THE SOUTHERN COMPONENT OF THE LABRADOR INUIT COMMUNAL HOUSE PHASE: THE ANALYSIS OF AN 18TH-CENTURY INUIT HOUSE AT HUNTINGDON ISLAND 5 (FkBg-3)

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By

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Abstract

The focus of this thesis research is the excavation of a Labrador Inuit winter house occupied during the 18th century. The 18th century in Labrador was the period in which permanent European settlement began and intensifying Inuit-European and inter-Inuit trade networks developed. Furthermore, in the 18th century the Labrador Inuit began to construct large multi-family houses and this is referred to as the Communal House phase. This research concerns the excavation and analysis of an Inuit winter house at the Huntingdon Island 5 site (FkBg-3) in Sandwich Bay, southern Labrador. This excavation represents the first single component Labrador Inuit communal house to be investigated south of Groswater Bay, and consequently, contributes to the overall understanding of the Communal House phase and the distinct southern component of this period of Inuit history.

Acknowledgments

The completion of this research would not have been possible without the financial contributions from various organizations, as well as the assistance from a number of different people. First, the financial support from the Northern Scientific Training Program, the Provincial Archaeology Office of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Smallwood Research Foundation, Memorial University, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and the Community-University Research Alliance (CURA-SSHRC) provided the necessary funds to undertake this research and data analysis. The allocated financial support permitted the travel to Labrador, hiring of a crew, purchasing of supplies, and specialist analysis of recovered faunal remains, sediment samples, and radiocarbon dating.

My research is part of a much larger CURA project titled "Understanding the Past Build the Future", which is a multi-disciplinary endeavour involving both scholarly research and community-based initiatives in partnership with the Labrador Inuit-Métis Nation. Having the opportunity to work on one aspect of such a cooperative and innovative project has been both a positive and an enlightening experience. Working under the CURA project introduced me to a diverse group of people in Newfoundland and Labrador and I feel fortunate to have contributed to this research endeavour.

The fieldwork component of my research went remarkably well due to the valuable contributions from a variety of people. The community of Cartwright, Labrador provided work and laboratory space as well as a welcoming environment in which to conduct research. I am also grateful for the assistance provided by Doris and Lew Davis who took exceptional care of the crew while excavating at Huntingdon Island 5.

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1.1 Research Outline and Objectives

1.1.1 Project Overview

The purpose of this research is to investigate the Inuit in southern Labrador during the dynamic and complex contact period through the excavation of an Inuit dwelling. Labrador has a lengthy and entangled contact history involving European fishers and whalers from various countries as well as Inuit, Recent Indian, and Dorset Paleo-Eskimo populations. The Inuit and the European fishers and whalers arrived in Labrador at approximately the same time (McGhee 2009a; Ramsden and Rankin 2010), and are the dominant cultural groups discussed in this study. From the 16th century onward, the Inuit were interacting with European groups on the Labrador landscape and finding new and meaningful ways to deal with the foreign presence. This research is concentrated on the Inuit populations who resided in the southern coastal area of Labrador, specifically in the Sandwich Bay region (Figure 1.1). Southern Labrador was previously considered to be outside the zone of traditional Inuit settlement; however, this issue is seemingly resolved and parts of southern Labrador are now considered traditional Inuit land-use areas and have received intense archaeological focus in recent years (Beaudoin 2008; Brewster 2005, 2006; Rankin 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Stopp 2002). This research aims to contribute to the understanding of the Inuit occupation in Sandwich Bay, southern Labrador, through the excavation and analysis of a contact period Inuit winter house.

In the early 1990s, the Huntingdon Island 5 site (FkBg-3) in Sandwich Bay was identified as an historic period occupation (Stopp 1992) (Figure 1.2). In 2006 the site was revisited and it was determined that the site was larger than previously recorded and that

