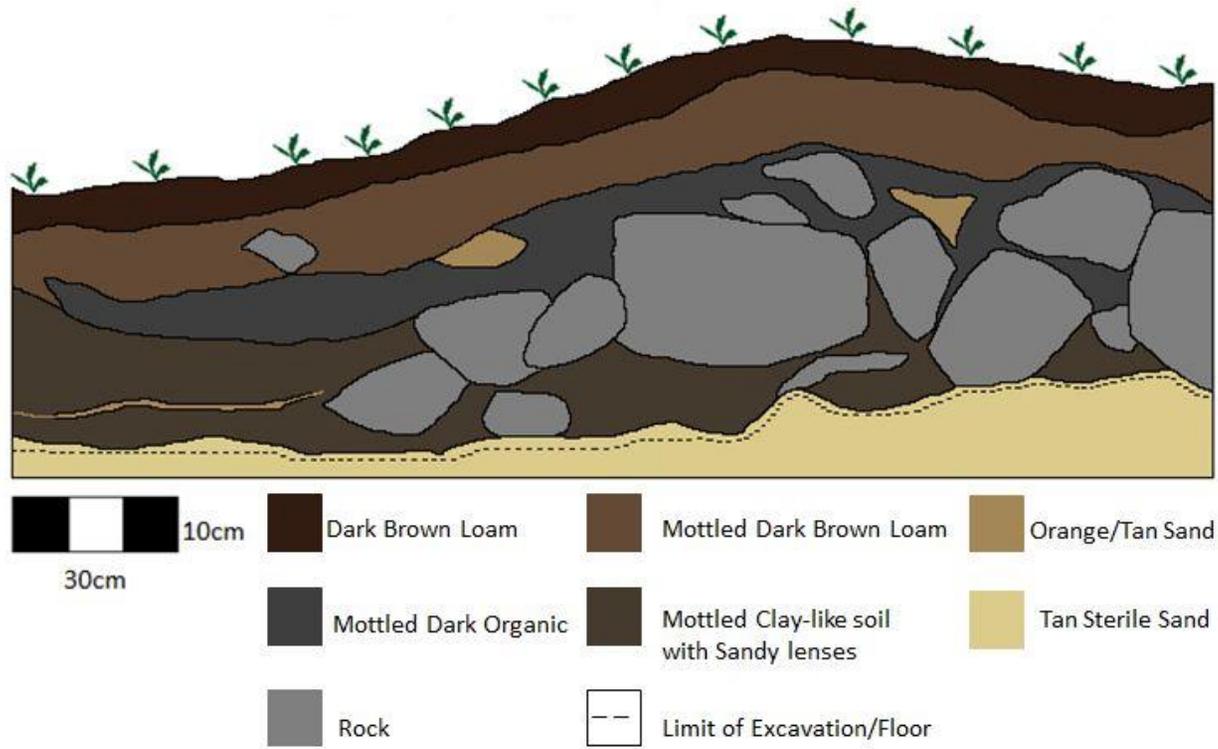


Figure 5.10: HeCi-15 House 2, Entrance Tunnel South Wall Profile (29S-7E and -6E).

## House 2 Artifact Data

The H2 assemblage is quite diverse, and when we combine the 2010 and 2011 artifacts into an itemized list European-made goods dominate the assemblage (see Table 5.3), accounting for 82.5% of the total. Only 17.0% are more traditional material types (e.g. whale bone, soapstone), and 0.4% are composite items (a combination of traditional and European-made materials). The following sections are organized by material type in order of abundance, focussing first on the occupation layer, and then what was recovered from the fill and upper strata. Dividing the assemblage into occupation versus fill can be useful for determining items that were *definitely* used by the dwelling's occupants, but this should not rule out the potential for items from the fill and upper strata to have been part of the occupant's daily lives. Soil deposition in Labrador is slow, leading to very shallow household deposits. The average depth of excavated units in House 2 was 40cm. Therefore my decision to delineate between occupation and fill was more for comparison purposes with other sites (see Arendt 2011) and to determine any potential patterns between what is found within the occupation layer versus upper strata. While typically Level 3 (see Table 5.1) represented the occupation layer, there were two areas within the dwelling when parts of Level 2 (often distinguished as 2b) were likely part of the occupation as well. These areas were the entrance tunnel and the location along the north wall of the dwelling where it may have intersected with House 1. The following data only includes the more definite Level 3 under the occupation designation. Finally, the complete faunal assemblage (combining 2010 and 2011) from House 2 will be presented before closing with a discussion of House 2.

Table 5.3: Artifacts Recovered from HeCi-15 House 2.

Item/Material	Entire Assemblage		Occupation Layer	
	n	% of Total Assemblage	n	% of Total Assemblage
Pipe frags	316	21.6	66	4.5
Ceramic sherds	138	9.4	54	3.7
Glass shards	128	8.7	66	4.5
Beads (glass)	194	13.2	165	11.3
Nails/Spikes	247	16.9	45	3.1
Iron objects	106	7.2	28	1.9
Misc. metals*	25	1.7	18	1.2
Lead objects	10	0.7	0	0
Lead projectiles	13	0.9	3	0.2
Gunflints	20	1.4	1	0.1
Lithics	86	5.9	22	1.5
Soapstone	8	0.6	2	0.1
Whale bone (worked)	94	6.4	13	0.9
Baleen	22	1.5	22	1.5
Bone objects	7	0.5	1	0.1
Composite items	6	0.4	0	0
Antler	6	0.4	2	0.1
Leather	3	0.2	2	0.1
Ivory	2	0.1	0	0
Shell (worked)	1	0.1	0	0
Wood (worked)	21	1.4	9	0.6
Misc.**	13	0.9	2	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1466</b>	<b>100</b>	521	35.5
* Mostly copper alloy and some unidentifiable				
** Red earthenware/roof tile and cork fragments				

### Pipe Fragments

Pipes account for just over 20% of the H2 assemblage and consist of 316 fragments of pipe bowls and stems. Of these fragments 186 are unmarked stems, and 87 are plain bowls. That leaves 43 fragments with identifiable features such as maker's

marks, heel initials, and potentially datable decorative elements. Only 66 fragments were found in the occupation level and of those only five fragments have any sort of maker's mark or decorative element. All of these have the ubiquitous TD-mark found on many eighteenth century and later pipes, although the maker's marks represented here fall into the "true" or early type of TD-marked pipes rather than the later plagiarized versions (Gaulton, pers. comm.). These early TD pipes were most likely produced by Thomas Dormer, or Thomas Dormer and Son, in London (ca. 1748-1770) and depict the initials TD and wreath décor within a rouletted circle on the bowl facing the smoker. They also have T and D stamped on either side of the heel (see Figure 5.11; Alexander 1983:198; Walker 1983:37). There is a minimum pipe count of 74 for the entire assemblage.



Figure 5.11: Examples of TD pipes showing maker's marks on bowls and initials on heel.

### Nails/Spikes

247 nails were recovered. They were measured and reburied, except for a small sample. Due to heavy corrosion it was difficult to determine whether nails were hand wrought or machine cut, so a focus was placed on measurements and the presence or absence of any components or modifications. Following Wolfe (2013) I have organized the nails into size categories by length: small nails 0-49mm; medium nails 50-99mm; large nails 100-149mm; small spikes 150-199mm; medium spikes 200-249mm; large spikes 250+mm. Classifying nails/spikes in this manner is appropriate as they were sold and ordered according to length (Wolfe 2013:80). Using Wolfe's size criteria only one small spike is present in the assemblage, although it will be considered as a large nail since it measured right on the cusp at 150mm. Of the 247, only 45 were found within the occupation level which could correspond with nails being used in house construction as the upper fill layers contained the bulk of the nail assemblage. Thirteen nails were omitted from the following chart as they were recorded as part of a baulk collection sample and their stratigraphic location was not noted (Figure 5.12).

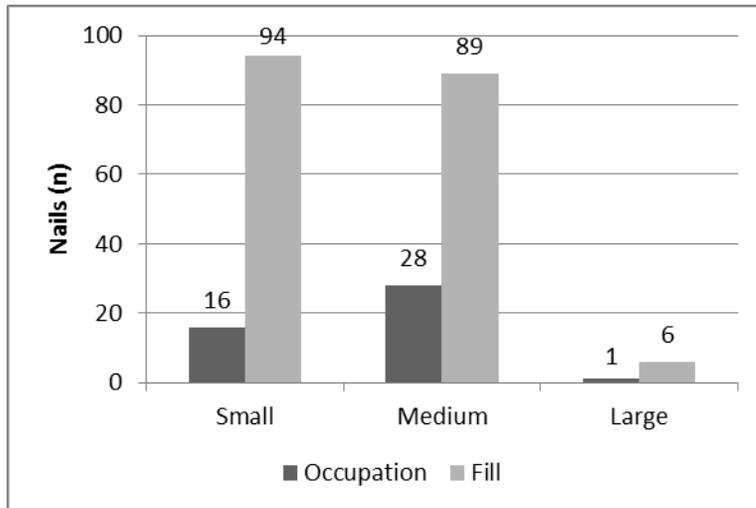


Figure 5.12: Number of nails organized by size categories.

Many of the nails lack any modifications. Although recording of these attributes was uneven, it appears that very few were flattened or had the heads intentionally removed, which seem to be indicators of the early Inuit practice of acquiring nails to manufacture other items (Jordan 1978; Kaplan 1985; Wolfe 2013). Instead, the nails within this assemblage seem to have been used as fasteners in house construction. Indeed, given the abundance of trade goods within this dwelling, the occupants were likely able to acquire the items they needed or desired without having to fashion their own. George Cartwright certainly capitalized on this as he had templates for harpoon heads and ulus sent to Europe to be manufactured for trade with the Inuit (Stopp 2008).

House 2's nail assemblage is similar to the size trends found in Wolfe's (2013) analysis of five Inuit sites along the Labrador coast. The majority of nails fall into the small and medium categories and Wolfe (2013:113) suggests that this could relate to the ease of removing small/medium nails from existing structures. While that may be the

case for nails that were scavenged from vacant European sites, it does not explain why this preference for small/medium nails persists into the late eighteenth century. Wolfe (2013:113) states that this pattern implies that nails were collected from European sites well into the colonial era and the period of cooperative trade between Inuit and Europeans. It seems more likely that, upon seeing Inuit interest and preference for smaller nails, European merchants and missionaries would have brought such nails for trade. A review of a Moravian list of goods wanted for the Hopedale mission in 1788 shows that nails of 1-1.5" (fitting into the small nail category) were requested, and these may have been requested specifically for trade with the Inuit (CNS MF 511, Reel 25 pg.: 037237-037238).

### Glass Beads

The bead assemblage consists of 194 glass beads of varying types and sizes, which were identified by type and colour using Kidd and Kidd (1970), and Karklins (1985; Karklins and Adams 2013). Only one bead was too fragmentary to record any information aside from colour (white). The most predominant type is a tiny drawn tube bead (n=128), smaller than the ubiquitous seed or trade bead, which were found in an isolated area under the floor paving stones during the final day of excavation (Figure 5.13). These beads ranged in size from 1.65-2.25mm in length and vary in colour (see Table 5.4, Figure 5.14). Their recovery was undoubtedly due to the decision to collect all of the soil under the paving stone to screen back in the lab as when covered in dirt they would have been easily missed by the naked eye and fallen through our ¼" mesh screens on site. The next most abundant bead type were the seed beads, represented by both

monochrome and multilayered gathering varieties, with sizes ranging from 2.4-4.0mm in length and 0.9-3.2mm in width.

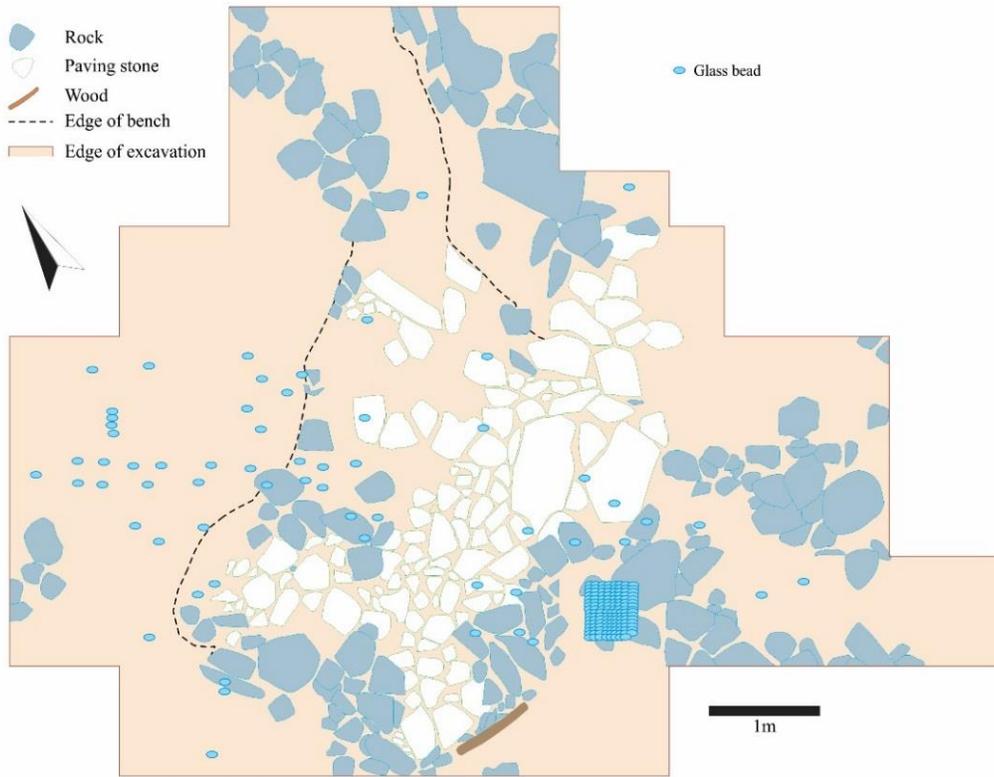


Figure 5.13: House 2 Glass Bead Distribution Map. Note the cluster of beads near the lower right representing the bead cache.



Figure 5.14: Sample of tiny tube drawn beads found in bead cache.

Table 5.4: Glass Bead Classifications.

Classification	Description	Colour	N	Occupation	Fill
Class I, monochrome	Tiny tube bead	Aqua blue	87	87	0
		Oyster white	24	24	0
		Black	14	14	0
		Bright navy	3	3	0
Class I, monochrome	Seed bead	White	24	10	14
		Turquoise	9	6	3
		Teal green	5	3	2
Class II, monochrome	Heat-rounded, oblong	Ultramarine	1	0	1
	Heat-rounded, round	White	5	1	4
		Opal or alabaster	1	1	0
Class II, multicoloured eyes	Flush eye bead	Black w/white and pink eyes	2	2	0
		Black w/yellow stripes and white eyes	1	1	0
Class II, incised spirals	Roman bead	White w/gold spirals	1	1	0
		White w/aqua spirals	1	1	0
Class III, multilayered gathering	Seed bead	Redwood/Black	12	7	5
Class WI, monochrome	Donut bead	Amber	1	0	1
	Oval	White	1	1	0
Class WIII, overlaid decoration	Oval	White w/navy swirls	1	1	0
<b>Totals</b>			<b>193</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>30</b>

Also in the drawn bead category are beads that have been heat-rounded to remove the tubular shape. These beads are identified as Class II and consist of both monochrome and decorated varieties (either with inlaid dots called ‘eyes’ or spiral or linear decorations). Finally, a few wound bead varieties were identified as well, including an amber ‘donut’ bead and two oval wound beads. These latter varieties represent the fancier beads found within the assemblage, but both the quantity and quality of beads overall suggests that the occupants of this dwelling were well-connected to the European market and that beads played an important role in their personal adornment.

When looking at the overall colour (excluding decorative elements), the most popular bead colour is blue, followed by white (see Figure 5.15). While an examination of colour preference or symbolism for the Inuit seems to be lacking, a similar pattern is observed from other sites in Labrador (see Chapter 7).

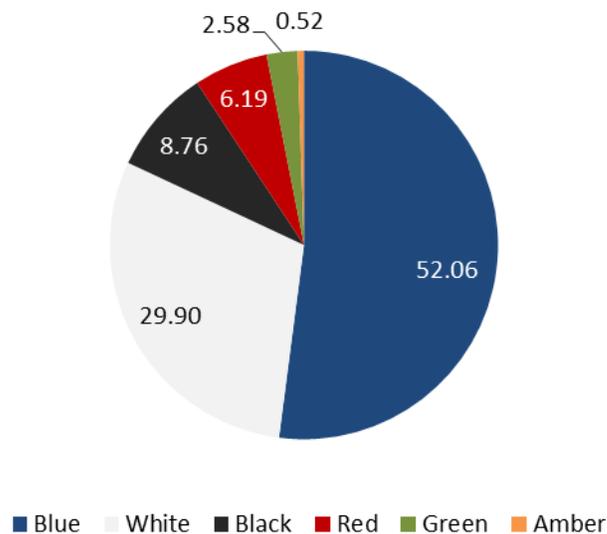


Figure 5.15: Bead Colour Percentages.

## Ceramic Sherds

The ceramic assemblage is fairly diverse, but the dominant ware type throughout is creamware, representing 65% of the total ceramic sherd assemblage. Only 39% of the entire sherd assemblage was found in the occupation level, and it is within this level that the greatest diversity is found, although creamware remains the dominant type (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Occupation Level Ceramics.

<b>Occupation Level</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
Creamware	32	59.3
English salt-glazed stoneware	5	9.3
Pearlware	4	7.4
Chinese export porcelain	3	5.6
European porcelain	3	5.6
Jackfieldware	2	3.7
Tin-glazed earthenware	2	3.7
Unidentifiable	2	3.7
German westerwald	1	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Creamware was produced from about 1762-1820, and it turns up on most late eighteenth and early nineteenth century archaeological sites (Hume 1969:125). The creamware within the occupation level assemblage consists of plain sherds, sherds with embossed decoration, and a number of sherds featuring an inlaid-slip pattern that came into effect during the 1770s and reached its height in the 1790s (Sussman 1997:48). These sherds form part of one vessel that has been partially refitted (see Figure 5.16), and the pattern is created by a rouletted manufacturing technique where a patterned wheel impresses a design in nearly hardened clay. The imprints are then filled in with colour, in

this case black, and the rest of the slip is wiped away to retain the cream colour of the vessel.



Figure 5.16: Refitted ceramic bowl with rouletted pattern (note the drilled hole near the rim).

White salt-glazed stoneware was the next most abundant ware type, manufactured between 1720 and 1805. Hume (1978a:16) describes the development of English white salt-glazed stoneware as one of the most significant ceramic advances of the eighteenth century due to its new design capabilities. Its popularity is reflected archaeologically, as it was the typical tableware of the mid-eighteenth century (Hume 1969:115). The prime years were c. 1720-1740, then it evolved into creamware which dominated from c. 1765-1780 (Hume 1978a) until pearlware took over in preference. Hand-painted blue and

white pearlware dates from 1775-1840 (FLMNH Ceramic Database), and was essentially a whitened creamware body glazed with a small amount of cobalt to create a blueish tint. It was created to emulate popular Chinese porcelain (Hume 1978b). The remaining ceramic ware types are represented by small amounts, and their production dates imply that they were probably curated. Looking at the timeline (Figure 5.17), there is a cluster and overlap of ware types from 1760-1780 which corresponds nicely with the Moravian census records providing a date of 1776. Not only does the ceramic assemblage suggest curation of some ware types, but also the speed with which new ceramic types were making their way to Labrador. Although the current perception of Labrador is that of a remote hinterland, historically this was not the case. As discussed in Chapter 3, Labrador's history was deeply entwined with Atlantic economic expansion. Even prior to permanent European settlement, the Indigenous populations of Newfoundland and Labrador had early access to European goods through trade with transient fishermen and whalers from numerous European nations (Pope 1994).

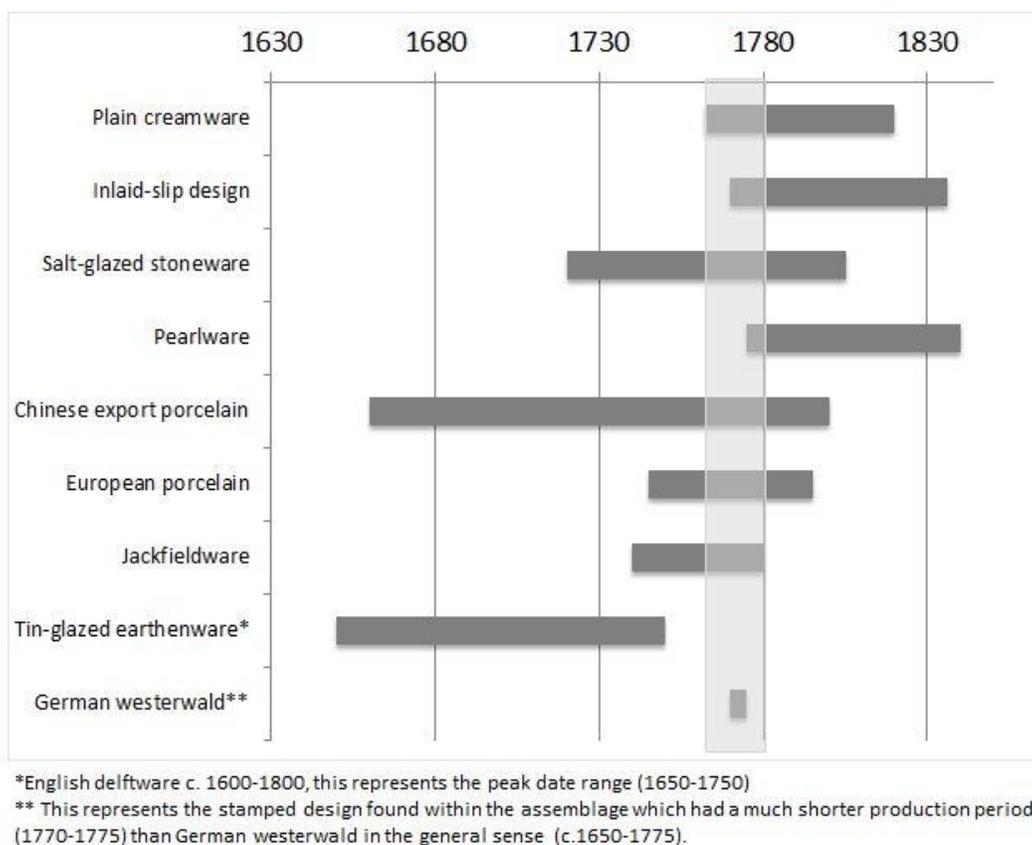


Figure 5.17: Ceramic timeline.

### Glass Shards

The glass assemblage can be organized into four categories: bottle; window; stemware; and undetermined, but the most predominant glass type is bottle glass (Table 5.6). The majority of the bottle glass shards are “black glass”, i.e. dark green wine bottle fragments. Some of these had identifying features, like the base fragments that appear to have an unintentional bulged heel, a characteristic of English ‘wine’ bottles dating from ca. 1740-1820 (Jones and Sullivan 1985:85). Two different string rims are represented: an up-tooled V-shaped one as well as a down-tooled one, which provides a minimum vessel count of two for the ‘wine’ bottles. There are also two fragments of colourless

glass bottles, both base fragments, which based on their size and shape were probably small medicine or toiletry bottles. All of these diagnostic bottle shards were found in the occupation level. The lone stemware fragment is also from the occupation level and appears to be part of the rim for a tiny sherry glass.

Table 5.6: Glass Shard Assemblage.

Glass Shards	Occupation		Fill		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Bottle	48	72.7	34	54.8	82	64.1
Window	15	22.7	26	41.9	41	32.0
Stemware	1	1.5	0	0.00	1	0.8
Undetermined	2	3.0	2	3.2	4	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Window glass is present within the assemblage, though more so within the upper strata than the occupation level (Figure 5.18). It is difficult to say whether or not the fragments of window glass were from actual windows, since most ethnohistoric sources describe the gradual transition to European or settler-style homes beginning in the early nineteenth century (Kleivan 1966:37). Cabak's (1991:93) analysis of flat glass fragments from the Nain midden provides a date range of 1810-1845 for green glass windows, much later than the occupation of House 2. Examining the glass distribution map (see Figure 5.19), there are no clear clusters but there is an abundance of glass of all varieties near the cold trap. Knowing that windows were placed near this vicinity perhaps the occupants of House 2 adopted a glass window much earlier than previously thought. The presence of window glass in the upper levels might also support this idea since the window would have definitely broken during the collapse if not before.

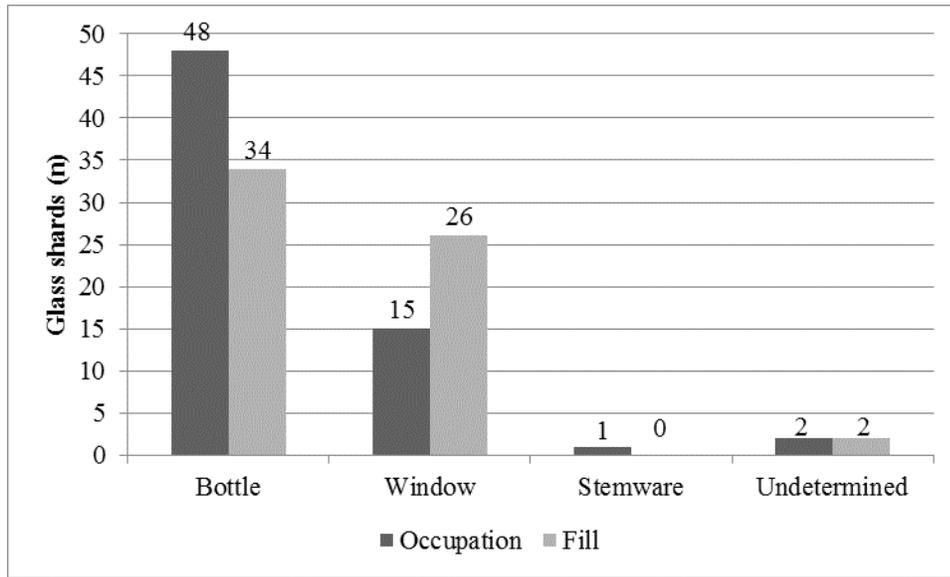


Figure 5.18: Glass shards organized by type.

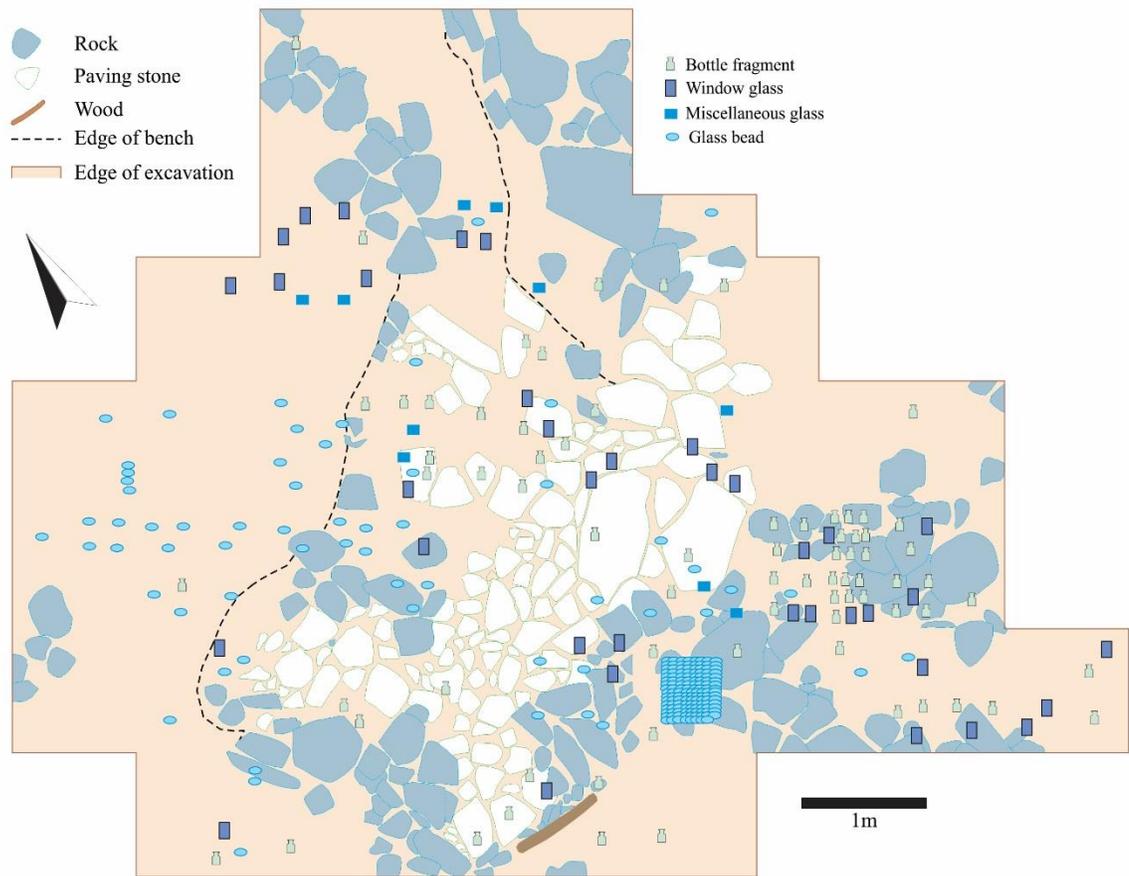


Figure 5.19: Glass Distribution Map.

### Iron Objects

There are 106 iron objects in House 2's assemblage, but if the common strapping (possible pieces of barrel hoop) and any unidentifiable bits are removed, a mere 30 objects remain. Of these only 10 are found within the occupation level, which leaves 20 items within the upper strata. A much greater diversity is found in the fill, but knife blades and fish hooks are well-represented in both the occupation and fill levels (Figure

5.20). Iron objects were a popular trade good category, especially since typically there was a pre-existing counterpart and the iron implements meant that less time was needed to fashion the objects themselves out of stone, bone, or wood, when they could come ready-made.

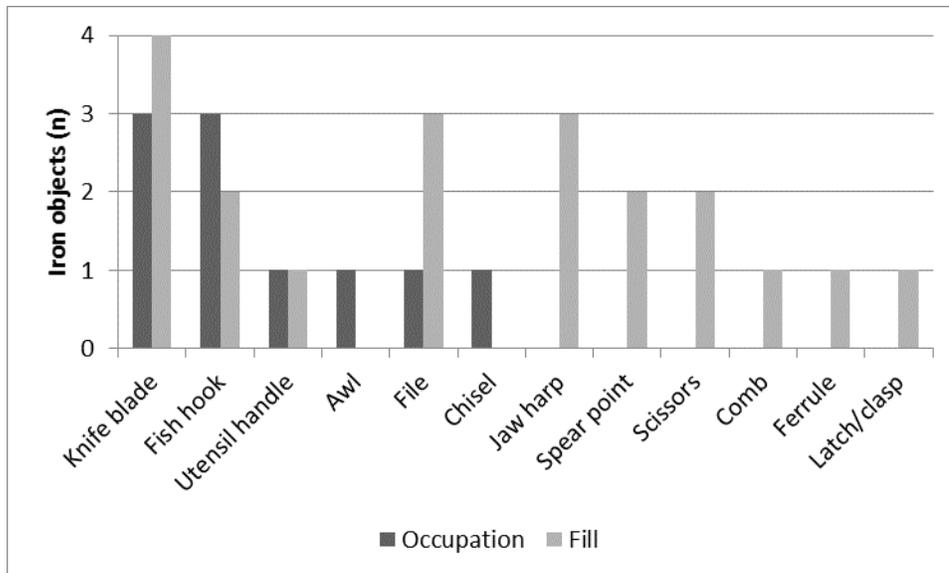


Figure 5.20: Iron Objects.

### Miscellaneous Metals

This category is composed of 25 metal fragments, 18 of which are too decayed to determine the metal composition or the function, though it could be mineralized iron, or some kind of tin alloy. The remaining seven items are all of copper alloy and consist of: three buttons; one thimble; one serpent sideplate for a rifle; one rifle butt plate; and one rifle trigger guard (see Figure 5.21). All of the copper alloy items were found in the upper strata, with only the unidentifiable fragments found within the occupation level.



Figure 5.21: A selection of copper alloy artifacts (L-R: Serpent sideplate [top]; thimble [bottom]; butt plate fragment).

