INUIT ANIMAL USE AND SHIFTING IDENTITIES IN 19TH-CENTURY LABRADOR: THE ZOOARCHAEOLOGY OF SNOOKS COVE

By

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Abstract

The archaeological site of Snooks Cove (GaBp-7), situated in Hamilton Inlet along the central coast of Labrador, has been confirmed as a place where multiple Inuit families resided from the late 18th through 19th centuries. Analysis of the faunal remains recovered during excavation of two houses at this site provides a glimpse at how the Inuit inhabitants prioritized traditional animal use patterns, while still actively participating in new intercultural exchanges, such as the trapping and trading economy. This thesis can demonstrate the dynamic nature of cultural continuity and changing identities. At Snooks Cove this is seen most prominently when the results are compared to Inuit, British, and mixed ethnicity sites. This research further supports that zooarchaeology can contribute valuable insights into the varied Inuit responses to social and economic opportunities brought about by the increasingly permanent European presence in Labrador.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Framework

Archaeologists have divided the post-contact period of Labrador history into three phases based on economic factors and Inuit-European interactions: the early/colonization phase (AD 1500–1700), the communal-house/intermittent trading phase (AD 1700–1800), and a recent/trading post phase (AD 1800–present) (Fitzhugh 1977; Jordan 1977; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Between the 17th and 19th centuries, the Labrador Inuit experienced significant shifts in their social organization, economic systems, and subsistence practices — they were exposed to increased contact with European missionaries, fishers, hunters, and traders. Snooks Cove became an important Inuit settlement during the 19th century, when trappers and traders began occupying the central Labrador coast, placing its occupation predominantly within the last phase of Labrador history. This influx of settlers to the Hamilton Inlet region precipitated many changes to Inuit lifeways in a manner that was distinct from other regions of Labrador. By the 19th century many settlers in Southern Labrador were marrying Inuit women, and the foundation of today's Inuit-Metis tradition emerged. These mixed ethnicity households become archaeologically distinct after this time, through the adoption of a hybridized material culture and subtleties of gendered space and organization of daily life (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Kelvin 2011).

Until recently, this later historic period has received little attention from archaeologists, largely because it has been very difficult to determine the ethnicity of

households in southern and central Labrador, since European settlers, Inuit, and mixed ethnicity families all occupied similar looking sod-covered dwellings during this time. On the surface, the archaeological remnants of these sod houses appear identical. Hans Rollmann of Memorial University (MUN) has recently examined Moravian and Methodist missionary documents pinpointing Snooks Cove as having been occupied by Inuit families specifically during the 19th and 20th centuries (Rollmann 2010). This puts archaeological research here in a unique position, since any houses found here dating to that time span can be identified as Inuit with some certainty. As a result, I can use the archaeological record at Snooks Cove to determine a potential Inuit pattern, or signature, to aid in future research on determining the ethnicity of houses in Labrador. In order to achieve this, my specific research goals are to:

1) Examine the nature of Inuit lifeways in the region during this time period.

2) Compare the animal use through time at Snooks Cove and compare these results to Inuit and European settler sites across Labrador.

3) Attempt to determine if there are any characteristics present in the faunal assemblages and animal use patterns at Snooks Cove that can allow archaeologists to identify an Inuit presence at other culturally ambiguous sites from late 18th- to early 20th-century Labrador.

This chapter will provide a brief history of archaeological work conducted in this region, and outline relevant and exemplary approaches used by previous researchers. Following this I will summarize the theoretical concepts that inform my thesis.

1.2 Past Research in Hamilton Inlet

Archaeology of the Inuit in Labrador began in the early 20th century with the investigation of semi-subterranean sod houses and the goal of creating a chronology for settlement of Thule, Inuit and Indian groups (Kaplan 1983:13). It was not until the late 20th century when the more recent post-contact period became of interest to archaeologists. William Fitzhugh undertook extensive surveys of Inuit settlements along the north and central coast of Labrador and compiled a culture history up to the 1900s for these regions (Fitzhugh 1972, 1977, 1980). He also identified and mapped many sod house sites in Hamilton Inlet, including Snooks Cove (Fitzhugh 1972, 1977). This important survey work revealed great potential for new areas of study, and inspired a specific interest in the communal house period (Jordan 1977; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971, 1976a, 1976b; Taylor 1968, 1974, 1985; Woollett 2003). With this foundation, archaeologists began to expand their investigations of Hamilton Inlet, and more southerly regions of the Labrador coast, in order to interpret Inuit settlement patterns, culture change, and the process of European contact.

Richard Jordan (1974, 1977, 1978) conducted excavations in the central region of Hamilton Inlet called the Narrows at Snooks Cove, Eskimo Island, Double Mer, Ticolarak Head and Moliak Cove, revealing varying sod house forms and sizes containing differing distributions of European and traditional Inuit goods. This led to the creation of a cultural chronology for the Inuit occupation of Hamilton Inlet (Jordan 1978). Jordan was also the first archaeologist in Labrador to systematically recover faunal remains from Inuit sites (Woollett 1999:374). Susan Kaplan further expanded on Jordan's culture

history and established a more detailed account of the nature of Inuit settlement in the early contact period. Kaplan (1983) addressed the different contextual factors and regional adaptations that influenced Inuit settlement patterns using a cultural ecology framework. Economic analyses by Kaplan, as well as Fitzhugh (1972) and Cox (1977), represented the beginning of archaeological reconstructions of Inuit subsistence patterns in Labrador (Woollett 2003:5). James Woollett also did extensive archaeological work in this region, focusing on the environmental adaptations and subsistence economy of the Inuit in the Narrows. His work was the first to use modern zooarchaeological methodologies, supported by environmental and historical data, to successfully demonstrate how faunal assemblages can reveal specific details about the settlement patterns and social organization of the Inuit (Woollett 1999, 2003; Woollett et al. 2000).

Archaeology has contributed to a greater understanding of the culture history of the Inuit and their contact with European traders and settlers in southern and central Labrador (eg. Auger 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993; Fitzhugh 1972, 1977, 1980; Jordan 1977, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Murphy 2011; Ramsden and Rankin in press; Rankin 2004, 2005; Stopp 2002; Taylor 1974, 1977, 1979, 1980; Woollett 1999, 2003). However, the 19th to 20th century has yet to be fully explored. This was a critical period in Labrador's history. Current research aims to demonstrate the extent and nature of Inuit and mixed ethnicity settlement in southern Labrador, to refine our understanding of sod houses, and to interpret the varied ways in which the Inuit responded to and negotiated their colonial encounters (eg. Auger 1991; Beaudoin 2008, Beaudoin et al. 2010; Brewster 2005; Kelvin 2011; Pritchard and Brandy 2010; Rankin 2004, 2006,

2011, in press; Rankin et al. 2012; Stopp 2002). Archaeology thus has an important role in contributing to our interpretations of Inuit lifeways by including approaches that investigate individual experiences and the nature of culture contact.

1.3 Theoretical Approaches

The relationship between Inuit and Europeans, as portrayed through the grand narratives of colonial history, might lead to the belief that the Inuit had a passive role in mediating their cultural interactions. This is largely due to the fact that Western worldviews are often the only ones recorded or represented in the historical record, and thus have tended to bias the way historical and archaeological research has been conducted. Post-colonial trajectories can be used to create awareness that, as non-indigenous researchers in indigenous contexts, "we are entangled in a multiplicity of stories and carry multiple voices" (Kremer 2003:9–10). Such approaches have been successfully applied in anthropological research involving the Inuit in the Arctic (Moquin 2010).

Given the recent theoretical directions in contemporary archaeology that encourage interpretations of indigenous agency and active participation, archaeology can focus on the processes surrounding the individual as the catalyst for change, especially at the household level (Preucel and Mrozowski 2010:129–132). When applied in the context of Labrador, the Inuit can be portrayed as actors, negotiating their colonial world, especially in mixed ethnicity households (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Rankin et al. 2012; Cabak 1991). It is at this small scale that archaeology can best contribute to

the interpretation of Inuit identity in the colonial context at Snooks Cove, where the known ethnicity of the inhabitants can be linked to the interpretation of the faunal assemblages there. Further, the relatively short-term occupation at Snooks Cove can be situated within the long-term processes affecting the connection between Inuit subsistence economy and identity as it became influenced by European contact.

Investigations of hybridization and ethnicity in colonial contexts have also been explored elsewhere (Lightfoot et al. 1998). At Fort Ross, California, Lightfoot et al. (1998) emphasized that native communities, even when imposed upon by a colonial power, had a degree of agency, and that the culture contact experience varied based on the individual actors within a household. This kind of evidence is most visible at the small scale (such as a household) where, depending on gender and ethnicity, individuals incorporate different aspects of other the cultures they interact with resulting in a hybridized living environment.

The historical archaeology of the Labrador Inuit can benefit from such theoretical approaches. The abundance of historical documentation and the growing foundation of archaeological work in the region should allow for a much more textured narrative, which creates space for investigations of how Inuit individuals at the small scale of Snooks Cove might fit into the greater social network of colonial dynamics in Hamilton Inlet.

The notion that the ethnicity of Labrador households in the 19th century can be derived from archaeology will be supported by a comparison of the faunal remains from Inuit sites occupied in other regions of Labrador to understand how individuals responded

to different environmental, social and political niches. Despite the relatively short time period of occupation at Snooks Cove, the cultural landscape was visibly changing. Evidence for rapidly changing lifeways has already been identified in the material culture and architectural styles of sod houses throughout Labrador (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Fitzhugh 1977; Jordan 1974; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003). By the 19th century, the Labrador Inuit were already blending aspects of European culture with their way of life by using new technologies for traditional purposes (eg. Auger 1989; Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Cabak and Loring 2000; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Woollett 2003). Despite the similarities between an Inuit assemblage with the presence of European goods and a true mixed ethnicity assemblage, it may be possible to use archaeological data to make important distinctions between expressions of identity and ethnicity at both Inuit and mixed ethnicity settlements in the 19th century. One of these distinctions may be related to the use of animals, an idea that has recently been employed in the re-interpretation of a southern Labrador site, previously interpreted as Inuit, and now considered to be an early mixed ethnicity occupation (Gaudreau 2011).

Zooarchaeology is a relatively recent specialization in archaeological practice, and its potential contributions to the field are constantly being redefined as new theoretical concepts are developed. While faunal remains have been found in many excavations of Labrador Inuit sites, they were not often given consideration as independent sources of information on culture change. Changes to subsistence and hunting patterns can be seen in Hamilton Inlet's archaeological record, and faunal remains are an important aspect of

any holistic interpretation of Inuit sites. Woollett (2003) undertook the first comprehensive zooarchaeological study in this region to interpret Inuit subsistence and settlement patterns in relation to the cultural and climatic changes experienced during the late 17th to early 19th century. His research explored frequencies of seal species in faunal assemblages from Labrador and Baffin Island and their relationship to both the Inuit subsistence economy and sea ice conditions.

Bones hold information about food production, preparation, distribution, consumption, and disposal, and "there is growing recognition of potential uses of faunal data to elucidate trade, ethnicity, social differentiation, the development of political complexity, and aspects of culture change" (Landon 2005:11). However, interpretations of culturally associated dietary patterns are applied more readily adopted in historical archaeology, where documentary records can aid in determining social status and ethnicity, especially in colonial and multiethnic contexts (e.g. Crabtree 1990; Kuhn and Frank 2000; Lapham 2002; McKee 1987; Reitz and Scarry 1985; Schulz and Gust 1983; Scott 1996; Warner 1998). The investigation of ethnicity through subsistence and foodways in post-contact Native North American contexts still remains somewhat understudied (Landon 2005:12–13).

Scott (1996:357) believes that faunal remains not only indicate socioeconomic status, but can also be strong evidence of ethnicity, because "culturally determined food preferences, and the degree of departure from them, provide important clues for interpreting sites". For example, the 18th-century site of Michilimackinac was a mixed ethnicity colonial community of British, French-Canadian, German-Jewish, Native

American, Métis, and African-American people (Scott 1996). Despite the potential "homogenizing" effect of the available food resources, various households at the site expressed unique subsistence patterns, attributed to their different ethnic and socioeconomic contexts (Scott 1996:371). Food preferences in the archaeological and documentary records were used to distinguish different groups of people within one site.

An extensive project surveying the faunal assemblages of Iroquoian and Algonquian coastal hunting sites in the St. Lawrence Estuary also suggests that faunal remains can be reliable markers of ethnicity (St. Pierre 2006). St. Pierre (2006) found that Iroquoian sites had larger abundances of sea mammals, while Algonquian sites had more diverse assemblages, including greater amounts of land mammals, birds, and fish. Furthermore, Iroquoians focused on hunting harp seal, while Algonquians almost exclusively hunted harbour seal, suggesting that the abundances of these species could be as diagnostic as material culture styles in identifying the ethnicity of other sites in that region (St. Pierre 2006). Although harp seals are a seasonal resource, while harbour seals are found year-round, the two groups clearly exploited the same environment in distinct ways (St. Pierre 2006). These results suggest that environmental conditions and settlement patterns are not the only factors in varying subsistence strategies. They also emphasize the highly contextual nature of ethnic affiliation in zooarchaeological analyses.

1.4 Summary

The Snooks Cove Archaeology Project presents an opportunity to demonstrate the use of animal remains in the interpretation of more theoretical concepts used in other

areas of archaeology, such as the long-term processes of colonialism, hybridization, and themes of continuity and change in Inuit ethnicity. This thesis will not only contribute to the understanding of 19th- and 20th-century Labrador, but can also serve as an example for the use of zooarchaeology as a valid approach for understanding ethnicity and culture change. By comparing the findings from Snooks Cove to sites around Labrador, zooarchaeology can support interpretation of the diverse and contextual ways the Inuit responded to an increasingly permanent European presence throughout Labrador.

The Inuit of Snooks Cove were in an advantageous position because they were not directly influenced by the presence of a Moravian mission station, which were concentrated further north, nor did they have to contend with the large-scale trading and fishing settlements that had been established along the southern coast since the 17th century. The wealth of extant data for the significance of this site — from specific missionary and Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter HBC) documents to paleoenvironmental and archaeological data — creates a new avenue for employing new directions in archaeological theory (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 1999, 2003; Woollett et al. 2000). Analysis of the faunal remains recovered at Snooks Cove will provide a glimpse at how the Inuit responded to new economic and social opportunities provided by contact with Europeans from the late 18th through to the 20th century. A diachronic perspective will also be useful in explaining the manner in which the Inuit controlled adaptations made to their own lifeways in response to the increasingly permanent European presence. By comparing these faunal assemblages to other known Inuit, mixed ethnicity, and Europeans sites, a pattern of Inuit animal use can be revealed.

Chapter 2: Environmental Context

This chapter situates the Snooks Cove site in its greater physical context by providing information about its geographic location within the cove, as well as within the environment of Hamilton Inlet and central southern Labrador. It will also summarize the habitat and behaviours of the significant animal resources found in this environment.

2.1 Site Location

Snooks Cove is situated approximately 15 km southwest of the town of Rigolet on the northern shore of the Narrows in the Hamilton Inlet region of Labrador (see Figure 2.1). Hamilton Inlet is about 240km long, ranging from Lake Melville in the west, to Groswater Bay (historically called Esquimeaux Bay or Ivuktoke Bay) in the east, where it opens into the Labrador Sea (Fitzhugh 1972:15). The Narrows section itself is 35km long, and in some places only 2km across (Woollett 2003:210). Snooks Cove faces east with a view of Henrietta Island (known locally as the Big Island), which divides the waterway into two channels. It is also in close proximity to Eskimo Island, an island with great significance to the archaeology of Inuit settlement in southern Labrador (Fitzhugh 1968; Jordan 1974, 1977; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983). Surrounding the Narrows is Double Mer, a long narrow fjord stretching westward from Rigolet for about 80km, and Back Bay, which extends about 35km east of Henrietta Island (Ames 1977:Map 108; Woollett 2003:211).

The archaeological site at Snooks Cove (GaBp-7) is located on the western shoreline along a grassy clearing at the edge of dense forest. It is just south of a swampy

area at the opening of a small creek in the western end of the cove. Strong and fluctuating tides alter the shoreline here, exposing a long sandy beach with large boulders at low tide. One modern cabin exists on this shore, and multiple other cabins are located on the northern side near the mouth of the cove.

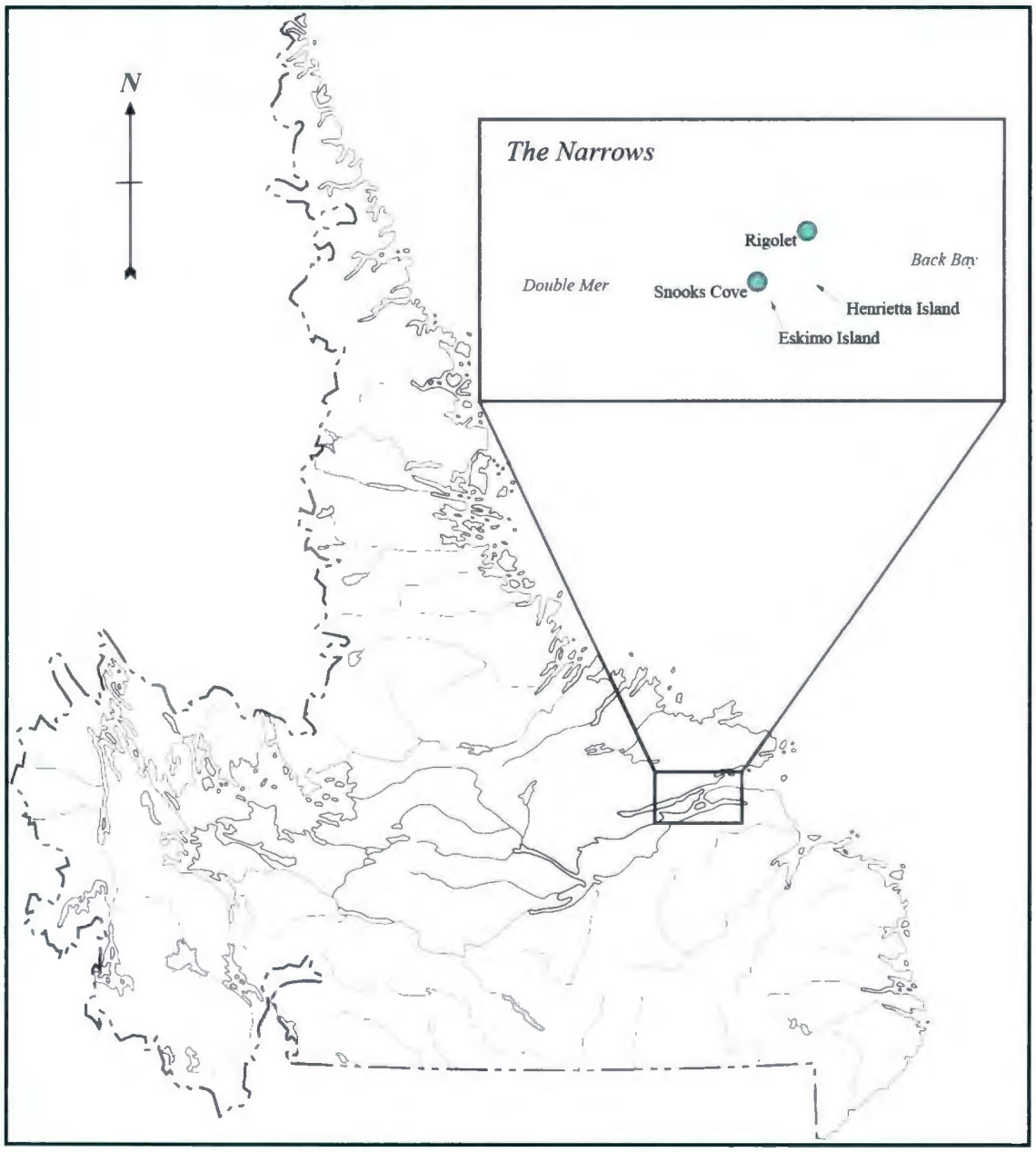

Figure 2.1 Map of Labrador showing study area (adapted from Atlas Canada).

2.2 Geography and Landscape

Labrador is considered a transitional zone from arctic to subarctic climates. The physical geography of the Hamilton Inlet region is described as an ecotone between tundra vegetation and boreal zones (Woollett 2003:85). Birch, poplar, and aspen stands are interspersed with spruce forests that densely cover the valleys, but have more sparse distributions on the hills, which can reach up to several hundred metres in elevation (Ames 1977:297; Kaplan 1983:111). Lichens and low-lying shrubs cover the Benedict Mountains (up to 1000m asl) to the north of Hamilton Inlet, and the snow-capped Mealy Mountains (up to 1100m asl) to the south (Fitzhugh 1972; Kaplan 1983:111, 113; Woollett 2003:91). Hamilton Inlet is also the southernmost limit of permafrost in Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972:19).

This protected coastal landscape's "direct link with the sea provides a continuous navigable waterway" (Fitzhugh 1972:15). There are also many accessible freshwater systems throughout the surrounding landscape that feed into Lake Melville. The waters of the Narrows have especially high biological production due to the mixing of marine and fresh water (Fitzhugh 1972:18). This unique geographic region allows for year-round ice-free waters and the formation of polynyas (open areas of water at the floe edge) due to the strong tides that move through Groswater Bay into the stratified estuary of Lake Melville (Ames 1977; Fitzhugh 1972; Kaplan 1983; Woollett 1999).

Sea ice is a critical aspect of the ecosystem in Hamilton Inlet. There are many large polynyas that form around Henrietta Island, Eskimo Island, and in the areas east of

Rigolet at the southern end of Groswater Bay — under moderate ice conditions these can result in an area of about 60km of ice-free water (Kaplan 1983:375; Woollett 2003). These polynyas also attract a variety of fauna. The severity of the ice formation in this region thus has a direct impact on the economic success of Inuit subsistence practices through the winter months.

2.3 Animal Resources

Labrador's rich landscape supports vast animal resources, which have been exploited by Inuit and European inhabitants of the region. In particular, the Hamilton Inlet ecosystem provides an optimal environment for human access to a range of fish, bird, and marine and terrestrial mammal species. There is a greater amount of biodiversity there than in anywhere in Labrador (Woollett 2003:216). Because of the pressures that exist when relying on highly seasonal food resources, the Inuit had to prioritize which resources were selected in a particular season based on individual needs and preference (Ames 1977:285).

2.3.1 Marine Mammals

Sea mammals, such as whales, walrus, and seals, were typically the primary food source for the Inuit. Minke, humpback, bowhead and right whales were traditionally of great importance to the Inuit for food, materials, and community structure. They were hunted by umiak or kayak on open water in Hamilton Inlet in late autumn (Kaplan 1983:190). Europeans also had an interest in whaling as early as the 16th century in southern Labrador. However, the whale economy, along with walrus hunting, was largely

diminished by the 19th century, likely due to over-exploitation by European whalers across Labrador (Kaplan 1985; Woollett 2003:55). This decline, whether due to resource depletion or environmental factors, is evident in Moravian accounts and the archaeological record, and also coincides with a transition from large sea-mammal hunting towards a greater reliance on seals, caribou, fish, and trapping (Kaplan 1980: 652).

There are five species of seal that can be found around Hamilton Inlet, either perennially or during their seasonal migrations: ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*), harbour seal (*Phoca vitulina*), harp seal (*Phoca groenlandica*), bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*), and grey seal (*Halichoerus grypus*). Seals can be hunted year-round and have a fundamental role in Inuit lifeways as a resource for human and dog food, clothing and boots, boat covers, and trade items (Ames 1977; Brice-Bennett 1977; Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003). Both bearded and grey seals are significantly larger species, staying mainly in the mouth of Groswater Bay, and have not historically been significant to residents of the Narrows (Woollett 2003:224–225).

Ringed seals, or jar seals, are the most widespread in this area and are year-round residents of Hamilton Inlet (Ames 1977:279; Kaplan 1983:88). They are hunted in open waters in the summer and autumn, and through breathing holes in the stable fast ice during the winter (Ames 1977; Woollett 1999, 2003). Adult males weigh up to 113kg and are about 136cm long, while females can be 111kg and 132cm long (Frost and Lowry 1981:38–39).

Harbour seals, also called ranger seals, are not ice-loving like ringed seals, and are mostly present in the warmer seasons, but can be found in winter at the floe edge or around polynyas (Ames 1977:279; Kaplan 1983:82, 84). Adult males can weigh 135kg and be 154cm long, with females at 110kg and 143cm long (Banfield 1974:370; Katona et al. 1993:205).