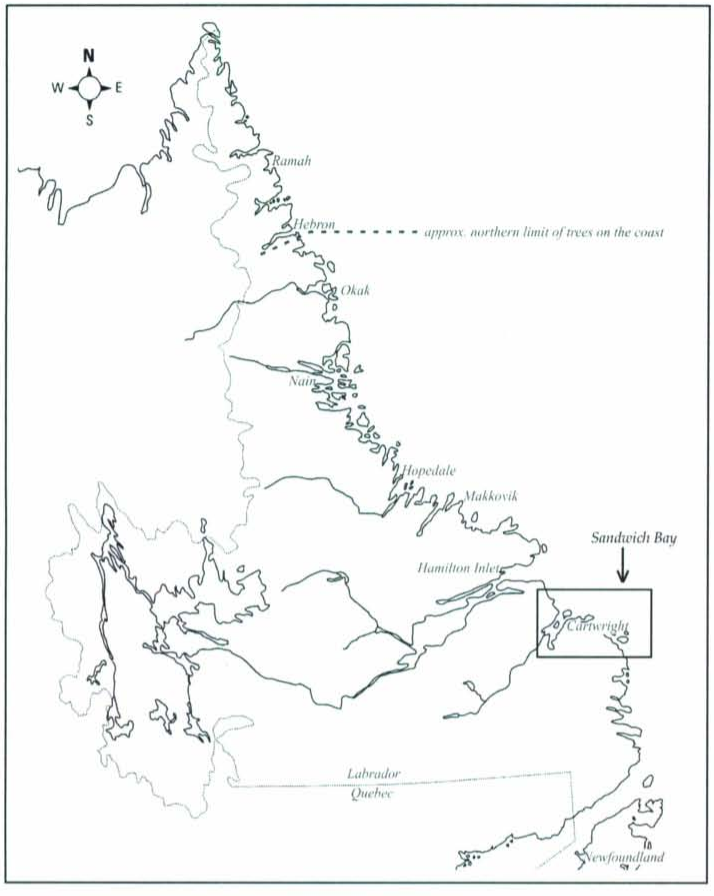


Figure 1.1. Map of Labrador with Sandwich Bay highlighted.

the site was representative of an Inuit occupation (Rankin 2009). Excavation began at the site in 2009 (Rankin 2010b). The Huntingdon Island 5 site contains at least five semi-subterranean Inuit winter houses (Houses 1-5) and a minimum of six summer season tent rings suggesting the sustained re-use of this island by Inuit groups over multi-seasonal visits. During the excavation of House 1 in 2009, it was determined that House 3 would form the basis of my thesis research and it was slated for investigation in 2010. Initial

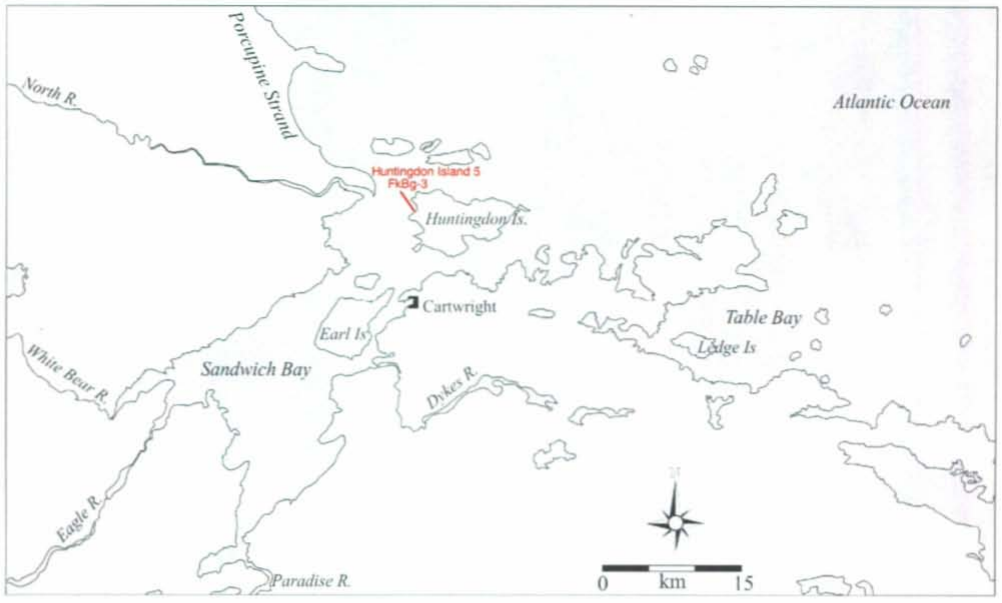


Figure 1.2. Map of Sandwich Bay with the Huntingdon Island 5 site indicated.

testing and preliminary assessment of the shape and size of House 3 led project supervisor, Dr. Lisa Rankin, to suspect an 18th-century date for the occupation of the dwelling (Rankin 2010b). The roughly rectangular shape and large size of House 3 compared to the other structures at the Huntingdon Island 5 site indicated that House 3 was likely a communal style dwelling. Communal style structures appeared suddenly in Labrador during the 18th century and have been the focus of much archaeological research and interest because they indicate an immediate shift in the basic Inuit settlement and economic pattern (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1971, 1976a, 1976b; Taylor 1976; Whitridge 2008; Woollett 2003). The excavation of House 3 revealed that it is indeed a communal style dwelling and, as a result, it is one of the first structures of this phase of

Inuit history to be investigated south of Groswater Bay, and the only such structure of this type to be examined in the Sandwich Bay area. The excavation and interpretation of House 3 from the Huntingdon Island 5 site contributes meaningful information concerning the Communal House phase of Labrador Inuit culture with a particular focus on the nature of communal houses south of Groswater Bay.