### Lead Projectiles & Lead Objects

The lead projectiles category consists of both musketballs and shot, and both varieties are found within the occupation and fill levels (Figure 5.22). The unidentifiable category is composed of lead materials for which no function could be determined, while the undetermined category consists of two items where the function is not definite: a possible lead button, and nail-like lead object. The presence of ammunition for firearms will be discussed at the end of the chapter as part of a discussion of House 2's assemblage as a whole.

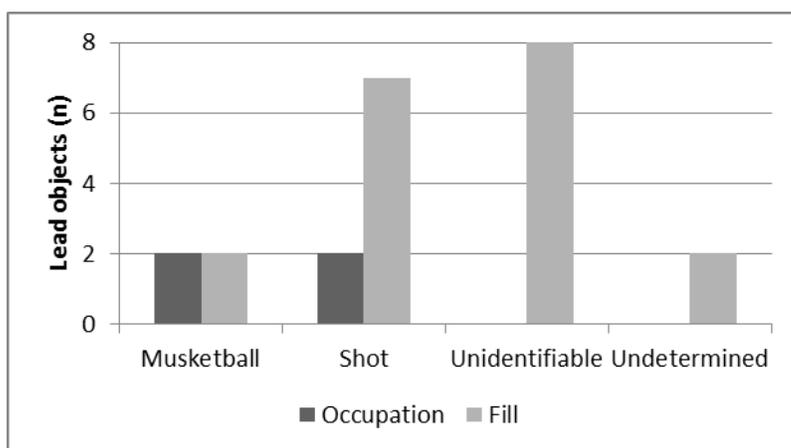


Figure 5.22: Lead Projectiles & Objects.

### Lithics, Gunflints, and Soapstone

The lithics category consists of a substantial amount of lithic material, mostly local varieties and likely the remnants of earlier cultural groups whose materials would have occurred within the sods used to construct the dwelling. The most abundant lithic material was shiny green in appearance and resembled serpentine, a popular stone for carving (see Table 5.7). Once cleaned in the lab, it was determined to be antigorite, a member of the serpentine group of minerals. It has platy characteristics, similar to mica, is very brittle, and is naturally occurring in the region which is probably why we found it in abundance (D. Wilton, pers. comm. 2013). None of these antigorite fragments appeared to be worked. The European chert is most likely ship's ballast from European vessels as they are simple unworked nodules, typically with cortex. Surprisingly underrepresented is slate, with only one undiagnostic fragment.

Table 5.7: Lithic Assemblage.

<b>Lithics</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Fill</b>	<b>Total</b>
	<b>n</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>n</b>
Antigorite	9	22	31
Ramah chert	6	17	23
Undetermined chert	2	8	10
Mugford chert	0	7	7
Quartz crystal	2	4	6
European chert	0	4	4
Mica	1	1	2
Quartz	0	2	2
Slate	1	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>86</b>

There are also 20 gunflints of varying sizes and colours within the whole assemblage but only one was recovered from the occupation level. Again, the presence of gunflints suggesting firearms usage will be taken up in the chapter discussion. Finally, of the eight pieces of soapstone there are only two identifiable pieces: a lamp fragment and a piece of a pot, and both were found within the occupation level.

### Organics

For ease of discussion all worked organic materials will be presented here, including whale bone, baleen, wood, bone, antler, leather, and ivory. Worked whale bone artifacts were the most abundant organic material type (n=94), but of these only 12 are identifiable while the rest are obviously worked but are unrecognizable as specific items. These identifiable whale bone artifacts are: three kayak paddle tips; two knife handles; two sled shoe fragments; a possible buzzer piece; a miniature mattock or pendant; a tiny rod-like polished pendant; a harpoon foreshaft; and a possible game piece (see Figure

5.23). Of these identifiable artifacts only three were found in the occupation level (one handle, the possible buzzer piece, and the rod-like pendant) and the rest were found in the fill. All of the baleen fragments (n=22) consisted of tiny strips found in the occupation layer and they were all located in one region near the rear sleeping platform (Figure 5.24). Two of the six pieces of worked antler were found in the occupation layer but both pieces of worked ivory were found in the fill. Two of the three pieces of leather were also found in the occupation layer.



Figure 5.23: Identifiable whale bone artifacts.

(a-c: kayak paddle tips; d: possible buzzer piece; e-f: sled shoe fragments; g: knife handle; h: harpoon foreshaft; i: miniature mattock; j: pendant)

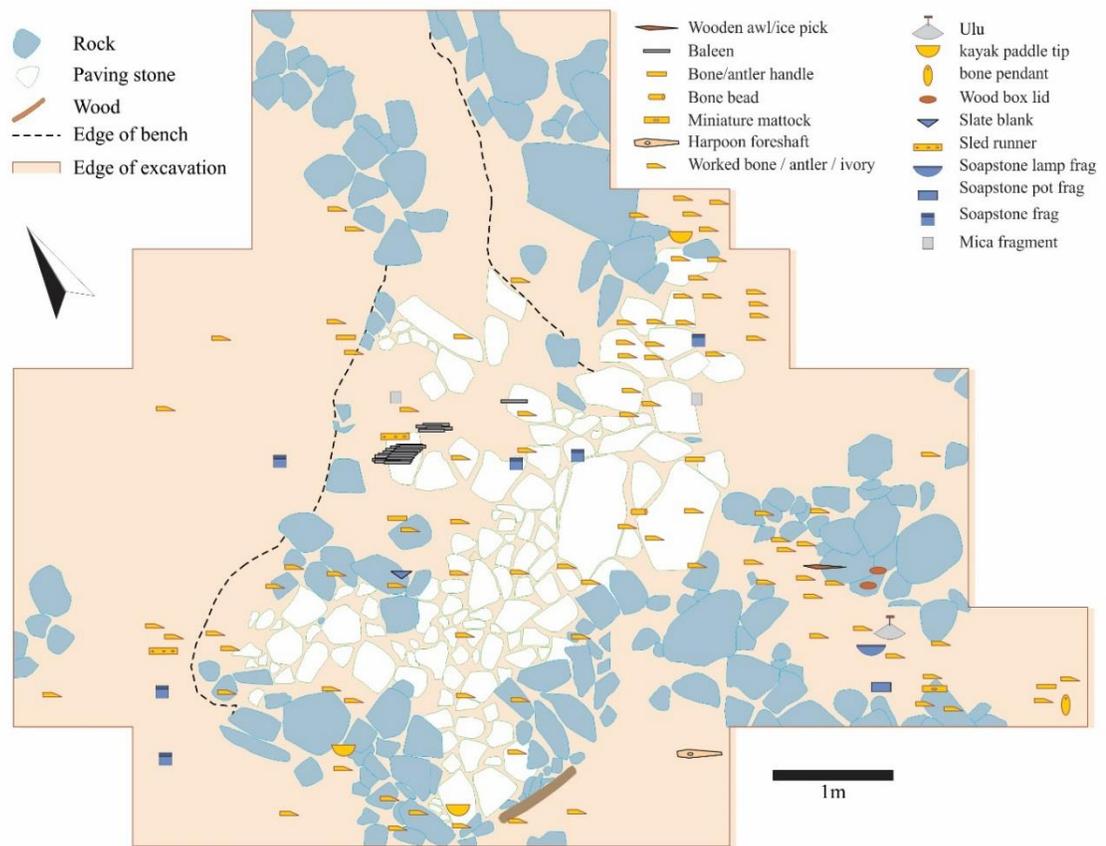


Figure 5.22: Inuit Artifact Distribution Map. Note the baleen concentration near the bench edge.

### Composite Artifacts

Composite artifacts consist of items that either combine traditional and European-made materials or are a combination of material types. All six of the composite artifacts came from the fill layer. The one and only ulu found within House 2's assemblage falls into this category. It consists of a small iron ulu blade and a wooden handle that unfortunately did not survive conservation. This category also includes three bone knife

handles with portions of the iron knife blade or tang. The majority of contact-period Inuit dwellings along the coast contain hybrid items like these, and it has been well documented that the initial incorporation of European goods presented itself as replacement parts with the general function of the artifacts remaining the same (Kaplan 1985).

### Faunal Assemblage

In total, 12,807 faunal specimens from House 2 were analysed by Lindsay Swinarton at Université Laval, with 68% identified to species and 32% only assigned to the class level (Table 5.8). Looking closer at the NISP for identifiable species, and removing the bivalves due to their highly fractured nature (an MNI would provide a more realistic number for their abundance), various seal species make up nearly 90% of the assemblage (Table 5.9). The abundance of bivalves within the dwelling, primarily mussels, is also skewed by the fact that mussel shells appear to have been used within the dwelling to deal with moisture as there were thick layers of shell along the floor, particularly in the entrance tunnel and above the floor near the cold trap (Figure 5.24). These may have been harvested during the winter by venturing under the ice during low tide.

Table 5.8: Faunal Assemblage.

<b>Class</b>	<b>NISP</b>	<b>Species Indeterminate</b>	<b>Species Identifiable</b>
Mammal	10142	3864	6278
Bivalve	2310	1	2309
Indeterminate	176	176	0
Bird	120	27	93
Fish	59	19	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>12807</b>	<b>4087</b>	<b>8720</b>

Table 5.9: Identifiable Species.

<b>Identifiable Species</b>	<b>Total Assemblage</b>		<b>Occupation (n)</b>	<b>Fill (n)</b>
	<b>NISP</b>	<b>%</b>		
Seal sp.	5093	88.94	705	4388
Dog/fox/wolf	383	6.68	105	278
Bird sp.	90	1.57	19	71
Caribou	77	1.34	18	59
Cod	38	0.66	15	23
Whale	21	0.37	1	20
Hare sp.	17	0.29	8	9
Walrus	3	0.05	1	2
Sculpin	1	0.01	1	0
Bear (black)	1	0.01	1	0
Mouse/vole	1	0.01	0	1
Wolverine	1	0.01	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>5726</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>875</b>	<b>4851</b>



Figure 5.24: Shell Deposit (27S-5E).

The abundance of seal is not surprising, as most faunal assemblages from Inuit sites along the Labrador coast consist of 80-90% seal (Woollett 1999). Black Island is also located in a prime sealing location. At times the *sîna* is not too far, and there is the ‘seal tickle’ on the western side of the island where seals can be reliably caught during their spring and fall migrations. The majority of the ‘canids’ are fox (n= 310), both arctic and red, followed by dog (n=71). With the exception of wolverine, the species represented in this faunal assemblage are still readily available in the region.

### **House 2 Discussion**

House 2’s diverse assemblage is indicative of a household that embraced trade and the incorporation of European-made items into their daily lives. Traditional material

types are underrepresented (e.g. soapstone, slate), but many of the European-made goods appear to have been incorporated as replacements for these traditional materials (e.g. ceramic vessels, iron and other metals). The most predominant trade goods were clay tobacco pipe fragments, and even though their frequency has been inflated due to their fragile nature, a minimum pipe count of 74 still seems substantial for one household; especially considering there was no preexisting counterpart in pre-contact Inuit society. Also telling is the presence of firearm-related materials (gunflints and lead projectiles) as these would not have been acquired in the Nain area during the occupancy of House 2. Firearms might have been available to the Labrador Inuit prior to 1770, particularly in the southern areas of French influence, although Kleivan (1966:47) has suggested that ammunition was difficult to obtain. It seems that the increasing acquisition of firearms among the Labrador Inuit corresponded with the arrival of British merchant George Cartwright in the 1770s (Rollmann 2011:8). While Cartwright encouraged the use of firearms, and ensured a steady supply of ammunition, the Moravian missionaries refused to supply firearms and ammunition until 1786 when they felt forced to in order to compete with the merchants in the south. Due to their hesitation in supplying firearms, many Inuit would travel south to trade with merchants, and when successful, would return with wooden boats, rifles, ammunition, and lead (Taylor 1984b). Voyages like these encouraged more Inuit to follow suit, although not all trips were successful. In particular, the well-documented voyage of 1773 resulted in an estimated 200 Inuit dying either in a storm, through starvation, or disease (Taylor 1984b:23). The presence of firearm-related material in House 2 suggests that the occupants of this household were

willing to undertake these journeys to acquire firearms and ammunition, and quite possibly acquired other trade goods on these southern forays as well.

### **Chapter Summary**

The excavations at Black Island revealed information about the architecture of both dwellings and added to Taylor's initial site interpretations from his brief excavations during the 1960s. While the majority of House 1 was left for future research, House 2 was completely excavated and its artifact assemblage can be strongly associated with the late eighteenth century. Some questions remain unanswered, such as the nature of the disturbance along the north wall of House 2 that may have connected to House 1 at some point, but the results of this work have added to our understanding of these two sod dwellings on Black Island and will contribute to a greater understanding of the contact period in Labrador.

With minimal excavation of House 1 it is difficult to discuss how this dwelling might have looked during its occupation. Based on the test excavations, it appears that it had a wooden porch structure rather than an entrance tunnel and lacked benches or sleeping platforms. Both House 1 and House 2 appear to have used timbers in their construction for roof and wall support. House 2 presented evidence for an entrance tunnel, cold trap, and benches running along the side and back of the dwelling. While there was evidence for window glass, it is difficult to say whether or not a glass window was in place as this would considerably pre-date the introduction of glass windows in nearby Nain and other areas along the coast (refer back to Glass Shard discussion).

House 2's artifact assemblage was dominated by European-made goods, suggesting a family who embraced new materials and ideas. Whether the occupants acquired these items through face-to-face interactions with European traders or through an intermediary (perhaps an Inuit entrepreneur) is uncertain, but knowing that Mikak's name is listed on the 1776 census records provides support for the idea that at least a few of the occupants might have engaged directly with the trade network.

The following chapter will introduce the comparative sites selected for this study by providing the site background and excavation history as well as an overall chronology for the sites included in this study. Chapter 7 will present the results of the comparative analysis and then Chapter 8 will conclude with the discussion.

## **CHAPTER 6 : COMPARATIVE SITES**

### **Introduction**

In order to determine whether or not Black Island's House 2 is unique in any way, and to better understand how Inuit-European contact along the Labrador coast transpired, I selected a number of sites along the coast that ranged from the late sixteenth through early nineteenth century for comparison. My desire to find fully-excavated dwellings greatly reduced the list of options as full-dwelling excavation has only been a priority in recent years. This is not surprising as the early research in the region covered vast territory and was primarily reconnaissance in nature (Fitzhugh 1980; Jordan 1977; Taylor 1966). Now that some of the basic questions on Labrador's culture history have been addressed, focused studies have emerged and a small but excellent body of data is accumulating. That said, in order to have sufficient data to analyze change over time I had to incorporate some sites where only testing occurred. This chapter will present my site-selection criteria and introduce the sites by providing some basic background information, including the history of previous archaeological research.

### **Site Selection Criteria**

My selection criterion was guided by a desire to have representation from various locations along the coast and to include at least one Inuit dwelling dating to each century of the sixteenth-nineteenth century time span. The sites included in this analysis had to have received substantial archaeological testing, if not full-excavation, in order to determine date of occupation. A site from every century in each of the geographic regions presented in this study would have been ideal. Unfortunately this data does not exist yet,

but should be considered for future research examining long-term trends throughout the contact period, as sites are continually excavated along the coast and our body of comparative data grows. Another aspect guiding the site-selection was access to the collections. This was either provided by the Principal Investigators or through the public domain of museum collections. It was important to not only view the artifacts, but also to examine the catalog databases and any associated reports or publications to garner a better understanding of the sites themselves. The challenge on how to present data exhibiting a variety of excavation and cataloging methods will be discussed in the following chapter. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the background information for each of the sites selected for this analysis.

### **Comparative Sites**

The Labrador coast has often been divided into distinct geographic areas of North, Central, and South, although the definition of these areas tends to vary. For the purposes of this dissertation, South refers to everything south of Hamilton Inlet; Central refers to the region from Hamilton Inlet to Nain; and North refers to Nain and northwards (Figure 6.1). Dividing the coast into these geographic regions is a useful organization tool, and does not prohibit cross-region comparisons, but rather can shed light on regional variances.

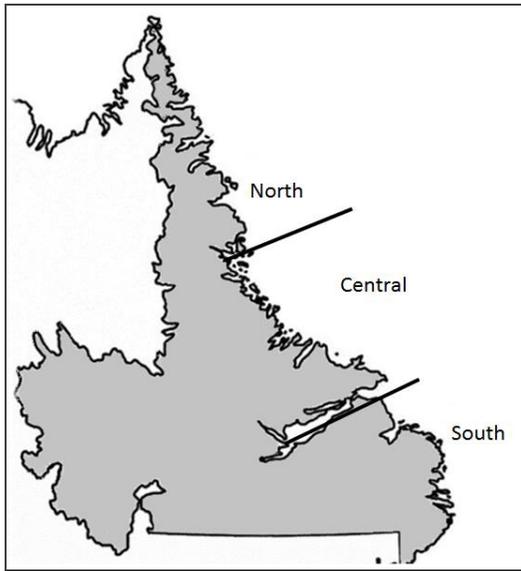


Figure 6.1: Map of Labrador showing regional distinctions.

### Southern Labrador

Unlike central and northern regions, southern Labrador received minimal archaeological attention until quite recently. In fact, it was long assumed that the Inuit never settled south of Hamilton Inlet and only ventured there to trade (Fitzhugh 1977). So engrained was this belief that when the Labrador Inuit Association was working towards a land claim agreement, the southern sites were assumed to represent seasonal occupation and thus Nunatsiavut territory extended only as far south as Rigolet (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 2004). It is now understood that the Inuit occupation of Labrador included permanent settlements south of Hamilton Inlet (Murphy 2011b, 2011a; Rankin 2010a, 2011, 2012, 2013a; Stopp 2002; Stopp and Jalbert 2010; Stopp and Wolfe 2011; Stopp 2012).

In 2009 a large-scale, interdisciplinary project studying the history of the Inuit Métis of southern Labrador began. *Understanding the Past to Build the Future* was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) through the Community-University Research Alliances (CURA) program. Lead by Dr. Lisa Rankin, a team of researchers from universities, communities, and non-government organizations, spent five years conducting archaeological, ethnohistoric, archival, and genealogical research. From the archaeological components of this project, we now have a much better understanding of the history of Inuit occupation in the southern region.

#### *Snack Cove 3- Houses 1 & 2*

Snack Cove 3 (FkBe-03) was first identified by William Fitzhugh (Smithsonian Institution) during his reconnaissance survey of Hamilton Inlet and the Cartwright area in 1986. He noted two Inuit dwellings, and test excavations of House 1 presented a few European-made items (clay pipe bowl and some ceramic sherds), but the lack of a midden suggested a brief occupation (Fitzhugh 1989). Due to the small size of the dwellings, in comparison to the ones he had investigated at the Eskimo Island sites (in Central Labrador), lack of middens, and minimal artifacts, Fitzhugh estimated that the sites dated after Eskimo Island's occupation, possibly even to the early nineteenth century (Fitzhugh 1989:170). Rankin (Memorial University) returned to the site in 2003 as part of her Porcupine Strand Archaeology Project which investigated sites in the Sandwich Bay area of southern Labrador. Three semi-subterranean sod houses were excavated at Snack Cove 3 between 2003 and 2005, the data forming a large part of Brewster's MA thesis (2005), and subsequent publications by Rankin (2013a) and

Rankin, Beaudoin, and Brewster (2012) (Figure 6.2). As the data from the excavation of House 3 have not been published, and since Houses 1 and 2 provide sufficient data from this site, it will be omitted from my analysis.

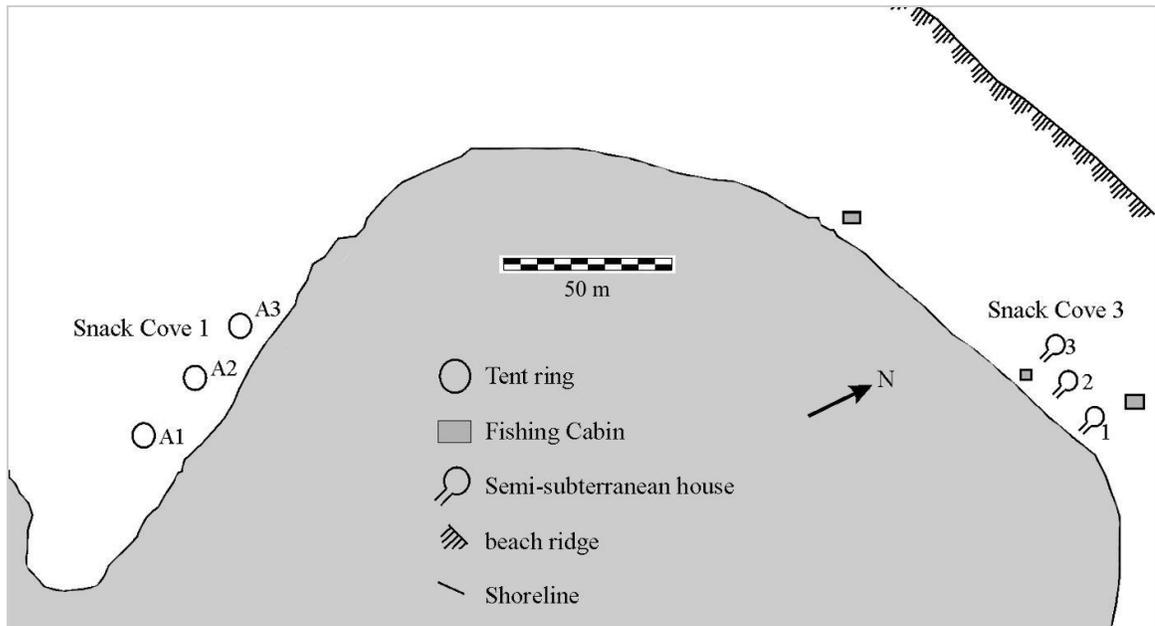


Figure 6.2: Snack Cove Site Map (showing summer settlement of Snack Cove 1 and winter settlement of Snack Cove 3; source: L. Rankin).

House 1 is slightly rectangular in shape with tightly placed paving stones along the entrance passage and house floor, and one rear sleeping platform. The absence of whale bone, and abundance of wood, suggested a timber frame (Brewster 2005; Rankin et al. 2012). Unfortunately House 1 suffered from a number of post-depositional disturbances, making the stratigraphic interpretation difficult, including the original placement of the recovered artifacts (Brewster 2005:63). Yet Brewster notes that in undisturbed areas the stratigraphy of House 1 closely resembled Houses 2 and 3. An alcove area was uncovered with an abundance of faunal material, and the lack of an

external midden suggests perhaps this was a storage area or internal midden. While House 2 was smaller than House 1, the construction remained consistent with a roughly rectangular shape, tightly placed paving stones throughout, one rear sleeping platform, and an apparent timber frame (Brewster 2005). A small niche/storage area was uncovered, and unlike the area described above for House 1, this seemed more likely used for storage rather than refuse. A wall midden was discovered in the western sod wall, and similar to House 1 this is the only midden feature associated with this dwelling (Brewster 2005). In general, the three houses from Snack Cove 3 look very similar to pre-contact Inuit dwellings in northern Labrador as well as resembling houses found at Eskimo Island 3 in nearby Hamilton Inlet, which date to the seventeenth century (Rankin et al. 2012).

#### *Huntingdon Island 5- Houses 1, 2, & 3*

Huntingdon Island 5 (Indian Harbour, FkBg-03) contains evidence for multiple Inuit occupations between the late sixteenth century through eighteenth century, and consists of five sod houses as well as several tent rings. This sheltered harbor is located on a tidal island just off Huntingdon Island in Sandwich Bay, near Cartwright, and the site has been thoroughly investigated over a number of seasons by Rankin and her students (Rankin 2010a, 2011, 2012, 2013a). The range of house styles, and associated artifact assemblages, suggest that this site was occupied many times between the late sixteenth through late eighteenth centuries (Rankin 2013:312). Excavations began at the site in 2009 and continued through 2013, during this time four semi-subterranean sod houses were fully excavated along with three tent rings.

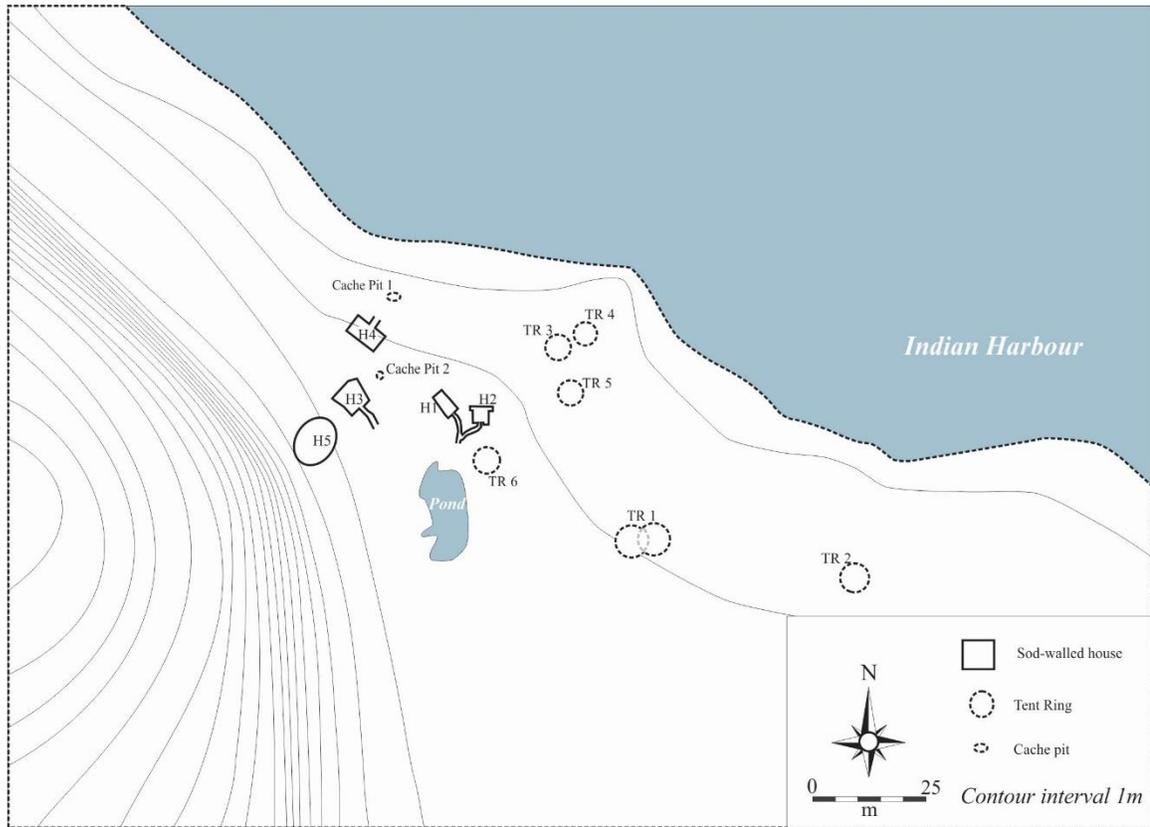


Figure 6.3: Huntingdon Island 5 Site Map (source: L. Rankin).

Houses 1 and 2 are two of the oldest excavated Inuit houses in the southern region. They are both long rectangular structures and they share an entrance tunnel. Preliminary analysis suggested House 1 was slightly older than House 2, possibly occupied during the late sixteenth century, while House 2 was likely occupied during the early seventeenth century (Murphy 2011b). A more recent examination of caribou bone radiocarbon dates suggests a probable occupation range of 1620-1680 (Ramsden and Rankin 2013:305). Excavations of House 1 revealed a traditional Inuit construction, with paving stone floors, side and rear benches, four lamp stands, and a long entrance tunnel complete with cold trap and lintel entryway (Rankin 2013:313). House 2 is nearly

identical in construction, and both houses represent an uncommon style quite similar to those at Eskimo Island 3. They could be considered very early versions of the communal house style that emerged during the eighteenth century (Rankin 2015a). Neither house contained much in the way of artifacts (less than 300 each) predominantly composed of traditional Inuit materials and some re-purposed European material (Rankin 2015a). The houses also reveal a much more rigid distribution of artifacts, suggesting that different families occupied the same dwelling but maintained their own space and resources. This differs greatly from the later communal houses of the eighteenth century which were occupied by extended families, and the goods were more evenly distributed throughout the dwelling. Rankin (2015a) has suggested that these independent families might have lived together with the specific purpose of acquiring European goods to channel up the coast as part of the long-distance trade network. As she states, “a larger group of Inuit travelling together would not only be more intimidating should conflict arise, but would also be useful to help transport any goods acquired...” (Rankin 2015a).

House 3 is an eighteenth century communal house excavated by Murphy for her MA thesis (Murphy 2011b, 2011a). Based on caribou bone radiocarbon dates and datable European artifacts, House 3 appears to have been occupied for a season or two after 1720 and abandoned prior to 1780, with a likely occupation between 1720-1740 (Murphy 2011b:135). Unlike Houses 1 and 2, House 3 represents a classic communal house both architecturally and materially with a broad artifact distribution throughout the dwelling. Excavation of House 3 revealed a single room with raised sleeping platforms along the three walls, and tightly placed paving stones along the floor space. At least

three potential cooking or lamp stand areas were also identified along with a number of small storage alcoves/niches (Murphy 2011b). House 3 also consisted of considerably more artifacts, including a number of formal trade goods, suggesting that by this time the Inuit at Huntingdon Island 5 were participating in face-to-face trade with the French. The stratigraphic layers were fairly simple, with the darker occupation level containing remnants of mussel shell similar to that at Black Island. Both the simplified stratigraphy, and lack of a large midden, suggests that House 3 was not occupied over the course of multiple winters. Instead, Murphy (2011b:58) suggests that following its seasonal abandonment it might have been safer and easier to construct a new winter dwelling rather than fix a slumped structure.

### Central Labrador

Hamilton Inlet received considerable archaeological attention in the past compared to the southern region of Labrador. Fitzhugh completed thorough surveys of the Inlet in 1968 and 1969, including the Narrows region and the northern portion of Groswater Bay (Woollett 2003:251). During this survey Inuit sod houses were identified at Double Mer Point (GbBo-2), Snook's Cove (GaBp-7), and at Eskimo Island, which consists of three discrete sites each containing three or more houses (GaBp-1,2, and 3 but commonly referred to as Eskimo Island 1, 2, and 3). Fitzhugh tested the Eskimo Island sites but both Snook's Cove and Double Mer were left untouched. Jordan followed up on Fitzhugh's survey with a larger-scale excavation project between 1973 and 1975. He excavated a number of houses from each of the Eskimo Island sites and tested the Double Mer and Snook's Cove sites (Jordan 1974, 1977, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980).

Kaplan (1983) revisited this material for her PhD dissertation, and produced one of the most comprehensive analyses for the entire coast of Labrador at that time, and Jim Woollett (2003) added considerable depth to this body of work through his own doctoral dissertation focused on the faunal remains from a number of these key sites. The Hamilton Inlet region has provided a wealth of information on the Labrador Inuit and continues to function as an important area for archaeological research. Rankin (2014) has recently begun more detailed excavations at Double Mer Point at the request of the Rigolet community, and this will only serve to add to our understanding of this important region of Inuit settlement.

#### *Eskimo Island Sites*

In 1968 Fitzhugh surveyed Eskimo Island, a small island located off the western coast of the larger Henrietta Island in a region known as the Narrows of Hamilton Inlet. Here he discovered three distinct clusters of houses which he called Eskimo Island 1, 2, and 3. He tested the midden areas surrounding the dwellings and found typical historic Inuit assemblages. The sites were revisited by Jordan in 1972, 1973, and 1975 (Jordan 1974; 1978; Kaplan 1983:410). Eskimo Island 1 and 2 are less than 30m apart, and while considered discrete sites in terms of their borden numbers, the house numbering for Eskimo Island 2 is presented as a continuation from Eskimo Island 1 (see Figure 6.4). Woollett (2003:258) suggests that this site density relates to the island's topography as they are sheltered from the winds and close to the edge of fast ice and open water. In addition to this prime access for traditional resources, the sites are also well-situated for occupants to engage in direct trade with Europeans. I decided to include one house from

each site, and I selected the houses that received the most thorough excavations. My analysis includes: House 2 from Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1); House 5 from Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2); and House 1 from Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3). The following paragraphs briefly describe the three sites as interpreted through the more recent work by Kaplan (1983) and Woollett (2003).