Harp seals are the most common large mammal in Labrador and are one of the most important resources for the Inuit because of the amount that can be taken during any given hunt (Woollett 2003:189, 193). Adult males average 135kg and 190cm long, and females around 120kg and 183cm (Ronald and Haley 1981:60). They migrate along the coast from northerly arctic waters with the advance of fast ice in September and its retreat in May, with the most successful hunt occurring in autumn, due to the seals' plump size and the necessity of storing meat for the winter (Woollett 1999:376, 2003:189–191).

2.3.2 Terrestrial Mammals

Terrestrial mammals have always been a dominant feature of the landscape in Hamilton Inlet. Caribou, black bears, fur-bearers, and other small carnivores and rodents contributed greatly to the subsistence and economic practices of the Inuit and European settlers. These were critical resources for food, furs, and bone.

There are two main populations of caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*) in Labrador: the barren ground caribou in the north, and the eastern woodland caribou in the south (Harper 1961). Specific herds frequent the Mealy Mountains in the south, spending winters in the interior, occasionally crossing sea ice to occupy Henrietta Island and the Double Mer

region, then migrating to the coast in spring to calve (Ames 1977). Inuit caribou hunting was a communal effort and was most commonly done in the late summer and autumn (Taylor 1974:48).

Important fur-bearing mammals included lynx, wolverine, beaver, fox, and members of the mustelid family, such as otter and marten, which were especially valuable in the fur trade (Hantzsch 1932). Both red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) and arctic fox (*Alopex lagopus*) can be found in the Hamilton Inlet region. Red fox inhabit in inner bays and forests, while arctic fox are common in coastal and interior zones or on offshore islands (Kaplan 1983:100; Woollett 2003:164). Their winter pelts were particularly prized, and foxes were trapped and hunted intensively from the late 18th century up until the 1970s, but were not a major resource before then, and were only used for food in times of famine (Ames 1977; Brice-Bennett 1977:151; Cartwright 1792; Kaplan 1983; Williamson 1977). Rabbits and snowshoe hares are also abundant in wooded areas around Hamilton Inlet, as well as arctic hare in the tundra areas, and were hunted by the Inuit for food and furs (Ames 1977:289; Banfield 1974:82, 87; Williamson 1977:50).

Another smaller terrestrial mammal species abundant in most of southern Labrador is porcupine. Porcupine is quite a valuable secondary autumn and winter resource for the Inuit in Labrador (Ames 1977:285, 289). They are large solitary rodents that roam inland forests and rocky slopes, common in the Narrows region, and are hunted for their nutritious meat and desirable quills, used as personal adornment items (Ames 1977:289; Banfield 1974:216–19).

2.3.3 Birds

Hamilton Inlet is inhabited by an array of birds, including many permanently resident species and some migratory species. Some of the migratory birds that have been economically significant to the Inuit include common eiders, great black-backed gulls and herring gulls, murres, and geese. Birds are seasonally significant, hunted for their meat in spring and autumn, and their eggs were collected in spring (Ames 1977; Brice-Bennett 1977). Ptarmigans were also a significant resource for the Inuit because they could be easily captured year-round, and both willow ptarmigan (*Lagopus lagopus*) and rock ptarmigan (*Lagopus mutus*) are present in all ecozones of Labrador (Godfrey 1966; Woollett 2003:170–171).

2.3.4 Fish

Fishing has always been an essential part of life in Labrador, even before large-scale commercial enterprises were established. There are many species of fish present in Hamilton Inlet, including capelin, arctic char, and sculpin, but the salmon (Salmonidae) and cod (Gadidae) families are most significant to the Inuit.

Salmon, typically Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*), was the most significant species for the local fisheries in central and north-central Labrador, and is especially abundant in Groswater Bay, the Narrows, and eastern Lake Melville (Kaplan 1983:105; Woollett 2003:219). Salmon is most commonly netted along the bays and shores near their spawning rivers (Brice-Bennett 1977). Tinned pickled (salted) salmon was one of the primary products of the HBC in the 19th century (Ames 1977:280).

Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua*) gather in Hamilton Inlet in great numbers to spawn in late spring and feed in warm surface waters during the summer, but migrate to deeper waters off the coast for the winter months (Kaplan 1983:103). They have been known to be especially abundant around Groswater Bay and along the northern shore of the Inlet; however, Atlantic cod are not present in the Narrows, and historically, few people in the Rigolet region participated in the economic fishing of this species (Ames 1977:201, 301; Kindle 1924:38). During the trading post phase, cod was mainly caught for personal consumption, as it was not the most desirable fish for the commercial fishery and had little trade value (Ames 1977:281).

Chapter 3: Human Context

The past provides a subtext for the way people experience daily life. Exercising a theme of continuity and change requires an understanding of the long-term history of the Inuit and their Thule ancestors, which inherently influenced the undertones of life at Snooks Cove. The history of the Inuit in Labrador is a dynamic one — in order to interpret the pluralistic history from the late 18th century onwards, it is crucial to first understand the course of history that had previously shaped the cultural landscape.

3.1 The Thule/Inuit Adaptation in Labrador

The Inuit are descendents of the Thule, a Neoeskimo culture group who migrated from Siberia into North America, and eventually crossed the entire High Arctic, occupying Baffin Island and Greenland by the mid 13th century (Freisen and Arnold 2008; McGhee 2009; Ramsden and Rankin in press). They were a highly mobile hunter-gatherer people and are typically defined by a set of specialized cultural traits, including the use of a diverse marine-adapted toolkit for hunting large sea mammals on ice and open water, the construction of semi-subterranean winter sod houses with long entrance tunnels, and the use of umiaks, dogsleds, and kayaks for transportation (Mathiassen 1927; Maxwell 1985).

The end of the Classic Thule period around AD 1500 left distinct changes in the archaeological record, and signaled the emergence of the Inuit as a culture group as they began migrating into Labrador (Ramsden and Rankin in press:8–9). A recent review of the radiocarbon chronology has shed new light on the timing and possible motivations for

the Thule migration into Labrador. This research also suggests that it is difficult to discuss a pre-contact Thule/Inuit occupation in Labrador, since they arrived in Labrador after centuries of trade with the Norse in Greenland, and the initial migration south may well have been motivated by knowledge of new European material sources with the arrival of Basque and Dutch ships in southern Labrador (Ramsden and Rankin in press).

By the 16th century, the descendents of the original Thule inhabitants were well adapted to exploit the numerous resources of Labrador's various ecological zones. It was during that time when the first Europeans arrived to engage in intensive seasonal fishing and whaling operations along the coast of Labrador. The Inuit were also expanding their territorial range, reaching Sandwich Bay in southern Labrador by the late 15th century and continuing southwards (Ramsden and Rankin in press). Changes to traditional Neoeskimo culture occurred within a short period of time. It can be said that it is in fact the timing of migrations into Labrador and the regional specializations of the traditional seasonal round, as well as the use of European materials, which distinguishes Labrador Inuit culture from other Neoeskimo groups across the Arctic (McGhee 1994; Woollett 2003:50).

The change in terminology from Thule to Inuit refers to the cultural changes experienced at the time of European contact, and reflects the desire for the Inuit to use a name of their own (Brewster 2005:19). Since this thesis deals with a period of change well after the Thule-Inuit transition, the term Inuit will refer to those groups living in Labrador after the original generations of Thule settlers. The contemporary populations from Hamilton Inlet and the south coast consist of people who self-identify as Inuit, Inuit-

Metis, or the Southern Labrador Inuit. Some of these terms reflect recent socio-economic and political movements that have emerged due to the growing interest in the shared history of Inuit and Europeans in Labrador (Rankin 2010:222). For example, the Inuit-Metis became a distinct cultural group during the later Contact Period, when British settlers began to marry Inuit women (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010). However, as more research has been undertaken to understand the settlement of Inuit in southern Labrador, the local terminology has very recently changed from Labrador Inuit-Metis to NunatuKavut, or the Southern Labrador Inuit (NunatuKavut 2010).

3.2 Inuit Seasonal Round and Settlement Patterns

Although the Labrador Inuit retained certain aspects of their Thule ancestors' lifeways after entering Labrador, such as a marine-specialized subsistence economy and the construction of winter sod houses, cultural changes did occur. These changes were most prominent in their settlement patterns, as the Inuit began inhabiting the various environmental zones of Labrador. Labrador Inuit can be thought of as semi-nomadic, rather than highly mobile. They followed a seasonal round that took advantage of the available resources between interior and coastal zones, typically returning to the same winter and summer locations each year (Kaplan 1983; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Schledermann 1971; Stopp 2002; Woollett 1999, 2003). The seasonal round had slight variations due to latitudinal differences in ecological zones and animal resources across Labrador; therefore, the pattern described here will be generalized to that of the central coast Hamilton Inlet region (see Kaplan 1983 for comparison of regional seasonal rounds).

The seasons in Labrador can be defined based on the freeze and thaw of ice and the extent of snow cover. Even in southern regions of Labrador, summer is short, beginning around late June with the clearing of snow cover and lasting until the freeze in October (Ames 1977:279). During this time, Inuit families would gather together and move to their summer homes located in coastal bay areas. These dwellings were temporary seasonal constructions made from a large skin tent weighted down at the ends by large rocks. The late spring and summer subsistence economy was concentrated on hunting seals on the open water and fishing, especially for salmon (Brice-Bennett 1977:132; Fitzhugh 1972; Kaplan 1983). From August until late October, caribou hunting parties would move back inland to follow the large herds (Kaplan 1983). This was also a time for hunting migratory birds, gathering a variety of berries, and intensive cod fishing (Brice-Bennett 1977; Kaplan 1983).

The dropping temperatures in late autumn meant a return to the winter sod house. These winter dwellings were typically located in sheltered island areas, further away from the open ocean (Fitzhugh 1972; Kaplan 1983). Seals continued to be taken throughout the winter season, as hunters would make excursions to hunt seals from breathing holes or at the ice edge (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003). These, along with other sea mammals would be the staple food supply until the spring thaw. Secondary resources could also be found if seal and caribou yields were low, since ptarmigan and small mammals were prevalent all winter, and cod could be fished through the ice (Brice-Bennett 1977; Ames 1977). Fur-bearing mammals like foxes and mustelids were hunted in late autumn, as their coats were most desirable in preparation for winter. Once the sea ice began to melt again, the

Inuit would have a plethora of bird, fish, and mammal species to hunt. Shellfish, particularly mussels, were also an important supplementary resource.

Sod house architecture changed greatly throughout the Contact Period. Until the 19th century most are instantly recognizable by the Thule-style semi-subterranean construction having a rounded lobe shape with an extended entrance tunnel, using sod, timber, and/or whalebone for supports (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 1999:371). Interiors had raised sleeping platforms, paved flagstone flooring, and a lamp stand or hearth. Before the 17th century, most sod houses were relatively small single-family dwellings consisting of a single lobed structure with one rear sleeping platform (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 1999). This changed at the beginning of the 18th century when house forms became significantly larger to sustain numerous families, and often had more than one lobe or interior area, with multiple sleeping platforms sharing one entrance tunnel (Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971; Taylor 1974; Woollett 1999). Many arguments for both social (eg. Jordan 1974, 1977; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Taylor 1974, 1985; Whitridge 2008) and environmental factors (eg. Richling 1993; Schledermann 1976a, 1976b) have been made to explain why this shift occurred. Woollett (1999, 2003) has noted that environmental conditions throughout Labrador were not severe enough to support the argument that resource stress led to the adoption of food sharing within the household at this scale, so it is more likely that the move to communal houses was related to a combination of social and cultural shifts.

By the 19th century the communal house was largely abandoned across Labrador in favour of single-family dwellings or European style homes (Kaplan 1983;

Schledermann 1971). The location of Inuit settlements during this period also changed as families began to cluster near the Moravian mission stations and HBC trading posts, to satisfy the social and economic needs of both the Inuit and Europeans (Schledermann 1971). Changes to Inuit material culture from the 17th to 19th centuries were greatly influenced by the availability of trade goods from the various European cultures they encountered throughout this period. In the early Contact Period, the Inuit often acquired these materials by scavenging or raiding, but by the late 18th century, the European presence became more permanent and the Inuit had established successful trade relations with various European groups (Jordan 1977; Kaplan 1983). These items were rapidly incorporated into the Inuit lifeways, often by reusing the newly available materials to create traditional objects, such as hammering iron into ulu blades (Jordan 1978; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971).

3.3 European Expansion and Settlement in Labrador

There were many influential European groups that the Inuit had sustained interaction with between the 16th and 19th century. Historical records indicate that Europeans were aware of the Inuit in southern Labrador by the 16th century, and it is possible that the southward Inuit expansion through Labrador was directed towards the acquisition of European materials (Rankin et al. 2012; Stopp 2002). If this was the case, Inuit movements and decisions to occupy specific regions were highly informed, intentional, and economically driven by the desire to access both traditional and trade resources. The dynamics between major European groups — Dutch, Basque, and French whalers and fishermen; British fishermen, trappers and traders; and Moravian

missionaries — contributed to a pluralistic contact situation across Labrador that played a role in shaping the nature of the Inuit response to their varied cultural interactions.

Minimal contact occurred between Inuit groups and early Dutch expeditions. Basque whalers were among the first Europeans to seasonally visit the Labrador coast. During the 16th century they generally had limited or hostile contact with the Inuit and did not establish a lasting presence in Labrador beyond the early 17th century (Kaplan 1983:159–161; Tuck 1985). The 17th century saw more diverse and intensified European activity in Labrador, however, no attempts were made to settle until the French initiatives of the 18th century. The nature of Inuit and settler interactions ranged from unfriendly to peaceful, but usually with a sense of wariness, leading to the construction of multiple European fortifications by the mid 18th century (Gosling 1910; Kaplan 1983; Trudel 1978; Zimmerly 1975). With the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, French fishermen were permitted to occupy the southern coast of Labrador for shore-based fishing endeavours. These valuable locations were also important sealing grounds, and the intensity of French settlement led to competition, and often conflicts, with the Inuit, despite them maintaining a mutually profitable trade relationship (Auger 1991; Kaplan 1983; Trudel 1978; Zimmerly 1975). The French and British were also in conflict over territorial rights to Labrador and across Canada. By the mid 18th century, their war overseas culminated in the Treaty of Paris in 1763, ceding Labrador to the British.

After a brief period prohibiting shore-based settlement, the British focused their trading settlements along the shores of Hamilton Inlet and southward down the coast. Newfoundland Governor Hugh Palliser signed the Labrador Peace Treaty with the Inuit in

1765 in order to cease hostilities in the south and establish good contacts with the Inuit (Kaplan 1985:169; Zimmerly 1975:50). The British later permitted Moravian Missionaries to establish the Nain mission station in 1771, in attempt to relocate many Inuit to the north and prevent them from interfering with the cod fishery (Kaplan 1983:169–171, 184; Kleivan 1966:24–5; Taylor 1983:6; Rankin et al. 2012:3; Stopp 2002:77). Small settler communities also began dotting the landscape of southern Labrador at this time. Independent traders and entrepreneurs, like Captain George Cartwright, had established themselves in southern-central Labrador long before the arrival of the HBC in 1831.

These British men integrated themselves into local society fairly quickly, and by the late 18th century were marrying Inuit women and forming permanent mixed ethnicity settlements (Beaudoin 2008:17–18; Kennedy 1995). Kaplan (1983:367) mentions Inuit women in Hamilton Inlet were readily interacting with independent traders and fishermen, and occasionally marrying French settlers. However, it is not until the 19th century, during the British occupation of Labrador, that the Inuit-Metis become a distinct group (Beaudoin 2008:18). The role of Inuit women in these households is one that has yet to be fully explored; however, it is believed that they were conduits through which certain aspects of their traditional Inuit culture were retained and passed on through generations (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Rankin in press). These women used their traditional knowledge to adapt European items, such as ceramic vessels, clothing, wood stoves, and glass beads, to their needs (Beaudoin 2008, Cabak 1991). It is also possible that they replaced the traditional role of middleman trader by maintaining

economic relations between the Inuit and Europeans, selecting for specific trade goods, as well as simultaneously permitting British settlement to take on a successful permanency in central and southern Labrador (Beaudoin 2008; Cabak 1991; Rankin in press:10; Rankin et al. 2012).

The Moravian missionaries began visiting Labrador in 1752, and after the mission in Nain, they established other stations between 1776 and 1904 at Okak, Hopedale, Hebron, Zoar, Ramah, Makkovik, and Killinek (Kaplan 1983:172; Kennedy 1985:266). The Moravians' primary goal was to civilize and convert the Inuit. While certain practices deemed indecent were discouraged, they did encourage the retention of certain aspects of traditional Inuit culture, such as dress, language, and subsistence (Kleivan 1966; Kennedy 1997). Many Inuit that were encouraged to live on these northern stations still traded in the south, especially during the late 18th century, until Moravians provided access to firearms (Kaplan 1985:171; Rollmann 2011).

There is no doubt, however, that the Moravian's efforts permanently altered Inuit economy, settlement pattern, social organization, and material culture (Kaplan 1983:173; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Rollmann 2010). The missions became the foci for Inuit settlement north of Hamilton Inlet, and the readily available European hunting and fishing technology and household items they provided meant that the Inuit became reliant on a competitive goods-based economy. The ability to travel to ideal seasonal resource-gathering locations was slowly extinguished, impacting the traditional subsistence patterns and community dynamics. This shift in settlement resulted in "the adoption of a new kind of economic and social life which took the form of a settled community" (Hiller

1971:87). This schism in the Inuit population often resulted in the isolation of local groups where loyalties were divided to specific European establishments, rather than to traditional settlement patterns and communities (Kaplan 1983:5).

3.4 Settlement in Hamilton Inlet

The earliest, and largest, archaeologically known Inuit site in Hamilton Inlet is Eskimo Island 3, occupied as early as the 16th century (Jordan 1977). This may represent the first period of Inuit occupation in the region; however, the absence of any earlier structures may simply be due to a lack of archaeological survey and excavation. It is possible that further archaeological work would reveal other early sites in Hamilton Inlet, given the continuous movement of Inuit throughout Labrador and the presence of earlier sites found further south (Auger 1991; Brewster 2005; Rankin 2004, 2006; Rankin et al. 2012; Stopp 2002). In the same way that the Inuit may have originally travelled into Labrador with the intention of engaging in trade with Europeans, they may have also travelled within Labrador for the same reasons (Ramsden and Rankin in press). Eskimo Island 3 has four small sod houses resembling Thule construction, all containing late 16th- to early 17th-century Basque materials, and was interpreted as being occupied during a period of initial contact and trade between the Inuit and Europeans (Kaplan 1983:425). Eskimo Island continued to be occupied intensively through the 18th century until the mid 19th century (Kaplan 1983:410–426; Woollett 2003:256–272).

In 1743 Frenchman Louis Fornel traveled into Hamilton Inlet, leaving two men to over-winter there, and established a trading post at North West River (Kaplan 1983:166).

While the French were typically hesitant to make forays to the interior regions of Labrador, it is recorded that some individuals were living in Hamilton Inlet near Inuit settlements by the mid 1700s (Kaplan 1983:165, 168). However, British settlers William Phippard and John Newhook are the first known independent trappers who lived year-round in this region beginning in the 1780s (Goudie 1973:ix; Young 1916:11; Zimmerly 1975:52–59).

Snooks Cove enters the historical record in the accounts of French-Canadian trader Pierre Marcoux doing business with the Inuit there after 1788, at which time a post owned by Slade & Company was also operating in the cove (Blake 2010:7; Fitzhugh 1999:315). By the mid 1800s, Moravian and Methodist records tell of numerous Inuit families living in the Rigolet area, observed during excursions to scout locations for a potential Moravian mission station (Rollmann 2010). One account of a Moravian exploration into the area in 1857 noted seven to ten Inuit families living in Snooks Cove and trading with The Hunt & Henley Company (Rollmann 2010:16). Angus Brownson was operating the post in Snooks Cove at this time and had also constructed a cemetery and manse there (Rollmann 2010:16). Hunt & Henley had established themselves in Labrador around 1830 by buying out an existing post in Temple Bay in the Straight of Belle Isle, and in 1836 obtained rights to Captain George Cartwright's posts in Sandwich Bay — it quickly became the largest firm in Southern Labrador, and the main competitor of the HBC (Fitzhugh 1999:140, 465; Jordan 1974:8; Kaplan 1983:181; Kennedy 1995:99). They specialized in preserving salmon, but also had sealing posts (Fitzhugh

1999:140). No date could be found for when they began operating in Snooks Cove, but it likely coincides with their expansion north to Sandwich Bay after 1836.

By 1848, HBC posts were established at North West River, Rigolet, Kibokok, Nascapi and Mishikimo. Snooks Cove had quickly become a prominent sealing, salmon fishing, and furring business, attracting the attention of the HBC, who purchased the post in 1865 (Kaplan 1983:423). Eventually the HBC took ownership of all other posts and Moravian stores in Labrador, successfully monopolizing business until the 20th century (Kaplan 1983). Posts at Kennemish, Rigolet and Snooks Cove were established specifically for preserving salmon, and in 1873 they exported a total of 33,000 tins (Heritage Newfoundland 2000). This industry was so intensive in Hamilton Inlet that many of the salmon berths around Rigolet were only available to local Inuit fishermen under the condition that they be shared with the HBC (Ames 1977:281).

The HBC sought to employ local people, as they believed that the more independent the Inuit were, the better their trade relationship would be (Kaplan 1983:184). Those Inuit who traded in fox fur, seal skin, and fish had a lucrative business deal, but those who only participated occasionally, or simultaneously traded with the Moravians, were denied certain privileges of the trader lifestyle, such as credit advances and rare commodities (Kaplan 1983:183–4). Amicable relations between the Inuit and the British resulted in the beginnings of inter-marriage between these settlers and the local Inuit women. This was common in Hamilton Inlet and along the southern coast of Labrador, significantly altering the social organization and historical trajectories of these

locales in ways different from communities further north or south (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Pritchard 2010; Rankin in press; Rankin et al. 2012).

The Inuit are recorded by Moravian missionary Elsner as leaving Snooks Cove in late spring to move temporarily further south, indicating that the people of the Narrows were somewhat mobile, and still had Inuit contacts in both the north and south (Rollmann 2010:17). Around the early 1900s, the focus of Inuit settlement had shifted away from Snooks Cove to the adjacent cove Karawalla; at the same time, the Moravians ceased attempts to create a mission in Hamilton Inlet, turning their attentions to the far north (Rollmann 2010:18).

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

The archaeological site of Snooks Cove was first located as part of a survey of Inuit sites in Hamilton Inlet conducted by Richard Jordan between 1972 and 1975. This survey revealed the location of two structures — House 1 and 2 — with a posited simultaneous occupation dating from the early to the late 19th century (see Figure 4.1). Jordan was not able to determine whether Snooks Cove was occupied by Inuit families using European goods, by Europeans who adopted Inuit ways of living, or by a mixed ethnicity household, since there was also a trading post at the site (Kaplan 1983:431). Any of these interpretations was possible, given the period of occupation. Despite this potential ambiguity, Jordan still considered it a 19th-century Inuit site, and it has been regarded as such in subsequent studies of the contact period in Labrador. Further investigations into the historical record and the results of recent excavation have confirmed that these houses were indeed occupied by Inuit families throughout the 19th century (Rollmann 2010).

4.1 Previous Excavation Results

Small-scale excavation was completed at Snooks Cove as part of a broader research survey project in the mid 1970s. Jordan noted the presence of two sod houses, a trading post, and a modern salmon fishing camp (Kaplan 1983:426). House 1 was measured from the surface, revealing a rectangular structure with a raised rear sleeping platform and short entrance tunnel. Test pits were placed in the middens adjacent to the entrance passage, revealing a piece of clear glazed earthenware with drilled repair holes, a

lead cod jig, an iron hinge, two kaolin pipe bowls, and window and bottle glass (Kaplan 1983:426).