1.1.2 Research Objectives

Specific research objectives were outlined and refined prior to the excavation of House 3 to both focus and guide the project. Southern Labrador has only recently begun to be systematically investigated and basic research questions involving the timing of the initial Inuit arrival in this area and the unique adaptations to Inuit life ways as a result of the southern migration are now actively being addressed (Rankin 2010a; Rankin et al. 2011). While my research alone cannot directly answer these overarching concerns, my research will contribute to the refinement of the southern chronology of Inuit occupation and provide insights into the specific adaptations of the Inuit populations in southern Labrador. There are three specific objectives that the excavation of House 3 at the Huntingdon Island 5 site in Sandwich Bay seeks to address: 1) determining the date of the occupation of House 3; 2) examining the extent of the Inuit-European interactions through the analysis of the collected assemblage and house features; and, 3) interpreting the nature of communal houses in the south of Labrador in order to contribute to the recent debate concerning the purpose of Inuit communal houses.

The primary research objective is concerned generally and most significantly with the dating of the House 3 occupation. Although obtaining an exact date is unlikely, by employing various means of analysis a date range for the occupation may be determined.

The dating methods include dating European manufactured objects, applying established Inuit architecture chronologies developed for other regions of Labrador, and radiocarbon analysis of viable organic samples. The three dating methods used in this research are considered complementary in order to provide a feasible date range for the occupation of the structure. Determining a date range for the structure is important for later interpretations of the dwelling including understanding Inuit-European interactions during the house occupation and for comparing House 3 to contemporaneous structures.

The secondary research objective is concerned with the manner in which European goods were incorporated and used by the Inuit inhabiting House 3 and the nature of the cultural interactions between the Inuit and European populations. In terms of the incorporation of European goods by the Inuit, the recovered assemblage is examined to assess whether European manufactured items are present, and if so, to determine the manner in which these items were used and/or adapted for use by the Inuit. For instance, were European items directly replacing traditional items in the Inuit toolkit or were new practices and behaviours adopted? Does the assemblage indicate what types of items the Inuit were predominately acquiring? Apart from the focus on the use of European goods by the Inuit, the secondary objective is also concerned with the nature of the cultural encounters between the Inuit and Europeans. Trade with the indigenous groups in southern Labrador was an essential aspect of the European voyages and historic documents chronicle the attempts to establish and maintain peaceful trade relations with the Inuit; nonetheless, the Inuit were also known to pillage seasonally abandoned European settlements (Auger 1991; Stopp 2002; Trudel 1981). Understanding how the Inuit obtained European commodities is important because it can shed light on the state of

local relations between the Inuit and the European neighbours. Different European groups had control of southern Labrador at different points in history and determining which European group is represented in the assemblage will not only help to discern the period of occupation, but will also allow a discussion about the ongoing relations between the Inuit and the dominant European cultural group.

The final research objective focuses on the nature of Inuit communal houses in southern Labrador. House 3 is the first communal style dwelling to be examined in Sandwich Bay, and only the second to be recognized in southern Labrador (Auger 1989, 1991). For this reason it is important to contextualize this feature by comparing it to known Inuit communal houses elsewhere in Labrador in order to reveal similarities or disparities throughout the greater region. There is currently a debate within Labrador Inuit studies concerning the nature and purpose of Inuit communal houses. Leading hypotheses suggest that the large dwelling structure developed abruptly in response to changing climate (Petersen 1974/1975; Schledermann 1971, 1976a, 1976b; Woollett 1999), increasing socio-economic complexity as a result of social and trade relationships with Europeans (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Richling 1993; Taylor 1976), or the ongoing internal dynamics of Inuit culture (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Whitridge 2008). The excavation and interpretation of House 3 will contribute to the debate by presenting data from a communal house that is located outside of the area traditionally considered to be the core Labrador settlement area. In some manner House 3 is already distinctive given that the Inuit inhabitants of the Huntingdon Island 5 site lived in proximity to the European settlements and, as a result, experienced different circumstances than central and northern Inuit, including sustained European contact. An

important component of this objective is to understand whether the Inuit proximity to the European presence produced any discernible differences in the House 3 occupation and assemblage or if cultural continuity is seen within the region of Labrador during the Communal House phase. Essentially, the goal is to determine if House 3 represents a typical style Labrador Inuit communal house, or is representative of a different phenomenon linked to its southern location.