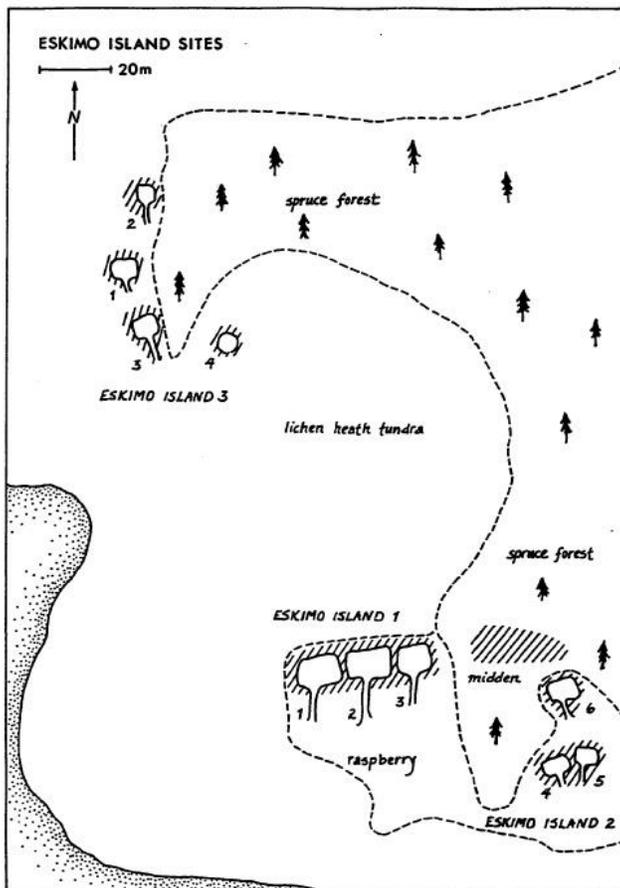


Figure 6.4: Eskimo Island sites (Kaplan 1983:412).

### *Eskimo Island 1*

Eskimo Island 1 is situated in the middle of the group of sites and consists of three large semi-subterranean, semi-rectangular sod houses (Woollett 2003:258). House 2 is the largest of the houses on the island and it shares walls with both Houses 1 and 3. Woollett (2003:259) speculates that Houses 1 and 3 may in fact be older structures that were truncated by House 2's construction. While Woollett (2003) states that Jordan did not test Houses 1 or 3, the catalog sheets deposited at The Rooms Provincial Museum record at least 51 items recovered from House 3, and thus a small test pit must have been executed. Jordan did place most of his efforts on the excavation of House 2, including approximately 32m<sup>2</sup> of floor space and 12m<sup>2</sup> of the entrance passage. The floor was paved with stones and covered with a 45cm thick deposit rich with cultural material. In the southwest corner of the house a second layer of floor pavements were revealed, suggesting multiple occupations. Large areas of the floor deposit, and the soils beneath, were saturated with fat and the stacked rock lampstands had thick charred fat residue (Woollett 2003:260). Raised sleeping platforms made from compacted peaty soil ran along all three walls, and the presence of wood timbers suggested a wooden framed roof structure.

The majority of artifacts recovered were European made, and the diagnostic artifacts were largely of French origin dating to the eighteenth century. Many of the trade goods had been used as raw materials for traditional implements: spikes and nails hammered into harpoon endblades, arrowheads, knife blades, and ulu blades (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Woollett 2003).

## *Eskimo Island 2*

Eskimo Island 2 also consists of three semi-subterranean, sub-rectangular houses. Houses 4 and 5 share a sidewall and House 6 is a short distance away. These houses differ from the Eskimo Island 1 houses; they are slightly smaller and have interior partitions (Woollett 2003). Houses 4 and 6 were only test excavated, and a small collection of artifacts was recovered, including a range of European trade goods. Jordan (1974) had originally dated House 6 as early nineteenth century but Kaplan's (1983) re-analysis of the materials suggests that House 6 was an eighteenth century occupation. House 5 received much more attention, with both a large portion of the house interior and entrance passage excavated. Excavations revealed a paving stone floor and raised platforms along three walls. In some places the layer of sediment exceeded 70cm in thickness, and while fat deposits were noted they were not as extensive as those at Eskimo Island 1 House 2 (Woollett 2003:265). An interesting partition wall was documented running north to south dividing the eastern portion of the house, but there appeared to be no entrance to this area from the main room of House 5. Woollett (2003:265) also states that the base of this wall was situated within the upper portion of the cultural deposit, almost 40cm above the paved floor. It thus appears that this wall was constructed after sediment and cultural refuse had accumulated over the house floor, which suggests at least two discrete occupations. Woollett (2003) further notes that a partition wall was observed within House 4 as well, but additional excavations are required to better understand these features.

The artifact assemblage from House 5 includes both European trade goods and traditional Inuit material culture, although the majority of artifacts are of European origin. Jordan's (1974) initial analysis of the artifacts suggested that House 5 was occupied during the early-to-mid- nineteenth century, but Kaplan's (1983) re-analysis identified a number of artifacts that do not fit within this date range. That said, many of the artifacts she identified as problematic for a nineteenth century occupation, largely because their manufacture dates fall within the late eighteenth century, could have simply been curated. Woollett (2003) offers a few suggestions: that House 5 may actually consist of a smaller nineteenth century house built on top of a late eighteenth/early nineteenth century dwelling; or that the sods used to build Houses 5 and 6 might have contained an earlier cultural deposit which would have intermixed with the later items during the house collapse. Unfortunately based on the information currently available it is difficult to determine the chronology of House 5, although suggesting a late eighteenth to early nineteenth century date range seems reasonable. Future excavations of Houses 4 and 6 might offer additional insight into the complicated history of Eskimo Island 2.

### *Eskimo Island 3*

Eskimo Island 3 is distinct from the other Eskimo Island sites in a number of ways: it consists of four discrete and widely-spaced houses; none of the houses share walls nor are they arranged in a linear pattern; and all four houses are considerably smaller than the other Eskimo Island dwellings. Jordan test excavated all four houses, although the bulk of his efforts were directed towards House 1. The floor and entrance tunnel of House 1 were paved with stones, a lampstand covered with charred fat was

located near the entrance, a deep storage pit was situated adjacent to the lamp stand, and a sleeping platform ran along the rear wall of the house (Woollett 2003: 268). Compared to the other Eskimo Island sites, the artifact assemblage from House 1 included a larger proportion of traditional Inuit items. The European goods recovered were largely functional (i.e. nails, barrel strapping) rather than formalized trade goods (i.e. glass beads, pipes), a number of which had been modified to make traditional Inuit implements. Based on an analysis of the trade goods, Jordan (1974) suggested a mid-seventeenth century to early eighteenth century occupation, with which Kaplan (1983) concurred.

Houses 2, 3, and 4 received considerably less attention, and thus the suggested dates by Jordan (1974) and later Kaplan (1983) were based on very limited artifact samples and small glimpses of internal house architecture. House 2 was suggested to be the oldest occupation on the site, dating between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and is similar to Houses 1 and 2 at Huntingdon Island 5; House 3 was tentatively assigned a date range of late seventeenth century to early eighteenth century; and House 4 was thought to be contemporaneous with House 2, dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Woollett 2003). Again, future excavations might yield more defined date ranges and complete our understanding of the Eskimo Island sites in general.

#### *Snook's Cove- House 2*

Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) was first examined by Jordan during his excavations in Central Labrador from 1972 to 1975 and the faunal remains were further studied in the 1990s by Jim Woollett (1999, 2003, 2007). The site was revisited in 2009 by Brian

Pritchard for his doctoral dissertation, and Eliza Brandy formed part of the crew as the faunal material was to be used for her MA thesis, both from Memorial University. The site is located near present-day Rigolet and consists of two sod houses, a trading post, and evidence for modern salmon fishing activities. Jordan originally thought these dwellings were built when Hunt and Henley's trading post was established in the 1860s (Jordan 1974:85). He tested House 1 and excavated the majority of House 2, and the results were re-analyzed and presented in Kaplan's (1983) doctoral dissertation. Based on the artifacts recovered, Kaplan (1983:428-431) suggested that both houses were contemporaneously occupied during the nineteenth century, but in order to determine whether or not these were Inuit, European, or mixed-ethnicity houses, archival investigation was required. Kaplan (1983:431) investigated the Rigolet post journals from the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) archives and recent scholarship has incorporated the Moravian records as well (Rollmann 2010). This research has confirmed Jordan's initial suggestion that Snook's Cove was an Inuit occupation site (Brandy 2013).

Pritchard's return to the site in 2009 began with a survey of the site, where two sod house foundations were clearly visible between the shore and the tree line, and evidence for the foundation of the old trading post appeared to emerge from under the modern foundation of a cabin (Brandy 2013:35; Figure 6.5).



Figure 6.5: Snook's Cove (Brandy 2013:36).

Following some initial test excavations, Pritchard determined that these two features were foundations of historic period Inuit houses and these would become the focus for his full-scale excavation. Based on the order of possible structures surveyed on the property Pritchard called these dwellings House 3 and House 4 but it was later realized that these were the same dwellings Jordan had previously investigated and called House 1 and 2 (Brandy 2013:35). To keep things consistent with Jordan's original data and later works (see Kaplan 1983) I revert back to using House 1 and 2, knowing that these correspond to Pritchard's House 3 and 4 respectively. Due to time constraints House 1 was only partially excavated, but a large external midden area was uncovered for Brandy's thesis, and House 2 was almost completely excavated including some external midden as well (Brandy 2013:37). Brandy (2013:39) describes House 2 as having a noticeably sunken interior and slumped walls, undoubtedly due to the fact that Jordan had previously excavated this dwelling save for a small area in the northwest corner of the house (Kaplan 1983:428). Knowing that House 2 had been extensively investigated by Jordan suggests that the 2009 excavations consisted of disturbed backfill matrix, and the abundance of artifacts recovered

could have potentially originated with House 1's occupation. As such, the data from this site will be treated with caution and presented in a similar manner to other sites that only received test excavations.

Kaplan's (1983:426-431) dissertation describes a number of European-made artifacts from both Houses 1 and 2 that suggest a nineteenth century occupation. While some of the ceramic types and bead varieties emerged during the late eighteenth century, these may have been curated over time. The presence of kerosene lamp fragments (which post-date 1860), and a distinct cartridge casing, suggested to Kaplan that these houses were likely a late nineteenth century occupation, well in line with the arrival of the Hunt and Henley trading post (Kaplan 1983:431). Pritchard tentatively dated House 2 from 1800-1860, a good sixty years of occupation before the trading post was established (Pritchard and Brandy 2010:113). After his 2010 season the dates were further refined, and he suggested that House 2 appeared to date to the 1790s (Pritchard 2011). Considering both Jordan's (as interpreted through Kaplan) and Pritchard's work (as interpreted through Brandy), it is safer to suggest a firm nineteenth century occupation, one that may have begun in the earlier part of the century but definitely persisted until the end of the century, if not the beginning of the twentieth century.

### Northern Labrador

William Duncan Strong was the first archaeologist to visit the northern region in the early twentieth century and document pre-contact Inuit sites along the north coast as part of the Rawson-MacMillan Field Museum Expedition circa 1928 (Strong 1928). More in-depth research occurred during the 1960s and '70s with J. Garth Taylor

conducting a survey from Nain to Okak in 1966, Steven Cox surveying the Okak region in 1974-1975, Jim Tuck's surveys and excavations in Saglek Fiord in 1969 and 1971, and the Smithsonian Institution's large-scale Torngat Archaeological Project (TAP) that conducted ground and boat surveys from Nain to the northern tip of Labrador in 1977-1978. A substantial body of data emerged from these projects, presented in dissertations and reports (Cox 1976; Fitzhugh 1980; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1972; Taylor 1968). Since these initial projects, archaeological work in northern Labrador has gradually increased, particularly in the 2000s, which has provided more detailed and regionally specific data for various pre-contact and contact period Inuit settlements along the north coast (Cabak 1991; Cabak and Loring 2000; Cloutier-Gelinas 2010; Fay 2008; Higdon 2008; Hood 2008; Jurakic 2008; Swinarton 2008; Woollett 2003; Whitridge 2006). My initial search for a site dated to the early contact period in the northern region led me to the Ikkusik collection at The Rooms Provincial Museum. While Schledermann (1972) identified early phase (ca. 1450-1700) dwellings at the Ikkusik site in Saglek, the most completely excavated dwelling was actually dated to the mid-eighteenth century, an already well-represented time period for the northern sites selected in this study. Thus the northern region sites date from the early-to-mid eighteenth century through mid-nineteenth century.

### *Oakes Bay 1- House 2*

The Oakes Bay 1 site (HeCg-08) is located on Dog Island in the Nain area and consists of six dwellings, three of which are large communal houses. The site was first recorded by J. Garth Taylor in 1966 during his large-scale survey from Nain to Okak and

was revisited by the Smithsonian Institution crews in 1974 and 1980 although no excavation took place during these later surveys (Kaplan 1983). Kaplan and Woollett returned to Dog Island between 2002 and 2007 to investigate several sites within the Dog Island region, including Oakes Bay 1. Their main goal was to reconstruct terrestrial and marine landscape histories and land-use through a multi-disciplinary framework that combined various archaeological specialties (zooarchaeology, archaeobotany, and archaeoentomology) with paleoecology, geomorphology, and dendrochronology studies (Woollett 2010:248). They test-excavated the interiors of four houses and six middens, and substantial paleoenvironmental surveys were conducted both on and off the site (Figure 6.6).

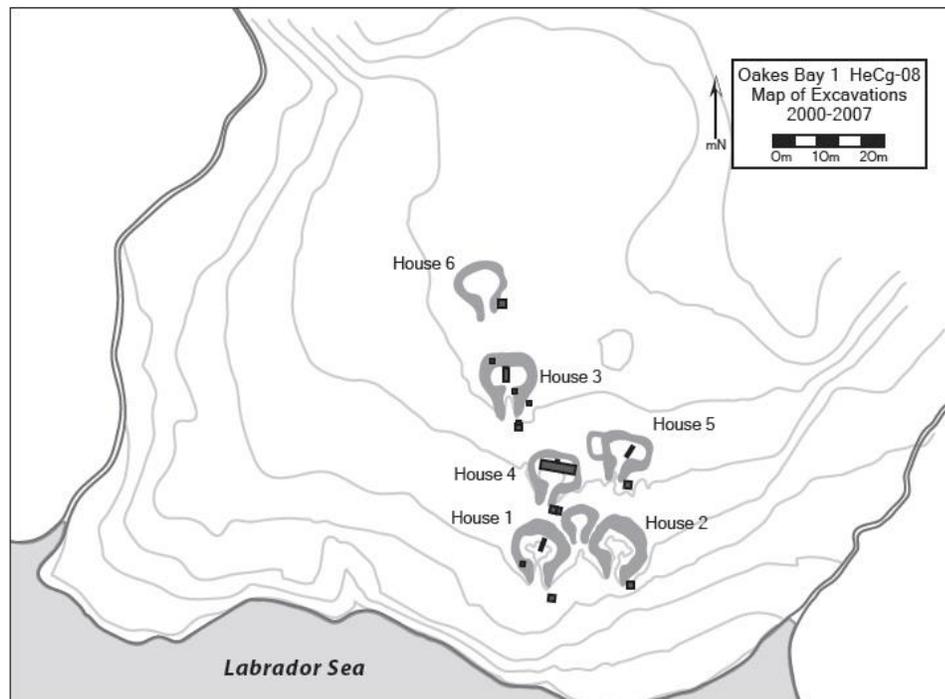


Figure 6.6: Map of Oakes Bay 1 showing excavated areas up to 2007 (Woollett 2010:249).

Houses 1, 2, and 3 are the larger rectangular communal house structures, and numerous European-made trade goods were recovered from these dwellings and associated middens to support an eighteenth century occupation date. During the winter of 1771-1772 the newly planted Moravian missionaries from Nain recorded occupation at a single dwelling from this site, and it is the only year that occupation at the site was recorded in the Nain mission diary (Woollett 2010). Woollett concludes that one of Houses 1, 2, or 3 would have been the dwelling mentioned during the 1771-1772 census. Houses 4, 5, and 6 are considerably smaller and had minor artifact assemblages which suggested an earlier occupation date, possibly mid-seventeenth century.

House 2's complete excavation was undertaken during the summers of 2010, 2011, and 2012 by Lindsay Swinarton of Université Laval for her doctoral dissertation. Soapstone and whale bone artifacts far outnumber other artifact categories and iron and copper represent the bulk of the European materials (Swinarton 2012, 2015). Although the site was abandoned just as the Moravians arrived in Nain, we know that the long-distance trade network was in full-force and that the Inuit in this area (and further north) had access to a diverse range of European materials. Unlike other sites in the Nain area, like Black Island, it appears that the Inuit at Oakes Bay either had little interest in dealing with Europeans or acquiring trade goods, or that perhaps trade goods were difficult to acquire during the transition from French to British occupation in Labrador.

#### *Kongu- Test Excavations*

The Kongu site (IgCv-7) was first identified in 2003 by Whitridge as part of his Nachvak Archaeology Project. The site consists of approximately ten semi-subterranean

Inuit sod dwellings oriented towards the fiord which appear to be arranged around an empty, round central area (see Figure 6.7).



Figure 6.7: Kongu site (facing SSE) (Source: P. Whitridge).

This area could represent an older Pre-contact Inuit style dwelling, or it might be the remains of a communal festival house (Jurakic 2008:26; Whitridge 2006). In 2004, Whitridge and crew placed three 1x3m test trenches in assumed midden-areas around the dwellings: east trench (ET) just to the east of House 7; west trench (WT) to the rear of House 2; and centre trench (CT) between Houses 3 and 4 (Jurakic 2008; see Figure 6.8). The WT reached sterile soil and was back-filled in 2004 but completion of the CT and ET occurred in the 2005 season, and both trenches were expanded. An area along the shore-side of House 2 was tested, beginning with two 50 x 50cm test pits (WTS2) which were later expanded into a 1x3m trench to the east of the House 2 kitchen alcove (Jurakic 2008). The CT produced some historic material, although according to Whitridge (2006)

this trench likely dates to the early historic period or may have hit part of the assumed communal festival house. Jurakic (2008) omitted the CT from her analysis as it did not contain any tobacco pipes or ceramics, the focus of her MA research, but I have included it with the Kongu test assemblages as it sheds light on site continuity and the incorporation of European-made goods.

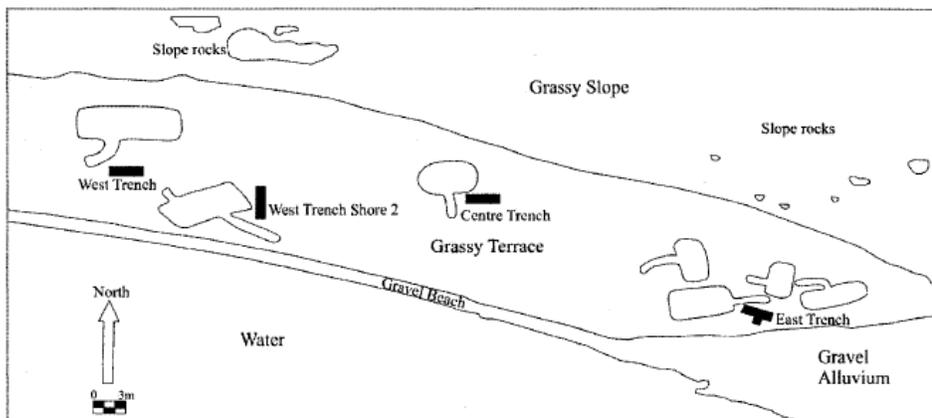


Figure 6.8: Kongu with excavated trenches identified (Swinarton 2008:42).

## Settlements & Subsistence

Kaplan's (1983) dissertation carefully analysed Inuit settlement and subsistence strategies from Hamilton Inlet to Killinek, the northern tip of Labrador, and examined the changes that occurred from late Pre-contact times through the nineteenth century. At that time it was assumed that the Inuit did not permanently reside south of Hamilton Inlet, and it has only been within the last decade that archaeological information on Inuit sites in the southern region has been made available. Thus the following paragraphs synthesize these more recent data with extant analyses of Inuit settlement and subsistence along the

Labrador coast. While this brief synthesis makes some generalizations, there were regional differences and variants dependent on access to local resources, a full discussion of which is available elsewhere (Kaplan 1983; Murphy 2011b; Woollett 2003).

Kaplan's (1983:297) "early period" covers the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and she highlights the importance of access to the *sina* and polynyas as well as the ability to exploit a range of resource zones through the seasonal round. Only a few dwellings included in this study date to that time period (Snack Cove [FkBe-3] Houses 1 and 2; Huntingdon Island 5 [FkBg-3] Houses 1 and 2; Eskimo Island 3 [GaBp-3] House 1), all of which are located in prime areas for access to necessary resources. Snack Cove and Huntingdon Island 5 are both located on Huntingdon Island, a large island near the mouth of Sandwich Bay. Rankin (2010b) mentions that the Inuttitut name for Sandwich Bay is *Netshucktoke*, which translates to "the place where there are many ringed seal". Other resources in the region would be provided by access to the *sina*, and through the number of major rivers which drain into the bay and would have provided access to the interior to harvest terrestrial resources and fish. Eskimo Island 3 is also located on a large island, although rather than an outer coastal island it is more centrally situated in Hamilton Inlet. Much like the Sandwich Bay sites, Eskimo Island 3 had prime access to marine resources with polynyas in the Narrows region, the availability of ringed seals, and relatively easy access to terrestrial resources as well.

The "middle period" covers the eighteenth century, and here Kaplan (1983) describes a general shift from outer to inner islands and protected bays. The majority of sites included in this study fall into this period, with sites from all three broad geographic

regions. Despite the trend of a shift to inner islands, Huntingdon Island 5 was still occupied during the eighteenth century (House 3). That said, the sheer size of Huntingdon Island creates distinct environments that encompass both outer and inner characteristics. Thus, Huntingdon Island 5 presents a slightly more inner island environment when compared to the more exposed Snack Cove site. Eskimo Island remains an important site in the Hamilton Inlet (Central) region as additional settlements are established on the island (Eskimo Island 1 and 2). In the Nain area, protected inner islands and bays are the settlement location of choice, with an abundance of sites recorded on the islands between South Aulautsivik and Dog Island (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003). Much like the southern and central regions, this area provides prime access to the *sina*, polynyas, and areas for harvesting ringed seals. A strong maritime focus remains but an increased interest in terrestrial resources takes place during this period (Kaplan 1983:299). Kaplan (1983:299) suggests that this strategy could have emerged to help support a larger population (of both humans and dogs) and thus the shift to interior locations would have provided easy access to both terrestrial and marine resources. Perhaps that is why Huntingdon Island 5 remained occupied into the eighteenth century as, despite its outer location, it still provided excellent access to interior resources.

The “late period” covers the nineteenth century, when more Europeans were permanently settled along the coast and there was a decline in the Inuit population (due to European diseases) and another shift towards settlements near mission sites and trading posts (Kaplan 1983:300). In the Hamilton Inlet area the Eskimo Island sites were

abandoned and a small settlement at Snook's Cove was established near the trading post. In the Nain area, the population around the mission station grew. While marine resources were still an important subsistence focus, a cash economy emerged and participation in trapping and fishing took a central role. Proximity to mission stations and trading posts meant easy and reliable access to European-made goods but also the ability to actively participate in the cash economy by supplying the trading posts with furs and fish.

Consistent through all periods and along the coast is the strong reliance on various seal species for subsistence. While the modified marine economy shifted over time to include more terrestrial resources and eventually blended with a trade and cash economy, the importance of marine resources was never abandoned. This modified marine economy just became increasingly modified over time. Furthermore, despite the slight shift in settlement location from outer to inner islands, the key requirements remained the same: access to the *sina* and polynyas, and good locations for acquiring ringed seals at breathing holes. This shift meant continual access to these important resource areas but added improved access to terrestrial resources. Finally, the shift towards smaller settlements near mission sites and trading posts in the nineteenth century maintained access to the aforementioned important resources (for the most part) but added access to European-made goods and entry into the trade economy.

### **Chapter Summary**

The sites and dwellings selected for this study were largely determined by the completeness of the excavations, and access to the collections and associated data. The result is a comparative dataset of 10 completely, or near-complete, excavated dwellings

and three midden trenches. The following table presents the chronology for the dwellings/sites, including Black Island. The eighteenth century is the most heavily represented, spanning all three geographic regions, and some of these occupations may have extended into the early nineteenth century.

Table 6.1: Site chronology.

SITE	HOUSE #	16 <sup>th</sup> C	17 <sup>th</sup> C	18 <sup>th</sup> C	19 <sup>th</sup> C
Huntingdon Is.	1				
Snack Cove	1				
Snack Cove	2				
Huntingdon Is.	2				
Eskimo Is. 3	1				
Huntingdon Is.	3				
Eskimo Is. 1	2				
Black Is.	2				
Oakes Bay	2				
Eskimo Is. 2	5				
Snook's Cove	2				
Kongu	WT/CT/ET				

Despite the varying degrees of excavation, all of the data collected from these sites provides a substantial archaeological representation of Inuit-European contact along the Labrador coast. The following chapter will discuss the analytical methodology and present the comparative data to shed light on the changing nature of Inuit-European contact by exploring the increasing presence of European-made artifacts, and

investigating whether there is a consistent pattern along the coast or if certain dwellings or sites stand out from the others.

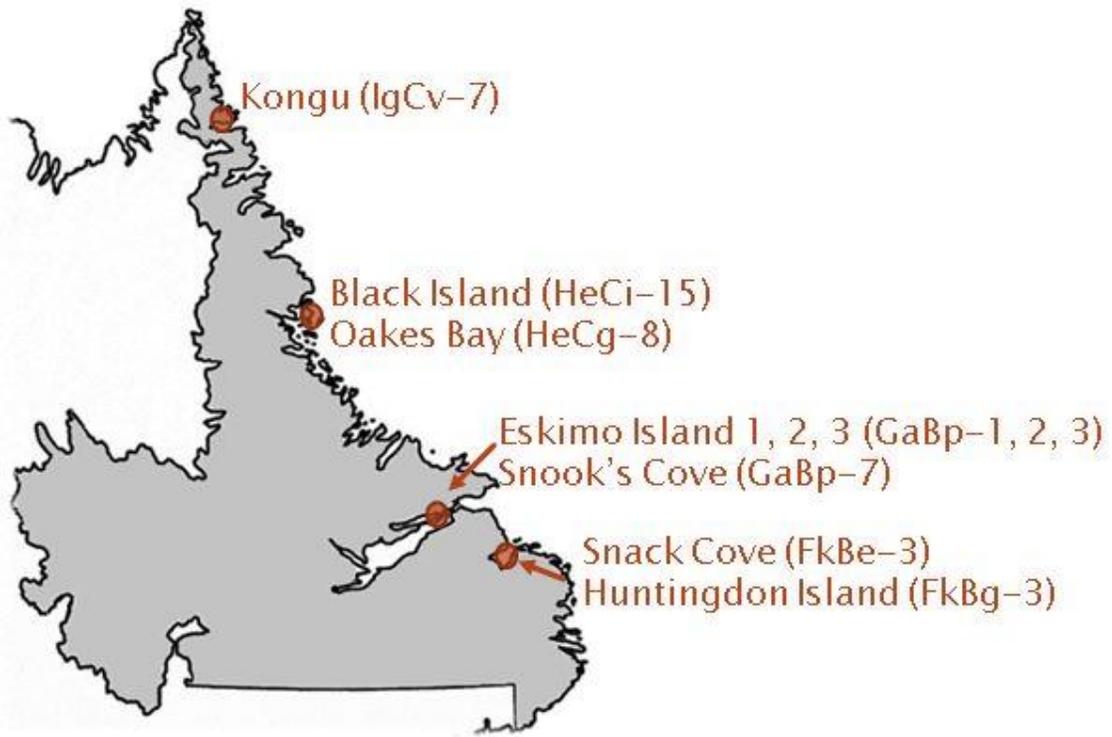


Figure 6.9: Map showing location of sites included in study.

## **CHAPTER 7 : COMPARATIVE DATA**

### **Introduction**

This chapter presents the data from twelve archaeological sites, including Black Island, in order to determine if there are any patterns in the artifact assemblages that could suggest changes or continuities over time, regional variations, or differential access to European-made goods. Other smaller-scale comparisons have been conducted (Arendt 2011; Davies 2014; Murphy 2011a; Rankin 2015a), but this is the first time since Kaplan's (1983) dissertation research that a multi-site comparison, spanning a large portion of the Labrador coast, has been executed. Before presenting the comparative data I discuss my analytical methodology and some of the issues that emerged when trying to compare sites that had different recovery methods and cataloging treatments, as well as some of the problems with the archaeological data itself. In order to determine if and how Mikak's dwelling on Black Island differs from the other selected sites, and reflects her connection to European traders as noted in the documentary record, I compare it first to the nearest and roughly contemporaneous site of Oakes Bay before delving into broader geographic and temporal analyses. This type of diachronic analysis not only allows for a greater understanding of which artifacts were incorporated or relinquished by Inuit families, but also when and where.

### **Analytical Methodology**

When possible, collections were examined in-person at Memorial University, Université Laval, and The Rooms Provincial Museum. During this time it became apparent that I would have to develop specific criteria for my analysis in order to make the

collections comparable, as excavation and cataloging procedures differed between each site. In order to present uniform data, I created common trade good categories (for example, iron nails, pipe fragments, etc.) as well as three categories of traditional Inuit raw materials (soapstone, whale bone, and slate) (see Table 7.1 for full list). The selection criteria for these categories were based on artifacts that tend to preserve well, and appear to be found in abundance across all sites. While glass trade beads preserve well, and are a useful indicator of formalized trade, their recovery is not consistent across all sites which can greatly affect quantitative results, obscuring trends and patterns (Pyszczyk 2015a). In some cases an abundance of beads may represent a single incident (for example, a container of beads abandoned or spilled) or they could be indicative of excavation methods (for example, wet-screening vs. dry, sieve size, etc.) (Burley et al. 1996:114; Kidd 1987:89). As such, the glass beads have been omitted from the quantitative analysis and instead subjected to qualitative analysis in terms of their style, colour, and manufacturing technique to see if any patterns, or change in patterns, occurred with bead choice over time. Also omitted from the total artifact assemblage counts were un-worked faunal remains, soil samples, and pre-Inuit lithics.

Tables 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 present the raw counts and the relative frequencies for each of the artifact categories listed in Table 7.1 for all dwellings/trenches included in the study. I present the raw counts to show how many artifacts were recovered in each house and then use relative frequencies to provide better inter-site comparisons. This also assists with incorporating sites that were not fully-excavated but instead tested as the quantities in test units/trenches would not be equivalent to a full dwelling excavation. Since I was

working from raw data, and unsure of the stratigraphy from the comparison sites, I present whole-house assemblages rather than specific occupation level data. Using the entire artifact assemblage means that some of the items included in the analysis are part of the fill levels rather than the occupation level, and therefore are of uncertain provenance, so this analysis must be taken in the general sense for each site. Having said that, this method allows for a more even comparison when excavation and cataloguing procedures may have greatly differed and when the occupation level cannot be ascertained from the catalogue records. When possible I address the potential for some analyses to be skewed by artifacts from later occupations.

Table 7.1: List of Artifact Categories Selected for Study.

Nails
Iron Objects
Lead Projectiles (shot, musketballs)
Lead Objects
Miscellaneous Metal Objects (copper, brass, tin, etc.)
Ceramic Sherds
Glass Shards
Gunflints
Pipe Fragments
Soapstone Objects
Whale Bone Objects
Slate Fragments

Table 7.2: Artifact Counts and Frequencies for Northern Region Sites.

Northern Region Artifact Categories	Black Island HeCi-15, H2		Oakes Bay 1 HeCg-8, H2		West Trench		Kongu (IgCv-7) Centre Trench		East Trench	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Nails	247	20.7	245	15.4	68	5.5	6	3.7	48	5.9
Iron objects	108	9.0	81	5.1	201	16.1	10	6.1	98	12.0
Lead projectiles	13	1.1	1	0.1	16	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Lead objects	11	0.9	31	1.9	3	0.2	2	1.2	4	0.5
Misc. metal objects	7	0.6	23	1.4	10	0.8	1	0.6	4	0.5
Ceramic sherds	138	11.6	7	0.4	306	24.5	0	0.0	147	18.0
Glass shards	128	10.7	7	0.4	45	3.6	2	1.2	12	1.5
Gunflints	20	1.7	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Pipe fragments	314	26.3	3	0.2	223	17.9	0	0.0	19	2.3
Soapstone objects	8	0.7	66	4.1	46	3.7	40	24.5	84	10.3
Whale bone objects	96	8.0	77	4.8	124	9.9	32	19.6	84	10.3
Slate fragments	1	0.1	10	0.6	14	1.1	8	4.9	13	1.6
<b>Total Above Sample</b>	<b>1091</b>	<b>91.3</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>34.6</b>	<b>1056</b>	<b>84.6</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>62.0</b>	<b>513</b>	<b>62.6</b>
<b>Total Artifact Assemblage*</b>	<b>1,195</b>		<b>1,595</b>		<b>1,248</b>		<b>163</b>		<b>819</b>	
<i>*Minus faunal remains, soil samples, pre-Inuit lithics, and glass beads.</i>										

Table 7.3: Artifact Counts and Frequencies for Central Region Sites.