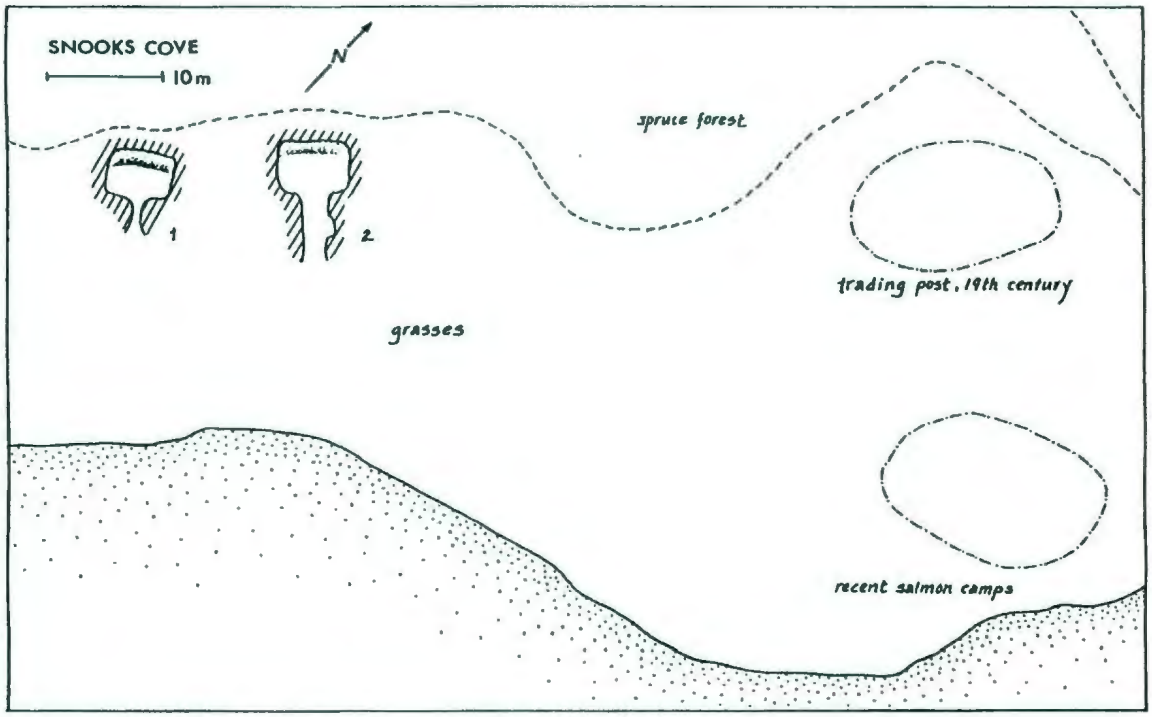

Figure 4.1 Jordan's excavation of Snooks Cove (Kaplan 1983:427).

House 2 was also a rectangular structure with a raised platform, but it had a longer entrance passage and no paved floor was identified. Most of this house was excavated, revealing a shallow deposit with numerous European ceramics, glass beads, nails and various lead and metal artifacts, as well as diagnostic Inuit artifacts, such as a whalebone sled runner (Kaplan 1983:430).

4.2 Recent Excavation

As a collaborative research initiative with MUN doctoral student Brian Pritchard, excavation for my thesis work at Snooks Cove took place in July and August of 2009

with a crew of three other MUN students: Josh Keddy (MA Candidate), and undergraduates Pat Lavigne and Lori Williams. Over the course of eight weeks, over 100 one meter square units were excavated from two adjacent houses and their associated middens, yielding thousands of artifacts and faunal material.

Upon arrival at Snooks Cove, a visual survey of the site was conducted along the eastern shore of the cove, and into the tree line behind a modern cabin, belonging to Ray and Stella Williams. Mr. Williams indicated to us the various surface features he knew of on his property, as well as the location of a *qulliq* (an Inuit soapstone lamp) he had previously found. Two structures with surface shapes resembling sod houses — having keyhole shaped raised walls with a sunken interior — were located between the shore and tree line west of the Williams' cabin (see Figure 4.2). There was also a square formation of raised walls emerging from the southwest wall of their cabin, suggesting that an old settler-style building, perhaps the trading post, was located under the modern foundation.

Two test pits were dug in the southeast end of the more easterly house, which was the area most likely to be a midden. Three more test pits were added here, forming a trench across the southern end of the entrance passage. This trench later aligned perpendicularly to the excavation. Materials discovered from these test pits indicated that the structure was likely a historic Inuit house. It was determined that these two large house-like structures would be the focus of full-scale excavation. Later it was noted that these houses turned out to be the same as those previously identified by Jordan, but were re-designated as House 3 and 4 (Jordan's House 1 and 2 respectively), based on the order of possible structures surveyed on the property. From here on in, this thesis will refer to

them as House 3 and House 4 in order to accommodate the data. A separate grid was set up over each house, with one datum for each house placed in the northeast corners. Both houses were oriented in the same direction, with the long axis aligned southeast to northwest from the entranceway to the rear wall.

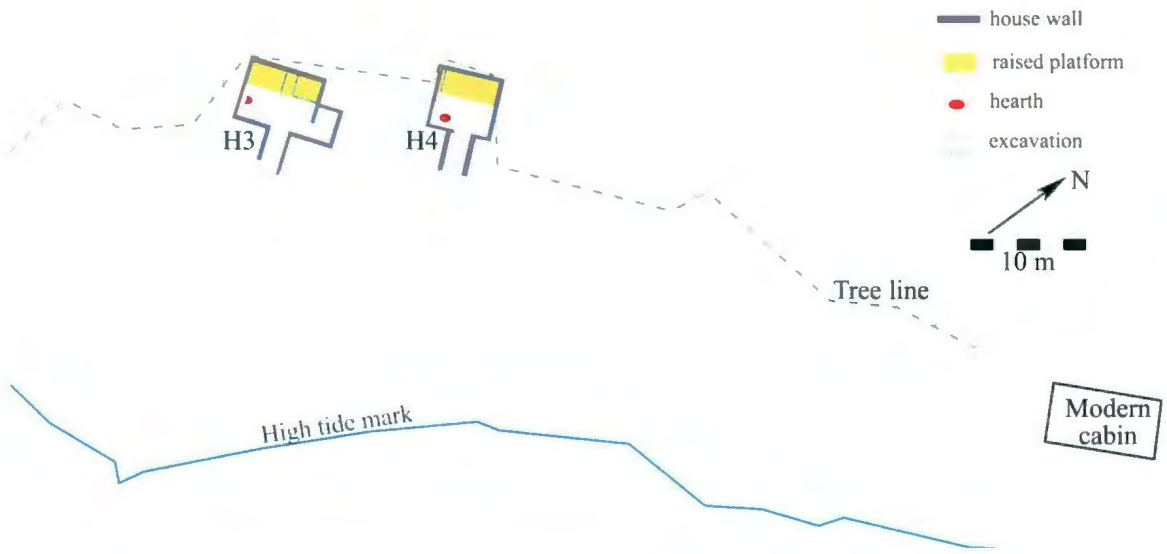

Figure 4.2 Snooks Cove site map (courtesy of Peter Ramsden).

Inuit sod houses typically accumulate one or more middens within a small radius of the doorway (Auger 1989; Woollett 2003). In order to ensure a good collection of faunal material for my research, middens were prioritized at the start of the excavation. The exterior area of the east wall of House 3 was opened first, and preliminary test pits from House 4 also had midden deposits. All midden samples yielded a high amount of faunal material, so the next stage of excavation was to uncover as much of the interior and architectural features as possible. Faunal material was still found to a lesser extent in all areas of both houses.

The grid was expanded as needed, opening as much of the interior, walls and house features as possible. House 4 was almost completely excavated, while House 3 had some interior areas that remained unexcavated due to time constraints. Once the surface sod was removed (Level 0), subsequent levels were dug down in arbitrary 10cm increments. In many cases, levels were exposed 5cm at a time in each unit quadrant, as it was necessary to anticipate the changing soil profile in the shallow nature of the deposits. In most units, the house floor was found in less than 50 cm below the surface. No faunal material was found deeper than this level. Most of the levels below the surface were loamy with grey sand and various sized rocks. Lenses of darker organic soil would appear between such sandy levels. No archaeological material was found deeper than Level 3 in any unit. Once the loose rocky orange subsoil was reached, the unit was not taken any deeper below the house floor. All excavated soil was screened though a one quarter inch mesh to collect all possible artifacts and faunal material. Upon completion of the field season, all excavations were backfilled with soil and sod.

Mapping of the site was done by hand until the final week of excavation, when a total station was used to record the location of the houses as well as the surrounding geography. Soil profile drawings recorded the levels of the south and east wall construction in House 3, and the change in the east wall in House 4. Specific artifacts, features, rocks and changing soil types were measured in using a line level from the datum in order to obtain an accurate depth below the surface.

4.3 Results of Excavation

4.3.1 House 3

As House 3 excavation progressed it became increasingly obvious that it was not in fact a traditional sod house as we had been anticipating based on its surface appearance. Nor was House 3 likely to be contemporaneous with House 4, as suggested by Jordan's test pit analysis. The main body of the house was wider on the east-west axis than it was long, and it did not appear to have been a true semi-subterranean structure. The first units in House 3 went along the south ridge from the southeast corner. These contained significant amounts of log remains directly on the occupation layer. A wall had been built up from this log using a sand matrix and large rocks, which had been visible from the surface. There was partial stone flooring in the southwestern area around the hearth, which consisted of a circle of hardened clay inside a ring of metal. Mr. Williams later told us these were used as hearths upon which a wood stove would have been placed. A sandy midden area was found external to the east wall, surrounded by a low sandy wall. These units yielded significantly fragmented midden materials, including bone, broken ceramics, and glass. Despite these modern features, there were clear indicators of an Inuit influence in the house construction — a raised platform was evident along the rear wall of the house, and an entrance passage was clearly built up from the doorway. The overall orientation and internal organization was almost identical to that in House 4, typical of a traditional sod house.

4.3.2 House 4

The inside of House 4 was noticeably sunken, about 40 to 50cm, from the surface of the earth and sod walls, which were slumped inwards. The house was very long north to south, especially the entrance passage, which extended 6.5m from the doorway. This length may be due to the presence of an exterior space similar to a *vorhaus*, or forehouse, which various Moravian documents have noted as being present in mid 19th-century Inuit house architecture in northern Labrador (Rollmann 2010, Rollmann and Rankin personal communication). A noticeable step down from the house floor to the entrance passage suggests a cold trap style entrance was built into the doorway, which was identified also by the presence of metal hardware. The interior of House 4 was fully excavated to reveal a raised rear platform with a wood plank running underneath it. Planks were also found within each of the four walls. Flagstone was evident in some areas of the interior floor space, and a large rectangular stone hearth was uncovered in the southwest corner of the house.

4.3.3 Material Culture

A brief overview of the artifacts found is given here as a way to demonstrate the nature and timeline of occupation at Snooks Cove. The assemblages include a range of typical historic materials, such as kaolin pipe and ceramic fragments, window and bottle glass, beads, and various iron, lead, and metal objects. There are also many traditional Inuit materials present like soapstone, worked bone, and wood objects. Cod jiggers and fishhooks are present in both houses, as well as an abundance of firearms-related

material, including gunflints and bullet casings. Lead shot was also identified in both houses in equal numbers, however the catalogue does not specify the type or variety (e.g. bird shot). The only identifiable piece of a metal trap was found in House 3. Other interesting objects unique to House 3 are an axe head, a jaw harp, a mooring anchor, the foot from a wood stove, a full rifle barrel, a sundial, and a whetstone. House 4 had a door latch found in situ, a domino, a harpoon head, a thimble, and a large piece of whalebone found in the south end of the entrance tunnel wall. The assemblages are similar in many of the artifact types found, with differences mainly in the style, decoration, or material used. These differences provide a basis on which to approximate a date of occupation for each house. Further identification and interpretation will be provided in Brian Pritchard's forthcoming doctoral dissertation.

4.4 Dating

Estimated date ranges have been given for the occupation of each house at Snooks Cove based on the preliminary analysis of the artifacts recovered. Many European artifacts that appear in archaeological Inuit assemblages in Labrador have narrow date ranges based on their time of production or popularity (see Brauner 2000). The presence of specific modern objects and European artifacts at House 3 contribute to an estimated date of occupation from the 1860s to 1940. These include date-specific types of ammunition like shotgun shells and bullet casings, as well as kaolin pipe designs and ceramic wares. These all indicate that House 4 had an occupation between the 1790s and 1870s.

Two samples of caribou bone were sent to Beta Analytic Inc. for radiocarbon dating. Bone collagen was extracted and the results are presented as a conventional radiocarbon age and at a 2-sigma calibrated calendar age. Sample 1 (Beta-289148) from House 4, taken from Level 2 of the west wall beside the hearth, returned a result of 20±30BP, calibrated to AD 1960. Sample 2 (Beta-289149) from House 3, taken from Level 1 of the entranceway, returned a result of 180±40BP, calibrated to AD 1710 to 1880. Given the confidence in the range of dates determined from the artifact assemblages, these radiocarbon ages do not match the evidence from artifact production dates. The recent nature of the deposits at Snooks Cove, and the constraints of radiocarbon dating this time period, resulted in this data being uninformative in determining any dates of occupation.

4.5 Faunal Assemblages

Upon completion of the field season, all faunal remains were returned to MUN where I began a preliminary sorting of the material, separating test pits and ambiguous proveniences from the material that could be strongly identified with either House 3 or 4. A sample of bones were taken to the Canadian Museum of Nature's Natural Heritage Building in Aylmer, Quebec, to begin the identification of a range of material using their extensive osteological reference collection. Most of my total assemblage was identified using the small reference collection at MUN and the use of published osteology resources (Cannon 1987; Gilbert 1990; Gilbert et al. 1996; Hodgetts 1999).

The assemblages from both houses were separated so that all of the material from levels below the surface (Levels 1–3) could be identified first, as they were more likely to be within the sealed context. Even though the majority of material came from just below the sod, much of it was discounted due to the possibility of contamination resulting from inter-mixing of materials from House 3 and 4.

Methodological choices made during the excavation of House 3 resulted in some units from midden areas having a provenience Layer 0/1, meaning that the faunal material from the sod and the first 10 cm below sod were excavated as one layer. This level, including any potentially intrusive surface finds, is necessarily included in the analysis because it contained 65% of all faunal material recovered from House 3. Without this material, the sample from House 3 would be significantly smaller. Considering the relatively shallow depth of the site's deposits, Layer 0/1 needs to be included. Units S7W1 and S7W2 were also excavated at the same time, being midden units exterior to the west wall of the entrance, meaning that the faunal material recovered from these units are given one provenience. Distribution patterns are likely further affected by the fact that the house interior and parts of the walls would have been slightly subterranean in construction, therefore creating a deeper starting point for accumulation, compared to the exterior areas accumulating on the natural ground surface. In fact, the only faunal remains from Layer 0/1 was outside of the house walls.

Fauna from test pits and any proveniences not directly associated with either house grid were not used in the current analysis. Bones recovered from the house interiors and deeper levels or the middens are most likely undisturbed and allow for more

confident comparisons between the houses. The only possibility of interior disturbance comes from Jordan's earlier excavation, however his sampling was limited, and with such a short occupation, there would be no reason to consider disrupted temporal accumulation.

A database was created to record the basic criteria for cataloguing faunal remains including, provenience, lowest possible taxonomic level, element, and side. An approximation of age was determined when applicable, using the stage of fusion, cortical texture, and/or relative size as guidelines. Specimens were designated as senile, adult, subadult, or juvenile. Any major anthropogenic modification or taphonomic process was noted. A comments section was also used for noting which portion of the bone was present, or its level of completeness (for example, whole, shaft fragment, distal end, articular surface, missing proximal epiphysis, etc). This information determines what species are present and facilitates further quantitative analysis of the material to recreate the subsistence economy at Snooks Cove. Most significantly, it is used to determine the frequency and distribution of all faunal material in House 3 and 4, based on the total number of fragments.

Many of the faunal remains from Snooks Cove were very well preserved and identifiable. However, the incomplete state of the reference collection used for the majority of identification — as well as the inherent difficulty in differentiating species of seals due to the high degree of variability in their anatomy — led to some necessary generalizations in the phocid taxons (Hodgetts 1999:296; Woollett et al. 2000:399). Using the collection at MUN, it was possible to identify specific adult and juvenile ringed seal,

and few adult and foetal harp seal elements. However, there were no complete comparative individuals. Thus, seal bones were conservatively identified to the species level where possible, and a category of 'small seals' was employed to include any bone that was identified as ringed and/or harbour seal, or an immature harp seal. Another general seal category is also used here to account for all phocid specimens, as many fragments were still unidentifiable to a more specific category. This has been used in other zooarchaeological studies and is a commonly accepted practice for identifying fragmentary seal remains (Brewster 2005; Swinarton 2008; Woollett 1999).

There were also many other unidentifiable bones, therefore the data analysis uses a Total Number of Fragments (TNF), as well as the Number of Identified Specimens (NISP), following Woollett's (2003) faunal analyses. The TNF includes all of the bones catalogued as 'unidentified', as well as the 'unspecified mammal' bones. The inclusion of unspecified mammals in the NISP would skew the actual representation of mammals in the assemblage, since they are for the most part highly fragmentary. An 'unspecified bird' category was, however, included in the NISP, since the fragments were mostly complete and only limited by reference identification ability. Bird counts are also significant to Snooks Cove, even without species identification, in representing taxonomic abundance and the interpretation of the faunal collection.

NISP is a useful minimum quantification easily applied in small collections for inter-assemblage comparison, especially when dealing with midden contexts and sites with similar deposition characteristics (Amorosi et al. 1996; Gilbert and Singer 1982; Grayson 1984; Reitz and Wing 1999:91; Woollett et al. 2000). Despite excluding

unidentifiable material, as well as that found in the potentially contaminated surface level, resulting perhaps in a sampling bias, a smaller assemblage allows for a greater reliability in using NISP counts. NISP also allows for further studies to compare or build upon the data, while maintaining methodological consistency (Ringrose 1993). Any fragments that are broken in this assemblage, yet clearly fit together, are counted as one bone. This is employed in hopes that NISP counts will be more accurate, as it accounts for the impact of posthumous fragmentation in the collection.

When calculating a value that might more accurately represent the actual number of each animal in the assemblage, the minimum number of individuals (MNI) count was taken for each case possible. MNI here was calculated by looking at the most abundant sideable element, accounting for relative age and portion, in each species category — not including small seals and unspecified species. It is useful to understand the relative importance of each species within each house context. However, MNI is a less useful quantification of the assemblage for comparison sake, due to the tendency for over-representing rare species and the overall reduction in numbers. In this thesis, the presence and relative abundance of a species in the assemblage has more value to the site interpretation than the amount of individuals actually represented, therefore the NISP and percentages will be referred to in the analysis of the faunal remains. The integrity of inter-site comparison is paramount to the research questions in this study.

A minimum number of elements (MNE) count is also considered. This number was achieved in this assemblage by identifying the number of each anatomical element from each taxonomic group, then determining if any of these element fragments could be

from the same bone, taking into account the portion, side, and age of the fragments. For example, within the collection of caribou bones, if the distal end of a left subadult humerus and a left subadult humerus shaft are found, MNE counts this as one bone. This quantification sheds light on the representation of body portions and assumes certain aspects of hunting patterns, for instance that the butchery of some animals results in deliberate fragmentation, which is lost in MNI counts. It can also prevent the same bones being counted more than once, as is a possibility using NISP (Ringrose 1993:130). Skull pieces from the same species and age group can likely be counted together, as with any other bone. Since the most common fragments, like the bullae in seals, are from different sides of the head, they can often be combined — for example, a left and right subadult bulla, and even a subadult frontal bone, can be considered one individual seal skull.

Chapter 5: Results of Faunal Analysis

5.1 Faunal Assemblage from GaBp-7

After excluding faunal material excavated from the surface layer associated with House 3 and 4 (N=430), the combined assemblage from both houses at Snooks Cove demonstrates the exploitation of at least eighteen identifiable animals, including terrestrial and marine mammals, birds, fish, and bivalves. Table 5.1 depicts the total fragments from both House 3 and 4, combined so as to convey basic animal use and resource availability at Snooks Cove, as well as the scale of the actual faunal sample recovered from the site. Many fragments are unidentifiable (10% TNF) and will be discounted in further data analyses. A significant amount of unspecified mammal bone (N=2663) in both houses is not identifiable beyond the class level. In keeping with the characteristic abundance of fragments that results from large mammal bone breakdown, these bones are not used in further analyses of NISP, due to their highly fragmentary nature (Woollett 2003). Intrusive small rodent skeletons, such as mice, were found in a few instances, but are also discounted from the detailed analysis presented below.

Table 5.1 Combined faunal representation from GaBp-7.

Class	TNF	%TNF
Mammal	4487	86
Bird	164	3
Fish	44	1
Bivalve	6	<1
Unidentified	502	10
Total	5203	100

Mammals (86%) dominate the assemblages from Snooks Cove. The mammal category will further be divided into marine (seals) and terrestrial species, in order to account for the different hunting strategies required between land and sea. Birds (3%), fish (1%), and bivalves (<1) all contribute significantly less than mammals to the total collection. This ratio may be influenced by the differential taphonomic processes that affect smaller species of animals, which have more fragile bones in their skeleton, than those of more robust animals with denser bone structures, such as seals and large terrestrial mammals (Reitz and Wing 1999:118). Nevertheless, it is worth pursuing analysis, as preservation is not a predictable science and a large enough sample was collected to reasonably investigate animal use patterns. The composition of both House 3 and House 4 assemblages will be discussed below, detailing species abundance by animal class and skeletal element type, modifications and taphonomy, relative ages, and the distribution of fragments within the excavation grid.

5.2 House 3 Faunal Analysis

The total number of fragments in the assemblage from House 3 is comprised of sixteen distinct species. The weight of the faunal sample analysed here is 2199 grams. Of the 1492 fragments, only 270 fragments (18% TNF) are entirely unidentifiable. Table 5.2 shows that mammals are the most abundant part of the collection. Birds are the next most abundant class, though nowhere near as abundant as mammals. Both fish and bivalves are represented equally at less than one percent of the total assemblage. Even though most of the collection consists of mammals, many are unspecified to a lower taxonomic level (N=745), or even whether they are from marine or terrestrial mammals.

Table 5.2 Total number of fragments in House 3.

Class	TNF	%TNF
Mammal	1048	70
Bird	162	11
Fish	6	<1
Bivalve	6	<1
Unidentifiable	270	18
Total	*1492*	*100*

Table 5.3 depicts the species abundance ratios in House 3. The most abundant taxon in the collection is clearly seal (45%). Birds (35%) are also present in significant numbers. All terrestrial mammals combined make up 19% of the assemblage. Other secondary resources are caribou (8%) and rabbit (3%). Cod (1%) is the only fish identified at the site.

Blue mussels (*Mytilus edulis*), were also recovered. It is important to keep in mind that shells such as these are fragile, and given that mussels would have been locally available at a coastal site like Snooks Cove, these numbers likely do not accurately represent the true significance of bivalves in the diet. They are noted here simply to understand the full spectrum of animal exploitation and diverse resource availability at Snooks Cove. Each major taxonomic group will be discussed further.

5.2.1 Seals

As seen in Table 5.3, almost half of the faunal assemblage from House 3 is seal (N=213). About half of the fragments are unspecified to any category beyond the phocidae family (N=111). Of the remaining fragments (N=102), the smallest species, ringed seal (*Pusa hispida*) and harbour seal (*Phoca vitulina*), contribute the most (N=61).

Harp seals (*Pagophilus groenlandicus*), which are slightly larger, were also quite abundant (N=41).

Table 5.3 House 3 species abundance.

Common Name	Taxon	NISP	%NISP	MNI	MNE	%MNE
Caribou	*Rangifer tarandus*	40	8	2	23	6
Fox	*Vulpes sp.*	3	<1	2	2	1
Rabbit	*Leporidae sp.*	8	2	2	8	2
Porcupine	*Erethizon dorsatum*	2	<1	1	2	1
Dog	*Canis familiaris*	37	8	3	33	9
Seal	*Phocidae*	213	45	13	192	48
Bird	*Aves*	35	7	-	9	2
Canada Goose	*Branta canadensis*	1	<1	1	1	<1
Eider	*Somateria mollissima*	2	<1	1	2	1
Murre	*Uria aalge*	112	24	12	96	25
Gull	*Larus sp.*	9	2	2	9	2
Ptarmigan	*Lagopus sp.*	3	<1	1	3	1
Cod	*Gadus morhua*	6	1	2	6	2
Total		*471*	*100*	*30*	*386*	*100*

Examining the MNI values for these identifiable seals, the ratios remain relatively similar. Ringed seals are still most common (MNI= 8), followed by harp seal (MNI= 4), and harbour seal (MNI=1). However, MNI data for seals, or any other species, is not useful for inter-house and intra-house comparisons because it greatly under-represents the potential number of seals hunted and consumed, and is not a consistently reproduced value between data. Thus the economic significance of seals to the house occupants cannot be directly related to MNI. MNI counts are also dependent on the reliable aging and sexing of bones, which can be difficult to attain accuracy with when looking at phocids. Harbour seals, for example, are probably under-represented, since only one fragment could be definitively identified due to reference specimen restrictions. The small

seal category includes ringed seal and/or harbour seal fragments; therefore, MNI cannot account for the real number of either species that were present in this combined group. This example is useful for demonstrating the shortcomings of MNI, especially with seals.