The research objectives are ultimately three-pronged: to date and describe a contact period Inuit dwelling in Sandwich Bay, to examine Inuit-European interactions during this period, and to interpret the nature of the occupation within the context of 18th-century Labrador. The excavation of a single household represents only one brief temporal view into Inuit life ways, and so needs to be positioned and understood within the long-term history of the Inuit. The following section discusses the complexities of cultural encounters and the corresponding relation to archaeological data sets and interpretations. The purpose of the ensuing discussion is to set the conceptual framework in which the research questions are later addressed and the excavation of House 3 is interpreted.

1.2 Interpretive Framework

The aim of this research is to investigate a contact period Labrador Inuit winter house, and as such, the interpretive focus of this research project will be situating the House 3 excavation within current veins of culture contact studies. Culture contact studies are particularly relevant for the discussion and interpretation of archaeological sites in colonial situations and incorporate aspects of various theoretical stances, including but not limited to, practice theory, structuralism, post-colonial theory, and agency. The

analysis of House 3 involves engaging with culture contact themes and the material record recovered to provide insightful information about the nature of the House 3 occupation.

For the purpose of this study, contact is viewed not solely as dualistic relations of domination and subordination but as entanglement: a concept particularly suited for Labrador as the establishment of a permanent colonial institutional presence occurred more than two centuries after the initial European arrival. The concept of cultural entanglement incorporates the premise that cultures possess a negotiable identity that involves ideas of resistance, resilience, variability, and autonomy (Martindale 2009:61), instead of focusing exclusively on indigenous colonization as a result of colonial domination. The notion of entanglement provides depth and mutuality to the interaction of cultures instead of emphasizing contact as a singular or isolated event (Silliman 2005). Relations between indigenous groups and colonizing agents can endure for centuries and thus instigate an "indigenous historical consciousness in which local customs and solidarity are explicitly contrasted with the inequality characteristic of relations with outsiders" (Thomas 1991:4). In areas such as Labrador where encounters, however sporadic or indirect, were ongoing between foreigners and indigenous groups for hundreds of years, it is beneficial to conceive these interactions as lengthy and interwoven processes, rather than isolated contact events culminating in indigenous acculturation.

Material remains are integral to the analysis of House 3 as it certainly is to archaeology as a discipline with its heavy focus on the material record. Silliman (2001:196) discusses how colonial objects were "objects without local history" and could be appropriated by indigenous groups in order to negotiate social identities. The

appropriation of foreign objects is largely contingent on the context, and in many cases exotic items were used by indigenous groups in familiar ways, thereby forging a link to the past (Stahl 2002:834-835). The use of European commodities was a culturally mediated and selective process, not a direct indication of the adoption of European cultural practices or behaviours. The fact that indigenous groups adopted foreign objects is not as important as the manner in which foreign items were redefined and made relevant and useful within indigenous society (Kopytoff 1986:67). As objects cross boundaries between cultures, so do the meanings of objects (Stahl 2002:828; Thomas 1991).

With material culture constituting the encompassing focus of archaeological inquiry, the discipline is provided with an opportunity to examine the changing roles of objects in contact situations. Through material culture, such as clothing and housing, identities could be asserted and reasserted and existing boundaries could be reshaped and changed (Loren 2008). Certain individuals could manipulate traditional social relations of power and leadership roles to create new identities that were not available previously (Silliman 2001). This concept is significant to Labrador in relation to the development and amplification of long-distance trade networks, which is explored in detail in later chapters. Culture contact studies have typically focused on the artifact assemblages to assess change or acculturation through counts and ratios, assuming the number of European items in relation to the number of indigenous items to be a gauge or representation of the level of culture change and acculturation (Lightfoot 1995:206). This is no longer viewed as satisfactory as simple artifact counts assume the indigenous groups to be passive receptors in a unidirectional flow of culture change and adaptation

(Lightfoot 1995:206; Lightfoot et al. 1998:200). It is a better fit to consider the indigenous groups as active social agents involved in daily decision-making.