Central Region Artifact Categories	Snook's Cove GaBp-7, H2		Eskimo Island Sites					
	n	%	GaBp-1, H2 n	%	GaBp-2, H5 n	%	GaBp-3, H1 n	%
Nails	814	23.7	558	53.3	220	29.9	313	36.3
Iron objects	168	4.9	144	13.8	131	17.8	171	19.8
Lead projectiles	35	1.0	38	3.6	8	1.1	9	1.0
Lead objects	24	0.7	9	0.9	23	3.1	18	2.1
Misc. metal objects	31	0.9	16	1.5	16	2.2	10	1.2
Ceramic sherds	1122	32.6	60	5.7	91	12.4	36	4.2
Glass shards	293	8.5	27	2.6	46	6.3	25	2.9
Gunflints	67	2.0	3	0.3	20	2.7	0	0.0
Pipe fragments	696	20.3	12	1.2	52	7.1	2	0.2
Soapstone objects	1	0.0	40	3.8	39	5.3	61	7.1
Whale bone objects	53	1.5	26	2.5	40	5.4	19	2.2
Slate fragments	2	0.1	1	0.1	3	0.4	3	0.4
<b>Total Above Sample Total Artifact Assemblage*</b>	<b>3306</b>	<b>96.2</b>	<b>934</b>	<b>89.2</b>	<b>689</b>	<b>93.6</b>	<b>667</b>	<b>77.4</b>
	<b>3,437</b>		<b>1,047</b>		<b>736</b>		<b>862</b>	

*\*Minus faunal remains, soil samples, pre-Inuit lithics, and glass beads.*

Table 7.4: Artifact Counts and Frequencies for Southern Region Sites.

Southern Region Artifact Categories	Snack Cove 3 (FkBe-3)				Huntingdon Island 5 [Indian Harbour] (FkBg-3)					
	House 1		House 2		House 1		House 2		House 3	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Nails	42	11.1	79	21.7	60	21.7	142	36.0	315	39.1
Iron objects	182	48.2	23	6.3	67	24.3	78	19.8	87	10.8
Lead projectiles	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.5	7	0.9
Lead objects	0	0.0	3	0.8	2	0.7	17	4.3	17	2.1
Misc. metal objects	3	0.8	64	17.6	6	2.2	8	2.0	12	1.5
Ceramic sherds	141	37.3	177	48.6	1	0.4	3	0.8	142	17.6
Glass shards	8	2.1	2	0.6	1	0.4	6	1.5	80	9.9
Gunflints	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.3	2	0.3
Pipe fragments	0	0.0	4	1.1	0	0.0	1	0.3	20	2.5
Soapstone objects	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	6.9	1	0.3	10	1.2
Whale bone objects	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.7	6	1.5	8	1.0
Slate fragments	1	0.3	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total Above Sample</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>99.7</b>	<b>353</b>	<b>97.0</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>57.2</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>67.1</b>	<b>700</b>	<b>87.0</b>
<b>Total Artifact Assemblage*</b>	<b>378</b>		<b>364</b>		<b>276</b>		<b>395</b>		<b>805</b>	
<i>*Minus faunal remains, soil samples, pre-Inuit lithics, and glass beads.</i>										

### Artifact Densities

In order to determine whether certain sites contained substantially more of the selected artifacts (see Table 7.1) I calculated artifact densities for each dwelling/trench as that may reflect the duration and intensity of site occupation. This was done by taking the total number of selected artifacts for this study, rather than the entire recorded assemblages, and dividing it by the excavated area (m<sup>2</sup>). Although I have data from twelve sites, Kongu was broken down into three separate midden samples for each trench excavated as they are associated with different dwellings on site. For the majority of sites the total excavated area was either presented in written reports or theses, or was readily available by examining the artifact catalogs to determine how many excavation units (m<sup>2</sup>) were recorded. Unfortunately, depth data was lacking from some sites so this calculation does not include total volume of excavations. For the Eskimo Island sites, the excavation area was estimated by taking the recorded dwelling measurements as I could not find the total excavated m<sup>2</sup> recorded, and I knew that some of the excavation units were 1m x 2m rather than the standard 1m x 1m. For example, Eskimo Island 1 House 2 had a recorded size of 12.3m x 8.4m with a 10.8m long entrance tunnel (Kaplan 1983). Using these measurements the area for the dwelling is 103.32m<sup>2</sup>, and based on the assumption that the entrance tunnel might have been excavated in a 1m wide trench (1m x 10.8m) I added that to the dwelling area to arrive at the estimated 115m<sup>2</sup> (see Table 7.5). Figure 7.1 presents the artifact densities from lowest to highest. Kongu's inflated densities for the West and East trenches likely relate to the fact that these excavation trenches were placed

outside of the dwellings, in midden areas, where artifact concentrations tend to be considerably higher.

Table 7.5: Artifact Densities.

Site	Total m <sup>2</sup>		Artifact Density/m <sup>2</sup>
	Excavated	Total # Selected Artifacts	
Black Island H2	44	1091	24.8
Oakes Bay H2	60	552	9.2
Kongu WT	6.5	1056	162.5
Kongu CT	3	101	33.7
Kongu ET	5	513	102.6
Snook's Cove H2	80	3306	41.3
Eskimo Island 1 H2*	115	934	8.1
Eskimo Island 2 H5*	75	689	9.2
Eskimo Island 3 H1*	44	667	15.2
Snack Cove H1	32	377	11.8
Snack Cove H2	41	353	8.6
Huntingdon Island 5 H1	76	158	2.1
Huntingdon Island 5 H2	72	265	3.7
Huntingdon Island 5 H3	71	700	9.9
<i>* estimated</i>			

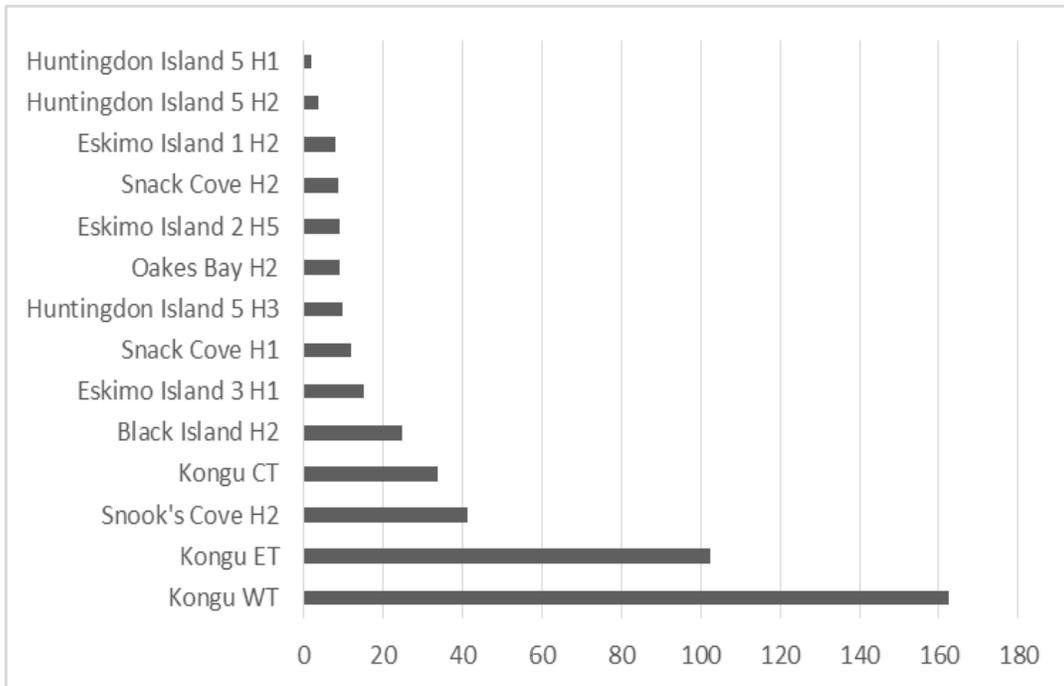


Figure 7.1: Artifact Densities in Ascending Order.

Figure 7.2 removes the Kongu assemblages and presents the same density data but reconfigures the sites in roughly chronological order (oldest dwellings at the bottom, most recent at the top). When Kongu is removed, and the artifact densities are compared over time, certain sites stand out from their contemporaries as there is no uniform pattern for increasing densities over time.

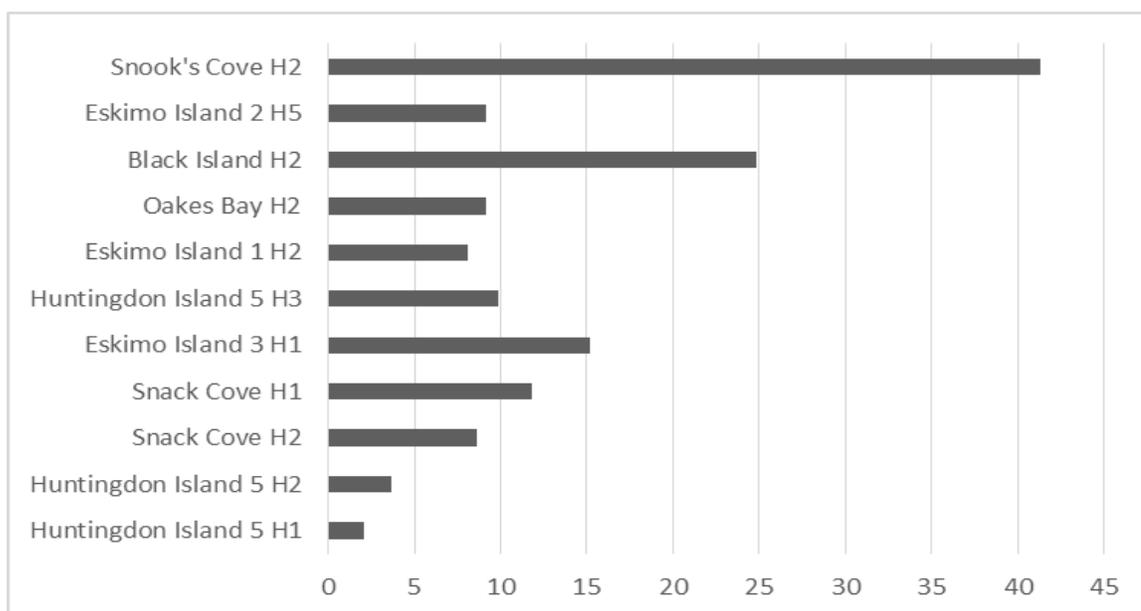


Figure 7.2: Artifact Densities Over Time (Kongu Omitted).

The Snook's Cove- House 2 assemblage consisted of a substantial amount of ceramic sherd fragments (n= 1122), pipe fragments (n= 696), and nails (n=814), but it is also the site with the latest occupation date, so a higher artifact density resulting from trade goods would be expected. Black Island- House 2 has the next-highest density; as discussed in Chapter 5, the assemblage reflects a family (Mikak's family) that wholly embraced European-made goods. The Black Island assemblage is also quite diverse, containing some goods that might not have been available from the nearby Moravian missionaries. Some of the earliest sites (Snack Cove, Eskimo Island 3) have higher artifact densities than the other eighteenth century sites. Perhaps these dwellings were occupied by trade intermediaries who stockpiled goods to filter north through the trade network, or perhaps they were the first to encounter these new materials without much

competition from other groups. Alternatively, these high artifact densities might simply reflect the length of occupation, or disturbances from later occupations. Artifact densities provide a basic comparison but in order to achieve more detailed resolution I needed to work through some other methodological problems to organize the data.

### Dealing with Unidentifiables

Unidentifiable artifacts make up a large part of any archaeological assemblage, in part due to various taphonomic processes that can render objects unrecognizable, and through the cataloging process where inexperience or uncertainty may result in selecting ‘unidentifiable’ or ‘undetermined’ as a place-holder until more information becomes available. As such a prominent feature of all assemblages these artifact fragments should not be ignored, even if they cannot be identified. In order to simplify my comparisons, as specific object and material types ranged from site to site, I created more general typological categories. For example, *Miscellaneous Metal Objects* exists because some sites had copper artifacts, some had brass, and others had copper, brass, tin, and pewter. These general material-type categories also enabled me to include all of the unidentifiables, as they were obviously something tangible at some point and were considered valuable or useful. Thus the *Iron Objects* category includes formal tools (e.g. files) along with the scraps that are usually omitted from analysis. *Whale Bone Objects* includes identifiable artifacts, like harpoon foreshafts and sled shoes, along with pieces of unfinished or unidentifiable worked whale bone. If our interest is investigating whether the Inuit were increasing their consumption of European-made goods over time, then the scraps form an important part of this analysis. The problems with including

unidentifiable objects are similar to those facing the formal artifacts themselves: problems with fragmentation and artifact recovery.

### Problems with Artifact Fragmentation

Using simple artifact counts as a measure of relative abundance is appealing, but it ignores the fact that counts are influenced by the degree of fragmentation (Byrd and Owens 1997:316). For example, Sussman (2000) has argued that you cannot use ceramic sherds for statistical comparison as one sherd does not equate to one object or vessel, and the same can be said for other fragile artifacts. Some scholars have tried to compensate for this issue by developing formulas or techniques to see if they can determine the rate or a recognizable pattern of fragmentation to assist with the interpretation of the fragile archaeological record (for example, Byrd and Owens 1997). Many of these attempts are just as problematic as the fragmentation itself. Some scholars suggest implementing a Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) count, which essentially describes the minimum number of original items (e.g. ceramic pots, plates, clay pipes, etc.) that can account for the fragments in the archaeological assemblage (Voss and Allen 2010:1). Using MNV seems to be the ideal method for rectifying fragmentation issues, but the methods for calculating MNV are not always consistent. For example, to determine the MNV for clay pipes many advise using the stem/bowl juncture and/or mouthpieces but others also include distinct morphological features (Bradley 2000). A similar issue exists for ceramic sherds as well, as some analysts take a quantitative approach and measure rim and base sherds while others opt for a qualitative method that subjectively groups sherds together that likely represent a single vessel (Voss and Allen 2010). For the purposes of

this dissertation, I have based my quantitative analysis on the assumption of even-breakage and depositional factors. Experimental studies of clay pipe fragmentation have shown a positive linear relationship between number of trampled whole pipes and pipe fragments (Pyszczyk 2015b). The same could be argued for other fragile artifact categories (ceramic sherds, glass shards): the more fragments in the assemblage the more likely it is that there were more whole items that were used, broken, and discarded. While more detailed and experimental analyses are needed to resolve the issues surrounding artifact fragmentation, basing this analysis on the idea that more fragments likely equals more whole vessels, and using percentages rather than artifact counts, attempts to compensate for these issues.

### **Quantitative Analysis**

In the interest of determining whether or not Black Island (HeCi-15) House 2's assemblage is unique I began by comparing it with nearby Oakes Bay (HeCg-08). Oakes Bay House 2 might have been the dwelling mentioned in the 1771-1772 Moravian census, although it could have been abandoned prior to Moravian arrival. Without finite dates, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Black Island House 2 and Oakes Bay House 2 were occupied within a generation of each other. Yet within that generation these two assemblages are remarkably different (Figure 7.3).

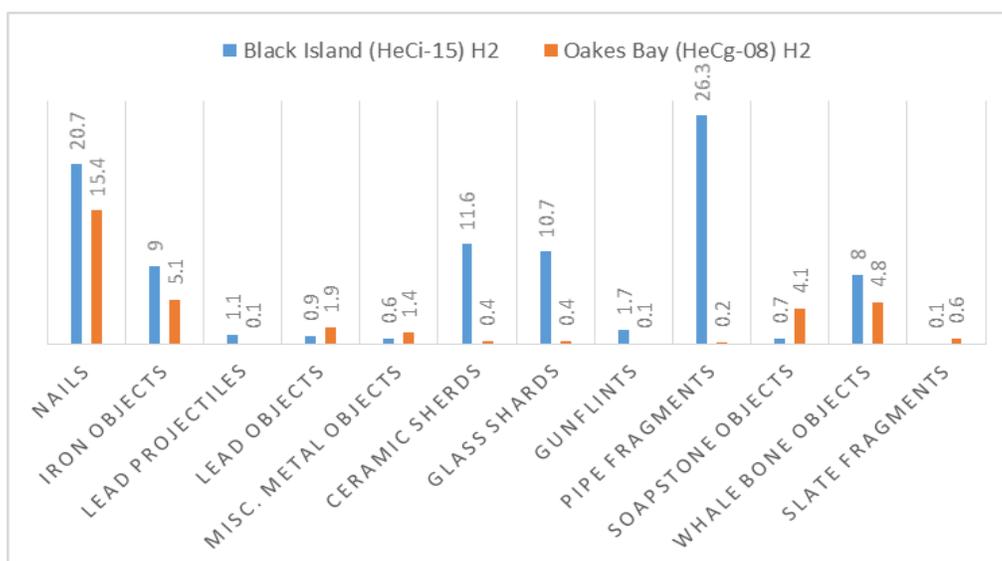


Figure 7.3: Comparison of Black Island and Oakes Bay (using percentage data from Table 7.2).

One could argue that the abundance of European-made materials at Black Island, and relative lack of such materials at Oakes Bay, represents the natural increase in access to trade goods over time as Moravian missionaries moved into the Nain area, and European occupation of the southern coast intensified. A lot of change could occur within a generation, especially when considering the rapidly changing social landscape. Comparing other neighbouring and roughly contemporaneous sites can assist with the interpretation of the discrepancies between Black Island and Oakes Bay.

To do this, I selected other pairs of sites and used the percentage data from Tables 7.2-7.4 to see how the assemblages differed. Once again, the broad date range for each assemblage (see Chapter 6) maintains the assumption of these dwellings being occupied within a generation of each other. A comparison of neighbouring Eskimo Island 1,

House 2 and Eskimo Island 2, House 5 reveals two fairly similar assemblages, at least in contrast to the Black Island-Oakes Bay comparison (Figure 7.4). A similar trend is seen when comparing the two seventeenth century Snack Cove dwellings, although there are some substantial differences in the percentage of iron and miscellaneous metal objects (Figure 7.5).

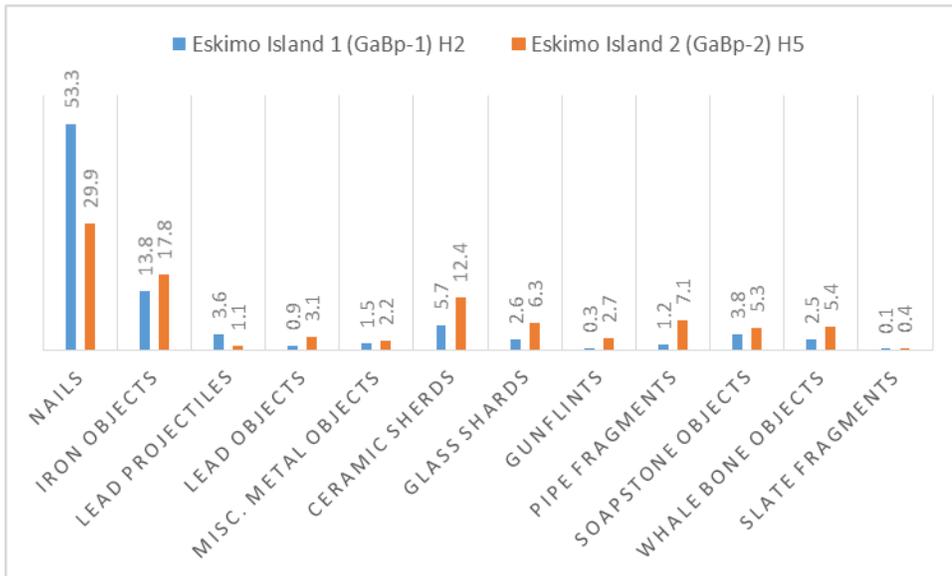


Figure 7.4: Comparison of Eskimo Island 1 and Eskimo Island 2.

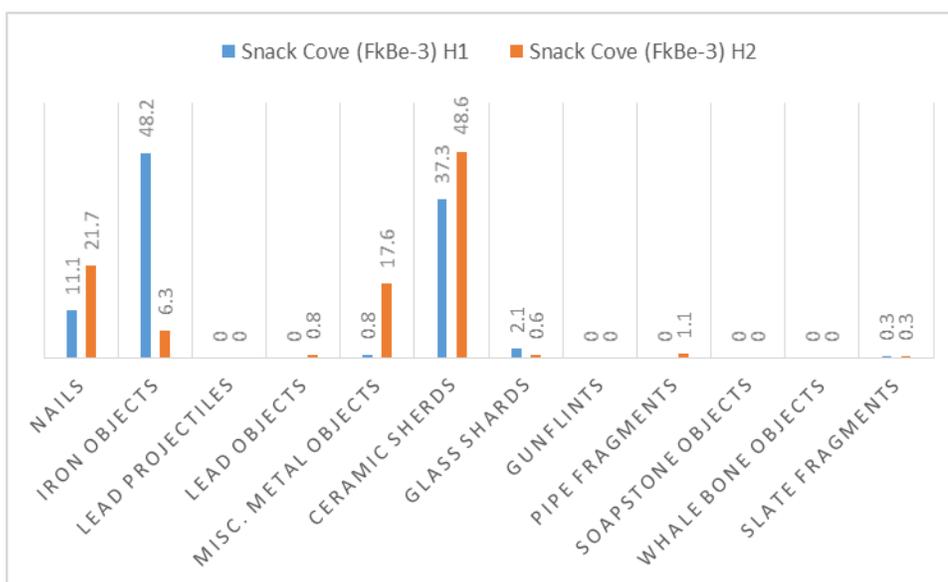


Figure 7.5: Comparison of Snack Cove Houses 1 and 2.

Since the major differences appear to relate to the percentage of European-made trade goods within the assemblages, a similar way to approach these comparisons is through an examination of the variation of the percentage of European-made goods between these groupings and calculating the difference. Using the same pairs for the Nain area (Black Island and Oakes Bay) and Hamilton Inlet (Eskimo Island 1 and 2), but adding in a third roughly contemporaneous dwelling for the Sandwich Bay area (Snack Cove Houses 1 and 2, Huntingdon Island House 2) reveals a similar pattern to the previous bar graph comparisons (Figure 7.6). Again, the difference between Oakes Bay and Black Island is much more pronounced than other neighbouring groups.

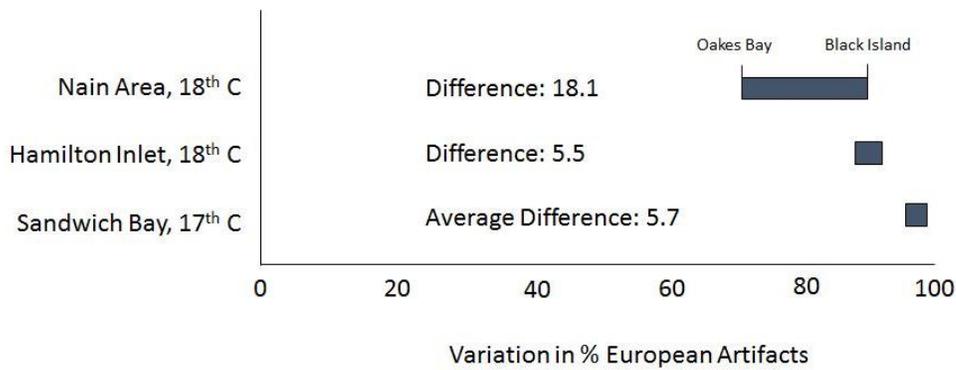


Figure 7.6: Variation in percentage of European artifacts.

Another way to examine the relationship between neighbouring and contemporaneous sites is to compare the variation of artifact densities using the same sites from the analysis in Figure 7.6 and the artifact densities presented in Table 7.5. The Eskimo Island dwellings have the least amount of variation in their artifact densities while the division between Oakes Bay and Black Island is once again very pronounced (Figure 7.7). Acknowledging that pairs or groupings of dwellings from each region is a small sample size, these comparisons suggest that something other than generational change is at play in the Nain area dwellings.

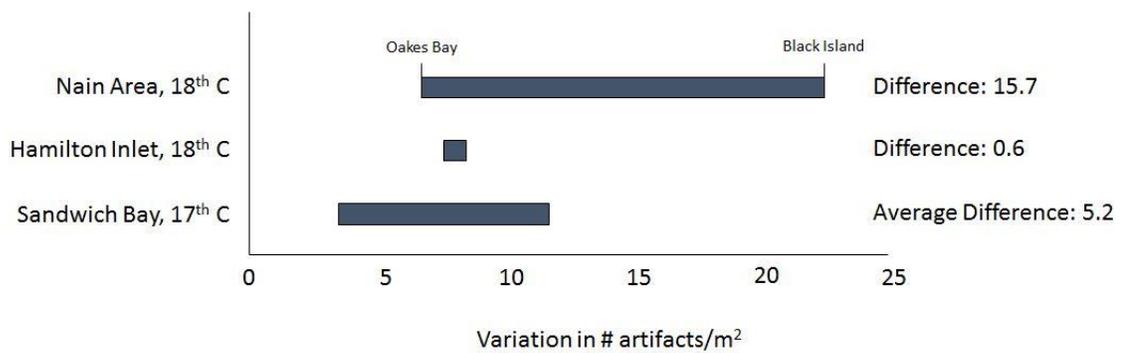


Figure 7.7: Variation in artifact densities from selected sites.

The results of this analysis of neighbouring and contemporaneous dwellings suggests that the relationship between the two Nain-area dwellings is unique. Black Island and Oakes Bay might be geographically and temporally close to one another, but their assemblages are far more distinct than any other neighbouring groups in terms of both their artifact densities and types. However, by merely comparing regional and temporal groupings it is difficult to determine whether it is Black Island's assemblage that is unique or Oakes Bay's. The following sections approach the sampled assemblages from a broader perspective to examine differences in quantity and diversity of both European-made and traditional goods.

### European-Made Trade Goods

Looking more closely at the European-made trade goods categories there are some samples with much greater quantities and diversity than others (see Figures 7.10-7.12).

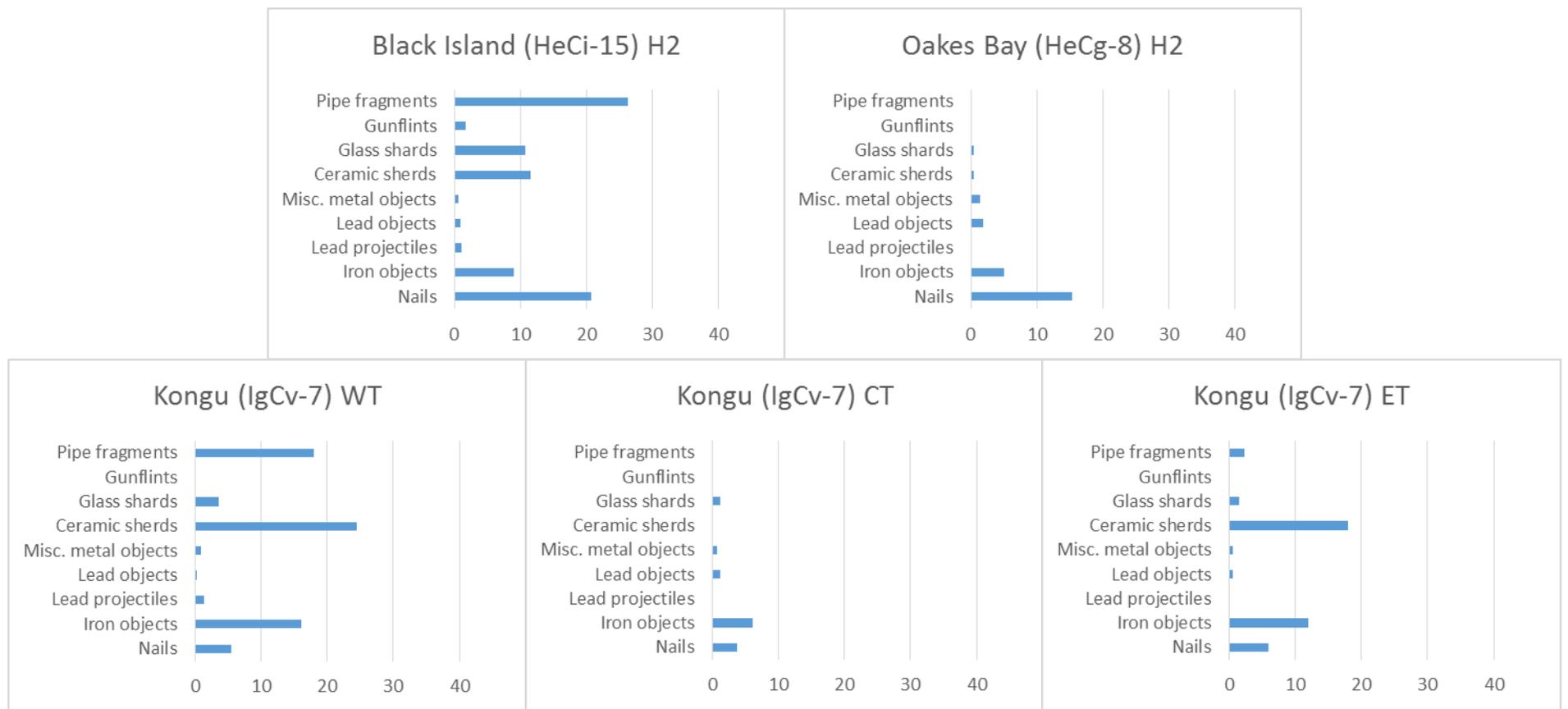


Figure 7.8: Percentage of Selected Trade goods at Northern Sites.

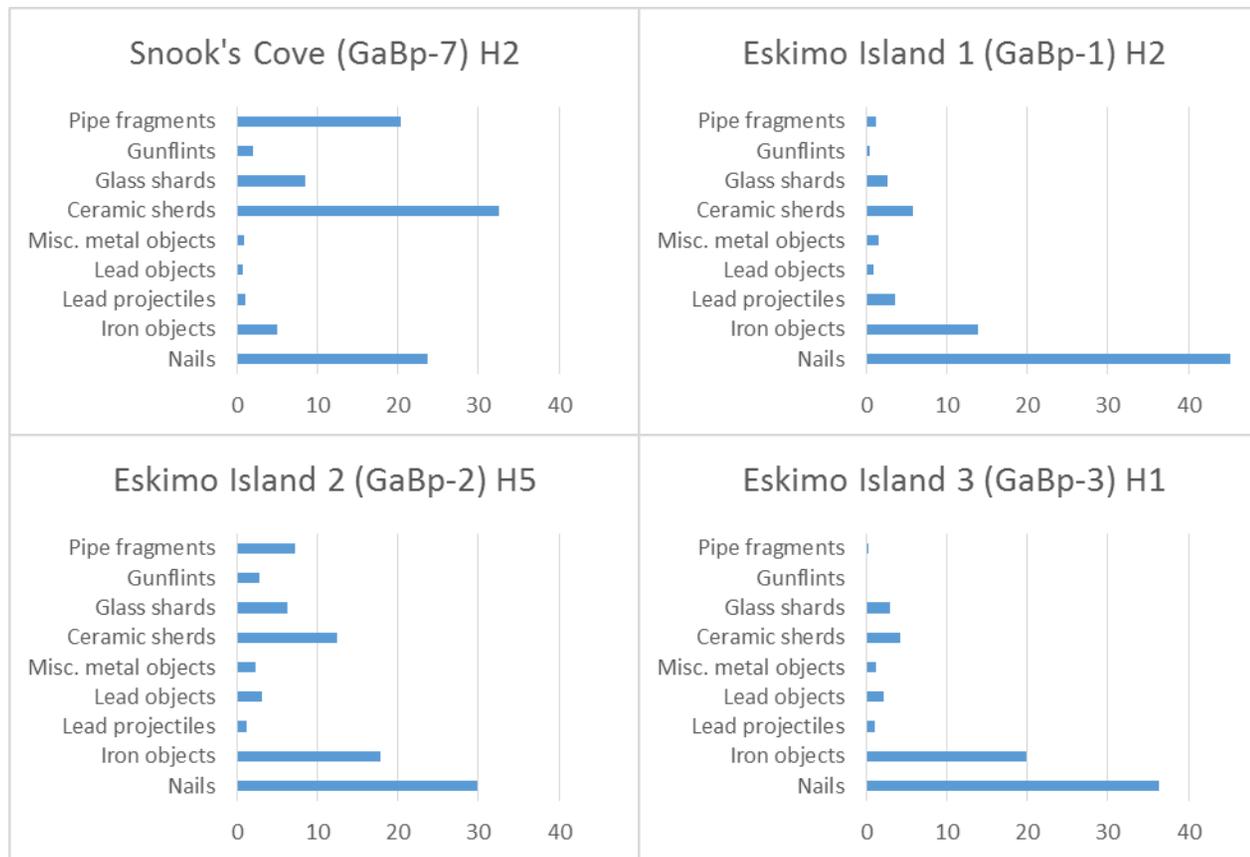


Figure 7.9: Percentage of Selected Trade Goods at Central Sites.