Seal fragments using MNE (MNE=192) represent 48% MNE of the collection. It is also possible to determine the body portion distribution by species of seal remains using this quantification, as seen in Figure 5.1. The specific frequency of elements will be discussed (see Appendix A for raw MNE data).

Bones of the axial portion of the skeleton are most frequent (43% MNE), which might be expected given that ribs and vertebrae occur more frequently than limb bones in any individual. Interestingly, most of these axial fragments come from the skull (18% MNE) — primarily the temporal or the auditory bullae (ear canal) portions, but mandibles and teeth are also included. The bulla is one of the most robust elements of the entire skeleton and generally preserves quite well, so it is expected to be a common seal element recovered (Lyman 1994). The axial skeleton also includes ribs (12% MNE), vertebrae (10% MNE), and innominates (3% MNE). Elements of the front (26% MNE) and rear limbs (23% MNE) are fairly evenly represented. The long bones, such as humerus (8%), ulna (9% MNE), and tibia (9% MNE) are the most common, however smaller elements like the patella and carpals/tarsals, are present. Phalanges (8% MNE) were also quite abundant.

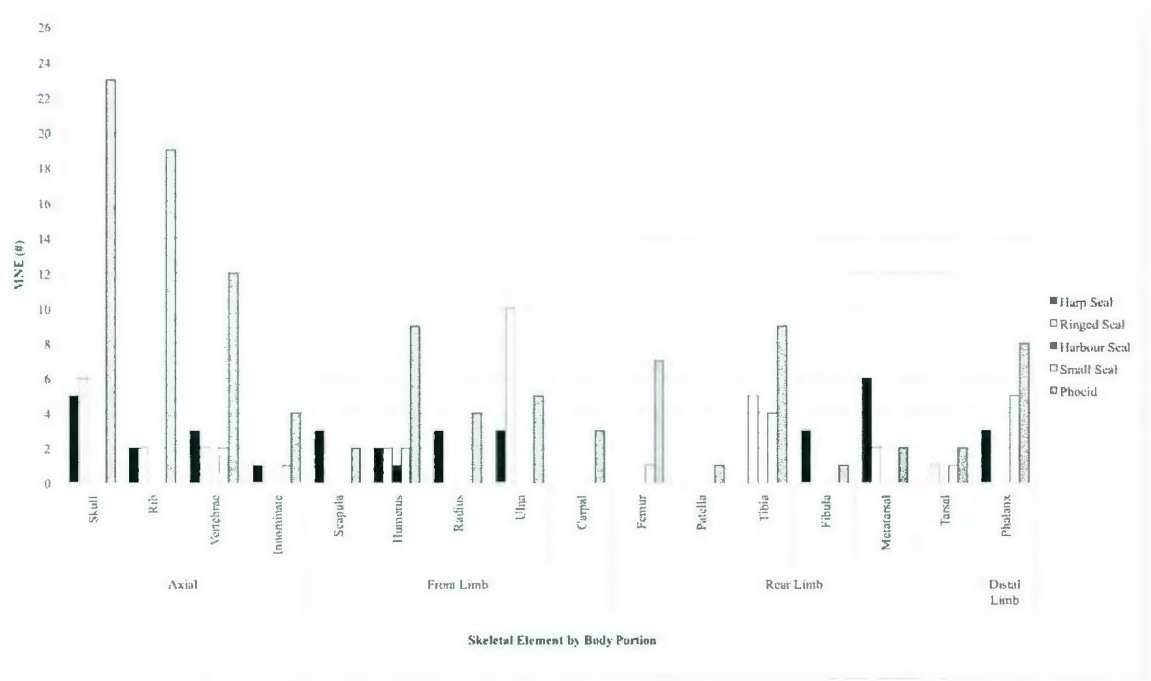

Figure 5.1 House 3 seal species element representation.

Of the identified species of seal, harp seal is represented most by metatarsals and skull fragments (22% MNE), ringed seal bones are also mostly skull fragments (42% MNE) and ulnas (24% MNE), while harbour seals are only represented by one humerus. The small seal bones are predominantly phalanges (31% MNE) and tibiae (25% MNE). The unspecified seal category is represented by all identified elements, but is mostly comprised of skull fragments (21% MNE) and ribs (17% MNE); however, this is largely disproportionate, since none of the unspecified skull fragments can be assumed to originate from the same individual, thus a proper MNE cannot be determined. Further, ribs are one element that universally cannot be used to distinguish the various species of seal (Hodgetts 1999:297).

5.2.2 Terrestrial Mammals

Five species of terrestrial mammal are identified in House 3. The most abundant is caribou (N=40). Caribou, however, is only found to have an MNI of two. Both rabbit (N=8) and arctic hare (N=6) were identified in House 3, each with an MNI of 2. This makes the total leporidae family the most common terrestrial mammal when looking at MNI. Fox remains (N=3) represent less than 1% of the total assemblage, but have a relatively significant MNI of 2. Two of these bones are Arctic fox (*Aloxpex lagopus*), and the third fragment could not be determined beyond the vulpes genus. Two porcupine bones are also identified (MNI=1).

Figure 5.2 shows the breakdown of MNE for each terrestrial species (see Appendix A for raw MNE data). In total, these species (excluding dogs) represent 10% MNE of the collection. The majority of the elements are from the front limb (18% MNE), followed by the distal limbs (16% MNE). Phalanges alone are 10% MNE of the collection. Distal limb bones were grouped in this way, rather than as posterior or anterior, since identification was unreliable between metacarpals and metatarsals, and carpals and tarsals. Axial bones are next most abundant (13% MNE), while the rear limb is quite uncommon (4% MNE).

Using this quantification, caribou bones (MNE=23) represent 6% MNE of the entire collection. Its elements are identified as mostly phalanges (30% MNE), and a fairly even distribution of other axial and limb bones. Fox bones (MNE=2) make up 1% of the collection. The fox bones recovered are from the distal limb as well as a skull, which was

complete except for the cranial portion. MNE remains the same as NISP for both rabbit (N=8) and porcupine (N=2). Rabbit is represented by the long bones of the front and rear limbs, as well as vertebrae and skull fragments. The porcupine fragments are from the front limb.

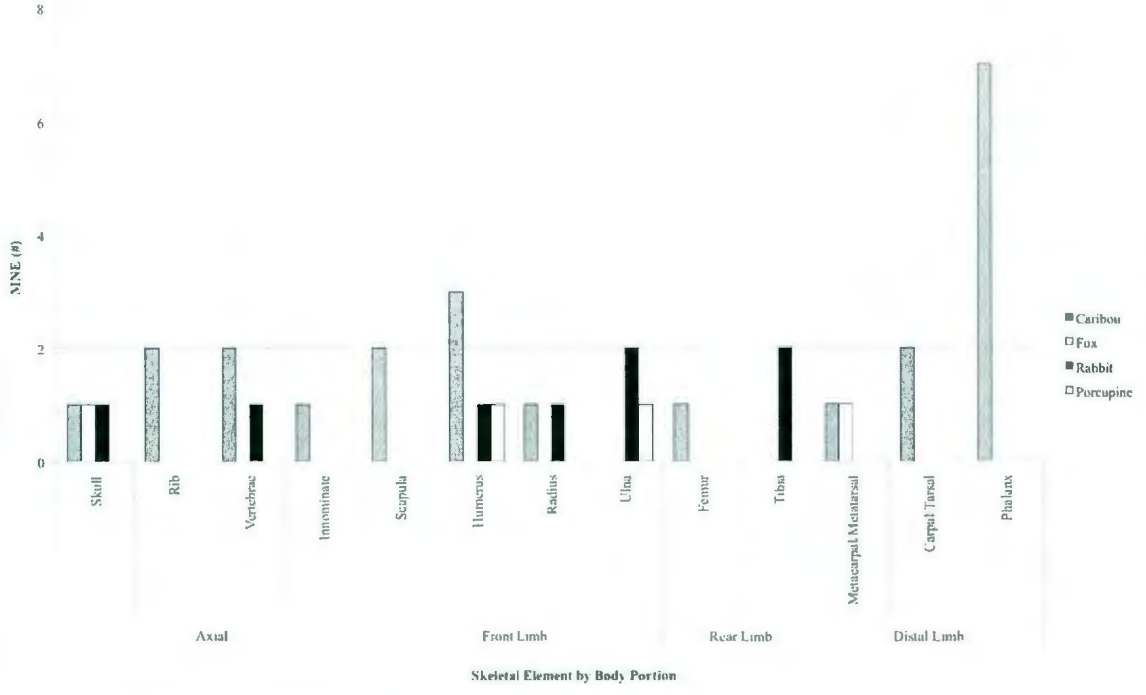

Figure 5.2 House 3 Terrestrial mammal species element representation.

5.2.3 Dogs

Dogs would seem to be more significant to House 3 than caribou based on their greater MNI value of 9, and equal %NISP (see Table 5.3). This is to be expected, given dogs were traditionally used by the Inuit and their ancestors for transportation. Dogs must be considered separately since they typically served a different purpose within Inuit animal use patterns than wild terrestrial mammals, and different still from other domestic

species brought to Labrador, such as livestock. Based on the lack of faunal evidence for domestic animals such as cow, pig or chicken, it is likely that the inhabitants relied strictly on wild food sources; however, this is speculative, as evidence for purchased or traded food items may not have survived in the archaeological record of House 3.

The dog elements recovered (MNE=33) mean that dog makes up 9% MNE of the collection. They are mostly vertebrae (36% MNE) and ribs (12% MNE). However, almost all other skeletal elements are present, including two patellae, a sternum fragment, and two mandibles with articulated teeth. The only bones not present are some of the distal limbs.

5.2.4 Birds

This collection contributes greatly to the overall diversity of House 3. Murre alone makes up 24% of the total assemblage and has an MNI of 12, the highest number of individuals of any species identified. Other birds identified are ptarmigan (N=3), gull (N=3), eider duck (N=2), and Canada goose (N=1) — all with an MNI of 1. Unspecified bird bones are also included in the quantifiable collection (N=35), even though no MNI can be determined. They are important to note simply for presence-absence data, since taphonomic processes tend to disproportionately reduce the amount of bird that is often recovered from an archaeological site rather than mammal (Reitz and Wing 1999:118).

There is no great value in comparing bird and seal MNI data. Seals have a total MNI of 13, while murre alone is similar (MNI=12), but there is almost twice as much seal bone, most of which does not contribute to the MNI value because of identification

problems. This may result in birds, with a total MNI of 16, having a greater perceived significance to the assemblage than seals, except when considering the %NISP of both animals.

Bird elements (total 31% MNE) are found to come mostly from the axial skeleton (44% MNE), and have a very similar ratio to limb bones as seen with the seals (see Appendix A for raw MNE data). Figure 5.3 shows an almost even amount of wing bones (27% MNE) as leg bones (26% MNE). However, there is the same number of humerus and tarsometatarsus fragments as there are vertebrae (14% MNE each). Ribs are also quite common (10% MNE), which is surprising considering their fragile nature, especially in birds. Skulls are also remarkably common (8% MNE). In fact, two of the specimens are large intact cranial portions. This suggests good soil conditions for preservation.

Unspecified bird (MNE=9) and murre (MNE=96) are the only numbers that differ from the NISP value. Since murre is highly abundant (25% MNE), most elements are represented, however none of the thinnest long bones (radius, ulna and fibula) came from this species. Gull fragments come mostly from the wing. The eider fragments come from the axial body, while the ptarmigan elements are all large long bones. The unspecified bird bones are mostly ribs, since most fragments are not complete enough to reveal any species indicators.

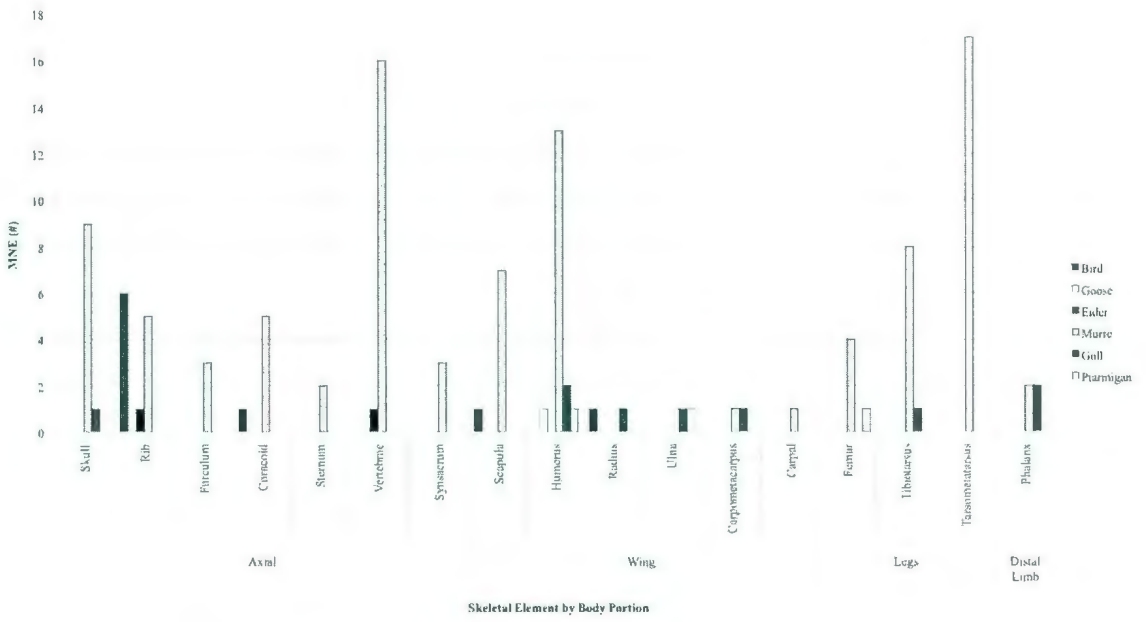

Figure 5.3 House 3 Bird species element representation.

5.2.5 Fish

Cod is the only identified fish species, and in House 3 it makes up only 1% of the assemblage, though MNI=2. The MNE and NISP are the same, at a value of 6, and the elements are primarily cleithrums, as well as one otolith and a vertebra.

5.2.6 Modifications

Five different types of modification are identified in the collection: burning/calcination, cut/saw marks, gnaw marks, digestion, and pathology. About 55% TNF of the bones from House 3 have some type of visible modification. Almost all of these are burnt black or calcined to white and/or light blue. Of these heated bones, 92% are calcined. This process also results in extensive fragmentation of the bones, since they become more fragile once the organic components have completely oxidized, leaving

only the brittle mineral components (Reitz and Wing 1999:133). As a result, many burned/calcined fragments are unidentifiable. About 79% of them are from unspecified mammals. This is another reason why unspecified mammal remains were not included in the NISP data — the fragments are almost as uninformative as the completely unidentifiable bones. The remainder of the burned bone comes from seal, caribou, murre, ptarmigan and other birds.

Insufficient cut mark data was observed in the collection to gain detailed information on butchery patterns; however, some fragments proved to be quite telling. One subadult caribou humerus from Layer 0/1 has evidence of surface cuts as well as having both ends of the shaft sawn off. Sawing made by metal-toothed tools is identified by small parallel serrations on the compact bone (Reitz and Wing 1999:130). This provides evidence that a metal saw was used to process this caribou, and likely others in the same fashion. Two seal bones and three mammal fragments also have evidence of sawing.

The other significant cut-marked bone is a complete adult dog tibia from Layer 1 near the hearth. This bone has a very deep chop mark on the anterior shaft, just below the tibial tuberosity, as well as other cut marks in the area. It may be conspicuous that a dog bone is found to have such cut marks. This type of heavy cut mark is associated with the process of dismembering or portioning a carcass with a large tool, rather than the lighter scraping marks left by the act of skinning a carcass, and are typically clustered around the joints of long bones (Reitz and Wing 1999:129–130). If these marks are the result of the dog being processed for consumption, it was likely under exceptional circumstances,

when inhabitants of House 3 had difficulties hunting wild food sources. As mentioned above, dogs were typically used for transportation, however dog meat has been documented as being eaten by the Inuit (Lysaght 1971:200; Morey and Aaris-Sørensen 2002:50–52).

A few small seal elements and one mammal rib showed evidence of digestion. This is observed as a harsh deterioration of the surface texture of the bone from stomach acids, causing a worn, porous, or pitted appearance (Reitz and Wing 1999:135). One seal bone also shows evidence of pathology, as discussed below.

5.2.7 Ages

Only 288 fragments (62% TNF) from the collection in House 3 are classified into relative age groups. Aging of bones in a highly fragmented collection only provides a sample of data, since incomplete bones and small fragments are not reliably aged when all parts of the bone cannot be assessed. The results of this quantification, and that in House 4, will not be discussed in detail, however it is interesting to note the correlation between which species were hunted before reaching sexual maturity. Reitz and Wing (1999:159–160) describes the qualitative factors used for age group estimations. Juvenile bones (12%) are defined by a complete lack of fusion sites, a small size, and/or a porous cortical texture. These come almost exclusively from young seals, but there is also one juvenile caribou and one small gull fragment. Subadult bones (21%) are those with incomplete fusion and smaller than developed specimens, but with a smooth surface and the presence of some adult features, like shape and muscle attachment sites. Subadult

bones are mostly from seal and caribou, but also dogs, birds, and one arctic hare fragment.

Adult specimens (66%) are all those fragments that are completely fused and fully developed in size (compared to reference specimens), or designated as such when it was not obviously any other age. Only one seal humerus is identified as senile, and it appears to have evidence of pathology — likely the result of a healed fracture or other trauma. It is often difficult to identify the cause of this kind of modification, beyond noting the irregular appearance to the bone (Reitz and Wing 1999:158).

5.2.8 Distribution

The assemblage from House 3 is classified into five categories, based on the TNF values, in order to plot the distribution of faunal remains (see Figure 5.4). Each unit of excavation displays the ranked amount of fragments recovered per layer. The highest concentration of bones is found in the southeast corner of the grid. This area (about 3 metres square) is exterior to the house walls, and is hence considered the House 3 midden, as many artifacts were also recovered here. The faunal material there comes mostly from Layer 0/1 and Layer 1. Another external feature, consisting of a sandy walled area extending off of the east wall, was only excavated with two units, both yielding very few bones in total, so it is not thought to be an extension of the midden, nor a food storage area. The entrance feature, about 3 metres long in the southwest units, seems to be a secondary deposit for hundreds of bone fragments. Altogether, 84% of the total faunal assemblage was recovered from all exterior units. A row of units at the

southern edge of the excavation yielded no faunal remains at all, which indicates the edge of the midden area and the termination of the entranceway. Most of the interior units have 20 or less fragments, and combined, make up 16% of the assemblage. The hearth does not have a large concentration of bone (3% TNF), but most of the bones from the deeper layers are found in this area. Three interior units did not yield any faunal material.

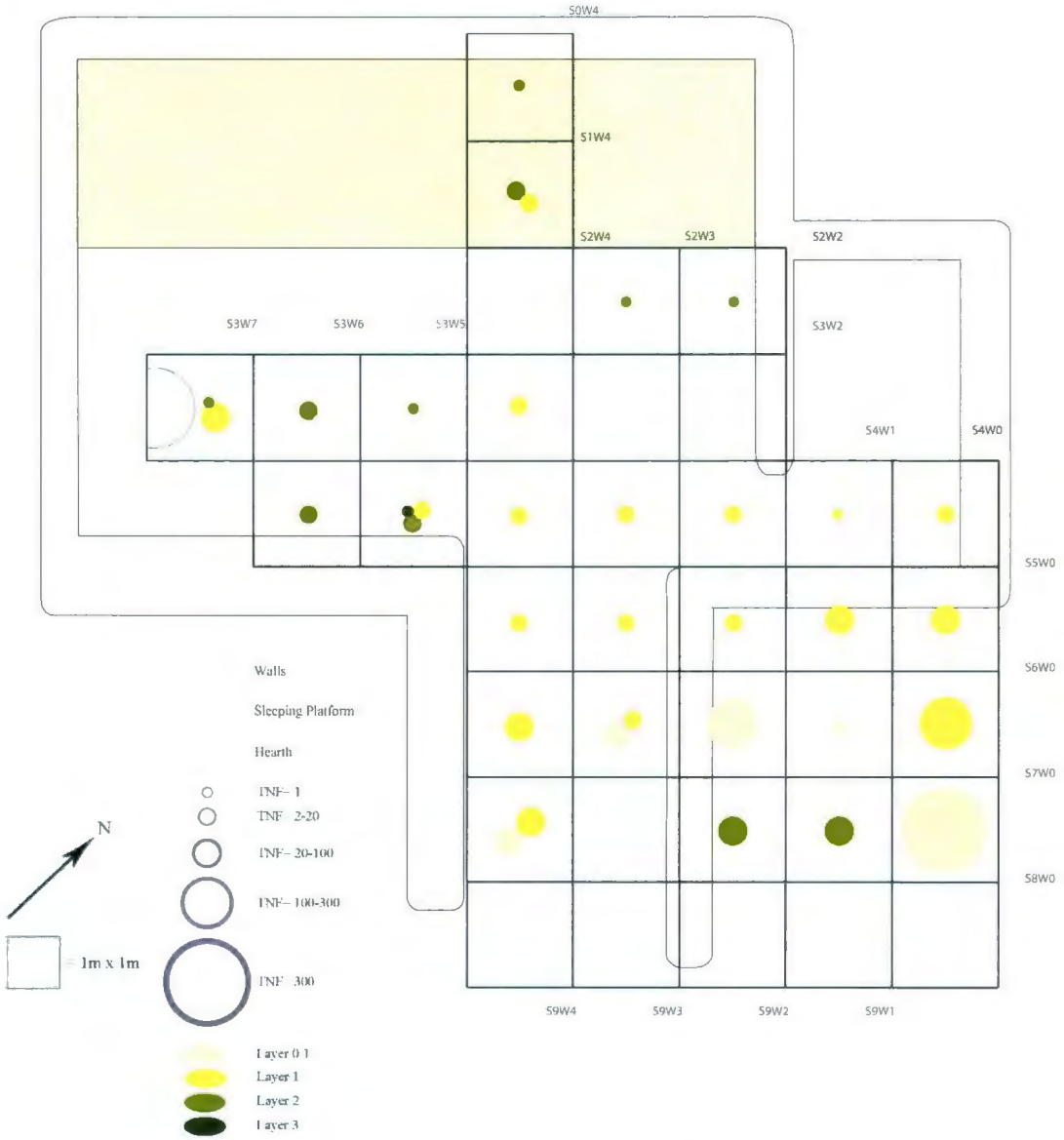

Figure 5.4 House 3 faunal remains distribution in excavation grid.

Distribution of some major taxa is also plotted on the grid by layer (see Figure 5.5). Seal were found in almost every unit both inside and outside the house. Layer 0/1 seal bones came exclusively from the exterior midden and opening of the entrance passage. Seal are also found in Layer 1 and 2 in all areas of the house: the sleeping platform, hearth, floor, entrance passage, and exterior midden. The only bone to come from Layer 3 was seal and is found in the hearth area. Cod bones are found clustered in Layer 1 and 2 of the northerly units (in the sleeping platform), as well as in Layer 0/1 and Layer 1 of the midden. Cod is also found near the doorway. Caribou is identified throughout the house in Layer 1 of the doorway and house floor, but is primarily concentrated in the midden and entranceway, down to Layer 2. The collection of dog bones comes mostly from Layer 1 of the hearth, entranceway, and midden, except in two units of the midden where samples come from Layer 0/1 and Layer 2. Bird bones are located in Layer 0/1 to Layer 2, exclusively in the exterior areas of the midden and south end of the entranceway.

Surface finds have so far been discounted from the TNF and NISP data. A brief overview of the findings from Layer 0 (N=167) may be useful to demonstrate what has been left out of the data set, comparing the usable collection with this potentially contaminated layer. No new taxa are identified in Layer 0 than from any deeper deposits. It contains 120 unidentified fragments, as well as identified remains of seal (N=26), dog (N=6), caribou (N=11), ptarmigan (N=1) and murre (N=3). This layer represents a typical sample for the assemblage, as the most common species are represented.