An interpretive tool deemed relevant for this research is a focus on daily activities and material culture to assess culture change and interaction as advocated by Lightfoot et al. (1998:201): "it is through daily practices – how space is structured, how mundane domestic tasks are conducted, how refuse is disposed of – that people both organize and make sense of their lives". These daily activities use and produce material culture, which ultimately becomes part of the archaeological record, and are evident in the construction and use of space within a domestic dwelling (Lightfoot et al. 1998). As the focus of this particular research is the excavation and analysis of a complete dwelling, a glimpse into the ordering of the daily lives of the inhabitants is obtained. It is through the structuring of everyday life that individuals continually act and re-enact the principles foundational to the cultural system and archaeology provides an avenue in which to explore the daily activities and use of space over time (Lightfoot et al. 1998:201). This becomes increasingly significant in the face of changing social conditions in colonial contexts as daily practices are redefined and mediated in order to remain relevant (Lightfoot et al. 1998).

Contact situations are so intriguing because there are a number of enmeshed and historically dependent factors at play. An interpretive format focused on cultural entanglements is particularly relevant for this type of research as it emphasizes long-term interactions rather than singular contact events, focuses on the agency and daily choice making of indigenous groups, and moves away from the colonizer/colonized dichotomy. Most significantly, this type of research is accessible to archaeology through household

and spatial organization analysis and through the material goods that dominate archaeological data sets. This study is concerned with situating the House 3 excavation in relation to other Labrador Inuit houses and assessing cultural change or persistence over time to provide a nuanced understanding of the contact milieu in southern Labrador. Artifact analysis and underlying culture contact themes will aid in the interpretation of House 3 and its positioning within the Communal House phase of Labrador Inuit culture.

1.3 Thesis Outline

In order to start to address the research objectives outlined above, Chapter 2 of this thesis begins with the histories of both the Inuit and the European groups in Labrador. Chapter 2 also outlines the research context, which summarizes the current research pertaining to southern Labrador archaeology and also describes the Labrador Inuit architectural chronology. Furthermore, the various hypotheses concerning the shift to communal houses are presented to inform future discussions and interpretations. Chapter 3 describes the geographical setting of Sandwich Bay and the Huntingdon Island 5 site, outlines the methods for the House 3 excavation, and provides a description of the architecture results. Chapter 4 summarizes the archaeological data recovered from House 3. The artifacts are discussed first, including details of the artifact distribution within the dwelling and the relevant dates associated with the manufactured European goods recovered in the structure. The second part of Chapter 4 examines the faunal data including quantifications, seasonality, and the distribution of the faunal elements. Chapter 5 places House 3 within a comparative context by comparing it to contemporaneous Inuit houses from within Labrador and Greenland. Finally, Chapter 6 presents the discussion

and interpretation of House 3, which addresses the research objectives outlined in Chapter 1 and suggests areas for future research.

Chapter 2. Cultural Background and Research Context

2.1 Thule/Inuit Cultural Background

2.1.1 Thule Origins and Migration

The Inuit populations of Canada and Greenland are the direct descendants of the cultural group referred to archaeologically as the Thule. The Thule culture was first identified in northwestern Greenland near a settlement of the same name, during the Fifth Thule expedition of the early 1920s (Mathiassen 1927). The purpose of the expedition was to investigate the history of the Inuit populations in the Arctic through archaeology and ethnology in an attempt to shed light on their origins (Mathiassen 1927). Archaeological leader of the Fifth Thule expedition, Therkel Mathiassen, composed a lengthy trait list defining the Thule culture (Mathiassen 1927; Maxwell 1985). In brief, the Thule are classified as maritime hunters who possessed advanced sea-faring technology and an extensive bone and antler tool industry designed to exploit a variety of land and sea resources, including whales (Maxwell 1985). Apart from describing the Thule culture, Mathiassen suggested a western Arctic homeland for the Thule, an assertion that was generally correct (Mathiassen 1927). The origins of the Thule culture are indeed found in northern Alaska and the Bering Sea region and the Thule are descendants of the Birnirk culture (McGhee 2009b; Rankin 2009; Whitridge 1999). During the 13th century, the Thule undertook an eastward migration across the Arctic departing from northern Alaska and eventually reaching northeastern Canada and Greenland (Friesen and Arnold 2008:537; McGhee 2009a:75; 2009b:161) (Figure 2.1).