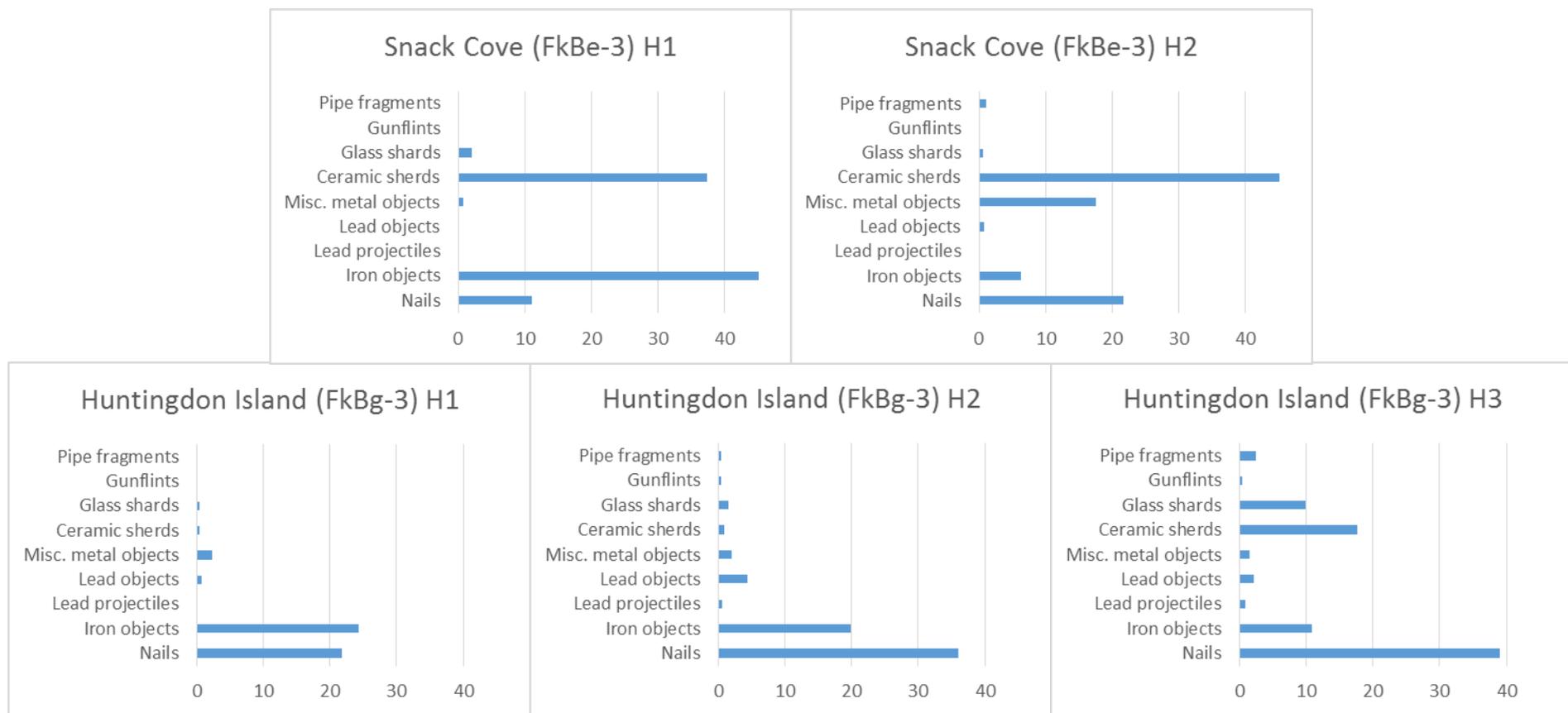


Figure 7.10: Percentage of Selected Trade Goods at Southern Sites.

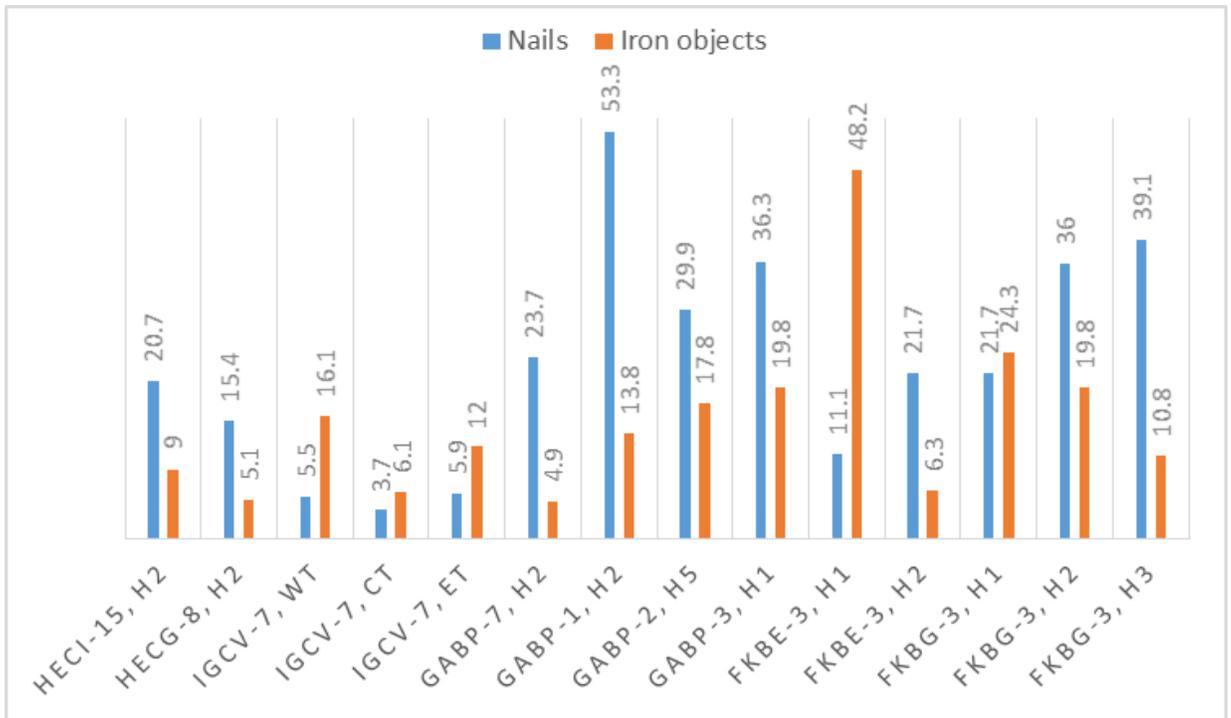


Figure 7.11: Percentage of Nails and Iron Objects.

### *Nails and Iron Objects*

Nails and iron objects are represented in all of the sampled assemblages to varying degrees (Figure 7.13). The central and southern sites contain higher percentages of both nails and iron objects than their northern counterparts. Isolating the nails from the central and southern sites reveals an interesting pattern (Figure 7.14). By organizing the sites from earliest to latest (using the site chronology presented in Chapter 6) a very slight and gradual increase in percentage of nails appears among these sites from the late sixteenth through early-mid eighteenth century before dropping back down by the late

eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries. This pattern might support the idea that nails were acquired early, specifically for modification into other implements by cold-hammering, which seems to fall out of practice over time when more European groups settle along the coast bringing more diverse trade items with them.

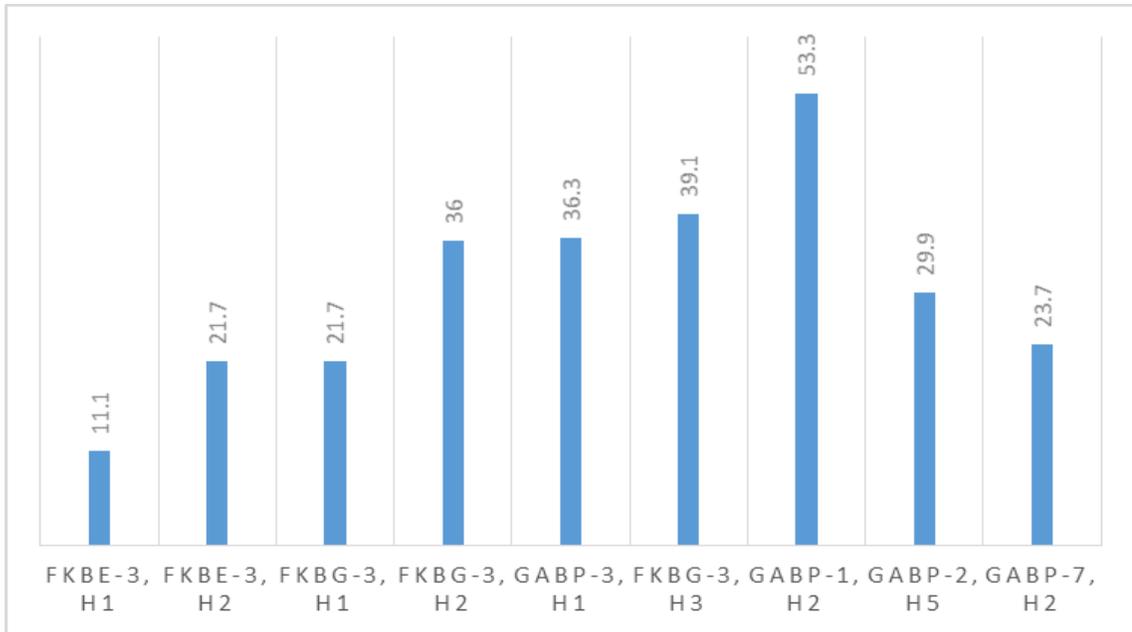


Figure 7.12: Percentage of Nails at Central and Southern Sites over time.

Removing the nails and iron objects from the bar graphs further refines the visual comparison, and highlights the samples with the greatest quantity and diversity of European-made trade goods (see Figures 7.15-7.17).

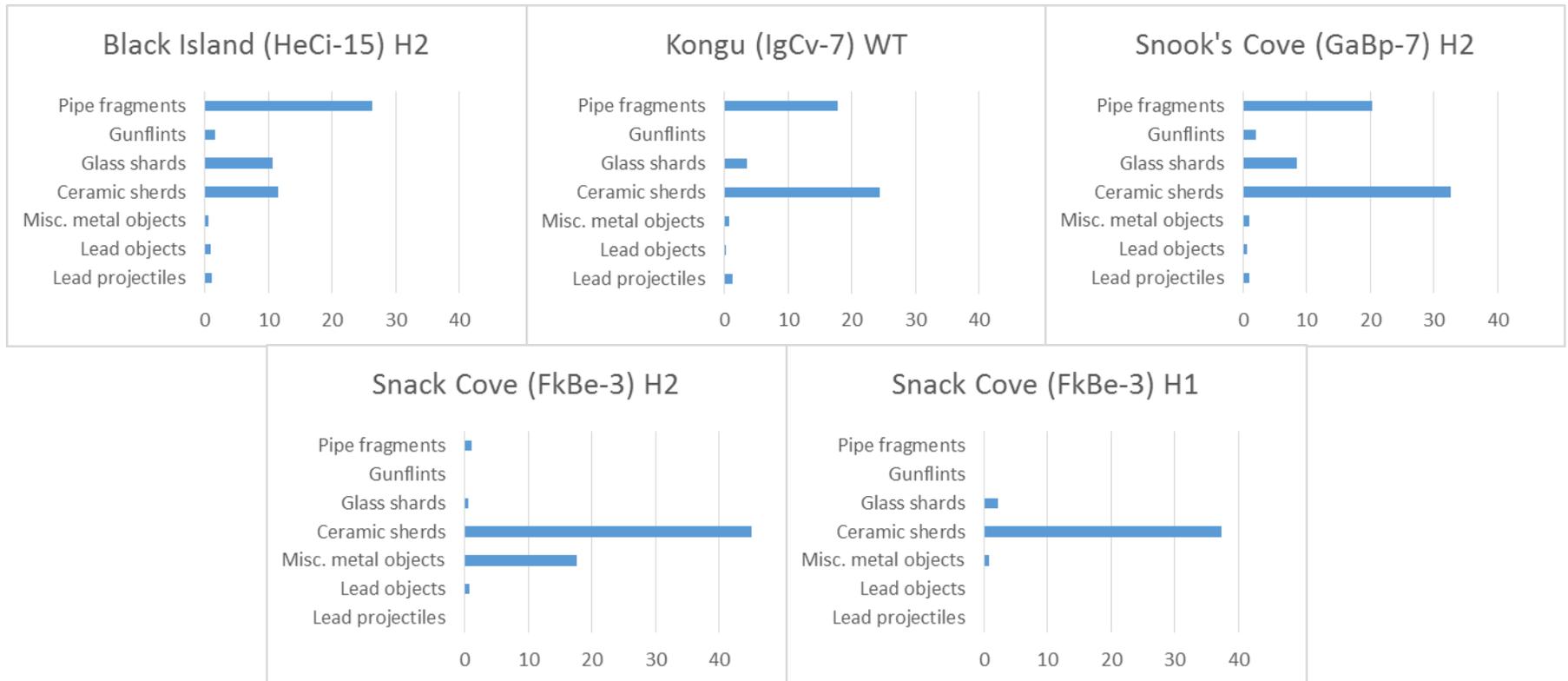


Figure 7.13: Sites with the Highest Percentage of Trade Goods.

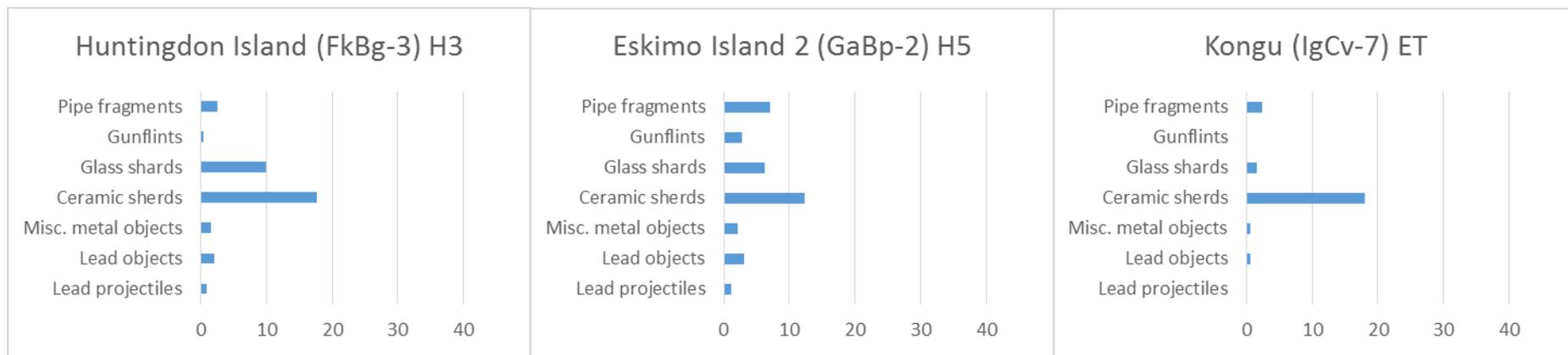


Figure 7.14: Sites with Moderate Percentage of Trade Goods.

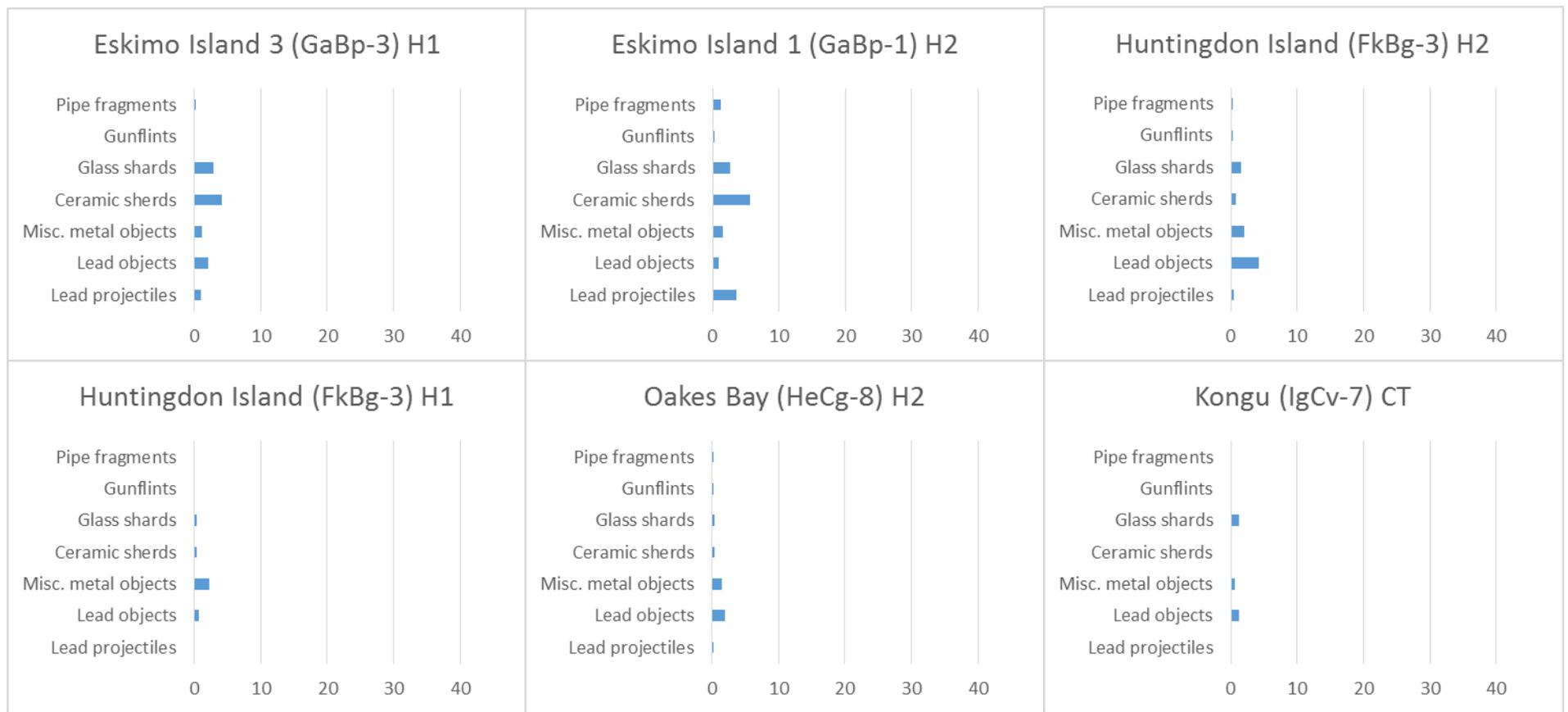


Figure 7.15: Sites with Lowest Percentage of Trade Goods.

What is most interesting about grouping the samples in this manner is that there is no geographic or temporal pattern for having the most or least amount of European-made trade goods (refer back to Table 6.1 for site chronology). Having said that, a closer look at Figure 7.15 shows that while the two earlier and southern Snack Cove sites (FkBe-3 H1 and H2) have high percentages of ceramic sherds, the three sites with later occupations have more diverse assemblages across the selected trade goods categories. Comparing these three sites, Black Island (HeCi-15 H2), Kongu (IgCv-7 WT), and Snook's Cove (GaBp-7 H2), reveals that they are quite similar in terms of their quantities for each of the selected artifact types (Figure 7.18). Black Island (HeCi-15) was placed in this highest percentage category largely because of the abundance of pipe fragments, but when compared directly to other contemporaneous sites (Huntingdon Island 5, House 3 and Eskimo Island 2, House 5) it does not appear to be as distinct (Figure 7.19). Ceramic sherds and pipe fragments are the two most abundant trade goods categories when nails and iron objects are removed, but the types of ceramics present at the site varies greatly over time.

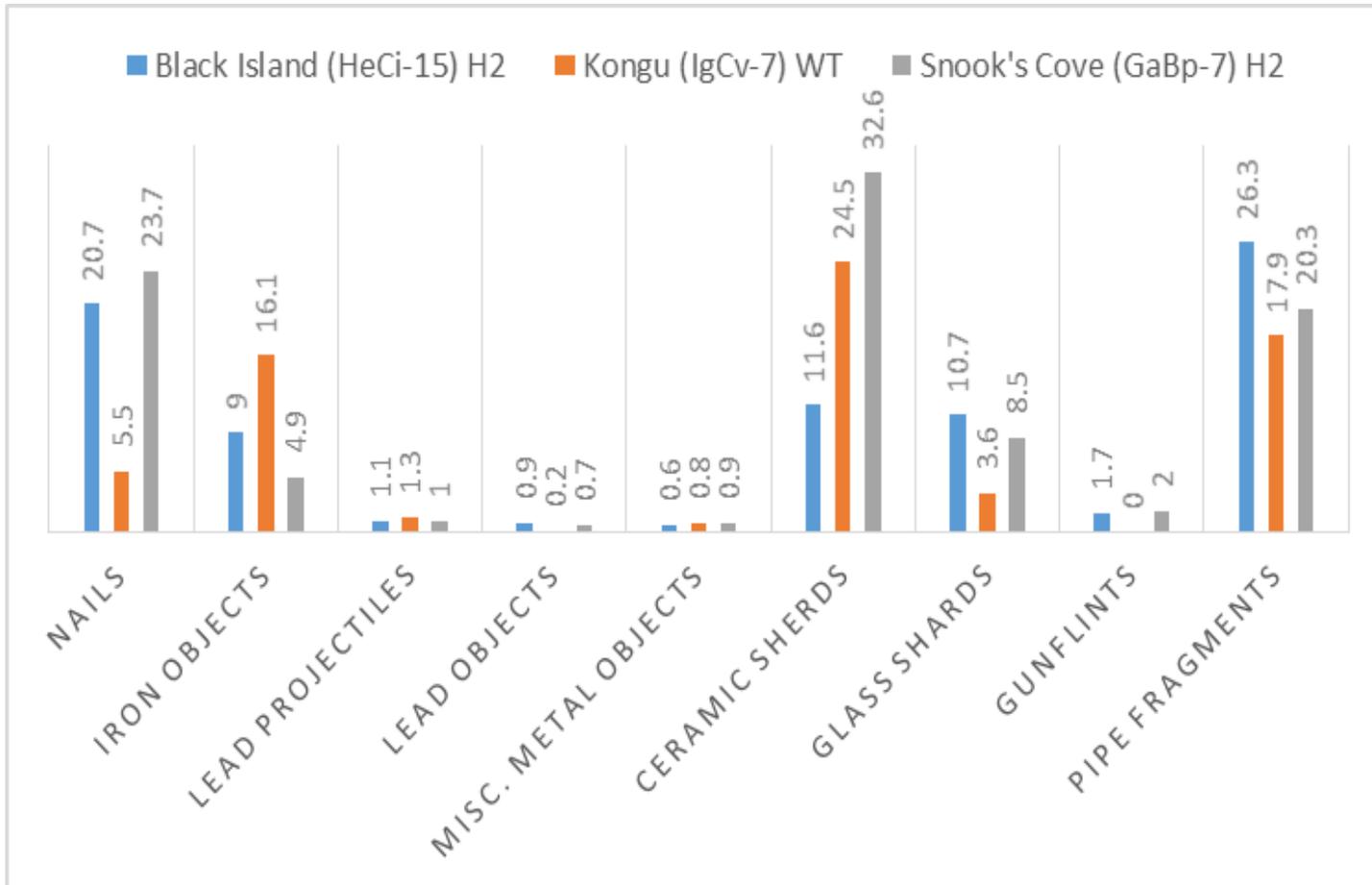


Figure 7.16: Comparison of Three Sites with Highest Percentage of Trade Goods.

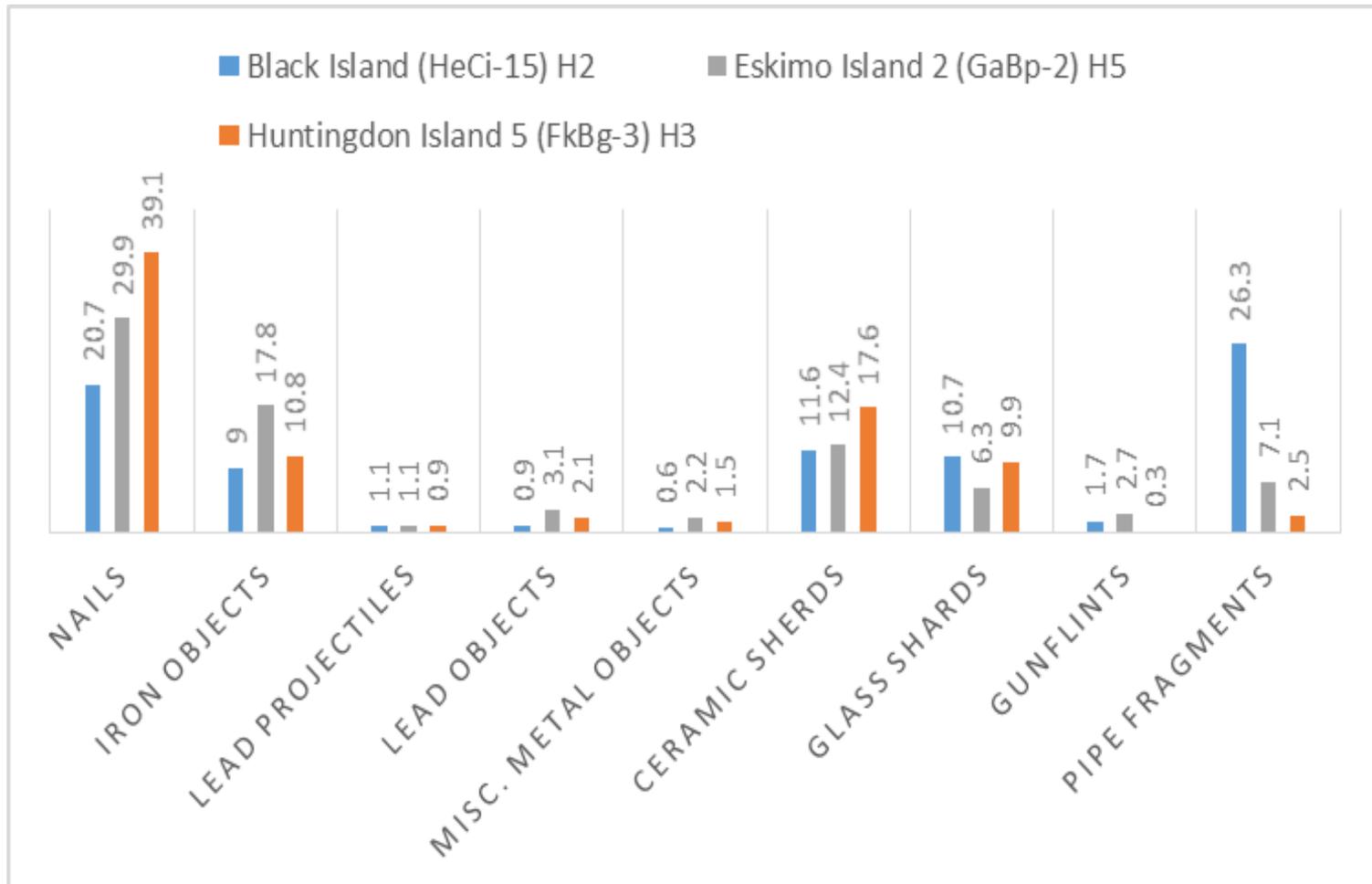


Figure 7.17: Comparison of Trade Goods Percentages from Selected 18th Century Sites.

### *Ceramic Sherds*

Ceramic sherds make up a considerable portion of many site assemblages, particularly the Snack Cove dwellings (Table 7.6). However, in this instance taking entire household assemblages has skewed this representation. Brewster (2005) states that no ceramics were found in the occupation level of House 1, and all of the refined earthenware recovered was limited to the fill level, likely refuse from later occupations on site. House 2 presented ceramic sherds in both occupation and fill levels, but the ceramics from the occupation were entirely French stoneware (both Martin Camp and Normandy), whereas the fill contained more recent refined earthenware. So while these two dwellings contain the highest percentage of ceramics overall, the actual occupation contained far less. Lacking stratigraphic data for some of the sites limits how much can be said regarding occupation versus fill layers across all sites, but using the available data from the other sites revises the picture on the ceramic assemblages.

Table 7.6: Percentage of Ceramic Sherds.

<b>Site</b>	<b>% of Assemblage</b>
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2	48.6
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1	37.3
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	32.6
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	24.5
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	18.0
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	17.6
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	12.4
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	11.6
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	5.7
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	4.2
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2	0.8
Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2	0.4
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1	0.4
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	0.0

I used stratigraphic information from Snack Cove, Black Island, Oakes Bay, and Huntingdon Island and revised the ceramic assemblage numbers to reflect only the occupation layer ceramics (Table 7.7). Unfortunately, without access to stratigraphic information for Snook’s Cove, Kongu, and the Eskimo Island sites, it was difficult to determine how many of the ceramic sherds were part of the occupation. Despite the difficulties with the data, Snack Cove House 2’s revised percentage of ceramic sherds is still higher than contemporaneous dwellings, and most notably, the much later occupation of Oakes Bay House 2.

Table 7.7: Revised Percentage of Ceramic Sherds.

Site	% of Assemblage
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	32.6
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	24.5
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	18.0
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	12.4
<b>Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3</b>	<b>11.2</b>
<b>Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2</b>	<b>8.0</b>
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	5.7
<b>Black Island (HeCi-15) H2</b>	<b>4.2</b>
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	4.2
<b>Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2</b>	<b>0.4</b>
<b>Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2</b>	<b>0.0</b>
<b>Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1</b>	<b>0.0</b>
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	0.0
<b>Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1</b>	<b>0.0</b>

**Bold** text delineates sites with revised stratigraphic information.

### *Clay Pipe Fragments*

Kaolin clay pipe fragments are abundant in three assemblages but fairly rare in most, and nonexistent in some of the oldest dwellings (Table 7.8). Black Island has the

highest percentage of pipe fragments, even higher than the later occupations of Snook's Cove and Kongu West Trench.

Table 7.8: Percentage of Pipe Fragments.

Site	% of Assemblage
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	26.3
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	20.3
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	17.9
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	7.1
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	2.5
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	2.3
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	1.2
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2	1.1
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2	0.3
Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2	0.2
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	0.2
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	0.0
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1	0.0
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1	0.0

Again, the lack of stratigraphic data for all of the assemblages makes more detailed comparisons for the actual dwelling occupations challenging. However, using the data available from the Black Island, Oakes Bay, Snack Cove, and Huntingdon Island sites shifts the patterns again (Table 7.9). Black Island's pipe assemblage is reduced by roughly 20% when only the occupation level pipe fragments are analysed. If a similar 20% reduction was estimated for Snook's Cove, Kongu WT, and Eskimo Island 2, their revised percentage of pipe fragments would be 1.3%, 11.2%, and 1.4%, respectively. Despite concrete data to compare dwelling occupations, Black Island's pipe assemblage appears to be elevated compared to other late eighteenth century dwellings. Relying on the assumption that more fragments equals more whole pipes (refer to Problems with

Artifact Fragmentation discussion), it could be argued that the residents of Black Island had considerably more clay pipes than their contemporaries.

Table 7.9: Revised Percentage of Pipe Fragments.

Site	% of Assemblage
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	20.3
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	17.9
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	7.1
<b>Black Island (HeCi-15) H2</b>	<b>4.7</b>
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	2.3
<b>Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3</b>	<b>1.6</b>
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	1.2
<b>Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2</b>	<b>0.8</b>
<b>Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2</b>	<b>0.3</b>
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	0.2
<b>Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2</b>	<b>0.1</b>
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	0.0
<b>Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1</b>	<b>0.0</b>
<b>Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1</b>	<b>0.0</b>

**Bold** text delineates sites with revised stratigraphic information.

Whether Black Island's abundance of clay pipe fragments relates to personal preference or access is difficult to determine. Moravian missionaries were not morally opposed to smoking, therefore pipes were likely available through trade with the nearby Nain mission.