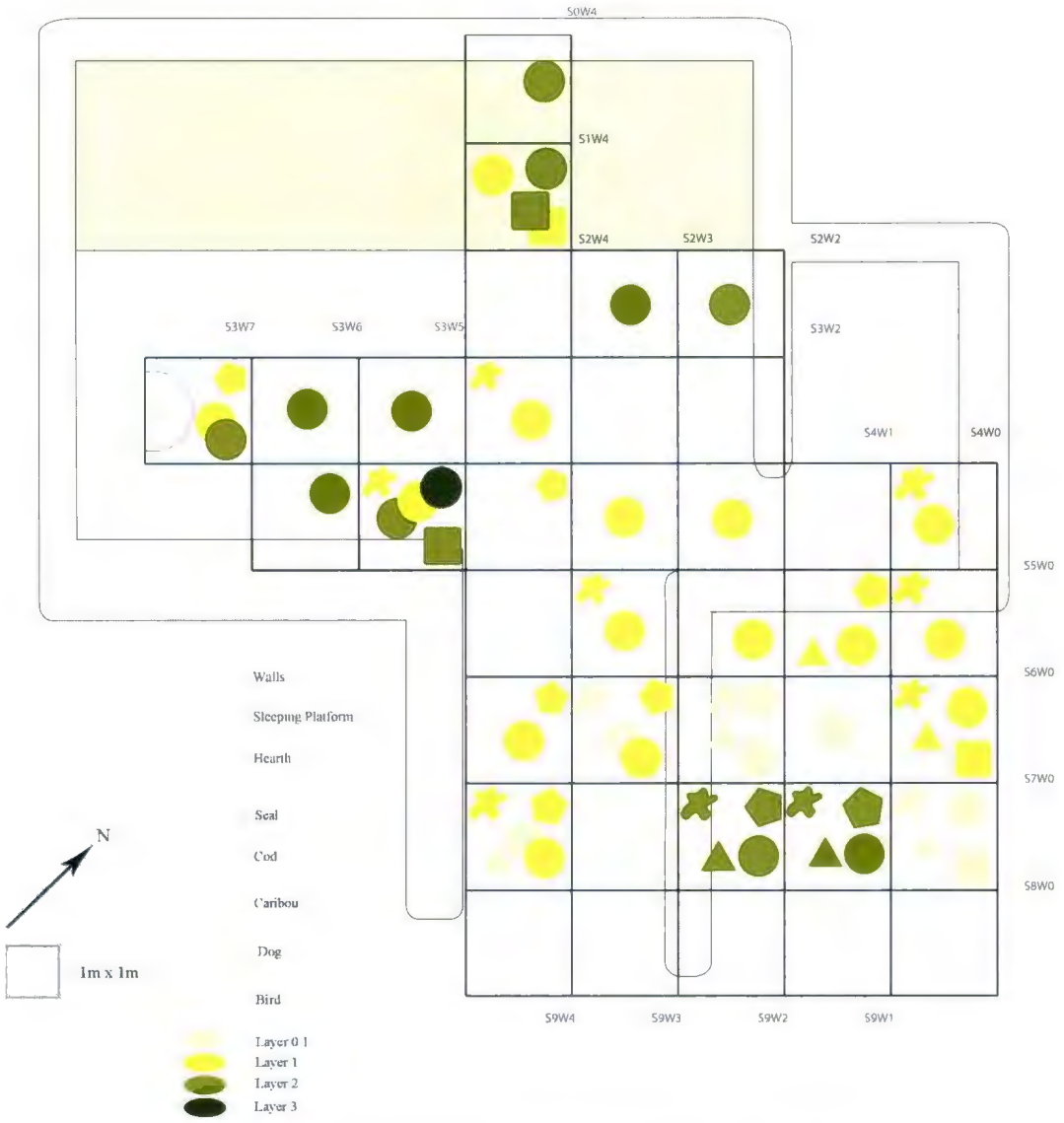

Figure 5.5 House 3 major taxa distribution in excavation grid.

5.3 House 4 Faunal Analysis

The usable assemblage from House 4 (TNF=3711) discounted all surface layer material, resulting in a collection of mammals, fish, and bird from ten different species. The total weight of bones is 5678 grams. Table 5.4 shows over 90% of the collection is mammal, yet like House 3, many were unspecified (NISP=1918). Fish is the next most abundant class, while birds contribute minimally, and no bivalves are present. Additionally, 232 fragments (6% TNF) were completely unidentifiable.

Table 5.4 Total number of fragments in House 4.

Class	TNF	%
Mammal	3439	93
Bird	2	<1
Fish	38	1
Bivalve	0	0
Unidentifiable	232	6
Total	*3711*	*100*

Table 5.5 indicates the species abundance of each identified taxa from House 4 according to NISP values. Seals (92%) contribute the most to the total assemblage. Considering all terrestrial mammals (excluding dogs) combined only represent 4% of the assemblage, cod (2%) are quite important in House 4. Conversely, birds are sparse at less than 1% in total. No bivalves were identified. Each major taxonomic group will be discussed further.

Table 5.5 House 4 species abundance.

Common Name	Taxon	NISP	%NISP	MNI	MNE	%MNE
Moose	*Alces alces*	1	<1	1	1	<1
Caribou	*Rangifer tarandus*	57	4	4	33	4
Snowshoe Hare	*Lepus americanus*	1	<1	1	1	<1
Porcupine	*Erethizon dorsatum*	1	<1	1	1	<1
Dog	*Canis familiaris*	16	1	2	16	2
Seal	*Phocidae*	1445	92	33	694	90
Bird	*Aves*	1	<1	-	1	<1
Ptarmigan	*Lagopus sp.*	1	<1	1	1	<1
Cod	*Gadus morhua*	38	2	3	26	3
Total		*1561*	*100*	*46*	*774*	*100*

5.3.1 Seals

It is clear that seals make up almost all of the assemblage from House 4 (N=1445). Most of these fragments are unidentifiable to the species level (N=756). Smaller seal species (including ringed seal and harbour seal) contribute 22% to the total seal remains. In House 4, there are many ringed seal (N=94) and harp seal (N= 372), however a limited number of harbour seals (N=11) were identified.

Despite the inability to identify an MNI value for unspecified seal and the small seal category, there is still a minimum of 33 individuals that can be identified. Harp seals are the greatest in number (MNI=22), followed by ringed seals (MNI=9), and then harbour seals (MNI=2). Larger NISP numbers will always provide a greater opportunity to determine larger MNI values; therefore, the MNI of House 4 seals might closely reflect their dietary significance, especially since the relative abundance of each species in both data sets. There is definitely still a bias due to identification efficacy that must also be acknowledged, which especially impacts the relative abundance of seal species.

Figure 5.6 indicates the breakdown of body portion representation (MNE=694) for the identified seal bones in House 4, the total of which is still 90% MNE of the collection (see Appendix A for raw MNE data). Most seal bones come from the axial skeleton (43% MNE), followed by a similar split between front limb (24% MNE) and rear limb bones (26% MNE). Phalanges are also common (7% MNE). Skull fragments are significantly the most abundant element (16% MNE), and there are two mostly whole skulls. This, with the presence of occipital, basal, and cranial fragments, indicates relatively good preservation, and that a large number of seals were killed. Tibiae (14% MNE) are the next most abundant element overall, followed by humeri (11% MNE).

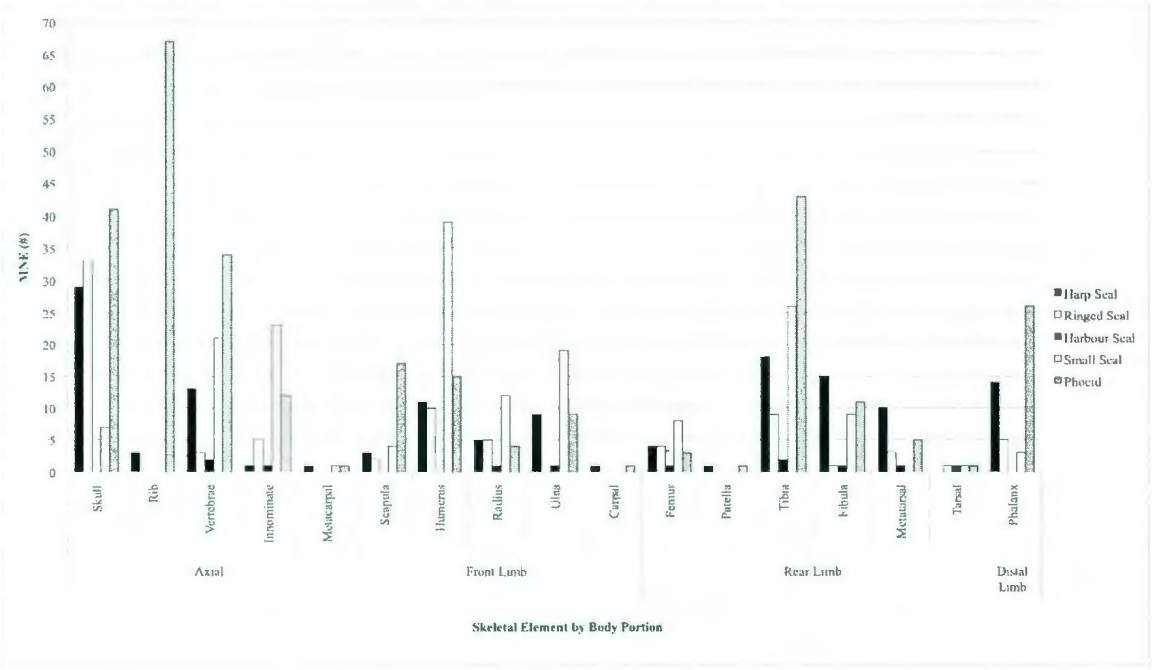

Figure 5.6 House 4 Seal species element representation.

Harp seal finds are primarily skull fragments (21% MNE); however, the rear limbs are also common in the assemblage (35% MNE). Ringed seal is represented most

by skull fragments (41% MNE), as well as many humeri and tibiae. Harbour seals are generally minimal, being represented mostly by the rear limb. Small seal bones were found to be mostly humeri and tibiae as well. Most of the unspecified seal remains were ribs (23% MNE).

5.3.2 Terrestrial Mammals

The rest of the mammal collection comes from five terrestrial species. Caribou (N=57) are overwhelmingly the most abundant of these. The remaining species, including moose, porcupine, and snowshoe hare, are all represented by single fragments. This sequence remains the same when looking at MNI values. Caribou (MNI=4) and dog (MNI=2) numbers are greatly diminished using this data, while the more rare species appear to have a greater importance in relation.

Taking into consideration the MNE of these species (see Figure 5.7), the total of which contributes 7% MNE to the collection, skulls and femurs are most common (33% MNE). Femurs are the next most abundant element (18% MNE). The remaining elements are fairly evenly represented in all categories (see Appendix A for raw MNE data). Caribou elements (MNE=33) remain at 4% MNE of the collection, as is the case with their %NISP. They are identified as predominantly skulls and femurs (both 24% MNE), with all other elements representing half that number or less. The axial skeleton is still more abundant, since only the most robust long bones of the front and rear limbs are present (humerus, femur, tibia), as well as very few distal limb fragments. One fragment of a juvenile moose innominate is also identified. This was distinguished by the fact that

it is too robust for any other adult ungulate, but is also too small to be a mature moose. The distal end of an arctic hare femur is identified, and one mandible from a porcupine, with two articulated molars, make up the remainder of the terrestrial animal remains.

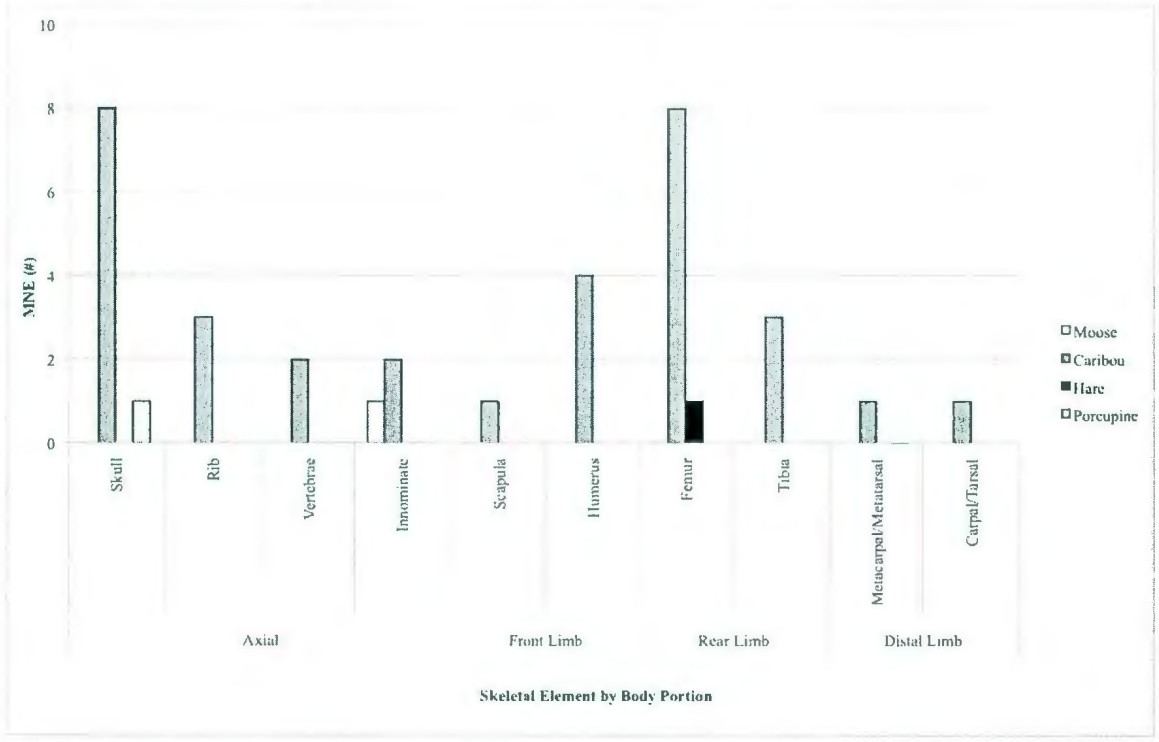

Figure 5.7 House 4 Terrestrial mammal species element representation.

5.3.3 Dogs

Many dog remains are present in the assemblage (both NISP and MNE=16), possibly from only two individuals. Most of these fragments are from the skull (56% MNE), including teeth, and in fact one skull is mostly complete. The only other fragments come from the ribs and vertebrae, but there is also one tibia.

5.3.4 Birds

Only two bird fragments were found in House 4. One of these is an unspecified bird innominate and the other is a coracoid from a ptarmigan. These are likely not intrusive, even in such small numbers, since they come from Layers 1 and 2 respectively.

5.3.5 Fish

A significant amount of fish bone (N=38) is identified in this collection, although cod is the only species identified (2% NISP). While many of the bones were unidentifiable, there were also many large and/or complete bones. Only a small number of vertebrae represent the post-cranial skeleton (14% MNE), while the remaining elements are from the skull. The preopercle bone was used to determine the MNI=3.

5.3.6 Modifications

Heating (burning and calcination), gnawing, cut and saw marks, and digestion are the four types of modification observed in the collection from House 4. Only about 2% of the TNF from House 4 bones have any modification, and all of these are from either unspecified mammals or seals, with the exception of the one cut-marked moose bone. Most modification comes in the form of heat-treated bone (37%), although almost all of these were fully calcined, rather than just burnt. Incidents of cut and saw marks (34%) were the next most frequent, occurring on the one moose innominate and otherwise only on seal remains. One seal radius had the only evidence of sawing, as well as cut marks. Gnawing was visible on 24% of these bones, with one harp seal femur having a canine

puncture hole bored through the cortex of its distal posterior shaft. Evidence of digestion is seen on one mammal bone and seal limb bones.

5.3.7 Ages

Age was identified for 453 bones (12% TNF) in the House 4 assemblage. Of this, 8% comes from juvenile individuals of moose, cod, caribou, and seal species (in ascending order). Most of the ageable bones are classified as subadult (60%). This includes almost all the identified taxa, namely cod, dog, unspecified mammal, caribou, and then seal. The remaining 32% are adult individuals, which accounts for the arctic hare, porcupine, and ptarmigan, but also many dog, cod, caribou, and seal. No senile individuals were identified.

5.3.8 Distribution

Since Layer 0 is discounted from House 4, due to potential contamination from intrusive materials, Layer 1 is the first provenience to yield faunal remains. The units forming the trench at S12W0 to S12W4 were added after the initial test pits were dug approximately where units S12W3 and W4 were placed. Test pit material was not accounted for, however bones from the official grid location of these units are used.

Five rankings of TNF are displayed in Figure 5.8 to indicate the distribution of faunal remains in House 4. The greatest number of fragments (TNF>300) clearly comes from the southeasterly end of the excavation. This is the termination of the entrance passage, a mostly north-south trench of 2m by 8m units, with some yielding over 100 fragments. About 66% of the assemblage comes from the exterior entrance units alone.

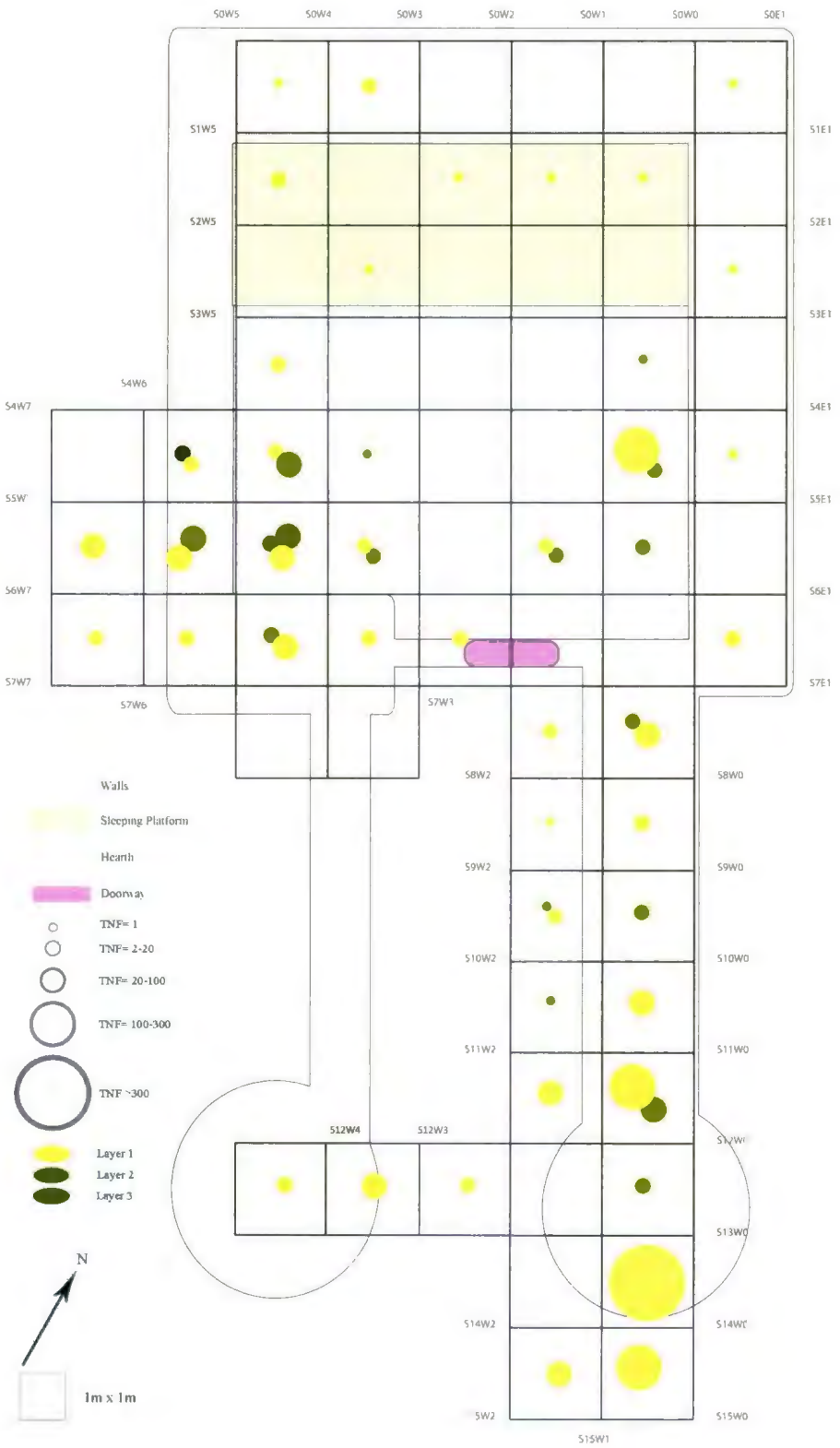

Figure 5.8 House 4 faunal remains distribution in excavation grid.

Most of the material is found in Layer 1, however small concentrations also come from Layer 2. Only two of the exterior units did not yield any faunal remains, and were surrounded by other units that contained high concentrations of bones. This suggests that, were the grid to have been extended, there is a chance even more bones would be present. Time did not permit further investigation of any exterior concentration of bones to the side of the entrance passage, as was identified in House 3.

Another cluster of faunal material is seen in the southwest corner of the house interior, where the hearth feature was identified. This area has bones from all three layers, and it is the only place where bones are found in Layer 3. Although no single unit in the hearth contains more than 100 fragments, combined they contribute about 20% of the total assemblage. One large anomalous concentration of bones from Layer 1 (TNF=100–200) is observed in the interior area of the house, near the southeast corner. This is likely due to the wall slumping inwards after the house was abandoned. Units where no faunal remains are seen are mostly in the central floor area and the house walls. Near the completion of the excavation two units were extended south of the hearth near the doorway and did not yield any faunal remains.

Major taxonomic groups are plotted in Figure 5.9. Seal bones were found in most units of House 4. They were most common in Layer 1 and are present in all areas that bone was found: the sleeping platform, hearth area, and entrance passage. Layer 2 seal bones are clustered in the hearth and east corner inside the house, and are scattered in the entrance passage. Seal bones in Layer 3 are only found in the hearth area and one unit near the start of the entrance passage. Cod remains are distinctively clustered in only the

hearth area and the southern end of the entrance passage, from both Layer 1 and Layer 2. Caribou is seen predominantly in interior units, especially around the hearth area in all three layers, but also in the east wall from Layer 1. Some caribou bones are also present in the entrance passage from Layer 1.

Perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, dog remains are very scattered in the house. This may be a result of depositional processes occurring post-abandonment. It is possible that the occupants of House 3 buried their dogs where House 4 was located, and might thus be associated with the House 3 occupation. They appear mostly in Layer 1 of the sleeping platform, house floor and hearth area. Dog is also present in the entrance passage, which is also the only area where they are seen in Layer 2. Dog, caribou, and seal make up the large anomalous cluster mentioned above near the east wall. The two bird remains identified in House 4 come from the interior around the sleeping platform.

A brief examination of the surface finds (N=263) in Layer 0 of House 4 finds that, like the usable collection, most of the bones were from seals (N=143), as well as many unspecified mammals (N=105). The remainder comes from caribou (N=13), as well as one gull and one unidentified bone. This is a typical sample, as seen in the rest of House 4, except that one gull had to be discounted from the small collection of bird.