### *Glass Shards*

Another well-represented artifact category is glass shards. Black Island's assemblage, once again, presents the highest percentage of glass fragments (Table 7.10). Not far behind is Huntingdon Island's House 3, which is interesting since it was likely

occupied during the early-mid eighteenth century and yet has more glass than the nineteenth century assemblages.

Table 7.10: Percentage of Glass Shards.

Site	% of Assemblage
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	10.7
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	9.9
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	8.5
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	6.3
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	3.6
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	2.9
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	2.6
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1	2.1
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	1.5
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2	1.5
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	1.2
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2	0.6
Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2	0.4
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1	0.4

Glass shards can come from a number of sources: bottles; glassware; windows; kerosene lamps; and even decorative elements like rhinestone buttons. Many of the glass fragments from these assemblages could not be definitely identified to a specific type, although there are some exceptions where the function was quite obvious to the cataloguer. The most commonly identified glass fragments were bottle and window (although in many cases it appears all flat glass was deemed window, which may not be the case). Decorative rhinestone buttons were recovered from Eskimo Island 1 and 2, and the only site with evidence of kerosene lamp fragments was Snook's Cove. Table 7.11 presents the percentage of bottle, window, and undetermined glass fragments from the assemblages. Black Island has the highest percentage of bottle glass, whereas Snook's

Cove has the highest percentage of window glass. It is likely that much of the flat glass recovered from Snook's Cove is window glass whereas this is somewhat more questionable for the earlier sites.

Table 7.11: Percentage of Identified Glass Fragments.

Site	Bottle	Window	Undetermined
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	6.9	3.4	0.3
Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2	0.3	0.1	0.0
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	1.1	0.7	1.7
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	1.2	0.0	0.0
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	0.5	0.0	1.0
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	1.4	4.1	0.8
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	1.8	0.0	0.7
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	4.2	0.0	1.8
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	1.6	0.2	1.0
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1	1.1	1.1	0.0
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2	0.3	0.0	0.3
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1	0.0	0.0	0.4
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2	0.0	0.0	1.5
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	0.1	0.0	9.7

### *Summary of European-Made Trade Goods Analysis*

The comparison of the trade goods from Black Island (HeCi-15) and Oakes Bay (HeCg-08) reveals two very different assemblages (Figure 7.20). Knowing that Oakes Bay was occupied during the earlier part of the eighteenth century one could argue that access to trade goods was difficult at this time, but it could also demonstrate a resistance to European-made trade goods as the settlement was abandoned just as Moravian missionaries were arriving in the area. A further comparison with the early-mid eighteenth century occupation of Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3), House 3 suggests that access to goods during the earlier part of the eighteenth century was not a problem, at

least not along the south coast (Figure 7.21). Yet while the southern sites likely had the earliest and most-reliable access to European goods, this access is not consistent when comparing the four southernmost and earliest sites (Figures 7.22 and 7.23).

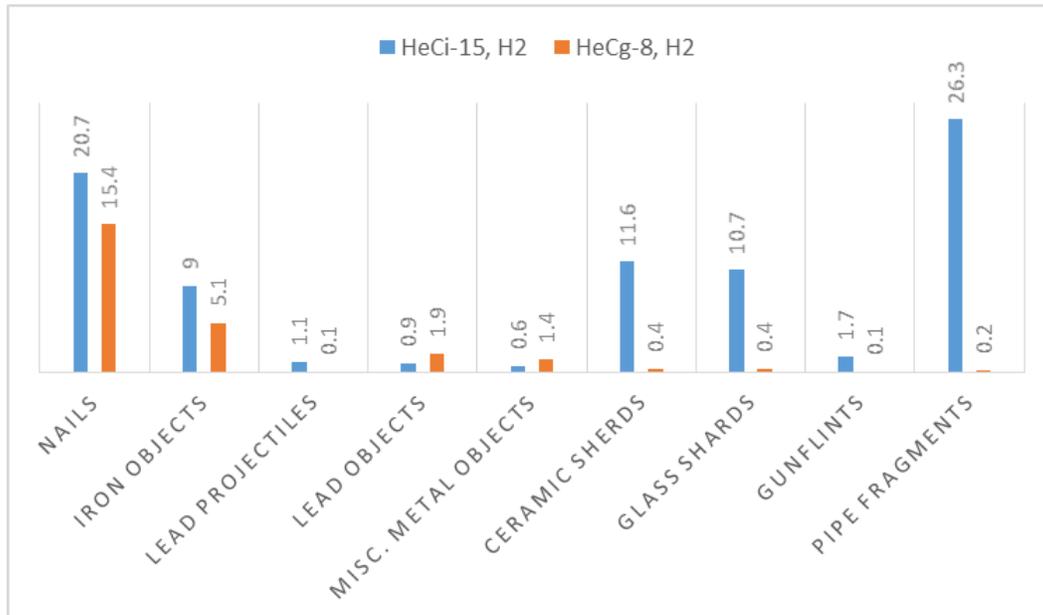


Figure 7.18: Comparison of Trade Good Percentages from Nain-Area Sites.

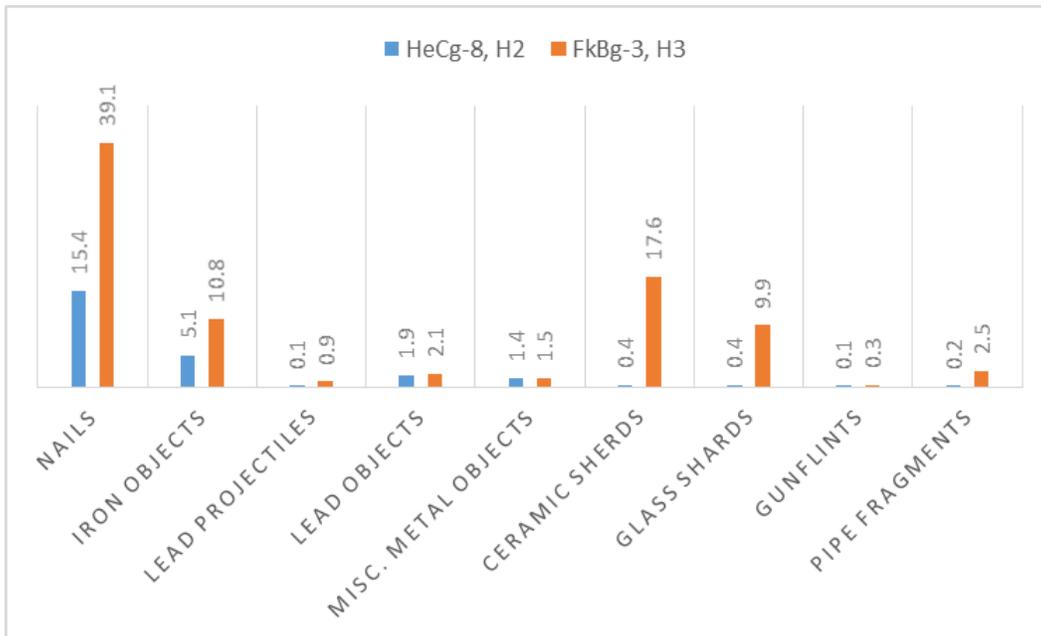


Figure 7.19: Comparison of Trade Good Percentages from Early-Mid 18th Century Sites.

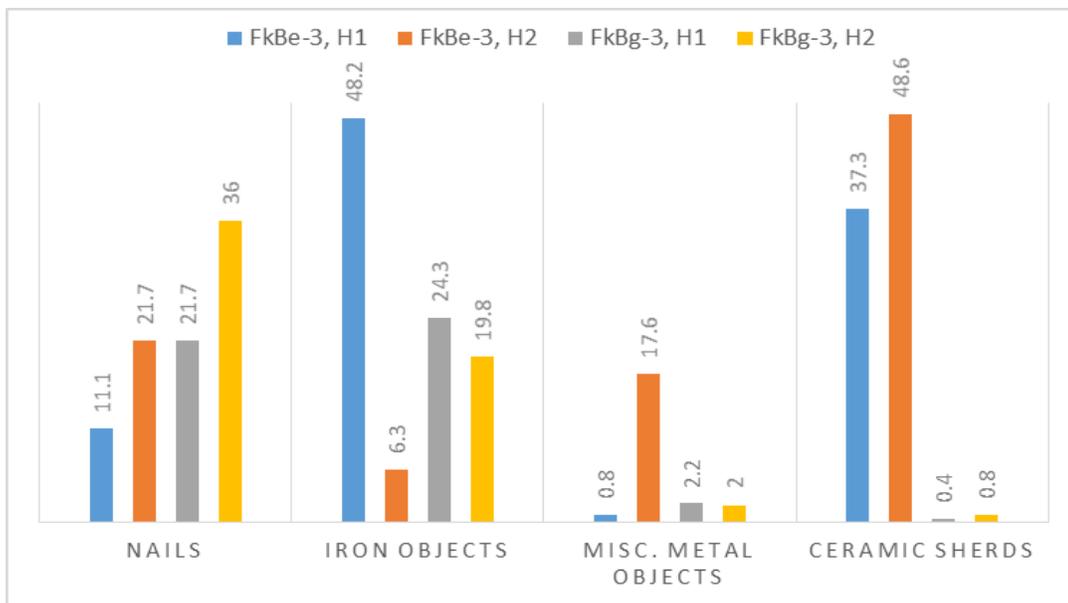


Figure 7.20: Comparison of Highest Percentage Trade Goods Categories at Early Southern Sites.

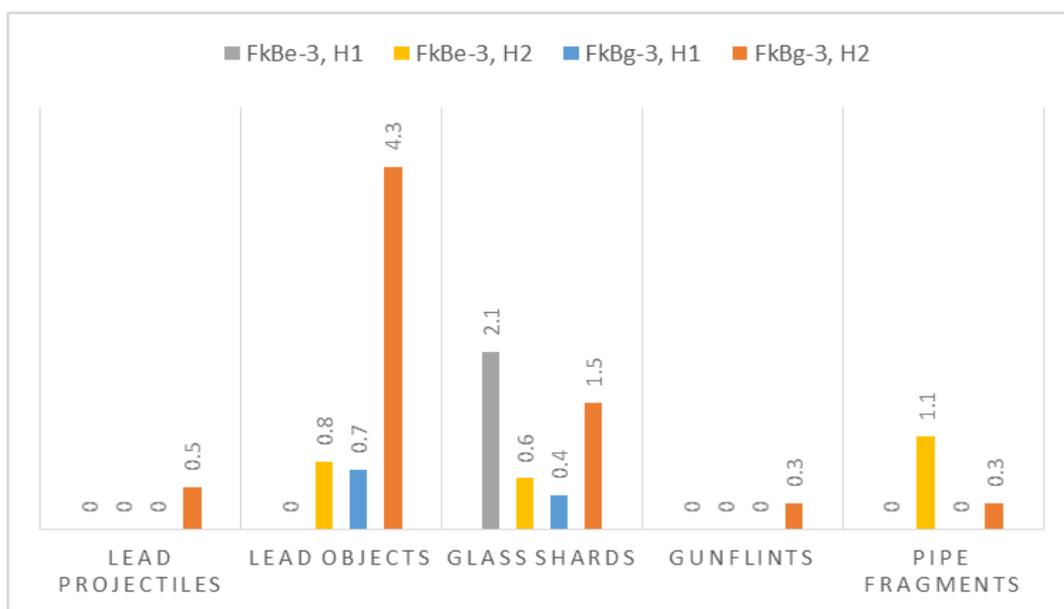


Figure 7.21: Comparison of Lowest Percentage Trade Goods Categories at Early Southern Sites.

While there is no uniform regional pattern to this data it seems that there is a temporal trend for assemblages to increase in both quantity and diversity of European-made materials. With the exception of Black Island (HeCi-15) most of the sites with the highest abundance of trade goods are from the southern and central regions. However, if the nails and iron objects categories are removed Kongu's West trench (IgCv-7 WT) falls into the highest quantity category, rounding it out to include two northern sites, one central, and two southern. Much of the European-made material recovered from the earliest sites consists of items that might have been recovered from abandoned European fishing or whaling stations. The sites with the greatest diversity in materials, on the other hand, are ones that were occupied during the later contact period when trade relations had become well-established. That is not to say that some of the materials found at Snack

Cove (FkBe-3) or Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) could not have been acquired through direct trade with Europeans, but based on the period of occupation, and documentary evidence chronicling relationships at the time, this seems less likely (Martijn 2009).

### Traditional Materials

Table 7.12 presents the total number of traditional artifacts for each assemblage; the highlighted square indicating the percentage of the total artifact assemblage. The earlier sites present some interesting findings; the Snack Cove houses lack any soapstone and produced only one piece of modified whale bone, and the Huntingdon Island 5 assemblages lack any slate (Table 7.12). The Kongu midden trenches have the highest percentage of traditional goods, particularly the centre trench (CT) which is likely related to the oldest occupation on site (Jurakic 2008; Whitridge 2006).

Table 7.12: Traditional Goods per Assemblage.

Traditional Goods	Black Island HeCi-15, H2		Oakes Bay 1 HeCg-8, H2		Kongu (IgCv-7)						Snook's Cove GaBp-7, H2		Eskimo Island Sites					
	n	%	n	%	West Trench		Centre Trench		East Trench		n	%	GaBp-1, H2		GaBp-2, H5		GaBp-3, H1	
					n	%	n	%	n	%			n	%	n	%	n	%
Soapstone objects	8	0.7	66	4.1	46	3.7	40	24.5	84	10.3	1	0.0	40	3.8	39	5.3	61	7.1
Whale bone objects	96	8.0	77	4.8	124	9.9	32	19.6	84	10.3	53	1.5	26	2.5	40	5.4	19	2.2
Slate fragments	1	0.1	10	0.6	14	1.1	8	4.9	13	1.6	2	0.1	1	0.1	3	0.4	3	0.3
<b>Total Above Sample</b>	<b>105</b>		<b>153</b>		<b>184</b>		<b>80</b>		<b>181</b>		<b>56</b>		<b>67</b>		<b>82</b>		<b>83</b>	
<b>Total Artifact Assemblage*</b>	<b>1195</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>1595</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>1248</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>49.1</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>22.1</b>	<b>3437</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>1047</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>736</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>862</b>	<b>9.6</b>

\*Minus faunal remains, soil samples, pre-Inuit lithics, and glass beads

Traditional Goods	Snack Cove 3 (FkBe-3)				Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3)					
	House 1		House 2		House 1		House 2		House 3	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Soapstone objects	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	6.9	1	0.3	10	1.2
Whale bone objects	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.7	6	1.5	8	1.0
Slate fragments	1	0.3	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total Above Sample</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>21</b>		<b>7</b>		<b>18</b>	
<b>Total Artifact Assemblage*</b>	<b>378</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>805</b>	<b>2.2</b>

\*Minus faunal remains, soil samples, pre-Inuit lithics, and glass beads

A closer look at each of the three traditional material categories reveals that the northernmost sites held on to traditional materials, albeit in very small amounts, longer than their southern counterparts (Figures 7.24-7.26). Based on the analysis of trade goods we know that this slight increase of traditional materials is not due to lack of access to European resources. Instead, it might relate to a lack of access to these traditional materials for the southern Inuit.

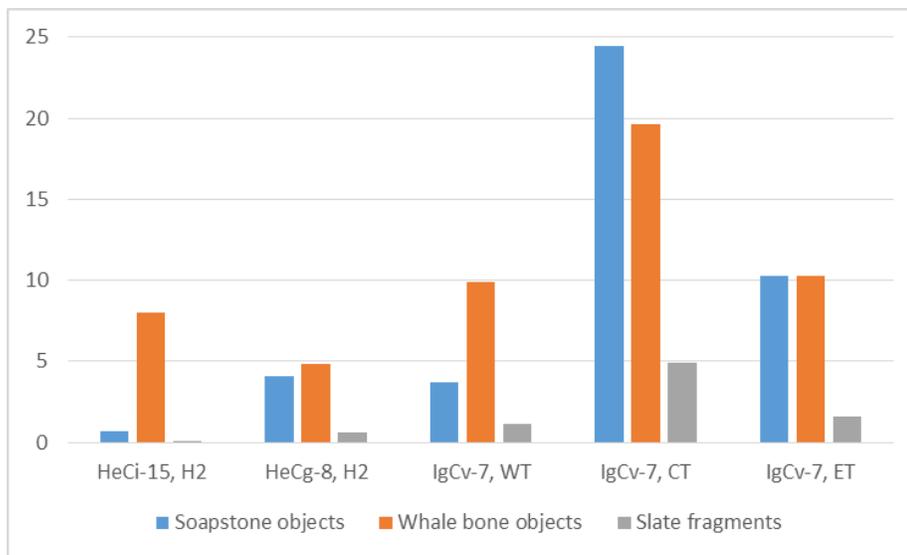


Figure 7.22: Percentage of Traditional Materials at Northern Sites.

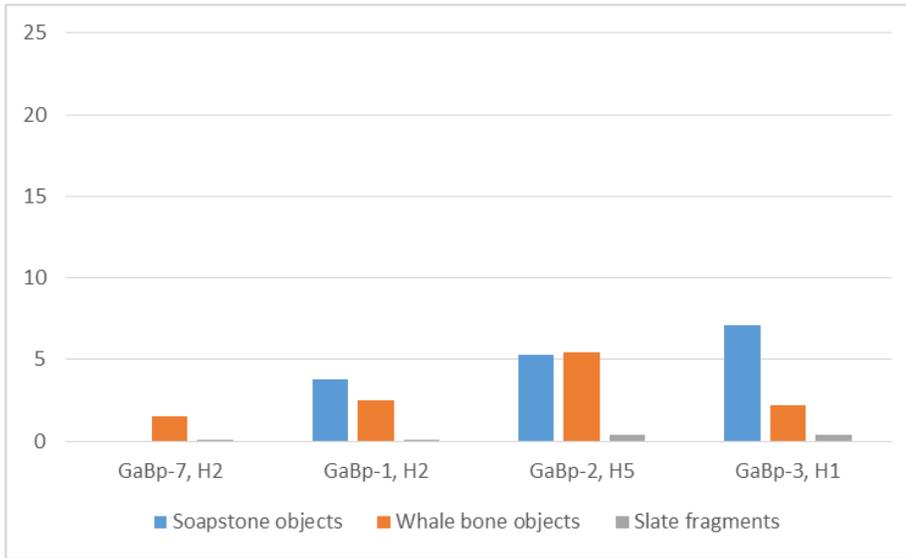


Figure 7.23: Percentages of Traditional Materials at Central Sites.

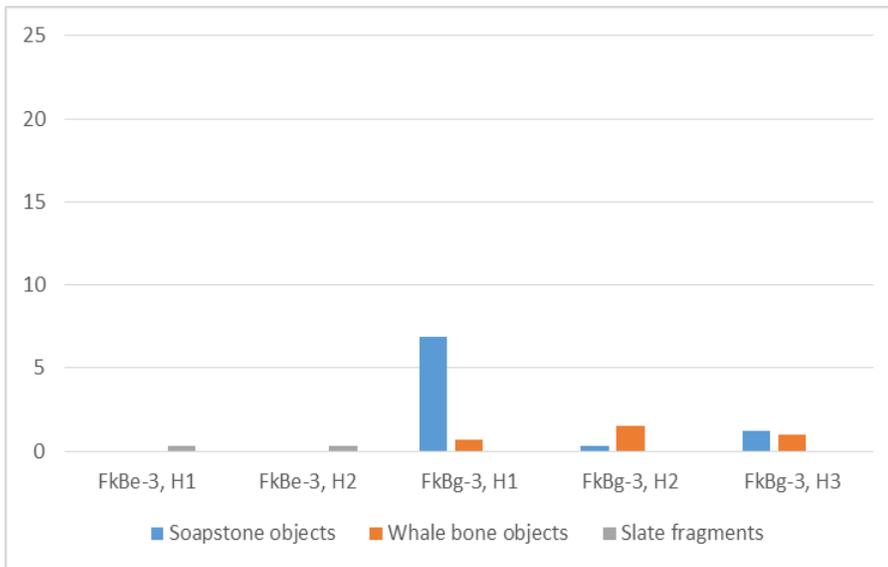


Figure 7.24: Percentage of Traditional Materials at Southern Sites.

### *Whale Bone Objects*

It is not surprising that whale bone objects are more common in the northern sites due to their proximity to good whaling grounds. While Nain was not considered a good location for whales, due to its island-studded archipelago that tends to force larger whales

beyond the outer islands, one of the Nain-area sites (Black Island) has comparable amounts of whale bone to some of the Kongu midden assemblages (i.e. to the ET and WT) (Table 7.13). Many Inuit families would travel to participate in communal whale hunts in places like Hopedale and Okak so some of the whale bone may have been acquired during these trips. The presence of whale bone at Black Island, and the smaller amounts from central Labrador sites in Hamilton Inlet and southern sites in Sandwich Bay, could be the result of these trips, scavenged whale carcasses, or trade with their northern counterparts, as these assemblages lack any whale hunting implements (Woollett 1999). Rankin (2015b) has speculated that Inuit in the south scavenged whale bone from abandoned Basque whaling stations such as the “boney beach” at Red Bay.

Table 7.13: Percentage of Whale Bone.

<b>Whale Bone Objects</b>	
<b>Site</b>	<b>% of Assemblage</b>
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	19.6%
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	10.3%
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	9.9%
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	8.0%
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	5.4%
Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2	4.8%
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	2.5%
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	2.2%
Snook’s Cove (GaBp-7) H2	1.5%
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2	1.5%
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	1.0%
Huntingdon Island 5 FkBg-3 H1	0.7%
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2	0.0%
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1	0.0%

Whale bone objects make up a very small proportion of the total assemblages studied, with the exception of the northernmost site of Kongu (IgCv-7). This could be a reflection of the shift towards seal hunting as a primary subsistence strategy for Inuit families as various seal species were an abundant and reliable resource. Roughly 90% of faunal assemblages from Inuit winter sites in Labrador consist of seal (Woollett 2007). Having said that, Woollett (2003, 2007:82) has suggested that whale hunting was maintained at a modest level into the late eighteenth century and argues that a prerequisite for whale hunting is a surplus of food (often from seal) to sustain a large cooperative venture. The predominance of a variety of seal species harvested throughout fall and winter could meet those needs. None of the sites examined for this study are from areas known for successful whaling, but an examination of the faunal data from recent excavations in the Hopedale area (*Arvertok*, the place of whales), shows similar patterns of high proportions of seal and minimal quantities of whale (Arendt 2011: 319, 414). The smaller frequencies of whale bone objects could also relate to the increasing access to alternative materials resulting in whale bone no longer being needed to fashion implements. For the Inuit in southern Labrador, wood was readily available as were European goods early on, which might explain the slightly heightened percentages of whale bone artifacts in the central and northern regions.

### *Soapstone Objects*

The use of soapstone for cooking vessels and lamps continued well into the historic period (Hawkes 1916; Hutton 1912; Kleivan 1966). Soapstone is durable, fairly easy to work, and retains heat, making it an ideal material to use for cooking and heating

a dwelling. Soapstone vessels and lamps were likely curated and well cared-for; evidence for repair on many of the sherds analysed suggests that the use-life of a vessel was prolonged as long as possible. Metal cooking vessels were brought in for trade and despite the advantages in their lighter weight, with the exception of cast iron, their inability to retain heat might have been undesirable. Soapstone might not have been easily acquired in all areas of the Labrador coast. Meyer and Montague (1993, 1994) identified areas in the Okak and Hopedale regions where soapstone is available, particularly for carving, but little published literature on the presence of soapstone in Labrador exists. However, many place names refer to soapstone sources all along the Labrador coast (Whitridge 2016, pers. comm.). Perhaps the reason why soapstone fragments are missing from the Snack Cove houses (FkBe-3) relates more to access to soapstone or the potential curation and removal of soapstone vessels from the dwellings prior to abandonment than a replacement with European-made goods. Yet this does not explain why the nearby Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) dwellings contain small amounts of soapstone as their access would have been comparable to the occupants of Snack Cove (Table 7.14).

Soapstone lamps would have been used consistently until at least the mid-nineteenth century when kerosene lamps were invented (DiLaura 2008). Kerosene lamp chimney fragments were recovered from Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) but none of the other sites indicate the presence of kerosene lamps. Once again it is possible that the soapstone lamps were removed from the dwellings prior to abandonment, particularly if access to soapstone was limited. An examination of the identifiable soapstone fragments across all

assemblages shows that pot fragments outnumber lamp fragments at all sites with the exception of FkBg-3 House 3 (Table 7.15). Pots might have been easier to repair than lamps, and many of the pot sherds show evidence for additional drill holes other than suspension holes, which could indicate repairs. The function and shallow shape of the lamp could limit its repair potential and might explain why most of the lamp fragments lack drill holes.

Table 7.14: Percentage of Soapstone.

Site	Soapstone
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	24.5%
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	10.3%
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	7.1%
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1	6.9%
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	5.3%
Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2	4.1%
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	3.8%
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	3.7%
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	1.2%
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	0.7%
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2	0.3%
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	0.03%
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1	0.00%
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2	0.00%

Table 7.15: Identifiable Soapstone Sherds.

<b>Site</b>	<b>Pot Sherds (n)</b>	<b>Lamp Sherds (n)</b>
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	15	4
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	19	8
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	11	3
Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2	24	7
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	1	1
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	11	0
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	3	2
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	3	3
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	2	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>33</b>

*Slate Objects*

The presence of slate across all sites is quite minimal, and it is completely absent from the Huntingdon Island 5 assemblages. Access to slate in the Cartwright area might have been limited, although minute amounts were recovered from nearby Snack Cove. Slate is a challenging material to work with due to its fragility, and iron was a desirable replacement (Higdon 2008; Table 7.12). The southern Inuit had earlier and more reliable access to iron than their northern counterparts, but it appears that iron nails and implements were the first European-made materials to rapidly make their way up the coast (see also Kaplan 1983).

Table 7.16: Percentage of Nails and Iron Compared to Slate.

Site	Nails + Iron (%)	Slate (%)
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	67.05	0.10
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1	59.26	0.26
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	56.15	0.35
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2	55.70	0.00
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	49.94	0.00
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	47.69	0.41
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1	46.01	0.00
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	29.71	0.08
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	28.57	0.06
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2	28.02	0.27
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	21.55	1.12
Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) H2	20.44	0.63
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	17.83	1.59
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	9.82	4.91

Some have argued that the pre-contact Inuit migration across Canada's north may have been motivated by their quest for iron, and the rapid expansion of Inuit groups into southern Labrador could support this claim (McGhee 2009; Ramsden and Rankin 2013). On one hand it is not surprising that slate is minimal in all analysed assemblages, as even prior to their arrival in Labrador the Inuit might have had access to iron, were well-aware of its properties, and may have even brought some with them to Labrador (Rankin and Crompton 2016b). That said, other pre-contact Inuit sites, like Nachvak Village (IgCx-3), have a substantial amount of slate suggesting that perhaps the Labrador Inuit were slate and nephrite users before they had access to European materials from Southern Labrador (Whitridge pers. comm.) The minute amount of slate present in these assemblages could be indicative of a last resort when iron was not available, or it could

also signify a particular group's resistance to change through choosing to use slate in opposition to iron.

### Overall Site Composition

Looking at the overall composition of the assemblages from all fourteen samples graphically reveals some interesting patterns. Figure 7.25 depicts the percentage of European-made trade goods and traditional materials along with a separate category "other" which encompasses everything else catalogued in the assemblages excluding any faunal remains, soil samples, pre-Inuit lithics, and glass beads. This 'other' category includes all local materials not involved in this study, for example: feathers; fur; hair; organic materials; mica. The inclusion of this category adds an additional challenge as there were apparent differences between these assemblages in terms of collection and recording methods for these "other" materials. Excluding these altogether ignores an important component of these assemblages, but including them potentially skews the overall percentages for the 'Traditional' and 'Trade' categories. Thus Figure 7.26 presents the percentages from my selected categories only, and comparing the two figures reveals a few differences. Huntingdon Island 5 House 2 (FkBg-3 H2) jumps from having the fifth-lowest percentage of trade goods (Figure 7.25) to the fifth highest (Figure 7.26) and Kongu's West Trench (IgCv-7 WT) moves from eighth highest percentage to eleventh. Despite some of the assemblages shifting position there are others that remain the same.

Two of the oldest and southernmost dwellings have the highest percentage of European goods (FkBe-3 Houses 1 and 2). Brewster's (2005) MA describes how House

1 and House 2 contained refuse dumps from the nearby recent fishing cabins, and because I had used the entire assemblages for my calculations I questioned whether the high percentage of European goods related to these disturbances. To account for this I recalculated the Snack Cove data and excluded everything from the upper 10cm (DBD). The results remain comparable, FkBe-3 House 1 still consists of 98.7% European trade items as compared to the 99.4% presented in Figure 7.25. FkBe-3 House 2 consists of 96.1% European goods as compared to 96.7% presented in Figure 7.25. Thus, regardless of infringements from later occupations the two dwellings at Snack Cove contain the highest percentage of European goods.

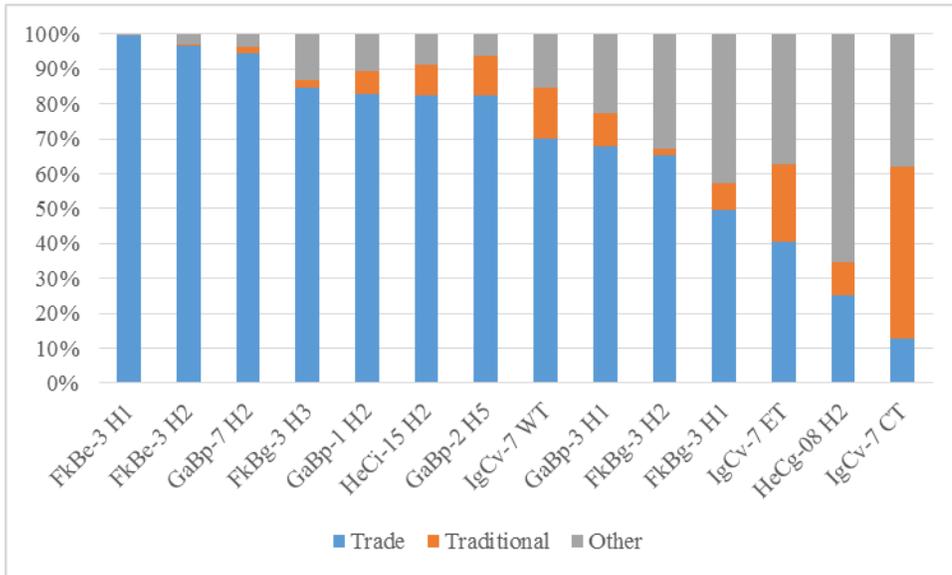


Figure 7.25: Complete Assemblage Composition.

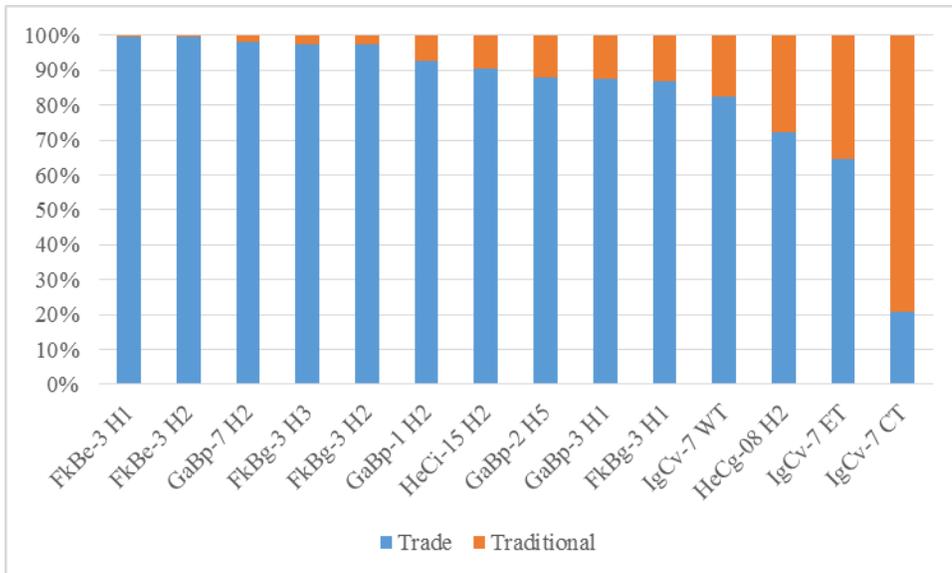


Figure 7.26: Sampled Artifact Composition.