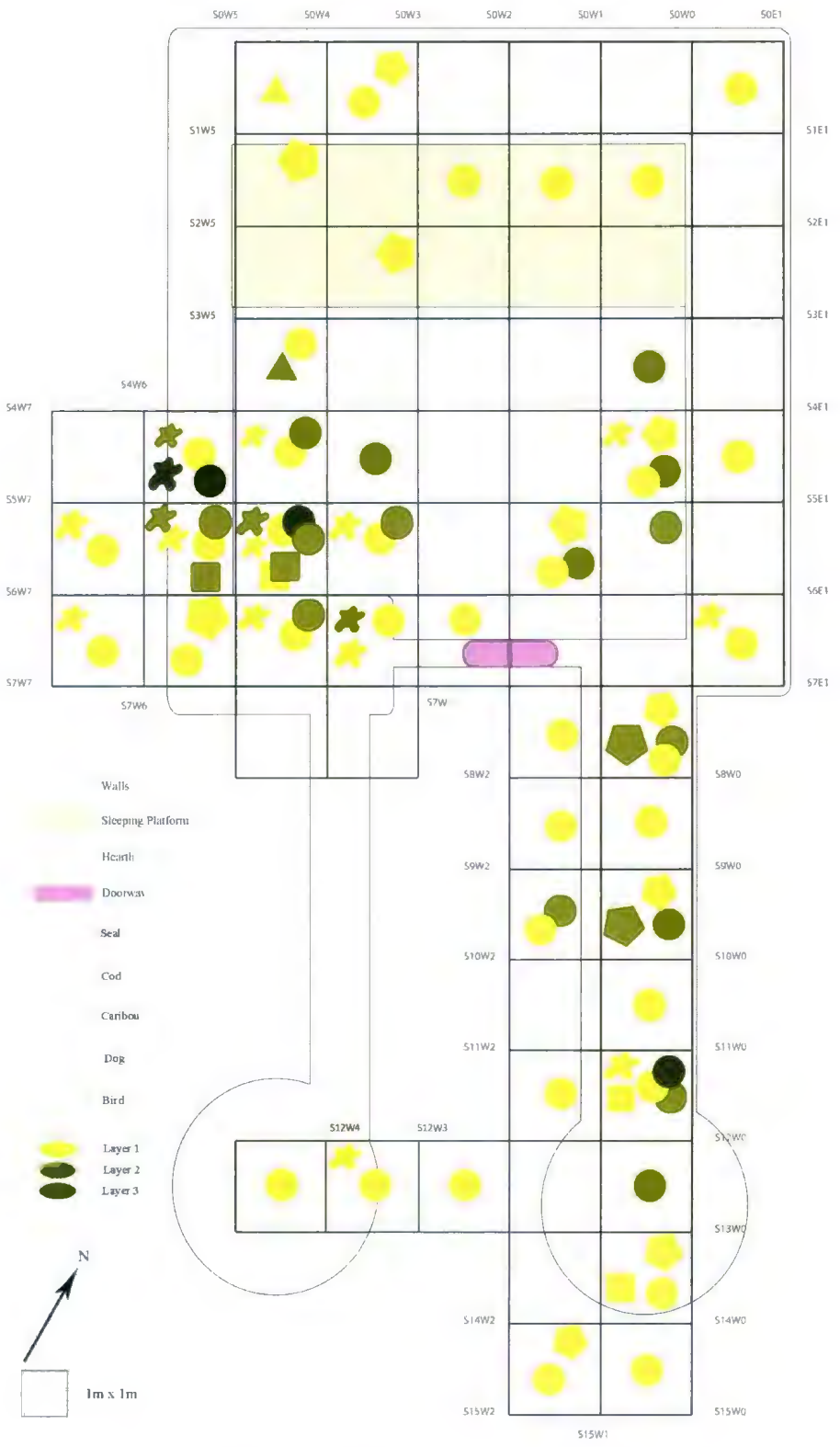

Figure 5.9 House 4 major taxa distribution in excavation grid.

5.4 Summary of Faunal Analysis from Snooks Cove

The distribution of faunal remains from House 3 follows a pattern of clustering predominantly in the midden, with small concentrations being found around the hearth and in the entrance passage. The usable collection, once quantified with reductive processes, resulted in a total MNE of 386. The collection has been shown to have a particular reliance on seals as a primary food resource. Terrestrial mammal species are somewhat varied, but caribou is the only contender as an obvious secondary resource. Fox is the only economically valuable fur-bearing mammal seen in the collection. Cod are very minimal. Bird species however, contribute in great numbers and from various species, making them a significant secondary resource, or perhaps even a co-primary resource. Blue mussels are also identified as an important aspect of the diet at Snooks Cove. Many dogs are present in House 3, with one bone showing conspicuous evidence of butchery.

The faunal assemblage from House 4 has a total MNE of 774. The majority of fragments are from the midden and entrance passage, with a clustering of bones in the hearth area, similar to House 3. Another area with significant faunal yield is located in the southeast corner of the house interior. The collection in House 4 indicates that the primary resource is overwhelmingly seal. Looking beyond the high number of seals, both caribou and cod may be considered equally significant secondary resources. Birds are negligible. Dogs in House 4 have a smaller but important presence.

Table 5.6 highlights the major taxonomic groups — seal, terrestrial mammal, dog, bird, and fish — from both houses. NISP and MNE are both indicated to convey the overall reduction of the collection when MNE is used, but also to compare the numbers between each house and notice when ratios stay the same or change. It is clear that both houses relied on seal more heavily than any other resource. Even with the difference in NISP from House 3 to House 4, seal makes up at least half of both assemblages. Within each house there is a visible difference in the ratio of seals to secondary resources, in that House 3 depended on seals less significantly than House 4.

Table 5.6 Taxonomic representation compared between House 3 and House 4.

	House 3		House 4	
	NISP	MNE	NISP	MNE
Seal	213	192	1445	694
Terrestrial Mammal	53	35	60	36
Dog	37	33	16	16
Bird	162	120	2	2
Fish	6	6	38	26
Total	*471*	*386*	*1561*	*774*

The Narrows generally remains ice-free even through the winter. However, in some years the strait is blocked by severe fast-ice conditions during very cold winters (Woollett 2007:77). This means that seal hunting territory becomes more widely spread and less accessible than when open water hunting is available year-round. Evidence in the ratios of seal species found at Snooks Cove and paleoclimatic data for 19th-century Labrador could shed light on the possible environmental trends of each occupation.

For example, of the identifiable bones, House 3 is found to have significant harp and ringed seal remains. Harp seals are typically hunted in the late autumn and spring,

during their vast migrations that follow the advance and retreat of the sea ice floe edge, while ringed seals are year-round residents in Hamilton Inlet, but thrive in more icy conditions (Woollett 1999). Because of the behavioural ecology of these species, it is likely that there was often a more extreme winter at Snooks Cove. "A rapid change to severe ice conditions in the mid 19th century was followed by subsequent moderation in the late 19th century…Periods of heavy ice are indicated for 1815–20, 1833–43 and 1860–68." (Woollett et al. 2000:401). This kind of fluctuation around the initial occupation of House 3 might have contributed to unreliable seal hunts throughout the subsequent winters, forcing the inhabitants to look elsewhere for resources, such as migratory birds and caribou. Although the ratios of ringed to harp seal found in this thesis are not an accurate representation of the actual number of seals that were hunted, the overall percent of seal identified in House 3 is far less than that from House 4, and that distinction cannot be overlooked. It is likely that these houses were occupied repeatedly and not just over a single winter season, based on the missionary accounts of the Inuit temporarily leaving Snooks Cove in spring (Rollmann 2010). Therefore, this reduction in seal numbers at House 3 cannot be due to a single poor hunting season, and suggests there was conscious decision towards alternative hunting strategies, since House 4 had similar access to resources, seasonality, and archaeological preservation, but produced different ratios.

The amounts of terrestrial mammal species are almost identical, but both collections utilize four different species to varying degrees. Caribou are by far the most prominent terrestrial resource in both houses, and almost equally represented through MNE. Porcupine is partially exploited by both houses. It is the rabbit from House 3 that

makes up the difference in secondary resources, hinting at the importance of capitalizing on important seasonal secondary resources from autumn through spring.

The presence of fox in House 3 also points to an autumn and winter occupation, a time when the fur would be most appealing (Ames 1977; Brice-Bennett 1977). House 4 showed no direct faunal evidence of fur trapping activities. However, the absence of particular species does not necessarily equate to the absence of animal use. Trapping took place in winter, sometimes for up to a month at a time away from home, in the interior along predetermined trap lines (Ames 1977; Kennedy 1995). This means the primary processing and discard site for a key resource is not found at a dwelling site. Fur-bearing animals, such as fox, would likely be taken directly from the trap lines to the trading post, rather than back to the household. The proximity of trading posts supports the idea that trappers would have no need to process their catch at home. On the other hand, the material culture does not suggest trapping was a large part of the household's economy while at Snooks Cove, given only one trap fragment was found in House 3.

The prevalence of dogs at Snooks Cove is not only seen in the collection of faunal remains, but also in the frequent occurrence of circular canine puncture on other animal bones discarded at the site. Dogs were fed seal meat, especially from any surplus catch and autumn hunts, and would have chewed the bones leftover from human consumption as well (Ames 1977:280; Brice-Bennett 1977:148). A dog in House 3 with a chop mark suggests that perhaps these people experienced resource stress for at least one winter, and that dogs were occasionally a food source. One account from the late 18th century mentions that the Inuit would eat dog meat boiled or raw (Lysaght 1971:200).

Due to the nature of the house structures themselves, a winter occupation is implied. Historical Methodist documentation confirms that several winter houses had already been built by 1826, and that families had been over-wintering there for many years (Rollmann 2010:14). Moravians report that by 1857, seven to ten Inuit families were involved in trading at Snooks Cove, but that by April they all moved away for the summer (Rollmann 2010:16–17). It was noted that twenty-one settler families also lived within a 150 mile radius of Rigolet (Rollmann 2010:17).

Seasonal fluctuations of species in the Narrows region can further confirm the timing of occupation at Snooks Cove. In House 3, the high numbers of murre, a bird that migrates from the north to overwinter in Labrador, points strongly to a winter occupation, and one that relied on the availability of this bird (Piatt 1981). The medley of other migratory birds that flock to this region for the spring breeding season, such as gulls and geese, suggests that the house was occupied into the early spring as well (Ames 1977; Brice-Bennett 1977). This correlates with the accounts of missionaries observing Inuit families temporarily leaving Snooks Cove around April (Rollmann 2010). Birds might have become a significant resource upon their arrival to the region if the residents of Snooks Cove had experienced a particularly disadvantaged winter. Ethnographic sources say that the Inuit preferred hunting migratory birds in spring and summer, while year-round birds were taken in autumn and winter (Brice-Bennett 1977:115).

Seasonal confirmation for the occupation of House 4, as well as House 3, comes from the significance of caribou. Caribou hunting usually begins in late autumn, after their mating cycle, and continues into the spring (Ames 1977:295). The abundance of

subadults in House 3 suggests an autumn and winter hunt, while the individuals from House 4 are mostly adults with some juveniles, suggesting a focus on winter and late spring hunting.

Cod are abundant in House 4, a resource that would also have been a focus of late summer and autumn food gathering, mainly for personal consumption, after the lucrative salmon run and before trapping season (Ames 1977). Such low numbers of fish bones in House 3 may be surprising, given the natural abundance of fish in the marine environments around Snooks Cove and throughout the Narrows region. Due to the nature of fishing occurring offshore in a boat, away from the residence, many fish remains may have been discarded on the beach or thrown into the water, not near the residences. This method continues to be practiced by people who fish in Snooks Cove, and shore-edge processing and refuse disposal patterns are noted throughout Labrador (McAleese 1991:103). Furthermore, for the bones that did make it to the house contexts, preservation likely plays a great factor in this apparent underrepresentation. Only the most resilient elements of the skeleton survived to be part of this assemblage: cleithrums (a large bone in the head), otoliths (which are dense, chalky parts of the ear), and vertebrae.

The selection for other autumn resources might have taken precedence over fishing, if the cod returns were not promising. Cod was not the most valuable resource in the Narrows, even though jigging was once concentrated to this area and the head of Groswater Bay (Ames 1977:291; Woollett 2003:219). Occupants of House 3 might have been supplementing their diet with goods purchased from the nearby trading posts, including fish — such resources would not leave the same imprint in the

zooarchaeological record. Nonetheless it is assumed that all occupants of Snooks Cove consumed wild foods.

Another important explanation for the disparity in resources between House 3 and House 4 could come from individual choices made by the residents of House 3. After having prolonged contact with settlers, the residents of House 3 might have aspired to incorporate new ways of hunting and new economic priorities. Along with the selection of a more varied diet, the prevalence of European hunting implements — namely rifles — and fluctuating commodities would have impacted the choices Inuit households made about food resources. The increase in available technologies and cross-cultural exchanges are important factors in the interpretation of animal use patterns in Labrador (Woollett 1999; Woollett et al. 2000). With settlers and Inuit families alike being driven towards the self-sustaining life of trade, the division between economically valuable species and subsistence species would be constantly blurred. Tradition and availability might be the conflicting factors affecting the representation of animals in House 3.

Thinking critically about the roles within a household, if men were involved with the external economic aspects of life, evidence of their labours might not be seen in the archaeology of the house itself. This would result in a faunal collection that only represents a portion of the actual animal use patterns practiced by the household. Traditional Inuit lifeways are known to have been replicated by the Inuit women of mixed ethnicity households in Labrador, since they carried these practices over from generations of learned internal house organization (Beaudoin 2008; Rankin et al. 2012:17). These domestic structures dominate what is seen in the archaeology of the household, and is

inherently part of the methodology of excavating winter sites across Labrador. Evidence of the men's work would be found by extrapolating what is known about the animal resource use patterns during this time of intensified trading. Therefore the lack of evidence for popular economic resources, such as salmon and fur bearing mammals, is not surprising because this evidence stems from activities external to the household operations.

In 1873, a Moravian missionary came to Snooks Cove and noted that twelve Inuit families were living in the cove itself (Rollmann 2010:30). Seals had become an economically valuable trade item at the HBC by the end of the 19th century, and documents specify Snooks Cove specifically as a place to trade these skins (Rollmann 2010:32). These accounts also suggest that by the 1890s the concentration of settlement had shifted to the adjacent cove of Karawalla (Rollmann 2010:18). It would seem that the popularity of winter settlement in Snooks Cove ended rather abruptly after the turn of the 20th century. There is however no mention of the number of houses remaining there once this shift occurred, or of how many people lived in each house during any given year.

If families that had been returning to Snooks Cove winter after winter suddenly faced intense mounting competition for the same resources that had been used for generations, especially the commodification of seals, it might be difficult to choose to maintain that traditional pattern to the same extent (having seal be about 90% of the diet). Seals might have garnered a better return on investment if they were traded, rather than relied on as the principal food source. With the stress of inconsistent winter conditions, and the influence of settler ways of life, the Inuit of Snooks Cove might have been

motivated to take on a different supplementary pattern of subsistence. This kind of combined historical ecology approach "incorporates both agents and the environmental context of their actions" (Woollett 2007:69).

This analysis has uncovered possible evidence for a subtle shift between different forms of traditional seal-centric animal use. This is expressed in the early 19th century at House 4 as an overwhelming abundance of seal in the diet, with little need for secondary resources. The later 19th and early 20th century diet (and perhaps economy) of House 3 is still seal dominant, but a little more flexible in adapting animal use based on internally and externally driven change. This cultural continuity through seal use is a common identifier of an Inuit presence in various sites across Labrador, and will be discussed further as the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Comparison of Snooks Cove to Sites in Labrador

This chapter will provide a comparative analysis between several archaeological sites from across Labrador, ranging in date of occupation from the late 16th to 19th centuries. They represent settlement to the north and south of Hamilton Inlet in order to contextualize the findings from Snooks Cove within the long-term history of settlement in Labrador (see Figure 6.1). A brief description of each site and the results of excavation will be highlighted, followed by a summary of its faunal assemblage. The frequency of seals, terrestrial mammals, birds, fish, and domesticates/livestock in each assemblage will be noted. Dogs are not included in the dietary comparisons, but their specific abundances are noted. The various sites will be grouped by cultural affiliation and then presented in chronological order (see Table 6.1).

This analysis breaks down each previously identified assemblage into five subsistence animal categories. Seals, bird, and fish percentages are calculated from the total number of fragments, not necessarily just those determined to species, while terrestrial mammals and livestock percentages are based only on NISP. The sites from Woollett (2003:437) used the total number of fragments from the 'small to medium sea mammals' category, plus the additional NISP specifically for 'large seals' (generally, bearded seal). The inclusion of unspecified fragments of some groups attempts to compensate for differences in original analysis methodologies, rather than only using the identified NISP, and thus potentially eliminating the important and difficult to identify species. However, the NISP value was often the only quantification available to use; thus the true abundance of some animal groups may elude this comparison.

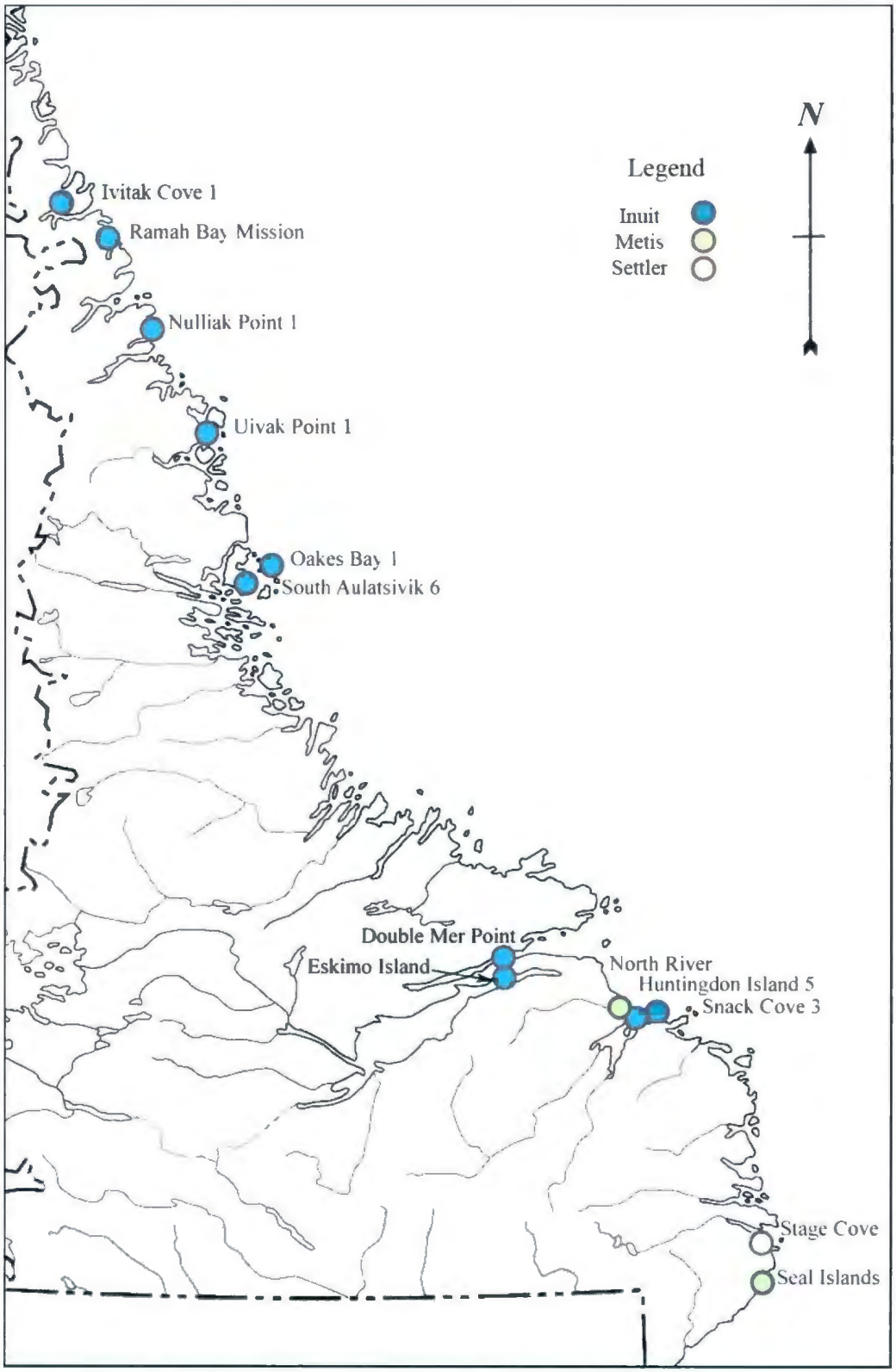

Figure 6.1 Sites mentioned in the text (adapted from Atlas Canada).

Table 6.1 Cultural affiliation and approximate chronology of sites used for comparison.

Site Name	Cultural Affiliation	Date Range	Reference
Eskimo Island/Double Mer Point	Inuit	Late 16th to early 19th century	Woollett 2003
Snack Cove 3	Inuit	17th century	Brewster 2005
Huntingdon Island 5	Inuit	Early 18th century	Murphy 2011
Oakes Bay 1	Inuit	18th century	Woollett 2003
Uivak Point 1	Inuit	18th century	Woollett 2003
Snooks Cove House 4	Inuit	Late 18th to mid 19th century	this thesis
Snooks Cove House 3	Inuit	Mid 19th to early 20th century	this thesis
Stage Cove	British	Late 18th century	McAleese 1991
Seal Islands	Mixed Ethnicity	Late 18th to early 19th century	Gaudreau 2011
North River	Mixed Ethnicity	19th century	Beaudoin 2008

6.1 Inuit Sites

6.1.1 Eskimo Island

Three distinct Inuit sites exist on Eskimo Island in the Narrows region. Fitzhugh extensively surveyed this area in 1968 and 1969 and identified several sod houses clustered on Eskimo Island (Fitzhugh 1972). Jordan followed up this project with full excavations of the major sod houses on Eskimo Island, as well as test pitting at Double Mer Point (the same project in which test pitting also occurred at Snooks Cove) (Jordan 1974, 1977). Kaplan (1983) further analysed these sites. The faunal data for this comparison is taken from Woollett's (2003) analysis, which compiled the faunal

assemblages from each site on Eskimo Island and Double Mer Point into a consistent and useful data set. The assemblages from Eskimo Island 1 and Double Mer Point were unified in order to compensate for the limitations in Jordan's excavation methodologies, which resulted in small, unsifted, and unstratified faunal samples (Woollett 2003). Due to the clustered nature of the Eskimo Island sites, and the potential of reoccurring occupation and post-abandonment cross-contamination, the houses were grouped within each individual site to create more useful inter-site comparisons (Woollett 2003:495).

6.1.1.1 Eskimo Island 1/Double Mer Point (GaBp-1/GbBo-2)

Eskimo Island 1 is located in the middle of the cluster of three sites on this island. The site consists of three large semi-subterranean sod houses with very long entrance passages, and House 2 shares its walls with House 1 and 3 (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003). Jordan excavated in House 2, which contained two layers of paved stone floor (suggesting multiple occupations), rear and side sleeping platforms, roof support timbers, and multiple stone lamp stands. The artifact collection consisted mainly of European goods, many of which were adapted for traditional uses, and all were suggestive of an 18th century occupation (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Traditional Inuit objects were also present.

Double Mer Point is a cluster of three semi-subterranean sod houses at the junction of the Narrows and the fjord of Double Mer, northeast of Rigolet. All three structures have short entrance passages, and the side walls of House 2 abut those of House 1 and 3. Test pitting was done in each house. House 1 revealed roof timbers and an unpaved sand floor with a variety of trade goods dating between the 17th to mid 19th

century (Kaplan 1983:438). Traditional items included worked bone and harpoon fragments. House 2 also contained roof timbers, however there were two layers with a paved stone floor. Trade goods suggest an occupation during the 18th and 19th centuries (Kaplan 1983:441). House 3 had a paved entrance passage and layered floor stones. All these houses are given an occupation date during the 18th century, and the multiple floor layers in House 1 and 3 suggest repeated occupations (Woollett 2003:275).

The combined faunal assemblage (see Table 6.2) from these two sites indicates that seals (96%) were a significant primary resource. Terrestrial mammals make up 4% of the total assemblage, with the only identified species being fox (NISP=50) and caribou (NISP=40) (Woollett 2003:499). Birds and fish were not identified to any species, and both make up less than 1% of the assemblage. This is likely a bias in the assemblage resulting from a lack of sifting during Jordan's original excavation (Woollett 1999:376). None of the sites on Eskimo Island or Double Mer Point contained domestic livestock remains, and had similar abundances of dog (NISP of 36 or 37). Some shellfish was also present.

6.1.1.2 Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2)

This site lies about 30m east of Eskimo Island 1 and consists of three semi-subterranean sod houses with entrance passages and some extensive middens. Two of the houses share a wall, both of which are considered communal houses, and all three have interior partitioning walls. House 4 and 6 were not fully excavated by Jordan, but a small

collection of artifacts were recovered, including trade goods, suggesting an occupation for House 6 during the 18th century (Kaplan 1983:419). House 4 has not been dated.

A more thorough excavation was conducted in House 5, revealing a paved stone floor, sleeping platforms along the rear and side walls, evidence of roof timbers, and several lamp stands. A partition wall divided one section, interpreted as a later addition, which demonstrated the house likely had multiple occupations. Artifacts from this house were mostly trade goods, but many traditional Inuit materials were also present, including soapstone, worked wood, and antler and bone objects. Kaplan re-examined the artifacts that Jordan used for dating and concluded most come from the late 18th to early 19th century; however, it may be that a smaller 19th century house was built on top, or that the building materials used to construct the 19th century house contained older artifacts (Woollett 2003:267).