While these quantitative analyses provide some interesting data to consider, quantity is not the only important factor to consider. A qualitative examination of the assemblages, focussing on unique and non-functional artifacts, might provide additional

data to explore differential access to trade goods and evidence for status/prestige. The following section presents these aspects of the assemblages in this study before concluding the chapter with a summary of the comparative results.

### **Qualitative Analysis**

Some of the assemblages in this analysis present artifacts that are unique and carry more interpretive potential than others. Non-functional objects that could be used to indicate status/wealth/prestige are present at all sites, although in varying amounts, but even functional items can be examined to explore differential access to trade goods. The remainder of this chapter discusses these artifacts and how they might have been perceived within the Inuit community and the value of travelling to, or residing near, access to trade goods.

#### Unique Artifacts

Most of the assemblages studied were very similar but there are a few artifacts that were only recovered from a few sites: sword fragments; coins; wooden figurines; military hat plates; and a possible decorative hair comb.

Three of the dwellings contain copper sword fragments, two large sword hilt pieces were recovered from FkBg-3 H3 and hilt fragments from GaBp-1 H2 and GaBp-2 H5. Murphy (2011:69) was able to identify the two hilts recovered from FkBg-3 H3 and described them as the *pontet simple*, a type carried by French grenadiers during the early eighteenth century and manufactured from 1725-1750. One of the fragments was found with leather or fibre tied around a decorative tang, possibly to facilitate wearing the

fragment as a decorative piece. The fragments from the Eskimo Island dwellings were smaller but Murphy suggests the possibility that they are from the same pair of swords represented at FkBg-3 H3 (Murphy 2011:70). As swords were likely valued possessions for officers in new territory her suggestion seems quite plausible. How the Inuit acquired these swords is unknown, but perhaps the swords were divided amongst the individuals who either found them, traded for them, or acquired them through conflict. These fragments would have been rare and conceivably the wearing or display of these fragments carried a certain level of prestige as these would have been unique and likely unknown to their fellow Inuit. In fact, Tuglavina reportedly wore an officer's uniform and broad sword in 1783 (Rollmann pers. comm. 2016).

Coins were recovered from five dwellings: HeCg-8 H2 (n=1); FkBg-3 H3 (n=3); GaBp-7 H2 (n=2); GaBp-1 H2 (n=1); and GaBp-2 H5 (n=1). None of the coins recovered from HeCg-8 H2, GaBp-1 H2, and GaBp-2 H5 could be identified and dated but the two coins from GaBp-7 H2 have visible dates. One was a George III penny from 1807 and the other was modified with a large square hole cut in the centre, but the date 1812 is clearly visible. All three coins recovered from FkBg-3 had been drilled. One was identified as a George II halfpenny (1729-1754) but the other two were too degraded to see any markings (Murphy 2011:71). One of these was obviously transformed into a pendant as it was found with a strip of leather threaded through the drill hole and had a purple bead attached. The one coin from HeCg-8 H2 also had a small hole near the edge suggesting use as a pendant. Lucien Turner (1894) describes how coins from many nations were used to decorate women's parkas in the late nineteenth century, and

presumably this practice began earlier, when trade relations were being established or when coins were otherwise acquired.

Wooden figurines were discovered at both HeCg-8 H2 and IgCv-7 WT. The two from HeCg-8 were in the form of a human, while the two from IgCv-7 were bears. While these say nothing about European-made goods their presence in only two assemblages, both from the northern region, suggests that traditional cultural practices were maintained long after European contact. Very recent excavations at the mid-eighteenth century Pigeon Cove site in southern Labrador have also produced a wooden, human figurine (Rankin 2013b). The absence of these figurines in other assemblages could also be attributed to preservation issues, although wooden artifacts are present in all studied assemblages. It is hard to determine whether these were children's toys or small amulets.

Two identical copper pieces were recovered from GaBp-7 H2 (Figure 7.27) that were identified as George III shako plates, used on shako-style military caps for line infantrymen from 1790-1812 (Niagara Falls Museum 2012). These copper pieces depict the royal cypher of George III in the centre surrounded by a circular representation of the garter with the Anglo-Norman phrase '*Honi soit qui mal y pense*' which translates to "Shame upon him who thinks evil of it". The Most Noble Order of the Garter was founded by King Edward III in 1348 and it remains a British order of chivalry. Members of the order are permitted to encircle their coat of arms or cypher with the garter and motto. How these shako plates found their way to an Inuit house in Labrador remains unknown, but much like the sword hilt fragments a unique piece like this could have carried a certain level of prestige.



Figure 7.27: Fragments from GaBp-7(L) and complete plate on shako military cap (R).

The only unique artifact recovered from Black Island (HeCi-15) H2 is a fragment of iron which appears to be a comb with the teeth missing. There are vertical striations on the comb plate along with flowers at each end (and on both sides) that resemble the Tudor rose (Figure 7.28). Iron seems like an unusual material to fashion a comb out of, whether functional or as a decorative hair piece; typical eighteenth century combs (both European and Inuit) seem to have been made from bone, ivory, or antler (Sherrow 2006:88–89). I have not been able to find a comparable piece to further identify this artifact.



Figure 7.28: Iron comb, front and back.

### Decorative Artifacts

#### *Glass Beads*

Glass beads were used for jewelry and to decorate parkas, head bands, and even dolls. Nearly all of the sites had at least a few beads in their assemblage, with the exception of Snack Cove (FkBe-3) and House 1 from Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) (Table 7.17). Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) had the highest bead count ( $n= 8,968$ ). An examination of the scanned field notes I had access to reveals that two excavation units seem to have produced an abundance of beads- 10S-12E (located near the centre of the dwelling) and 12S-8E (located near the side sleeping platform close to the entrance tunnel) - although other unit excavation notes cite beads in their artifact lists but make no mention of their quantity. Notes for unit 10S-12E mention that the majority of the beads were found between the paving stones but also groups of blue, black, and white beads were found in association with hide. The excavator suggested that this hide was more likely a bag or pouch used to contain the beads than an article of clothing. Unit 12S-8E's abundant beads were described as being found alongside nails between the paving stones, possibly dropped and fallen between the cracks of the floor. With such a discrepancy

between quantities from this site and the others it seems reasonable to suggest that these beads were being stored (perhaps in hide bags or pouches) for trade. Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) House 5 had the next highest bead count but no field notes are available to try and piece together where they may have been deposited. The higher bead count at Black Island (HeCi-15) House 2 is attributed to the bead cache found alongside the sleeping platform (see Chapter 5). The bead assemblages from the other sites in this study seem to have a relatively normal distribution, that is to say no unusual circumstances to produce large quantities in localized areas. The majority of beads in this study were simple drawn seed beads of varying colours but some sites presented additional and unique varieties of Venetian, faceted, wound, and A.Speo beads.

Table 7.17: Number of Glass Beads at Each Site.

Site	n
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	8,968
Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) H5	1,532
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	195
Kongu (IgCv-7) WT	84
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H3	53
Snook's Cove (GaBp-7) H2	39
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	32
Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) H1	14
Kongu (IgCv-7) CT	2
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H2	2
Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) H1	0
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H1	0
Snack Cove (FkBe-3) H2	0

I selected a few sites that had detailed information on bead colour in the catalog database to investigate colour preference (Black Island, Oakes Bay, Snook's Cove, and

Huntingdon Island House 3). Some sites were omitted due to inconsistent or incomplete data (for example, results of my visual inspection of the Eskimo Island sites differ from the artifact catalogs from these sites). For simplicity I lumped various versions of a colour under one category, so all shades of blue (including turquoise) fall under the ‘Blue’ category, and the predominant colour was selected for beads that had multiple colours (for example, redwood with black or green cores were categorized under ‘Red’).

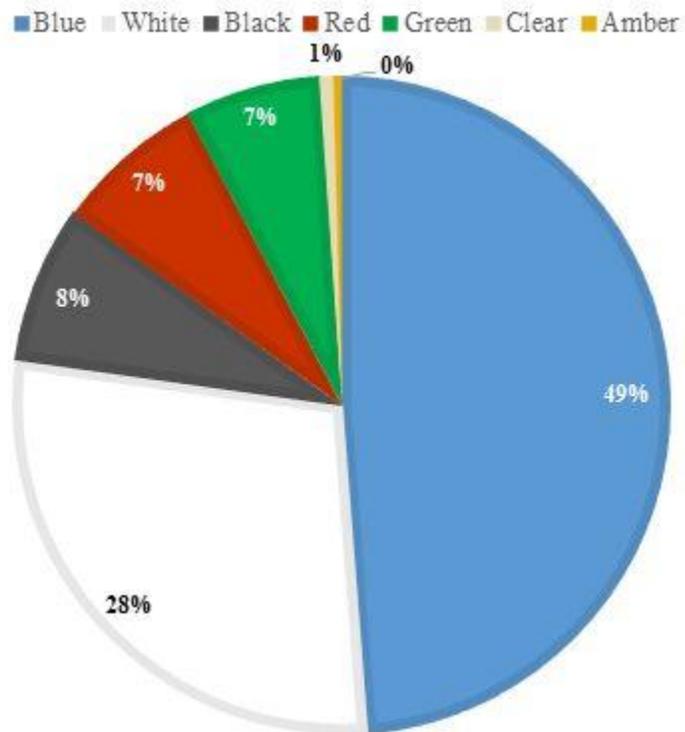


Figure 7.29: Bead Colours from Selected Sites (n= 285).

Almost 50% of the beads from the sampled sites are a shade of blue, with white being the second highest at nearly 30% (Figure 7.29). An analysis of the 58 beads presented in Arendt’s (2011:239-242) dissertation research on Adlavik (Makkovik area)

and Anniowaktook (Hopedale area) show a similar pattern, as does the bead assemblage from Beaudoin's (2008:87-89) excavation of a nineteenth century Métis dwelling at North River (Cartwright area) (Figure 7.30) and the analysis of beads from HeCi-15 (Chapter 5). It is difficult to determine whether these examples reflect a preference by the Labrador Inuit for blue and white beads, or if those were what was predominantly available. Of the Moravian documents reviewed from Hopedale none specify the bead colour, and with the lack of records for independent merchants operating in the south it may be difficult to ever determine what bead colour(s) were brought in for trade.

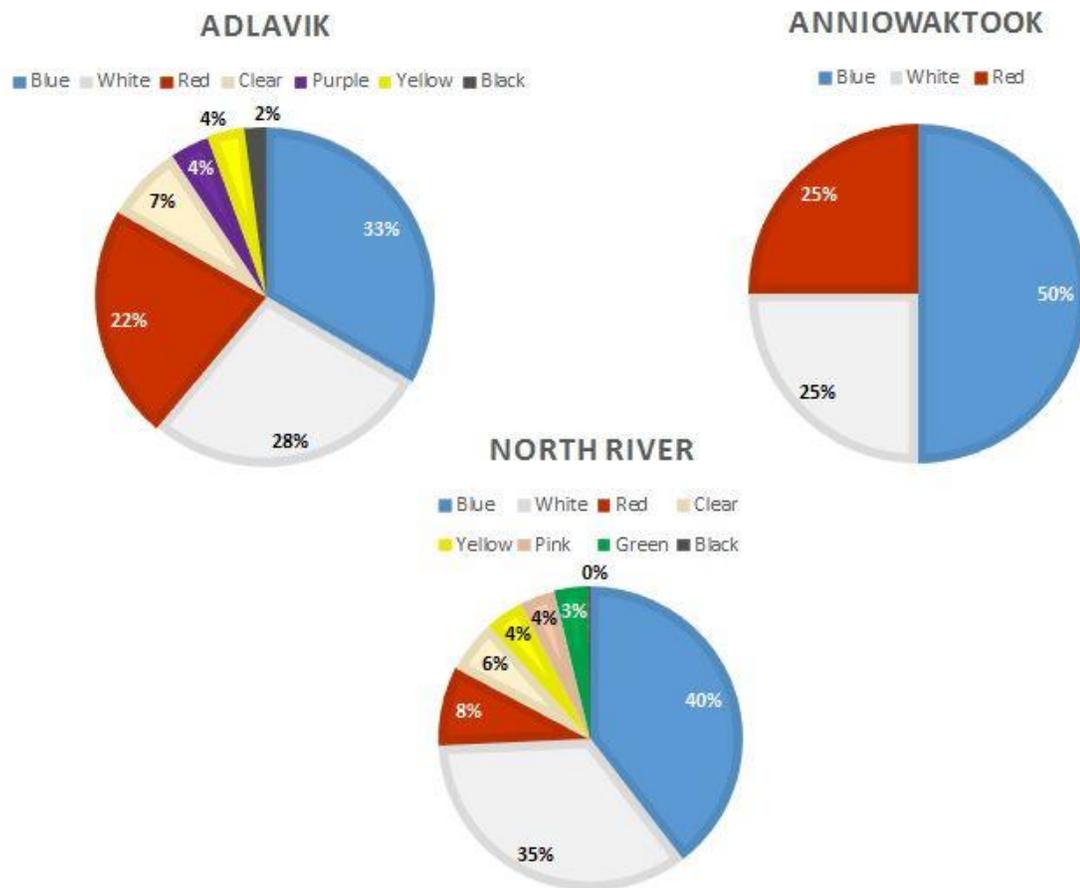


Figure 7.30: Bead Colours from other 18th and 19th Century Sites in Labrador (Adlaviik n= 54; Anniowaktook n= 4; North River n= 677).

Billeck (2008) examined trade ledgers (both inventories and invoices) for three nineteenth century fur trade sites in the Plains region and compared these to the archaeological assemblages. Billeck’s focus was on the popularity of the red-on-white drawn beads (often referred to as white hearts, Cornaline D’Aleppo, or Cornelian), so I adjusted his results to be consistent with the general colour categories presented here by combining his Cornelian beads with the ‘Red’ category since red was the dominant

colour. Looking at his data from the archaeological assemblages blue and white beads dominate again, but unlike the Labrador assemblages white beads are the dominant colour followed by blue (Figure 7.31).

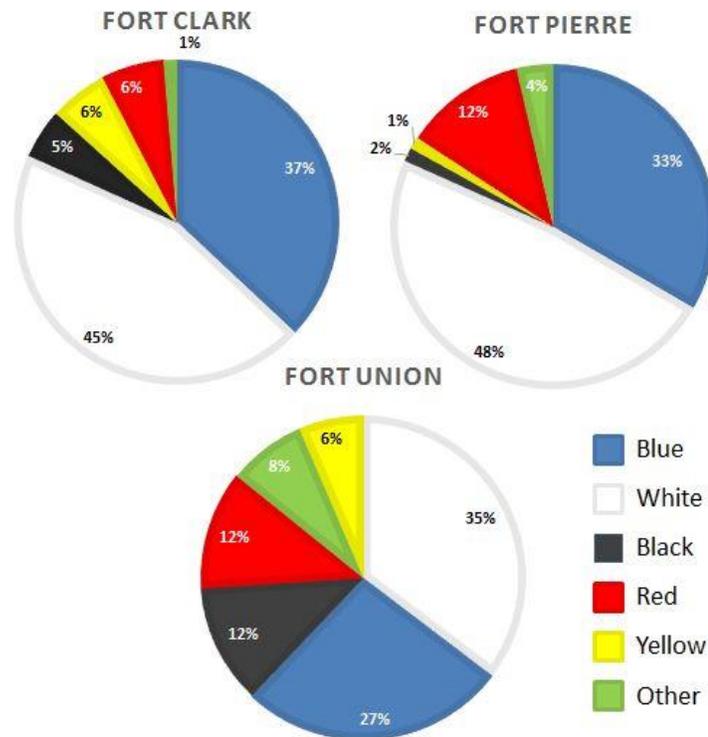


Figure 7.31 Small drawn bead colours from 19th Century Fur Trade Sites in the Plains. [Fort Clark n= 8,897; Fort Pierre n= 8,366; Fort Union n= 148,519]

Studies have been conducted to determine patterns in glass bead recovery (Bundy et al. 2003; Pyszczuk 2015a). Bundy et al. (2003:40) wet-screened the northwest quadrant of all excavated units from a late eighteenth century Aleutian longhouse site in Alaska and their results determined that water-screening resulted in the recovery of roughly three times as many beads when compared to traditional excavation and screening methods. While the quantity differed greatly, the proportions of bead size and

colour were consistent across all four quadrants. Pyszczyk (2015a, 2015b) repeated this experiment at a late eighteenth century fur trade post (Fort Vermilion) in northern Alberta. Unlike Bundy et al. (2003), the results of this experiment showed a significant difference in the colour of seed beads recovered between the wet-screening and traditional excavation methods (Pyszczyk 2015a). In particular, the abundance of white seed beads recovered through traditional methods appears to be skewed when compared to the sample from the wet-screening method where blue beads are the most abundant. Pyszczyk (2015a) suggests that the abundance of white beads at comparable fur trade sites in Alberta relates more to recovery methods than actual preference, as white beads are easier to see. While controlled experimental data is lacking from Labrador, white beads are the second most common bead colour and, based on personal experience, they are the easiest to spot during excavations.

### *Pendants*

Beads were not the only items used for decorative purposes, as other materials were affixed to parkas and worn as pendants. Lead drop pendants were the most common, represented at FkBg-3 H3 (n=7), GaBp-2 H5 (n=3), GaBp-1 H2 (n=1), and HeCg-8 H2 (n=1). These lead pendants were sewn onto parkas around the edges (Figure 7.32).



Figure 7.32: 19<sup>th</sup> century Inuit woman's parka decorated with glass beads and pewter spoon-bowls (Photo: ©McCord Museum; M5836).

As revealed in Figure 7.32, spoon bowls were also used as decoration and this practice seemed to last until the early twentieth century when Hawkes (1916:39) states that the pewter was eventually melted down and cast into small ornaments instead. Only two sites have perforated spoon bowls, GaBp-1 H2 and GaBp-2 H5, indicating that they might have been sewn onto something for decoration. FkBg-3 H3 has a spoon bowl with the handle removed which might have been in preparation for eventual decorative use.

Other metals used for pendants included perforated copper which was recovered from HeCg-8 H2 (n=6) and IgCv-7 CT (n=1). These may have been threaded and used as pendants, sewn onto clothing, or could have been fragments from the metal hair bands worn by women (Figure 7.33). From these fragments it is difficult to tell what their function might have been, but some of the pieces from HeCg-8 H2 suggest potential use as head bands. In terms of natural materials, HeCg-8 H2 was the only site to have soapstone pendants (n=2) and one of three sites to have pendants made from animal teeth (n=3). Other sites with tooth pendants included IgCv-7 WT (n=1) and GaBp-3 H1 (n=1).



Figure 7.33: Portrait of Mikak painted by John Russell in 1769  
(Photo: Harry Hasse. © Ethnologische Sammlung der George-August-Universität Göttingen)

## *Buttons*

Buttons made from a variety of materials were recovered from a number of the analyzed assemblages with metal (primarily copper alloys) being the predominant material type. GaBp-7 H2 had the most buttons (metal, n=19; porcelain, n=1; shell, n=1) followed by GaBp-2 H5 (metal, n=6; wood, n=2; metal/glass, n=1) and GaBp-1 H2 (metal, n=2; wood, n=1; porcelain, n=2; metal/glass, n=2). HeCi-15 H2 and IgCv-7 WT each produced four buttons, all but one metal (IgCv-7 WT had 1 porcelain button), and HeCg-8 H2 produced one wooden button.

The typical function for buttons is as clothing fasteners, but buttons may have also served a decorative function for the Labrador Inuit, similar to other materials mentioned thus far. The oldest buttons would have been manufactured from wood, bone, and shell, and these were material types that were readily available to the Labrador Inuit. The wooden buttons found on these sites may have been locally manufactured or acquired from Europeans. The abundant copper-alloy buttons are all from the mid-late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century sites, which coincides with their general popularity and use from mid-eighteenth century until about 1820 when they were replaced by gilded or gold-plated buttons (Marcel 1994; Venovcevs 2013). A closer examination of the porcelain buttons from GaBp-7, GaBp-1, and IgCv-7 could determine whether these were Prosser molded, which provides a *terminus post quem* of 1840, or earlier varieties of ceramic buttons (Sprague 2002).

## *Rings*

Simple copper finger rings were found at FkBg-3 H3 (n=2), FkBe-3 H1 (n=1), GaBp-7 H2 (n=1), and IgCv-7 ET (n=1). Many of these rings appear to be locally made, likely as re-use from other copper or copper alloy items. It is difficult to know whether the Labrador Inuit wore rings prior to encounters with Europeans. Kunz (1917:31) discusses a letter from Admiral Robert Peary describing his difficulty in disposing of rings he had brought on his arctic journeys specifically for trade with the Inuit. At some point the Inuit attitude towards rings must have changed but based on the few rings recovered at these sites, it seems they were much less desirable than other decorative elements. Personal adornment was not the only way one could display one's wealth, status, or prestige. More functional objects carried significance as well.

## Firearms

As discussed in Chapter 5, firearms may have been available prior to 1770 in southern Labrador although ammunition might have been difficult to obtain (Kleivan 1966:47). Indeed, some of the earliest and southernmost sites examined in this study lack any evidence for firearms in their assemblages (FkBe-3 Houses 1 and 2). Figure 7.34 presents the number of lead projectiles, gunflints, gun parts, and cartridges from the remaining assemblages (note that IgCv-7 CT and ET also lacked any firearm-related artifacts). Lead projectiles includes both musketballs and shot, and gun parts includes pieces of firearm hardware, such as frizzens, side plates, butt plates, trigger guards, and portions of musket barrels. GaBp-7 H2 stands out as it has the highest recorded amounts in each category, but it is also the most recent site and thus one would expect that by the

early nineteenth century firearms and ammunition were becoming commonplace. Cartridges were only present at two sites, GaBp-7 H2 and FkBg-3 H2, but at the latter site these were found in the uppermost strata and likely relate to modern disturbance rather than the house occupation.

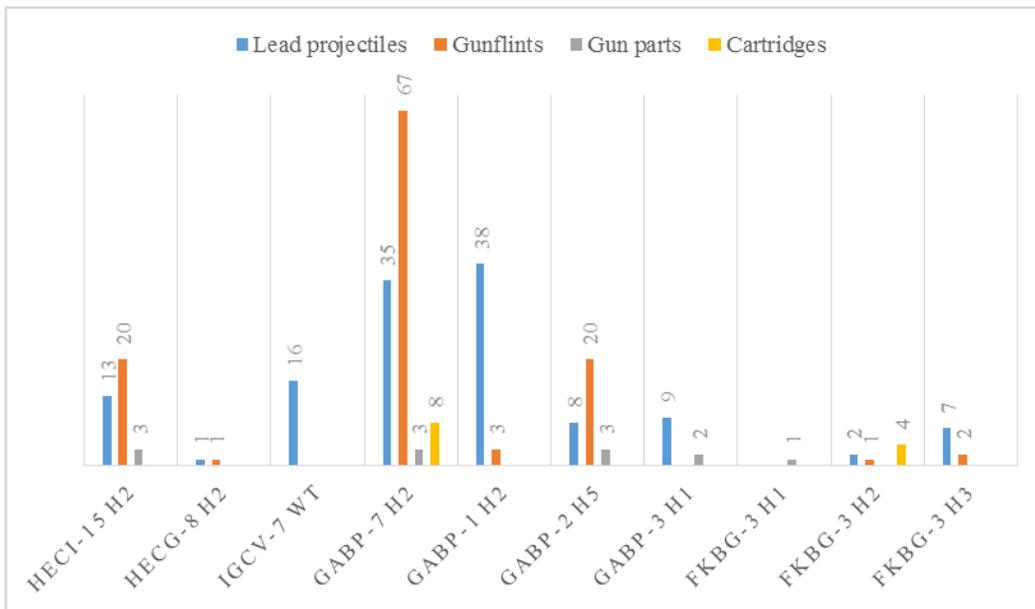


Figure 7.34: Number of Firearm-related Artifacts.

The firearm assemblages from HeCi-15 H2 and GaBp-2 H5 are nearly identical and suggest that the occupants of both dwellings not only had access to firearms and ammunition but likely used them in daily life as well. Rollmann (2011:8) has argued that the acquisition of firearms among the Labrador Inuit increased after the arrival of George Cartwright in 1770, and the presence of firearms and ammunition at these two late

eighteenth century sites and minimal quantities at earlier sites, supports this idea. On the other hand, Kleivan's (1966) suggestion that southern Labrador likely had early access to firearms is not supported archaeologically, as the Snack Cove (FkBe-3) assemblages had no evidence for firearms and evidence from the Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) dwellings is minimal. Knowing that the Moravian missionaries refused to supply firearms and ammunition until 1786 suggests that the artifacts represented here were all acquired through trade with merchants.

Cartwright encouraged the trade of firearms with the Inuit because he felt that this improved their relations with neighbouring Innu communities who already had access to firearms, as well as increased the success of the caribou hunt (Rollmann 2011:8). Since the Moravian missionaries were unwilling to trade firearms or ammunition when they first established missions in the north, the Inuit travelled south to trade with Cartwright and other merchants. Guns became one of the most coveted trade items, and those who were unwilling or unable to travel south to acquire them paid exorbitant prices through trade with their fellow Inuit who made the trip (Rollmann 2011:15). Thus guns carried not only a functional benefit, but perhaps more importantly, a prestigious benefit to those who owned them.

### Boats

Less visible archaeologically, but in many ways important for acquiring these prestigious goods and increasing one's status, was the acquisition of wooden boats. As discussed in Chapter 3, the status associated with owning a skin-covered umiak existed within Inuit society prior to encounters with Europeans. However, owning a *wooden*

boat was highly desirable and a mark of prestige (see discussion of Tuglavina, Chapter 4). Boats, like sloops, were mostly acquired in the south through trade with merchants, as the Moravian missionaries did not want to encourage Inuit travelling for trade goods, although Moravian carpenters in Nain also built boats for Inuit (Rollmann pers. comm. 2016). Moravian records mention numerous instances where groups of Inuit travelled south and returned with boats, firearms, and other goods (Rollmann 2011, 2013; Taylor 1974). Unfortunately the remains of these wooden vessels are difficult to identify, and while most of the assemblages included in this study contained worked wood, it is challenging to determine their function. Archaeological evidence for kayaks has been documented in Labrador, and within the examined assemblages in this study there are a number of kayak paddle tips as well as one toy boat (Hood 2008; Kaplan 1983; Table 7.18).

Table 7.18: Identified Kayak Fragments or Boat Representations.

Site	Kayak Paddle Tips (n)	Toy Boat (n)
Black Island (HeCi-15) H2	3	0
Kongu (IgCv-7) ET	1	0
Oakes Bay (HeCg-08) H2	3	0
Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) H2	2	1

### **Travelling for Trade Goods**

Firearms and boats were not the only reason groups of Inuit travelled south to trade and they certainly were not the first reason for a southern migration. The

permanent settlement of Inuit in southern Labrador at sites like Snack Cove (FkBe-3) and Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3) by the seventeenth century suggests they went there for more than just natural resources. While the Snack Cove dwellings indicated the highest percentage of trade goods, none of these would qualify as formalized trade goods that would be expected with face-to-face trade interactions. The Snack Cove assemblages are filled with nails, iron objects, miscellaneous metals, and ceramic sherds. Rankin and Crompton (2016a) suggest that these materials were collected during the winter after French and Basque fishers and whalers had left for the season and cached their items for the following year. This initial seasonal presence of Europeans was very beneficial to the Labrador Inuit as it gave them the time and space necessary to investigate these newcomers and weigh their options. As the nature of their interactions with Europeans changed over time, so did their interactions with their fellow Inuit along the coast. Whether or not access to iron was the primary motivation for the initial migration south, these early settlements solidified the desire for European-made materials and initiated a long-distance trade network which persisted for roughly two-hundred years.

### **Summary**

This chapter presented twelve dwelling/midden assemblages, including Black Island, to investigate the types and quantities of European-made materials. The percentage of European goods in these assemblages varies but not uniformly by region or time period. This suggests that access to these items was not limited to a particular region along the coast nor did it differ that greatly from the earliest encounters to the established period of intensive contact. With the exception of Black Island, the northernmost sites

appear to have had slightly limited access to these goods. In conjunction with this, there appears to be an inverse correlation between the presence of trade goods versus traditional Inuit material types. These patterns cannot be ignored in an analysis of the incorporation of trade goods by the Labrador Inuit. Furthermore, there are vast differences in the types of goods present at these sites as evidenced by some of the unique finds, personal adornment artifacts that might have been used to signal status/prestige, and other formalized trade goods that might have carried significant value.

The Snack Cove dwellings (FkBe-3 H1, H2) contained the highest percentage of European-made goods, the majority of which were nails, iron objects, and ceramic sherds with no formalized trade goods to suggest face-to-face interaction with any European group. The two earlier dwellings at Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3 H1, H2) present a similar pattern but have substantially fewer ceramic sherds than at Snack Cove. Brewster (2005) reveals that the majority of the ceramic sherds from Snack Cove were found in the upper fill levels and are likely the result of refuse from later occupations, with the exception of a few French stoneware vessels that were found in the occupation level of House 2 (Brewster 2005:80-82). That said, when the artifacts from the top 10 cm these dwellings were excluded they still contained the highest percentages of European-made materials. The assemblages from Houses 1 and 2 at Huntingdon Island 5 did not suffer the same level of post-occupational disturbance and may be a more accurate reflection of the very early contact period. Huntingdon Island 5 House 3 was occupied later (likely early-mid eighteenth century) and its more diverse assemblage represents the increasing interaction between its Inuit occupants and nearby traders and fishermen.

Analysing the Eskimo Island sites presented numerous challenges due to the lack of excavation information, although some field notes were acquired for Eskimo Island 1 and 3. There were also discrepancies between the original catalog records and the physical collections housed at The Rooms. Having said that, other published and unpublished sources were used to assist in the interpretation of the assemblages but unfortunately delineating the stratigraphy or identifying occupation versus fill was not possible. The sites present some interesting finds, and despite the difficulties with the data it is clear that Eskimo Island was an important location for the Labrador Inuit from the mid-seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. While including the glass beads would have been problematic, it is important to note the sheer abundance of glass beads found at both Eskimo Island 1- House 2 and Eskimo Island 2- House 5 (n= 8,968 and 1,532 respectively). Coupled with the high overall percentages of European-made goods the occupants of these dwellings were obviously well-connected to Europeans and/or the trade network. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that perhaps these dwellings were occupied by Inuit entrepreneurs who facilitated the movement of trade goods up the coast.

The two Nain-area sites are quite different despite their similar mid-late eighteenth century occupation. Black Island's (HeCi-15) assemblage contains a wide variety of European-made goods, many of which may have been acquired through trips to the south, while Oakes Bay's (HeCg-8) assemblage is more heavily weighted towards traditional material types. Despite the lack of formalized trade goods at Oakes Bay, the assemblage is not devoid of European-made materials. Much of the assemblage is

comprised of nails and iron or metal objects, suggesting that the occupants were not necessarily avoiding new materials or technologies but might not have had access to the more formalized goods. Whether or not this represents potential difficulties in acquiring goods during the transition from French to British occupancy or their own connectedness (or lack thereof) to the trade network remains uncertain. Black Island's assemblage contains an abundance and diversity of European-made goods, and it does stand out from other dwellings analysed in this study. Whether or not this relates to Mikak's occupancy remains to be seen; however, House 2's assemblage definitely suggests occupants who were well-connected or involved in the coastal trade network.

The Kongu (IgCv-7) site is the only one included in this study to present midden trench assemblages rather than household interior assemblages, although the midden trenches can be associated with particular dwellings or areas of the site (see Chapter 6). The centre trench represents the oldest area of the site, possibly in part pre-contact, but the East and West trenches contained an abundance of late eighteenth and early-mid nineteenth century artifacts. The East and West trenches were fairly diverse, representing nearly all of the trade categories selected for this study, but the traditional categories were also well-represented, suggesting that while new materials and technologies were available, some materials were retained.

The following chapter will discuss how both the quantitative and qualitative data can be used to understand the effect of European-made materials on Labrador Inuit society by situating it within the long-term experience of Inuit along the coast of Labrador.

## **CHAPTER 8 : DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, and FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

### **Introduction**

In order to explore the Inuit response to an increasing European presence in Labrador, and investigate whether or not this response changed over time or affected segments of the population differently, I analysed archaeological data from twelve houses and three midden trenches along the Labrador coast spanning the late sixteenth through early nineteenth centuries. I used evidence from House 2 on Black Island as a baseline for this analysis, since strong documentary evidence provided information on its occupants, and compared it to the other sites by selecting specific artifact categories to study the incorporation of European-made goods and disassociation with traditional material types. The results of my quantitative analysis revealed marked differences between assemblages, although not uniformly over time or region. In fact, two of the sites with the most divergent assemblages are located within the same archipelago and their potential occupations were likely only a decade or two apart (Black Island and Oakes Bay). Despite vast differences in site locations there are considerable similarities in terms of the quantity of European-made materials between many of the assemblages studied along the coast. The qualitative analysis of the same artifact categories shed light on some of the more nuanced differences as some sites yielded unique, and likely valuable, artifacts in their assemblages. This chapter will provide further interpretation of these results by incorporating the material culture into the broad historical continuum rather than focusing on change and continuity in smaller segments of time and space, as

represented by individual archaeological sites. The following sections situate these results within the broader theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 and the historical background discussed in Chapter 3.

### **The Material Record from a Multiscalar and Multi-Theoretical Perspective**

This study builds on previous research on the Labrador Inuit contact experience by analysing the material culture from archaeological assemblages from a multiscalar perspective. This perspective enables the examination of continuity and change operating over the long-term, and situates local events or situations within a broader historical perspective. By taking this approach I was able to explore my research questions without regional or temporal limitations. Furthermore, using a combined theoretical framework to interpret the material record yields a much more nuanced understanding of the changing relationships along the coast.

I began this research with the goal of investigating the effects of an increasing European presence in Labrador and the Inuit response to their changing social landscape. I was curious to know if these changes affected men and women differently, if status or prestige changed, and whether or not these could even be perceived in the archaeological record. Using the excavations at Black Island and data from extant collections from the three geographic regions spanning roughly 250 years I investigated these questions through material culture analysis, using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. I suggest that responses to an increasing European presence along the coast were historically informed and driven by the needs and desires of the Inuit communities rather than reactionary. The sites examined in this study have shown that many key aspects of

Inuit society remained the same despite the changing European landscape. While acknowledging the processes that filter which material remains end up in archaeological deposits, the differences in artifact quantities between these sites are interpreted here as reflections of the household occupant's desires and perceptions of European goods and their utility. Some households appear to have been more open to incorporating raw materials (like iron and other metals) as a replacement for traditional types but either did not have access to some of the formalized or finished trade goods or actively resisted the incorporation of these materials. Other households likely stockpiled European-made goods for trade with neighbouring Inuit groups as the sheer abundance of items within the dwellings likely surpassed the occupants' needs. Finally, some households appear to have accumulated large quantities of European-made goods to increase their social capital. The presence of some unique finds demonstrates that wealth accumulation emerges, either for redistribution through the trade network or for personal gain, and that social inequality gradually increased over time. The evidence to support inequality particularly emerged in the late eighteenth century, when some households seem to have either higher quantities or quality of European-made goods. There was presumably power in the attached values of these foreign commodities, and the individuals who possessed them were able to use these objects to move up the social ladder (refer to Mikak and Tugalvina's biographies in Chapter 4).

The excavation of one of Mikak's known dwellings not only added to our general understanding of Labrador Inuit history, but also to her personal history as well. Based on substantial documentary evidence, largely investigated by Taylor (1974, 1983, 1984b)

and Stopp (2007, 2009), we have a solid grounding in the chronology of her life and a relatively biased opinion on her attitudes and beliefs (based on Moravian perceptions). Archaeological data adds to the story by providing evidence to support her family's continual access to trade goods, even after her marriage to the entrepreneurial Tuglavina had ended. The abundance and diversity of goods found within the dwelling suggest that these were acquired for personal reasons. One might expect a higher overall quantity if these goods were procured for trade with their fellow Inuit. This aligns with the documentary evidence which suggests that Mikak and her family did not share their newly acquired belongings as they were expected to and were often forced to hide them away for fear of theft and conflicts (Hutton 1773; Taylor 1984b). However, the house was shared by many people with power and influence in different realms (i.e. trade versus missionary). It is difficult to separate whether or not this abundance and diversity of goods is connected to Mikak and Pualo's trade involvement or Petrus' (formerly Kingminguse) close relationship with the Moravian missionaries. Having said that, I believe that the lack of any distinct family spaces within the dwelling suggests that this household operated in a truly communal fashion (see Rankin 2014, 2015 for a discussion on artifact distributions in early-contact period dwellings). A comparison of Black Island with the other sites in this study reveals an assemblage more similar to later occupations, although it is still nowhere near as unique or extraordinary as Mikak's personal life experiences.

Excavating the dwelling of a known individual is a rare privilege, especially when that person is an indigenous female, as their stories are frequently missing from historic

documents. Despite this unique opportunity, the information that could be gleaned from the materials left behind in House 2 on Black Island was somewhat disappointing in light of the recorded accounts of Mikak's life events. Yet the fact that we know anything about Mikak's life at all relates more to how events in her life affected the interests of the recorders (largely Moravian missionaries) and not an interest in her particular biography. What we think we know about Mikak's life story is merely an outsider's perspective, one rife with bias, that in many ways tells us more about the writer than the woman herself. Fogelson (1989:135) states that events can be recognized, defined, evaluated, and even endowed with meaning differently in different cultural traditions, so how did Mikak and other Inuit really perceive these events that are now used to describe her life story? Would she have used the same selection criterion to tell her story? The archaeological record from her Black Island dwelling can provide some details on the day-to-day life experience of the entire household but yields very little information at the individual level. While we can use archaeological and ethnohistoric data to cross-check one another certain details will always be lacking (Wilson 1993:28). Oral histories can help fill in some of these gaps, and more work could be done within Nunatsiavut communities to trace the histories of individuals who feature prominently in the ethnohistoric accounts. Informal discussions with Mikak's descendants revealed that a few of the items given to her by members of English society, including the George III medal featured in her portrait and the dress she received during her stay in London, were carefully curated for many generations. Unfortunately the dress was destroyed in a house fire and the medal reportedly dropped off the pier by accident in Rigolet. Obviously she cared for these

items, and likely others, but the meanings with which she imbued the objects may forever elude us. While honing in on the individual in the archaeological record proves difficult, the data analysed in this study can provide information at a broader level, such as the household, and assist in answering some of the more generalized questions presented at the outset of this dissertation.

It is difficult to determine whether or not the increasing European presence along the coast affected men and women differently as their social roles were inherently linked. I have suggested based on what we know about the structuring of gender within Inuit society, and through excerpts from the documentary evidence, that women likely played an important role in the coastal trade network (Fay 2014, also see Chapter 4, and Davies 2014). Other studies have specifically explored the relationship between gender and trade both in Labrador (Cabak 1991; Davies 2014) and beyond (Scott 1991; Waterman 2008). Based on these works it is not unreasonable to suggest that women's roles in the trade network may have been both primary and secondary depending on who they were trading with, and cultural norms. Davies (2014) notes that women definitely played an important supporting role for male trading activities, and it is possible that they also engaged directly in trade when the male head of household was unavailable (see Waterman's 2008 discussion of women in the fur trade). Regardless of who was primarily engaged in direct trade, all members of Inuit society benefitted from trade since many of the newly acquired items were used to make daily life easier. Since many of these items would have greatly assisted with women's tasks, they likely had a vested interest in the trade negotiations for their family. Even if male heads of households

lacked the charisma, ability, or interest to become great entrepreneurs, they could still benefit from acquiring hunting and fishing implements to increase their productivity and success, enabling them to not only provide for their families but in some cases gain a surplus to exchange for more material goods. Thus in many ways the increasing European presence had a similar effect for men and women. Yet, one of the biggest ways in which the effects for men and women might have differed relates to the fact that some Inuit women married non-Inuit men. These unions created hybrid families, or as the Moravians described them in 1908, the *Kablunângajuit*, meaning “partly white” (Kennedy 2014a, for more on the development of Labrador’s Inuit-Métis as a social and political identity see Kennedy 2014b; and see Beaudoin 2008 for an archaeological investigation of a multi-ethnic household).

By examining the material record from dwellings diachronically we see many instances where households applied both novel and traditional uses to their adopted material culture as a way to rework their identity. While material culture can be used to interpret actions, intentions, and ideology, it must also be understood as partially structuring that practice. From the artifacts selected for this study it appears that the majority of European-made materials that were rapidly adopted by Inuit society were things that made daily life easier and/or increased an individual’s social capital. Referring back to Table 3.1, many of the items on the lists fall into these categories and it is likely that the selection of trade goods were based on Inuit requests and needs. The reference to ulus on Cartwright’s list further supports this idea that Inuit had a say in the types of goods brought in for trade. Regardless of the motivations for incorporation, the

decision-making involved in deciding which objects to incorporate were informed by previous knowledge (either of the object itself or what possession of that object might mean). This same knowledge base informed other important decisions related to settlement and subsistence strategies as well as how to respond to a changing social and political landscape.

### **Environment, Settlement, and Subsistence**

Although environmentally deterministic approaches have long been abandoned, the physical environment cannot be ignored when using a long-term approach to understanding cultural changes and continuities. This is especially important when the natural resources are inextricably linked to the local economy. Settlement and subsistence activities reflect the wide variety of decision-making strategies that are informed by past knowledge and negotiated through both social and environmental constraints (Ferris 2009). As such, the environment is just as important as the changing social landscape during this dynamic period of Labrador Inuit history. While the coastal environment changes vastly, from boreal forest in the south to mountainous and tundra fiords in the north, Inuit settlements were fairly consistent in terms of their location preference and general orientation. Access to the *sina*, polynyas, and ringed seals remained important from the earliest settlements through the nineteenth century. Although site locations shifted slightly following the arrival of Europeans, from predominantly outer to inner islands in the eighteenth century and centred near mission stations and trading posts in the nineteenth century, the general focus remained the same: access to a diverse resource base. Even though the economy shifted from primarily

subsistence-based to an increasingly modified one, incorporating terrestrial resources to supplement the marine-focus and eventually participating in the market economy, these changes were part of a gradual adaptation to a changing physical and social environment. While some studies have highlighted these changes (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003), the continuities cannot be ignored. The Labrador Inuit continually situated themselves in prime locations to support their needs, despite the fact that these needs changed over time. More importantly, the changing settlement patterns can be viewed in light of the importance of Inuit mobility, as the Labrador Inuit continually moved to acquire what they needed. This is evidenced first with their primarily subsistence-based seasonal round and later with participation in the coastal trade network. It is this mobility that is the key to interpreting the changing social landscape during the contact period.

### **Historical Continuum**

Understanding that human populations were often in “contact” with other peoples, ideas, and material culture helps shift the historical narrative away from the idea that the arrival of Europeans disrupted Inuit society and instead situates the various contact events within the broader historical continuum (Ferris 2009; Oliver 2010; Whitridge 2008).

When viewed as a process the colonial experience in Labrador follows a similar course to the settlement and subsistence strategies: gradual shifts based on historically-informed (i.e. historically contingent) decision-making as a response to a changing social landscape. This does not undermine the effects of colonial pressures on the Labrador Inuit, but instead provides a deeper context for the Inuit response to these increasing pressures and changes to their society. The events of Labrador’s ‘contact period’ can be

situated within the historical continuum framework suggested by Gosden (2004) and Ferris (2009) (outlined in Chapter 2).

### Symmetrical Exchange

The earliest interactions between the Labrador Inuit and Basque whalers in the sixteenth century and French fishermen in the seventeenth century would fall into this category, as any sort of exploitation occurred within communities rather than between them and the power resided not with a particular group, but with the material objects and natural resources themselves (Gosden 2004; Rankin and Crompton 2016b). This is especially true since it seems likely that all interaction was indirect through material culture acquisition once the seasonal fishers and whalers had left rather than face-to-face interactions. Acquiring these new foreign objects would have created a new form of social and cultural capital and might have enhanced inequality within Inuit society. Lacking data from the northern region for this earlier time period restricts what can be said about the incorporation of these new materials at the broader coastal level, but the existing data offers some insight. The artifacts recovered from the Snack Cove (FkBe-3) dwellings, Houses 1 and 2 from Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3), and Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3) suggest that the occupants had access to European-made materials and a desire for them, particularly iron. Were they stockpiling these items to trade with other Inuit families or were they increasing their social capital by separating themselves from the norm with their new acquisitions? Brewster (2005) states that the types of artifacts in the Snack Cove and Eskimo Island 3 assemblages are all ones that could easily be acquired by visiting abandoned European fishing or whaling sites rather than through face-to-face

interactions. Furthermore she argues that these sites were not actually located within easy access to Europeans during this early phase (Brewster 2005:111). Although European-made materials make up the bulk of the artifact assemblage from Snack Cove, the overall quantity (especially when compared to the later occupations of Eskimo Island 1 and 2) suggests that the inhabitants of Snack Cove were not acting as Inuit entrepreneurs to facilitate the movement of European-made goods. A similar pattern is visible in Houses 1 and 2 from Huntingdon Island 5: low total artifact counts with a high percentage of iron (including nails), and few formalized trade goods. As these sites are located on the same island within Sandwich Bay, the proximity to European fishers and whalers was comparable. While there was obviously a desire for these new material types, many of them were incorporated to suit local needs (as evidenced by the abundance of modified nails) and the assemblages demonstrate that the focus is on the acquisition of material goods rather than the flow of ideas or beliefs (Brewster 2005; Murphy 2011b).

### Cultural Entanglement

The late-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can best be described as the phase of cultural entanglement. The European presence was gradually increasing, with more French and British fishermen and merchants occupying the coast first seasonally, and then more permanently. Interaction with the Inuit became more direct, and at times violent, but there was a balanced sense of power as neither the Inuit nor French or British exercised control over the other. Much of what evolved during this period was an extension from the preceding phase as decisions were made based on previous knowledge

and experiences. Silliman (2005) argues that Indigenous agendas shaped the trajectory of later relationships and this holds true in Labrador as the French and British both realized the benefits to peaceful relations with the Inuit and establishing a system for trade. The inhabitants of Huntingdon Island 5's House 3 appear to have benefitted from this developing system as the diversity in European-made materials greatly increased compared to the earlier dwellings on site and suggests the potential for face-to-face interaction with the French. While the assemblage is heavily weighted towards European-made goods, it still lacks the quantity to be expected the occupants were trade intermediaries or entrepreneurs when compared to Eskimo Island 1, House 2 which has roughly 130 artifacts for every 100 artifacts at Huntingdon Island 5 House 3 (an even higher ratio if the glass beads were included). The European-made goods from both Huntingdon Island 5 House 3 and Eskimo Island 1 House 2 are predominately of French origin and suggest an early eighteenth century occupation coinciding with the French occupation of the Labrador coast. Both assemblages also contain a number of modified nails and iron fragments, suggesting that the incorporation of goods was still primarily in the form of a replacement of material form rather than embracing new ideas. This is further supported by the continual presence of traditional materials and objects (Kaplan 1983; Murphy 2011b).

### Asymmetrical Interaction

Emerging during the mid-eighteenth century, and increasing throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was the development of asymmetrical interactions between the Labrador Inuit and various European groups. This began when the British

government worked with the Moravian missionaries by providing a land grant to establish their first mission station in the hopes that it would contain the Inuit in the north and prevent them from interfering with the British fishing operations in the south (refer to Chapter 3 for full discussion of historical events). Immediately the balance of power shifted as the missionaries and British fishermen and merchants justified their actions with notions of religious superiority (Gosden 2004). For the British, the driving force was the capitalist system as they wanted to harvest the natural resources of the coast for economic gain without interference or competition from the local population. Meanwhile, for the missionaries, the initial driving force was religious conversion but they quickly realized that in order to be successful they had to also engage with the capitalist system to win over new converts. For the Inuit, the driving force was their increasing desire for European-made materials, which is clearly demonstrated in the majority of the archaeological assemblages dated to this time period.

Eskimo Island 2 House 5 did not have the same abundance of European-made goods as the earlier occupation of Eskimo Island 1 House 2, but it still contained comparable amounts to other early-mid eighteenth century dwellings included in this study. Its composition (primarily iron nails, metal objects, and ceramic sherds) is also comparable to the early-mid eighteenth century sites (the most similar seems to be Huntingdon Island 5 House 3). The Oakes Bay assemblage exhibits a similar pattern, with raw materials like nails and iron objects making up the majority of European-made goods. It differs from the central and southern sites discussed thus far in terms of the stronger presence of traditional materials, a trend that is seen in the more northern Kongu

assemblages as well. In contrast, Black Island House 2 contains a wide variety of European-made goods covering all artifact categories selected for this study. The inhabitants of House 2 on Black Island were presumably no longer interested in just the raw materials to fashion their own goods, but instead seem to be incorporating aspects of European culture into their daily lives. The abundance of pipe fragments suggests that smoking was one of the earliest European cultural practices adopted (for a detailed discussion on the adoption of smoking see Jurakic 2008). Black Island's assemblage suggests that the occupants travelled great distances to acquire some of their goods, particularly since the Moravian missionaries at Nain were initially unwilling to supply certain trade goods. However, the quantity does not support the notion that this family was stockpiling goods for trade with communities further north. Instead it seems as though wealth accumulation was the goal rather than redistribution. Taylor (1974, 1983, 1984b) has presented considerable documentary evidence to support the notion that Mikak was heavily involved in trade and made frequent trips south. Even during her time with Pualo on Black Island she sought alternative transportation, since he did not own a boat, for her southern forays (Taylor 1984b). The idea that her participation was largely motivated by wealth accumulation does not seem out of place when the Moravians recorded disputes between her and other families in the Nain area regarding the "many beautiful things which they do not share" and her reported arrogance towards her fellow Inuit (Taylor 1984b:20-22). An interesting comparison would be Tuglavina's dwelling on nearby Nukasusutok Island as his involvement as an Inuit entrepreneur has been well-

documented and the contents of his household might be similar to those recovered from Eskimo Island 1 and 2 (Hood 2008).

The Snook's Cove settlement (GaBp-7) emerged after the abandonment of Eskimo Island and likely coincides with the establishment of a trading post, first operated by Angus Brownson and later Hunt and Henley (Brandy 2013; Kaplan 1983). Kaplan (1983) even suggests that the inhabitants of Eskimo Island relocated to Snook's Cove. Direct contact with European traders meant easy access to a greater diversity of European-made goods, which is clearly evident in the artifact assemblage. Speculation on whether the inhabitants at Snook's Cove were entrepreneurs acquiring goods for redistribution is complicated by the fact that access to many of these items had increased along the coast by the early nineteenth century with additional Moravian missions and their changing attitude to supplying ammunition. Although southern forays were continually reported during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many of these families went in search of specific items, notably boats and firearms, for personal gain (Rankin and Crompton 2016a; Rollmann 2013). Was the Inuit trade network already in decline by the early nineteenth century as others have suggested (Jordan and Kaplan 1980) or did it simply evolve and become more inclusive as more members of Inuit society gained access to prestigious goods? The abundance of European-made goods at the nineteenth century site Kongu (IgCv-7) suggests that the trade network might have been functioning in at least some capacity, or it might simply reflect access to the Moravian mission stores at Okak and Hebron, or HBC posts further north (Fort Chimo and Fort George). With the exception of boats and firearms the Moravians were

supplying a much more diverse assortment of trade goods, and although the HBC and independent traders were moving into the northern region it is unlikely that boats were part of their inventory.

The encroachment of the British government and Moravian missionaries initiated this period of asymmetrical interaction and while their initial goals were linked, their desires and responses to Inuit motivations diverged over time. In addition, other European groups (e.g. merchants, independent traders, HBC) with vested interests populated the coastline and interfered with their goals. What neither the Moravians nor British realized was that the biggest issue preventing their success was one deeply rooted in the long-term traditions and *doxa* of the Labrador Inuit, which were continually negotiated and renegotiated since their arrival on the Labrador coast. *Doxa* describes the unquestioned or second-nature knowledge base shared by a collective group (Pauketat 2000; Silliman 2001). This knowledge base informed the choices and decisions made by individuals, families, and entire communities and is rooted in their past knowledge of the way the world worked at that particular moment as well as their future expectations (Ferris 2009:1). The day-to-day lived experience (seen through settlement, subsistence, and material culture) becomes the stage for these decisions and the exertion of social agency, the expression of resistance, compliance or other coping strategies.

### **Collective Resistance**

Collective resistance develops through the establishment and negotiation of traditions and actions of non-compliance (Sassaman 2001:219). This resistance is made and reproduced through egalitarian social relations, mobility, and separation through the

assertion of difference and functions as identity maintenance (Sassaman 2001). The Labrador Inuit employed all of these in some capacity throughout this historical continuum, but perhaps most important was mobility. Mobility was the key to survival and adaptation from their initial colonization of the coast through the nineteenth century. This means that no matter how one organizes this period of history, either as I have above through the continuum approach or how others have designated specific periods (for example, Jordan and Kaplan's [1980] colonization, intermittent trading, and trading post periods), Inuit mobility has been a dominant feature. Mobility was not always a form of resistance; it may be quite functional as it assisted with harvesting the best resources year-round and eventually evolved to include accessing European-made goods. Later mobility seemed to operate in two ways, both as a form of resistance and compliance. Those resistant to colonial pressures moved further afield, to the far northern fiords or south to areas where there was no religious control and access to merchants willing to trade, until such time as there was no escape from the expanding European presence. The Moravian missionaries described these 'heathen' families as living in the north and south, and later they expanded into both regions with the goal of acquiring more converts. Elsewhere I have suggested that perhaps the occupants of Oakes Bay ventured north to escape the encroaching Europeans. Their settlement on Dog Island was abandoned just as the Moravians were establishing their first mission in Nain (Fay 2014). Other families used mobility to resist religious conversion and travelled south to acquire goods, including boats and firearms, from merchants and fishermen, much to the Moravian's dismay (Rollmann 2013). Yet some families did convert, and permanently moved to the

mission settlements using their mobility as compliance rather than resistance. In fact it was not until the mid-twentieth century that mobility as a defining feature of Inuit society was inhibited by forced government relocation. Although more limited, mobility remains very important to Inuit today and many families maintain traplines and cabins for hunting and fishing considerable distances away from their current communities.

### **The Lure of the South**

Southern Labrador was an important area for the Inuit throughout the period during which they occupied the Labrador coast. Not only did it provide many of the same resources as the areas to the north, it enabled easy access to desirable European-made goods. Considerable research has recently added to our understanding of this important region and provided much greater context for understanding Inuit-European interaction in Labrador. While some Inuit families appear to have settled in the region permanently, others chose to visit seasonally for trade purposes, a practice that increased throughout the eighteenth century. The lure of the south was great. From the late sixteenth century on Inuit could acquire European-made boats (like the Basque and French *chaloupe*) and iron, and later larger sloops, firearms, nets, traps, tobacco and European food (especially flour, beef, pork, and peas but also tea and alcohol) (Rankin and Crompton 2016a; Rollmann 2013). Many of these items were linked to pre-existing forms and carried similar prestige. For example, Rankin and Crompton (2016a) have argued that acquiring *chaloupes* in the south carried equal, if not greater, prestige to owning a large skin umiak. The umiak captain was generally a successful hunter and well-regarded within Inuit society, but acquiring a more durable and exotic *chaloupe*

meant that successful entrepreneurial traders could also increase their status within the community. The acquisition of firearms, nets, and traps helped improve hunting success, still a prestigious enterprise but one that could also be used to participate in the trade network. Much of the motivation behind the incorporation of these exotic and prestigious materials seems to have been a combination of practical need (many of the goods made life easier) and a desire to increase social capital and prestige. The Inuit in southern Labrador benefitted from their location, and forays to the south helped northerners meet both of these goals.

The Moravian missionaries encouraged Inuit mobility to an extent. They wanted the Inuit to retain their traditional subsistence practices (which included a seasonal round) but they did not want them to stray too far from the mission. They tried to alter aspects of the seasonal round, by encouraging participation in the cod fishery, in order to try and keep the Inuit from straying too far from the mission and to profit from the cod trade (Rollmann 2013; Stopp 2009). Encouraging only partial mobility backfired, as Inuit were already quite accustomed to travelling for what they needed and willing to travel great distances to meet their needs. So while the Moravians discouraged these southern forays, it did not stop some members of Inuit society, even recent converts, from making the long journey. Rollmann (2013) has documented a number of the Europeans mentioned in the Moravian records operating in the southern region, including the key areas of Chateau Bay, Sandwich Bay, and Hamilton Inlet. Additionally, Stopp (2008) has supplied documentary evidence from Captain George Cartwright for the Sandwich Bay area. These documents are becoming increasingly important as more archaeological data is

recovered from the southern region. Scholars have used these historical resources and others to demonstrate the long-term Inuit occupation and use of southern Labrador (Brewster 2005; Davies 2014; Murphy 2011a; Rankin 2014a; Rankin and Crompton 2016b, 2016a; Rollmann 2013; Stopp 2008). Perhaps most important, is the incorporation of this southern material into a broader diachronic analysis as a key component for understanding the mobility and history of the Labrador Inuit.

### **Future Directions**

The work presented here has expanded on decades of archaeological and ethnohistorical research along the coast but there are some limitations to this research which could usefully be addressed in future research. Most importantly, some of the pivotal extant collections are in need of reorganization and reinterpretation in light of the increasing amount of data emerging from the southern region. The Eskimo Island sites for instance, present a rich collection of material culture but the collection records need to be standardized, as best as possible, with current practices and the physical artifacts housed at The Rooms need to be cross-referenced with the original records and any missing or misidentified artifacts need to be recorded. There were significant discrepancies between what was originally recorded and what was physically contained in the museum collection. Comparable reinterpretation needs to be done on the Ikkusik and Tuglavina collections as they presented similar issues to the Eskimo Island sites. Once these sites are reorganized and the data reporting is standardized their utility for comparison to other assemblages will be greatly increased, and their interpretations may shift given more recent comparative data from the southern region.

Additional work with documentary and archival sources would also be beneficial, particularly many of the Moravian records that have already been translated into English. Recent interdisciplinary partnerships have greatly aided the incorporation of these lines of evidence, however more work can be done in light of many important documents that have yet to be translated (for example, the confessional conversations called ‘speaking’s’). Furthermore, future projects could benefit from situating this Labrador research within a broader arctic framework to further investigate regional trends, and better understand the role of Inuit entrepreneurs in a variety of differing contact situations across the arctic.

While the excavation of more sites can always be encouraged, I recognize that this is a costly venture. Despite the costs, there are significant gaps in many areas along the coast that could be investigated to provide a complete diachronic picture of Inuit occupation. In particular, early sites in the northern and north-central (Hopedale, Makkovik) regions could greatly add to the current dialogue. The Sandwich Bay area has been thoroughly investigated and has provided data from all time periods, including a nineteenth century dwelling on Norman’s Island that likely belonged to Captain Norman (for whom the island was named) rather than an Inuit family (Rankin 2014b). Similar work can be executed in other regions along the coast to help fill in some of these temporal gaps.

Aside from excavation there are other ways some of these gaps can be addressed, one of which would be to create a research network that encourages the sharing of data for comparison purposes. Understanding that many are hesitant to share their results until

they have been published (or presented in a dissertation or thesis) this network could be promoted as an archive for work that has already been presented in the public realm. Users could upload their results upon completion of their dissertations/theses or publications so that future students and researchers could have easy access to important data. This network could also benefit Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut communities as they would be able to see the artifacts that have been recovered from their territories and learn more about their past through the archaeological work. While not archaeological in nature, an excellent example of this type of digital network is the Reciprocal Research Network (RRN) organized by the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) in British Columbia for the sharing and dissemination of information on Northwest Coast collections housed in museums. The RRN is a digital database that is searchable, and promotes the sharing of knowledge as users can assist with identifications and contextual information. A similar network for artifacts and archaeological data could be implemented in Labrador, incorporating all previously explored sites including the ones used for this study.

### **Broader Implications**

While I have spent considerable time throughout this dissertation contextualizing the excavation of Black Island House 2 with other sites along the coast, the fact remains that excavating the dwelling of a known indigenous woman is a special and unique situation, with broad implications. Firstly, this excavation responded to local interest in the more recent past and Mikak's life story in particular. Although I lacked the resources to conduct a large-scale public archaeology project, my goal for my doctoral research was to choose a topic that would get people excited and engaged. The site's connection to

Mikak helped foster interest in local archaeology, and I am hopeful that the results of this research can be used by Nunatsiavut archaeologists, teachers, and other research partnerships like the social media project '*The Daughters of Mikak*' which is dedicated to celebrating Inuit women's leadership in Nunatsiavut, to produce something meaningful for the Labradormiut.

Secondly, the implications of this excavation extend beyond Labrador. The prehistoric/historic divide discussed in Chapter 2 is partly to blame for the lack of indigenous historical archaeology in general, but recent scholarship on the archaeology of contact situations might help rectify this. There are likely other indigenous peoples identified in the historic record who can be connected to habitation sites through the study of census records, missionary and fur trader's accounts, as well as local knowledge and oral history. I was fortunate that the connection of Mikak to Black Island had already been made by previous scholars, however many individuals in Nain were unaware that one of Mikak's known dwellings was essentially right in their backyard. The excitement of connecting an important historical figure to a particular place extends beyond the discipline of archaeology, and is invaluable for making research relevant to non-archaeologists. While many historic records are Eurocentric, Mikak's story is an excellent example of how that information can be incorporated into archaeological research to fill in the gaps from the records, and add to the understanding of the past. This type of research is to be encouraged, as it can strengthen the relationships between the archaeological and local communities, and has the potential for community-initiated and driven projects that foster a shared understanding of the past.

## **Conclusions**

One of the biggest problems when researching this period in Labrador history relates to the tendency to arbitrarily separate the north and south coast of Labrador. This began during the early days of Labrador research when scholars were certain that the Inuit did not venture further south than Hamilton Inlet (Fitzhugh 1977; Taylor 1974). While the question of the southern limits of the Inuit has finally been put to rest (Rankin 2013a, 2014a; Stopp 2002, 2012), this separation between north and south has permeated the literature and greatly influenced our research questions. This rigid distinction neglects the importance of Inuit mobility; for many members of Inuit society large sections of the entire coast functioned as part of their “seasonal round” when they ventured on long-distance journeys for trade goods. This north-south dichotomy has also framed many of our interpretations in light of ‘difference’ rather than ‘similarity’. In so doing, the understanding of the Labrador Inuit has been greatly limited by rigid categorizations and research frameworks. Removing this arbitrary division, and thinking about the coast as a whole, has enabled a better understanding of the lived experience for the Labrador Inuit. A second issue with our traditional research paradigms has been the tendency to focus on rigid temporal categories. Although some sites have experienced long-term occupation and reuse, most research questions have centred on a particular moment in time, essentially removing it from a historical continuum. A multiscalar approach helps rectify this problem, and successful applications of such an approach have broadened our understanding of how the historical process works (Brewster 2005; Ferris 2009; Oliver 2010).

Consumption is not merely an economic process; it is deeply imbued with social meaning. The Labrador Inuit accepted European items on their own terms, in many cases using them as replacement for pre-existing counterparts, but always within their own conceptions of the functionality of an object. The meanings applied to these objects varied, but it seems reasonable to suggest that many of them were used to signify wealth/status/prestige within Inuit society and to also convey these messages to outsiders like the Moravian missionaries and merchants. Personal choice is a large factor to consider in commodity exchange as any of the relations enacted during the life-cycle of an object relate to decisions made by individuals or collective groups. The perceived changes in Inuit settlement, subsistence, and material culture were not as pivotal as they have been previously framed. Using an eclectic theoretical approach I have been able to explore the changing social landscape of the Labrador Inuit by situating short-term events within a longer historical continuum. A diachronic and multianalytical analysis from a selection of sites has shed light on how the Inuit response to an increasing European presence was rooted in their own traditions and ideologies.

The results of this study have shown that for roughly 250 years Inuit sites spanning the coast of Labrador had a lot more in common than previously assumed, and that the changes in their settlement, subsistence, and material culture strategies were not simply reactionary. Instead these changes were part of gradually evolving relationships with their physical, social, and material worlds. Exploring the nature of Inuit-European contact through this long-term perspective helps situate these changes and stabilizes their historical continuum, removing the peaks from previous work that highlighted change

over continuity and valued difference over similarity. It has long been assumed that the Labrador Inuit were active agents in the construction of their historical trajectory, but at times this notion fell by the wayside when examining specific regions or time periods in isolation. By building on previous research and incorporating data from extant collections I have been able to demonstrate that the Inuit response to an increasing European presence was part of their greater adaptation to a changing social environment, framed by traditional strategies of mobility and trade, and deeply rooted in their traditions and ideologies. While the eighteenth century has often been identified as a period of disruptive change for the Inuit, it was in fact just part of a much longer process in which the Inuit exhibited a degree of social agency at times denied by previous scholars.

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