The faunal assemblage from Eskimo Island 2 consists of 96% seal (see Table 6.2). Terrestrial mammals (2%) are represented by fox (NISP= 30), caribou (NISP=23), river otter (NISP=13), and bear (NISP=2). Birds also make up 2% of the assemblage, including ptarmigan. Fish represent less than 1%, and both cod and salmon families are identified (Woollett 2003:499).

6.1.1.3 Eskimo Island 3 (GaBp-3)

This site has four small semi-subterranean sod houses scattered on the landscape approximately 85m northwest of Eskimo Island 1. House 1 had sleeping platforms along the rear wall, a paved stone floor, a lamp stand, evidence of roof timbers, and midden

deposits surrounding the perimeter. The artifact assemblage contained a relatively large percentage of Inuit objects. The European items were described as predominately functional, many being modified for use in the traditional Inuit toolkit, and pointed to a mid 17th- to early 18th-century occupation (Jordan 1974).

House 2 was the largest at the site, having an added chamber that may have been an older structure beneath the main house. Test pitting was done in the midden and the side chamber, yielding artifacts to suggest an occupation between the late 16th and early 17th century, making it the oldest at the site (Jordan 1974). House 3 is a rounded structure and test pits did not recover any diagnostic artifacts, but is assumed to date between the late 17th to early 18th century, based on similarities in architecture to the other houses. House 4 was a small round house with no entrance passage. Inuit objects of soapstone and bone, as well as European goods, indicate the same late 16th- to early 17th-century date as the chamber of House 2, making these houses the earliest evidence of Inuit settlement in Hamilton Inlet (Woollett 2003:271).

Eskimo Island 3 yielded the largest faunal assemblage (see Table 6.2), with seals once again dominating the collection at 96% of the total. Terrestrial mammals (3%) are represented by a variety of species: caribou (NISP=62), river otter (NISP=28), and fox (NISP=22), as well as some wolverine, arctic hare, and bear (Woollett 2003:499). Birds are 1%, while fish represent less than 1% of the assemblage.

Table 6.2 Dietary resources from Eskimo Island and Double Mer Point sites.

	EI 1/ Double Mer Point		EI 2		EI 3	
	NISP	%NISP	NISP	%NISP	NISP	%NISP
Seals	4393	96	4258	96	5495	96
Terrestrial Mammal	164	4	86	2	196	3
Bird	15	<1	71	2	28	1
Fish	5	<1	12	<1	7	<1
Domesticates	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dog	36	-	37	-	36	-
Total	*4613*	*100*	*4464*	*100*	*5762*	*100*

6.1.2 Snack Cove 3 (FkBe-3)

Snack Cove is located on the eastern tip of Huntingdon Island in Sandwich Bay, near the town of Cartwright in Southern Labrador. The archaeological site lies in the centre of the cove, where two houses were first identified and test pitted by Fitzhugh (1989). In 2003, Rankin (2004) returned to fully excavate House 1, a single room rectangular structure with an entrance passage and rear sleeping platform made entirely from sod and sand, with evidence of a wood frame. Rankin and Brewster returned in 2004 to excavate House 2 and test pitted a third house (Brewster 2005). This house was a single square room with a rear sleeping platform, a paved stone floor, and entrance passage. Sod walls also showed evidence of a wood frame and roof. There was a storage area in two corners of the house and a small midden in the west wall. The artifacts from all houses included numerous Inuit and European materials, which, supported by radiocarbon dating, suggest an occupation during the early to mid 17th century (Brewster 2005).

The faunal assemblage indicates seals were the primary resource (29%) (see Table 6.3). The number of seals is not as high as typically seen in Inuit winter occupations so, along with the presence of juvenile harp seals, occupation appears to be focused around the autumn hunting season. There is a great frequency and variety of terrestrial mammals (34%), including fox (NISP= 181), caribou (NISP= 156), arctic hare (NISP=10), mustelids (NISP=5) — wolverine, river otter, muskrat, and bear are each represented by one fragment (Brewster 2005: 95). Many remains from various bird (19%) and fish (18%) species were also identified. The abundance of fox, caribou, cod, and ptarmigan specifically point to an autumn occupation, but also imply a greater reliance on these secondary resources — perhaps during a period of resource stress, due to unsuccessful harp seal hunts (Brewster 2005). No domesticates were found. Some dog remains were identified (NISP=11).

Table 6.3 Dietary resources from Snack Cove 3.

	NISP	%NISP
Seals	314	29
Terrestrial Mammal	358	34
Bird	198	19
Fish	196	18
Domesticates	0	0
Dog	11	-
Total	1077	100

6.1.3 Huntingdon Island 5 (FkBg-3)

This site on the west side of Huntingdon Island, opposite of Snack Cove, was found by Stopp in 1992 and identified by Rankin in 2006 as a large Inuit settlement with five semi-subterranean sod houses and six tent rings, indicating a long term history of

Inuit occupation spanning about 150 years (Murphy 2011; Rankin 2009). House 3 was further investigated in 2010. This was a large communal house, likely occupied very briefly, perhaps even for just one winter, sometime between 1720 and 1740 (Murphy 2011). It had a paved interior and entrance passage, a cold trap entrance, three sleeping platforms, and yielded predominantly European goods, although some traditional Inuit materials were identified (Murphy 2011:132).

The small faunal assemblage shows a primary dependence on seals, making up 69% of the assemblage (see Table 6.4). Terrestrial mammals contribute a significant 29%, but only include caribou (NISP=121), fox (NISP= 20), and bear (NISP=1) (Murphy 2011:101). Birds make up 1% and may have been a supplementary resource over the winter. Such a low amount of seal is unusual, but may be due either to a less than successful seal hunt, or indicative of a season when caribou were especially prevalent on the island (Murphy 2011:109). No domesticates or fish were identified. Shellfish is mentioned as a supplementary food source. Dogs had a small presence in the assemblage (NISP=13).

Table 6.4 Dietary resources from Huntingdon Island 5.

	NISP	%NISP
Seals	336	69
Terrestrial Mammal	142	29
Bird	7	1
Fish	0	0
Domesticates	0	0
Dog	13	-
Total	498	99

6.1.4 Oakes Bay 1 (HeCg-8)

The site of the sod houses at Oakes Bay 1 are located on the west side of Dog Island, near Nain, in northern Labrador. It was first surveyed in 1966 by Taylor (1974), then repeatedly by Fitzhugh (1977), and again in 2000 by Kaplan and Woollett, who test pitted many of the houses and completed full excavations in three houses and one midden (Woollett 2003). Seven structures in total have been identified, including three communal houses and four smaller houses, implying a long term Inuit occupation of the site (Woollett 2003:282). Moravian records indicate that there was Inuit occupation of Oakes Bay in the winter of 1771 (when the Nain mission station was established), however, there is no mention of occupation after this date. House 3 and its associated midden were fully excavated by Kaplan and Woollett (2000). It was a large rectangular structure with a long curved entrance passage, a possible alcove, and broad sleeping platforms on at least two of the walls. The artifact assemblage indicated traditional Inuit materials, as well as many trade items, indicative of an 18th-century occupation (Woollett 2003:283).

The faunal assemblage is composed almost entirely of seal bones (96%), however, a few terrestrial mammals (3%) were also identified (see Table 6.5). Terrestrial species include fox (NISP= 27), caribou (NISP=9), arctic hare (NISP=5), and bear (NISP=1) (Woollett 2003:531). Birds represent 1%, and only one fish bone was identified. A significant amount of shellfish was also present. This specialized marine-oriented subsistence strategy indicates a winter-spring occupation (Woollett 2003:625). No domesticates were found. Dog remains were quite abundant (NISP=26).

Table 6.5 Dietary resources from Oakes Bay 1.

	NISP	%NISP
Seals	2768	95
Terrestrial Mammal	77	3
Bird	26	1
Fish	1	<1
Domesticates	0	0
Dog	26	-
Total	2915	100

6.1.5 Uivak Point 1 (HjCl-9)

Uivak Point was identified by Taylor in 1966, surveyed by Kaplan in 1977 and 1978, and finally excavated by Woollett (2003). It was apparent that this Inuit site was intensively occupied prior to the late 18th century, but there is no evidence for occupation after 1807. The Moravian mission station at Okak was established in 1776. Its records describe occupation at Uivak Point as being 25 Inuit families, in two to four different houses, who spent every winter there between 1776 and 1798, and again between 1800 and 1807 (Woollett 2003). Located on a peninsula in Okak Bay in northern Labrador, this site consists of at least seven sod houses, including communal houses and large middens, though only House 7 was chosen for full excavation (Woollett 2003). The structure was a large rectangular semi-subterranean sod house with a cold trap and entrance passage. The artifact collection represents the complete Inuit toolkit with some European goods, and was occupied between the 1750s and 1807.

The large faunal assemblage (see Table 6.6) is associated with House 7. Seals (92%) were the most significant resource. Terrestrial mammals (6%) included caribou, fox (NISP=441), (NISP=154), bear (NISP=10), and arctic hare (NISP=5) (Woollett

2003:561, 565). Although numerous bird and fish remains were identified, they each only represent 1% of the assemblage. Interestingly, two fragments of pig bone were identified, from the mandible and maxilla of a young individual. These would have probably come from a live or barreled pig shipped from Europe, since it would have been difficult to overwinter pigs in Labrador (Woollett 2003:562). Woollett (2003:562) also speculates that perhaps the Moravians provided these inferior cuts of meat to the Inuit at Christmas. A large amount of dog remains were found (NISP=1041). Through a study of dog mortality and historical records, it was suggested that the Uivak Point occupants maintained a very large and healthy dog team (Woollett 2003:581–587). A large shellfish sample was collected as well.

Table 6.6 Dietary resources from Uivak Point 1.

	NISP	%NISP
Seals	29351	89
Terrestrial Mammal	1947	6
Bird	440	2
Fish	261	1
Domesticates	2	<1
Dog	1041	-
Total	33042	100

6.1.6 19th-Century Inuit Sites

This collection of Inuit sites dates to the 19th and early 20th centuries. Each are discussed in detail by Kaplan (1983). These four are selected as a concentrated sample of 19th-century Inuit sites with small to medium sized faunal assemblages from northern regions of Labrador. A table indicating dietary resource breakdown is not included for

these sites, due to inconsistencies in original faunal descriptions and quantifiable data (see Kaplan 1983).

6.1.6.1 South Aulatsicik 6 (HdCi-20)

Seven sod houses and many tent rings were identified on this coastal island, just north of Nain. House 2 was discovered to be a short-term winter and spring occupation during the mid to late 19th century, where test pitting yielded few Inuit artifacts and many of European origin, suggesting frequent trade (Kaplan 1983:489–498). The identified faunal assemblage was mainly seal (NISP=1059) and fox (NISP=60), but bird and cod are also mentioned (Kaplan 1983:497).

6.1.6.2 Nulliak Point 1 (IbCp-1)

This site near Hebron consisted of seven semi subterranean sod houses and three plank houses, and was an autumn to spring hunting camp during the late 19th to early 20th century (Kaplan 1983:564–571). It was known as a location where people from Hebron would place seal nets in the 19th century, and there was also evidence of caribou fencing, suggesting it was a popular hunting locale (Brice-Bennett 1977:129; Fitzhugh 1980). The artifacts were of both European and Inuit origin, and the faunal remains came from test pitting in the midden (Kaplan 1983). The identified remains were seals (NISP=98) and bird (NISP=3). There was also some evidence of dogs (NISP=1).

6.1.6.3 Ramah Bay Mission (ItCt-3)

This site was established in 1871 on the north shore of Ramah Bay by the Moravians, who dismantled all their buildings by 1907, but the remains of ten semi-subterranean houses and some tent rings were visible (Kaplan 1983:628–654). All the houses had the same interior division of space and used European stoves, as well as many other trade goods replacing traditional implements (Kaplan 1983). The faunal assemblage contained seal (NISP=300), two fragments each from walrus, fox, and caribou, one fragment each from polar bear and bird, and some fish were noted (Kaplan 1983:652–653). This supports the idea that fox fur, seal skins, and fish were being traded at the Moravian store to purchase European items, and perhaps even dry food goods (Kaplan 1983:653–654). Dog was also present (NISP=3).

6.1.6.4 Ivitak Cove 1 (IgCw-1)

This site of eleven semi-subterranean sod houses lies in the southern shore of Nachvak Fjord and was inhabited at the time of HBC operations in the area between 1868 and 1906, but by 1921 only two houses were occupied (Kaplan 1983:664). Both Inuit and European artifacts were collected, suggesting intensive trade with the HBC (Kaplan 1983:664–674). The faunal assemblage included seal (NISP=97), caribou (NISP=25), fox (NISP=5), bird (NISP=3), and one walrus fragment (Kaplan 1983:674). One dog bone was also identified.

6.2 British and Mixed Ethnicity Sites

6.2.1 Stage Cove (FbAw-1)

Stage Cove is located halfway between St. Lewis Sound and the Strait of Belle Isle. Excavation took place in 1986 by McAleese (1991) where he identified a large rectangular house, considered by historical records to be the home of Captain George Cartwright. This house (Structure 1) became the focus of excavation, though he also identified a smaller house (Structure 2) which he interpreted as the servants quarters (McAleese 1991).

Cartwright's house was a wood-framed structure with a sand and gravel foundation, wood flooring, and a single doorway. Remains of interior wood walls dividing the space were also identified, as well as a brick and stone fireplace and interior cache pit. McAleese (1991) suggests that Stage Cove would have been occupied year-round as a singular 1770s occupation. There was little evidence for any indigenous activity on the site.

By the late 18th century, the British had a successful sealing and salmon fishing industry along the coast of Southern Labrador. In 1775 Cartwright relocated his headquarters to Sandwich Bay. Many of the household items and supplies remained at Stage Cove, which was occupied seasonally until 1779 as a supply harbour (McAleese 1991). Cartwright contributed greatly to the expansion of the industry, especially through his efforts in connecting British trade with the well-established Inuit trade network throughout Labrador. Inuit groups were also known to visit Cartwright's posts, including

Stage Cove, to acquire goods like iron and beads during their excursions to the Strait of Belle Isle (McAleese 1991).

Most of the limited faunal assemblage comes from birds (51%) (see Table 6.7). This large avian sample is consistent with Cartwright's documented preference for hunting local birds, evidenced in the faunal remains by an abundance of ducks and geese (McAleese 1991:105). Secondary resources are domestic livestock animals, such as pig (NISP=35) and cow (NISP=21), with chicken, goat, and sheep in lesser amounts (McAleese 1991:226). A limited number of seal were found. Only one caribou bone was identified and no fur-bearing mammals were found. The collection associated with Structure 2, which lends evidence for it being a servant household, is mostly salt beef remains and seal bone. The only evidence of dog is two fragments and instances of gnawed bone. Only a few shellfish fragments were identified.

Table 6.7 Dietary resources from Stage Cove.

	NISP	%NISP
Seals	7	5
Terrestrial Mammal	1	1
Bird	75	51
Fish	2	1
Domesticates	62	42
Dog	2	-
Total	149	100

6.2.2 Seal Islands (FaAw-5)

The Seal Islands are situated within the archipelago outside Chateau Bay near the mouth of the Strait of Belle Isle. The archaeological site is on one of these outer islands, lying within one kilometre of an historic British fort occupied between 1767 and 1775.

The Seal Islands site was excavated in 1986 by Auger (1989), who identified a rectangular semi-subterranean sod dwelling with an associated midden, which he interpreted as an Inuit dwelling. The structure was only partially excavated due to its large size and contained a raised rear sleeping platform and wood floors with a roof supported by wood posts, but no entrance passage. A cache pit southwest of the house was fully excavated. The artifact assemblage included a few traditional Inuit items and many European artifacts. Occupation was determined to be between 1760 and 1820 based on the presence of certain ceramic types (Auger 1989). Some of these items, recovered from the walls and lowest level, suggested an initial occupation predating 1720, and was interpreted by Auger as an early European context (Auger 1989). Discrepancies about the interpretation of Inuit ethnicity at the site, such as the absence of an entrance passage and a strange artifact collection, were thought to result from intensive acculturation of the Inuit among Europeans (Auger 1991:83).

The original analysis of the faunal assemblage used a sample of bones comparing the two proposed contexts (Auger 1989:300–331). The Inuit context contained mostly seal, with many caribou, and some seabirds and cod. Livestock remains were present, but were considered as either out of context due to contamination and re-use of materials in the house, or as being acquired from trading posts during times of resource stress. The European layers contained mostly domesticates, with some seal and caribou, as well as porcupine, fox, seabirds, and very few fish.

Recently, Gaudreau (2011) reexamined the Seal Islands site using species abundance and butchery marks in a comprehensive faunal analysis. This research

stemmed from the original problematic idea of multiple occupations, as well as a need to address cultural affiliation and changing subsistence practices (Gaudreau 2011:11). The new results implied that the site may indicate some of the earliest evidence for mixed ethnicity occupation in Southern Labrador, or at least the beginning of the intensive acculturation period at the household level that lasted throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Gaudreau (2011) identified 20 different species in the faunal assemblage (see Table 6.8). Of the total identified fragments, 46% were from birds. Most of these were marine species, such as ducks and gulls, but ptarmigan, raven, and birds of prey were also identified. No nesting or migratory birds were found. Seals were the next most abundant taxa at 35%. The only identified fish was cod (12%). Terrestrial mammals only make up 2% of the assemblage, and include fox (NISP=94), caribou (NISP=60), porcupine (NISP=20), otter (NISP=3), rabbit/hare (NISP=1), and bear (NISP=1) (Gaudreau 2011:354). Remains from domesticates, both pig and cow, represent 5%. Pig alone is more abundant than all native terrestrial species combined (NISP=293). Dog remains had a limited presence (NISP=8).

Table 6.8 Dietary resources from Seal Islands.

	NISP	%NISP
Seals	2539	35
Terrestrial Mammal	180	2
Bird	3377	46
Fish	891	12
Domesticates	333	5
Dog	8	-
Total	7328	100

6.2.3 North River (FkBg-24)

North River is located at the mouth of Sandwich Bay near the town of Cartwright in Sandwich Bay. Historical records indicate that this location was home to English settler Charles Williams and his wife Mary, a Metis woman of Inuit-Scottish descent, from at least 1863 until his death in 1879 (Beaudoin 2008). The archaeological site, presumed to be their house, was originally located and test pitted by Rankin (2002), followed up with excavation in 2007 revealing a rectangular sod structure, a saw pit, and a midden (Beaudoin 2008). The house consisted of a single room with a door, an interior storage space covered by a hinged trap door, window glass, and a stove, as well as wood walls, flooring, and supports for the roof, which would have also been covered by sod and bark (Beaudoin 2008). Beaudoin interpreted a gendered division of material culture, where house construction and exterior activities reflected British male settler traditions, while interior domestic activities reflected female Inuit patterns, mainly centred around foodways (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010).

The small faunal collection from North River contained mostly bird (42%) and fish (38%) (see Table 6.9). Seals (NISP=38) only represent 7% of the assemblage. The terrestrial mammals (13%) included mainly caribou (NISP=46), with a few fox (NISP=8), moose (NISP=6), hare (NISP=3), and one fragment each from beaver, mink, wolverine, and bear (Beaudoin 2008:104). A relatively large sample of shellfish was also found. No domestic livestock or dogs were identified.

Table 6.9 Dietary resources from North River.

	NISP	%NISP
Seals	38	7
Terrestrial Mammal	67	13
Bird	220	42
Fish	199	38
Domesticates	0	0
Dog	0	-
Total	524	100

6.3 Dietary Inferences and Animal Use Comparisons

This section places the Snooks Cove faunal assemblages in direct comparison with the Inuit, British, and mixed ethnicity sites described in the collection above using the same animal groupings (see Table 6.10).

Table 6.10 Relative abundance of dietary resources at various sites in Labrador.

Site	**%Seal**	**%Terrestrial Mammal**	**%Bird**	**%Fish**	**%Domesticates**
Eskimo Isl. 3	96	3	1	<1	0
Snack Cove 3	29	34	19	18	0
Huntingdon Island 5	69	29	1	0	0
Eskimo Isl. 1/ Double Mer Point	96	4	<1	<1	0
Oakes Bay 1	96	3	1	<1	0
Uivak Point 1	92	6	1	1	<1
Eskimo Isl. 2	96	2	2	<1	0
Snooks Cove H4	94	4	<1	2	0
Snooks Cove H3	49	12	37	2	0
Stage Cove	5	1	51	1	42
Seal Isl.	35	2	46	12	5
North River	7	13	42	38	0

Arranging the collection again by ethnic affiliation and chronological order (as in Table 6.1) can make it easier to observe any patterns that correlate to cultural tradition and development over time. Snooks Cove will be compared to all the Inuit and mixed ethnicity sites, and comparisons will also be made between contemporaneous sites. This large-scale viewpoint becomes especially relevant for the 19th century, as the parameters for defining Inuit, British, and mixed ethnicity sites become more ambiguous over time.

6.3.1 Inuit Sites

The Inuit assemblages in this collection have many commonalities. Dietary animal use at most winter sod house sites have assemblages containing at least 90% seal, less than 10% terrestrial mammal, and up to 2% bird and fish. Terrestrial mammals tend to include fox and caribou in the greatest amounts, and can include hare, otter, mustelids, bear, and wolverine. Duck and ptarmigan are the most common types of bird, and cod are usually present in some capacity. These sites have almost no evidence to suggest regular consumption of European domesticates, despite the two pig bones at Uivak Point. Inuit sites always contain a certain amount of dog, but the archaeological occurrence of their remains is unpredictable, resulting from differential distribution — dogs are more a part of Inuit society than a subsistence resource, and they move with people throughout their lifespan, thus their remains would not have the same disposal patterns as food waste.

Snooks Cove House 4 fits well amongst its contemporaries, even having an almost identical ratio to sites further north. It has all the signs of maintaining a successful Inuit animal use tradition, with seals at 94%, compared to 96% seal in every occupation of

Eskimo Island and Oakes Bay. The 19th-century sites sampled from Kaplan also indicate this pattern of animal use, with seals making up at least 90% of the assemblages. Despite the zooarchaeological evidence for these sites coming from test pit data, it is clear that seal was consistently of the utmost importance. This remains true even during intensive European contact that provided opportunities for purchased food items, as at the Ramah Bay Mission (Kaplan 1983:653). These 19th- and early 20th-century sites support the idea that even after an extensive colonial history, the Inuit of Labrador remained committed to certain traditions of animal use, whether for personal consumption or also for trade.

Some of the earlier Inuit sites demonstrate this typical animal use, with a significant focus on seals, but differences can be seen in the ratios of secondary resources. Uivak Point, for example, has the only occurrence of domestic livestock remains at any Inuit site, but still had 92% seal and a typical distribution of secondary species. This ratio was almost identical to Snooks Cove House 4, excluding domesticates. Huntingdon Island seals, although not in the 90% range, still make up over two thirds of the assemblage. In fact, this site had a dual dependence on seal and caribou, with almost no other terrestrial food animals. This might suggest that two primary yields were sufficient enough for this short winter occupation's needs, even if neither was especially productive. Compared to Snack Cove 3 on the same island, where more variety of species was necessary, the occupants of Huntingdon Island 5 appear to have remained focused on these two traditionally important Inuit resources. Huntingdon Island is frequented by visiting caribou and is located next to a large polyna, where there would be good access to seals in winter.

The significant outliers of the typical animal use pattern are seen in the assemblages of Snack Cove 3 and Snooks Cove House 3. Seal remains make up less than half of these assemblages, meaning terrestrial mammals, birds, and fish are more significant. These sites prove that it is problematic for categorically applying formulas to Inuit sites in Labrador during any time period. On the other hand, they also demonstrate that regional adaptability is unpredictable, and require the use of what is available; despite their differences, these sites continue to display evidence of cultural continuity.

It is thought that Snack Cove 3 was occupied before the Inuit had much interaction or formal trade with Europeans (Brewster 2005; Rankin et al. 2012). Its location in an ecologically productive zone, within range of European contacts, implies that the inhabitants used this place to access important resources. Being an autumn occupation, and the most southerly site used in this study, it provides a different set of comparative data than the winter assemblages. It provides a unique insight into the seasonal priorities and regional adaptability of the Inuit, before they were heavily engaged in European trade. Since the Snack Cove residents had access to a range of species, the abundance of fox and caribou in the assemblage may be a result of preferential selection, not stress-induced necessity, considering numerous other species were exploited to lesser extents. This also mirrors the resource use at Huntingdon Island 5, where two primary resources were well defined. Snack Cove 3's status as an outlier due to its low amount of seal may be reasonably explained by the nature of its autumn occupation, where its residents used what was available and most abundant. However, the key factors of a typical Inuit

assemblage can still be identified — there remains a primary reliance on seal and a secondary focus on both fox and caribou.

Snooks Cove House 3 demonstrates yet another type of deviation from the faunal formula. Both seal and bird are the most abundant. Terrestrial mammals are somewhat significant due to the variety of species, but not their overall abundance. The change in animal use patterns by this later family at Snooks Cove may well result from a unique set of circumstances occurring in Groswater Bay. It is important to note that this shift cannot be found in contemporaneous sites in Northern Labrador — significant fluctuations in animal use appear to have a greater occurrence in more southerly regions. If House 4 was indeed abandoned right before, or at the same time as, House 3 was built, then within quite a short time, the assemblage at House 3 deviates almost entirely from the seal-dominated pattern seen at most Inuit winter sites before the mid 19th century. It also includes more birds than any Inuit site sampled in this collection. However, even with the varying importance of secondary resources, seals remain the most significant single species. This continuity in seal use is also true at every other Inuit site sampled in this study. A preference for seals above all other animals may be considered an Inuit signature in any Labrador dwelling faunal assemblage.

6.3.2 British and Mixed Ethnicity Sites

The archaeology of European sites often has the benefit of historical documentation to shed light on small scale activities, sometimes even suggesting the inhabitants' diet. Zooarchaeology can further develop the subtleties of the social factors

and taskscapes that relate to foodways. At first glimpse, the three sites in this category may appear to have very different faunal assemblages, but as with the Inuit sites examined above, much can be understood from the secondary resources.

The faunal assemblage and documentation from Stage Cove seems to indicate that Cartwright's occupation was somewhat different from other settler and seasonal European sites. It was well known that Cartwright preferred hunting local birds and encouraged his crew to eat local "country foods", including seals, rather than just imported goods (McAleese 1991). Bird hunting for Europeans was both a prestigious leisure sport and an effective provisioning method (McAleese 1991:105). Settler sites and seasonal fisheries from the 17th and 18th centuries in Newfoundland have faunal assemblages that also indicate a correlation between bird hunting and high status individuals (Noel 2010:108, 114; Tourigny 2009:52). Hodgetts (2006:136) has said that for middle and lower class Englishmen, the move to North America was an improvement in access to foods of greater social value — especially because in the 17th century, it became illegal for the lower class to hunt game birds (Tourigny 2009:52). Therefore, evidence of this activity would not be indicative of resource stress, seasonal occupation, or secondary resource selection, as it might be at an Inuit site. Birds make up 50% of the identified remains at Stage Cove, the highest number at any site sampled here.

Seal remains, on the other hand, contribute very little. They were mostly found alongside the greatest abundance of livestock remains, an area therefore designated as the crew or servants' area. Even though Cartwright's occupation reflects an attempt to live off the land, for both personal and economic reasons, there is a clear ethnic distinction in

overall resource priorities from Inuit sites, again emphasizing the European preference for birds and supplementation with domesticates brought from home.

Interestingly, the economically important species of fish and seals are under-represented at Stage Cove, where economic pursuits played a significant role in driving settlement there. Similarly, important trade fauna such as fish and fur-bearing animals were also under-represented at Snooks Cove, where there was a local European trading post. McAleese has explained this absence as evidence of task spaces, since marine resources would have been processed, and waste disposed of, shore-side (McAleese 1991:103). Likewise, fur-bearing animals in the 19th century would have been processed and discarded along the trap lines away from home during the winter (Ames 1977; Kennedy 1995:141–144). Both activities are separate from the actual dwelling spaces examined by archaeologists. It can safely be assumed that fishing occurred to some capacity at all sites, because it was important both for food and export trade. On the other hand, this zooarchaeological evidence alone cannot speak to the practice of trapping, since these animals were not of dietary importance — the absence of remains in one area cannot authenticate the practice of an activity elsewhere. When fur-bearing animals are present in household assemblages, it may reflect small-scale use in the household, rather than large-scale trading.

As for the Seal Islands and North River, two sites that represent mixed ethnicity settlement, each have over 40% bird in their faunal assemblages, making it the obvious primary resource. Both Seal Islands and North River had a variety of terrestrial and marine birds, including species (like birds of prey) not identified at any true Inuit sites

(Beaudoin 2008:106; Gaudreau 2011:354). Perhaps the European men of mixed ethnicity sites would have valued this culturally respected activity as a way to provide food. These men were of the skilled working class, hired on by traders (Beaudoin 2008:17). Arriving to newfound independence, and settling in Labrador with Inuit wives, they might have gladly taken the opportunity to go bird hunting, likely not the kind of leisure activity they would be used to (Hodgetts 2006; Noel 2010; Tourigny 2009). Inuit certainly hunted birds, but no site has been found to have as much bird as at a mixed ethnicity site. Again, this primary focus on birds may be considered a strong indicator of European influence in a faunal assemblage.

There is an inconsistency in the abundances of seals (the Inuit signifier) in the mixed ethnicity assemblages. The Seal Islands house has been reconsidered as the earliest archaeological mixed ethnicity household, or even as being occupied by highly enculturated settlers, coexisting with and learning from the Inuit in Southern Labrador (Gaudreau 2011). This site had 35% seal, which would be expected if it were a part-Inuit occupation. The mixed ethnicity household at North River, on the other hand, had 7% seal, which is only slightly more than at Stage Cove, where there is no Inuit influence. In this regard the greater abundance of seals at Seal Islands suggests a more prevalent Inuit influence on dietary animal selection than at North River. The low seal amounts from North River and Stage Cove might be a result of difference in processing sites between food and economically valuable animals, but also might reflect a decline in the prevalence of consuming seal. Location is also a factor in these sites' differential access to seals.

North River is not a good location for seals, but is a good location for salmon fishing — thus the choice to live there would not be based on a desire to eat seal.

The Seal Islands community relied very minimally on local terrestrial mammals, instead supplementing with domesticates, making it more akin to Stage Cove. Despite the small amount, the terrestrial species represented here were typical of Inuit sites. No domesticates were found at North River, but a more diverse local hunting strategy of terrestrial mammals was employed. This suggests a sharper contrast in culturally-affiliated animal use at the Seal Islands because it had both primary ethnic signifiers, seal and bird (as derived from this analysis), and was also located nearer to a trading post and might have had greater access to domesticates. In contrast, at North River there is a more blended dietary animal selection pattern, not strongly affiliated with either culture. It is possible that geography, time, and individual household choices influenced these differences, but until more mixed ethnicity sites become known, it cannot be said whether the diet of these people was variable from site to site or if any consistent patterns exist.

6.3.3 Summary

From the evidence in this collection of sites it would appear that over time there was less reliance on seals as the dominant food source, regardless of ethnicity. It is also possible to suggest a developing cohesion and blending of Inuit and European subsistence practices at mixed ethnicity sites over time. Since Williams' wife Mary was already Metis, not Inuit, she would have already had knowledge of British household practices and been taught to blend both Scottish and Inuit cultures (Anderson 1984; Beaudoin

2008; Kennedy 1995:8–9; Stopp 2008:22). Beaudoin (2008:107) also notes that the faunal material was clustered in two areas inside the house at North River, representing storage areas. These are not typical in Inuit houses, and as such, interior storage features would be reflective of European architecture.

Gaudreau argues that any discrepancies in Auger's original claim of Inuit occupation can be explained by a more careful consideration of the faunal assemblage. She argues, by comparison to other sites, that the faunal remains from Seal Islands did not have the expected composition that other researchers have found significant to Inuit assemblages (Gaudreau 2010:243). In this way the Seal Islands site is very similar to Snooks Cove House 3. While seals are undoubtedly the single most abundant animal, and an obvious primary resource, it is the higher ratios of secondary resources that make this site unique.

Comprehensive analysis of more 19th-century faunal assemblages, such as the short term winter occupation of South Aulatsicik 6 near Nain, would elucidate the shifting patterns seen in this collection, and may illuminate the motivations behind them. This would help determine whether Snooks Cove is indeed an anomaly demonstrating Inuit regional adaptability, or whether this trend was part of a greater progression in Inuit subsistence patterns as they entered the 20th century.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Initial Research Objectives

The archaeological site of Snooks Cove has provided a unique opportunity to interpret the regional adaptations and varied colonial experiences of the Labrador Inuit. Examination of the relationship between culturally and economically significant animal use patterns facilitated a discussion around continuity and change in Inuit ethnicity. As discussed in Chapter 1, this thesis set out to investigate three main research questions regarding the nature of Inuit occupation and animal use. The first objective was to examine the nature of Inuit lifeways in the Narrows region during the 19th century. The second objective was to contextualize the faunal analysis from Snooks Cove by comparing animal use over time to other sites in Labrador. The third objective was to determine any consistent characteristics in the faunal assemblages that could act as a reference for identifying other culturally ambiguous 19th-century sites.

7.1.1 The Nature of Inuit Occupation at Snooks Cove

Excavation has confirmed the presence of two Inuit houses near the shoreline of the cove. House 4 is indeed a late 18th- to mid 19th-century Inuit sod house with typical Inuit architectural features, including a rear sleeping platform, stone hearth, long entrance passage, some flagstone paving, structural wood planks, and a cold trap-like entrance feature. House 3 is a mid 19th- to early 20th-century occupation, and is more like a settler-style plank house, but still had many Inuit features, such as a rear sleeping platform and an interior layout almost identical to House 4. Material culture evidence from the site

indicates an almost complete use of metal, ceramic, and glass objects of European origin. Some traditional Inuit materials are still in use, such as soapstone and worked bone, even in House 3.

It has previously been believed that the subsistence patterns and seasonal round of the Inuit in Hamilton Inlet remained relatively unchanged (Ames 1977:280). The findings from Snooks Cove suggest otherwise. Over a period of potentially 60 years, the early 19th-century inhabitants of House 4 exhibited this well-established traditional animal use pattern, but by the late 19th century, a noticeable change in dietary animal use occurred. The inhabitants of House 3 no doubt experienced an economic and social life that was far from static. House 3 also exhibits evidence of the importance placed on maintaining certain Inuit traditions, such as the organization of dwelling space identical to their neighbours (or even relatives) in House 4. This may also be reflected in the animal use patterns through their continued reliance on seal hunting.

The faunal assemblages from both houses support an over-wintering at Snooks Cove. These occupations exploited the locally abundant seal resources of the Narrows and took advantage of late autumn and early spring caribou and migratory bird hunting. House 4 relied primarily on seal with both caribou and fish as the only significant secondary resources. There was little evidence of bird or other mammals. House 3 demonstrated a primary reliance on both seal and bird, with caribou as a significant secondary species. Many other species were also strongly represented, but there was very little fish. It is clear that dogs remained significant to the Inuit way of life throughout the 19th century.

Despite one piece of an iron trap being found in House 3, the material culture overall does not indicate trapping as a significant economy for the people of Snooks Cove. Similarly, the faunal collection was also almost entirely lacking in fur-bearing mammals; however, as previously mentioned, this does not necessarily correlate to a complete lack of trapping activities. Inuit men may have taken part in some trapping activity along interior trap lines during the late autumn and winter, which would not be reflected in these households. While the fur economy may have been important for Inuit in other areas of Labrador, like those who lived near Moravian mission stations and more southerly trading posts, the Inuit of the Narrows region appear to have remained focused on sealing.

The introduction of firearms and seal nets in the late 18th century would have been a great incentive for the Inuit to engage in trade. The Inuit of Snooks Cove could have participated in trading either at the post in the cove itself or at Rigolet. These posts were known to specialize in salmon and seal products (Ames 1977:280–281). The people of Snooks Cove also had direct kinship ties to settlements further north, with which they might have had regular opportunity to trade (Rollmann 2010:10, 12). If these people did participate in the popular salmon industry, taking place over the summer, there would not be faunal evidence in these domestic winter houses. In all likelihood, House 3 was one of the households that the Moravians saw actively engaged with settlers and traders, bringing their seals and salmon to Rigolet.

There was a large collection of artifacts associated with firearms from both houses at Snooks Cove, implying ongoing trade and reinforcing the prominence of seal hunting.

Seals have consistently been found to be a primary resource for the Inuit, especially in the Narrows. Seal skins and rendered blubber oil were exported from the Rigolet area, and as the HBC's economic presence expanded in the later 19th century, there would have been increasing value and opportunities in the seal trade. This may help to explain the difference in seal abundances between House 3 and 4 at Snooks Cove. By the time House 3 was occupied, the Inuit may have decided it was more valuable to divide their seal yields for both trade and personal consumption.

The consequences of more seals going to the trading post would have been felt in the household's daily diet, resulting in a greater dependence on other resources, like bird, caribou, rabbit, and even mussel. If the hunting season produced insufficient amounts of seal to satisfy both these needs, these secondary resources would become even more important. It may also have been ideal to participate in some lucrative fur-trapping to supplement the income and reduce the competition for seal hunting grounds.

7.1.2 Comparing Animal Use at Snooks Cove and Between Various Sites in Labrador

Despite its recent occupation, and potential overlap in timing, the houses at Snooks Cove can be effectively interpreted as two separate occupations, rather than one cohesive site. The intra-site comparison of the faunal assemblages reveals a significant difference, enough to justify each house as distinct. Over this period of almost a century, an observable change in animal use reflects the constant renegotiation of Inuit culture in the face of colonial interaction.

Taking House 3 and 4 into the greater context of Labrador occupation, there are distinctive similarities and differences in animal use at Inuit, British, and mixed ethnicity sites occupied in similar time periods. The faunal remains associated with House 4 suggest that the Inuit occupants continued to make the same choices in animal use as the Inuit occupying northern Labrador had for centuries. While the results of this thesis are dependent on further examination of 19th century Inuit households, House 3 may represent a turning point for Inuit animal use, moving away from a seal-dominated subsistence pattern and incorporating non-subsistence seal economies.

In Southern Labrador, the emergence of Metis culture blended Inuit and British Settler animal use in another way. Between two mixed ethnicity sites sampled here, an ethnicity-related dichotomy in animal use can be gleaned from the faunal remains. The Seal Islands faunal collection suggests that within early mixed ethnicity sites, dietary animal use was still actively negotiated — interpreted in the faunal remains by the consumption of domesticates alongside a high ratio of seals, as well as an array of secondary species. By the later 19th century, the North River faunal collection is a more recent incarnation of a mixed ethnicity site, where cultural negotiation concerning foodways had perhaps become more settled, indicating an archaeologically distinct form at the household level. The British site of Stage Cove exemplifies how British men settled a new landscape and created space around them in culturally familiar ways, seen here in the blending of imported food goods and the exploitation of culturally favourable local resources. This can be used as a basis for comparison to other sites where a British influence might play a role in animal use. Snooks Cove House 3 was occupied at the

same time as the North River site; in its own way, the household blended Inuit and European influences, leaving faunal evidence to suggest a variation in animal use not previously seen in the region (for example, at Eskimo Island). Although this research presents preliminary results, current evidence supports the idea that zooarchaeology, supported by historical evidence, can contribute to identifying a European ethnic signature in animal use patterns.

Decades of interactions, which occurred somewhat later in Hamilton Inlet than elsewhere in Labrador, led Inuit, European entrepreneurs, and settlers alike to transform this region into a flourishing hub of economic and social activity. Although Metis culture, as it is known after the 19th century, did not emerge in the Narrows the same way it did in Southern Labrador, there were undeniably threads of cultural influence that wove between Inuit and settler groups at the household level in the region. This perhaps reflects a degree of independence that the Inuit experienced in Hamilton Inlet, in contrast to those groups further north near the controlling Moravian mission stations, and those further south surrounded by powerful European economic settlements.

7.1.3 Ethnic Signatures in Faunal Assemblages

The faunal assemblages from Snooks Cove have true Inuit characteristics, as validated by comparison of many Inuit sites in Labrador. The dependence on seal is clear, but by the later 19th century, Snooks Cove may be considered distinct from other Inuit sites from that time. After prolonged interaction with their settler neighbours, the inhabitants of House 3 might have been more experienced with certain settler values than

the people who previously lived in the cove in House 4. This could have led to anything from a blended style of house construction to the incorporation of new foodways, such as a decreased consumption of seal and even an increase in purchasing food goods.

Cultural exchanges in the economic sphere do not have predictable effects at the household level, however they do impact what bones appears in the archaeological assemblage. Ironically, the Seals Islands, previously considered to be an Inuit site, bears the greatest resemblance to Snooks Cove House 3, especially with its ratios of seals and birds. Even at Inuit sites with lower amounts of seal, like Snack Cove and Huntingdon Island, there is still a dependence on terrestrial mammals rather than birds. While House 3 did have a small variety of terrestrial mammals, there was a greater abundance of birds. At no other Inuit site is this abundance of bird so significant. Considering only the occupation date of House 3, the faunal assemblage could be interpreted as that of a mixed ethnicity house, similar to the Seal Islands site, but because it is known to be an Inuit occupation, the primary reliance on seals acts as an ethnic identifier, whether or not seal was being used for personal consumption or also for trade.

With a comparative collection such as this, it is important to make considerations for the effects of site seasonality on the overall composition of the faunal assemblage, be it Inuit, mixed ethnicity, or European. Many of the important resources identified at these sites are seasonally available, including migratory birds and certain species of seal. For example, the year-round occupation of Stage Cove would have had access to a different range of bird resources during the summer than an Inuit sod house abandoned in spring. Even the Inuit occupation of Snack Cove has high abundances of bird that are attributed

to site seasonality. All of the sites sampled here contain bird bone, but there is greater opportunity for their archaeological presence as a result of hunting that occurred during times of natural abundance, therefore trends of species abundance may say as much about site seasonality as it does about the inhabitants' ethnicity.

Despite the small sample size, the faunal remains from Snooks Cove House 3 did not produce a similar species abundance ratio to other Inuit sites, even winter occupations. Considering the hybridized architecture of the house itself, resulting from the blending of traditional Inuit and settler knowledge, the faunal remains may also be interpreted using a hybridization theory to explain the varying animal use pattern as a reflection of changing identities.

Animal use can be fundamentally linked to many levels of cultural expression, whether it relates to seasonal priorities, settlement patterns, economic relations, or household gender roles. This becomes clear especially in mixed ethnicity interactions in both the social and economic spheres (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Gaudreau 2011). "The process of hybridization…could be associated with the negotiation and re-negotiation of daily practices", especially at the household level as "inhabitants adapted, adopted, ignored, and insisted on various aspects of daily practice depending on their changing circumstances" (Beaudoin et al. 2010:34). As much as gender roles in mixed ethnicity sites determine which cultural traditions have more weight in certain daily practices, the same may be found in Inuit households of the 19th and 20th century. Each individual would be exposed to different aspects of European life, based on Moravian, French, or British notions of gender roles. Inuit men's and women's choices would be

greatly influenced by the introduction of new technologies and material types, a monetary economic system, as well as observed social standards and behaviour from various cultural backgrounds. This is especially relevant when considering the kinship ties maintained by Inuit families across various regions of Labrador. At Snooks Cove, these would have played out not as a result of inter-marriage, but rather inter-connectedness with the greater Labrador community, leading to conscious decision-making and incorporation of different ways of life in the context of Hamilton Inlet.

7.2 Final Remarks

Because of its 19th-century occupation, archaeologists were previously unable to determine whether Snooks Cove was occupied by Inuit families, Europeans using Inuit-style houses and material culture, or mixed ethnicity families (Kaplan 1983:431). Earlier studies of Inuit households from this time period did not use faunal analyses as a way of determining any Inuit ethnic signifiers, since it was unclear from the material culture, architectural styles, and settlement patterns if it was even an Inuit site. Documentary evidence has identified the archaeological site at Snooks Cove to be the product of Inuit families living there throughout the 19th century. It has also allowed archaeologists to comment on the nature of Inuit occupations in Groswater Bay using this informed interpretation of Snooks Cove. The regional adaptations of the Inuit, especially between Hamilton Inlet and the Strait of Belle Isle, still make it impossible for archaeology to formulate broad generalizations of culture change and ethnic identity in the 19th century. Further investigations such as this will lead to a stronger set of comparative data for sites across Labrador from varying time periods and cultural occupations. Analysis of more

European, settler, and mixed ethnicity sites will also shed light on the subtleties of colonialism and enculturation that shaped the modern social and political landscape of Labrador.

The animal use choices made by the inhabitants of Snooks Cove present an opportunity to archaeologically observe continuity and change in Inuit ethnic signifiers over time. My research purports that zooarchaeology has great potential for determining the ethnicity of sites in Labrador. The faunal assemblages from Snooks Cove can be seen as reflecting the circumstances of the 19th-century Inuit that stem from the interplay of individual experience and the ever-present subtext of long-term cultural traditions.

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Appendix A: Snooks Cove Raw MNE Data

House 3 MNE Data

Seal						
Portion	Element	Harp Seal	Ringed Seal	Harbour Seal	Small Seal	Phocid
Axial	Skull	5	6	0	0	23
	Rib	2	2	0	0	19
	Vertebrae	3	2	0	2	12
	Innominate	1	0	0	1	4
Front Limb	Scapula	3	0	0	0	2
	Humerus	2	2	1	2	9
	Radius	3	0	0	0	4
	Ulna	3	10	0	0	5
	Carpal	0	0	0	0	3
Rear Limb	Femur	0	0	0	1	7
	Patella	0	0	0	0	1
	Tibia	0	5	0	4	9
	Fibula	3	0	0	0	1
	Metatarsal	6	2	0	0	2
	Tarsal	0	1	0	1	2
Distal Limb	Phalanx	3	0	0	5	8

Terrestrial Mammal					
Portion	Element	Caribou	Fox	Rabbit	Porcupine
Axial	Skull	1	1	1	0
	Rib	2	0	0	0
	Vertebrae	2	0	1	0
	Innominate	1	0	0	0
Front Limb	Scapula	2	0	0	0
	Humerus	3	0	1	1
	Radius	1	0	1	0
	Ulna	0	0	2	1
Rear Limb	Femur	1	0	0	0
	Tibia	0	0	2	0
Distal Limb	Metacarpal/ Metatarsal	1	1	0	0
	Carpal/Tarsal	2	0	0	0
	Phalanx	7	0	0	0

Bird							
Portion	Element	Bird	Goose	Eider	Murre	Gull	Ptarmigan
Axial	Skull	0	0	0	9	1	0
	Rib	6	0	1	5	0	0
	Furculum	0	0	0	3	0	0
	Coracoid	1	0	0	5	0	0
	Sternum	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Vertebrae	0	0	1	16	0	0
	Synsacrum	0	0	0	3	0	0
Wing	Scapula	1	0	0	7	0	0
	Humerus	0	1	0	13	2	0
	Radius	1	0	0	0	1	1
	Ulna	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Carpometacarpus	0	0	0	1	1	1
	Carpal	0	0	0	1	0	0
Legs	Femur	0	0	0	4	0	0
	Tibiotarsus	0	0	0	8	1	1
	Tarsometatarsus	0	0	0	17	0	0
Distal Limb	Phalanx	0	0	0	2	2	0

House 4 MNE Data

Seal						
Portion	Element	Harp Seal	Ringed Seal	Harbour Seal	Small Seal	Phocid
Axial	Skull	29	33	0	7	41
	Rib	3	0	0	0	67
	Vertebrae	13	3	2	21	34
	Innominate	1	5	1	23	12
	Metacarpal	1	0	0	1	1
Front Limb	Scapula	3	2	0	4	17
	Humerus	11	10	0	39	15
	Radius	5	5	1	12	4
	Ulna	9	0	1	19	9
	Carpal	1	0	0	0	1
Rear Limb	Femur	4	4	1	8	3
	Patella	1	0	0	0	1
	Tibia	18	9	2	26	43
	Fibula	15	1	1	9	11
	Metatarsal	10	3	1	0	5
	Tarsal	0	1	1	1	1
Distal Limb	Phalanx	14	5	0	3	26

Terrestrial Mammal					
Portion	Element	Moose	Caribou	Hare	Porcupine
Axial	Skull	0	8	0	1
	Rib	0	3	0	0
	Vertebrae	0	2	0	0
	Innominate	1	2	0	0
Front Limb	Scapula	0	1	0	0
	Humerus	0	4	0	0
Rear Limb	Femur	0	8	1	0
	Tibia	0	3	0	0
Distal Limb	Metacarpal/Metatarsal	0	1	0	0
	Carpal/Tarsal	0	1	0	0