The Thule migration across the high Arctic from west to east covering a distance of over 4000 km was rapid and, it appears, purposeful (McGhee 2009b:160). The Thule

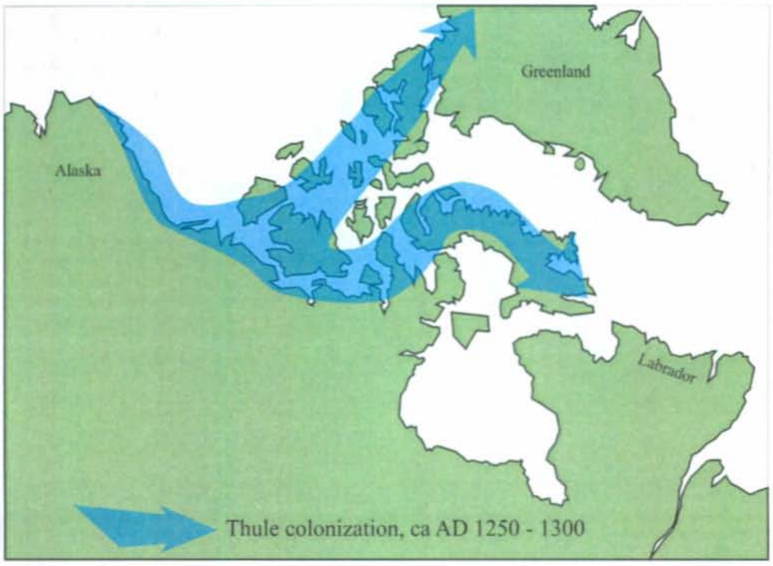


Figure 2.1. The Thule migration from Alaska to Labrador and Greenland.

migration has been attributed to the search for new and productive whaling grounds and also to an eastward extension of the bowhead whale range due to the Medieval Warm period, which may have forced the Thule to move east (Mathiassen 1927; McGhee 1969/1970). Recently, whale-based and climatic hypotheses have been called into question as the sole motivating factors for the migration, especially as the chronology for the Thule movement out of Alaska is further refined (Friesen and Arnold 2008; McGhee 2009a). McGhee (2009a, 2009b) has convincingly argued that the Thule migration from Alaska was focused on metal sources situated in the east. Iron was familiar to the Thule while in Alaska through involvement and trade with Siberian groups and metal quickly became a highly sought item (McGhee 2009b:161; Ramsden and Rankin 2010:8).

At the time of the Thule arrival in Greenland, Norse colonies had been established for nearly 200 years and it has been posited that the migration of the Thule eastward was deliberately focused on iron from both the Norse colonies and the Cape York meteorites (McGhee 2009a, 2009b; Ramsden and Rankin 2010). Word of the Norse settlements and nearby meteor deposits likely reached the Thule while in Alaska from Dorset Paleo-Eskimos groups, and an eastward migration began soon after to seek the iron sources directly (Friesen and Arnold 2008:535; McGhee 2009b:161; Ramsden and Rankin 2010:8). Thule transportation equipment including dog sleds and large boats could facilitate a rapid movement across the Arctic and the Thule could have conceivably reached the eastern destination in a less than a decade if desired (McGhee 2009b:161). McGhee (2009b:162) has compellingly referred to the Thule Arctic crossing not as a migration, but a purposeful "mercantile exploration" focused on iron. The Thule desire to obtain iron was to substitute metals in place of traditional materials such as stone, ivory, and bone in their toolkit (Fitzhugh 1985). Traditional items continued to be made and used in the traditional manner with iron simply substituting for blades, drills, and other tool parts (Fitzhugh 1985). Importantly, the Thule were only interested in acquiring the raw material, not in adopting the European technology of smelting (Fitzhugh 1985:36). The European items were essentially incorporated in the Thule toolkit without directing any social or cultural change (Ramsden 2010:4).

2.1.2 Thule Labrador Migration and Colonization

In the 15th century, the Thule abandoned areas of high Arctic Canada and Greenland in favour of more southern locations, such as Labrador (McGhee 2009a:87; Ramsden and Rankin 2010:9). The migration southward away from the high Arctic

coincides with the decline and eventual desertion of the Norse Greenlandic colonies (Ramsden and Rankin 2010). Once again, the Thule movement appears to have been purposefully executed to exploit European groups (McGhee 2009a; Ramsden and Rankin 2010). Fortunately for the Thule, following the abandonment of the Norse Greenlandic colonies, European fishers, whalers, and explorers began to arrive in Labrador thereby providing a new source of iron and other desired items (McGhee 2009a; Ramsden and Rankin 2010). Essentially, it is speculated that the Thule originally left Alaska to purposefully locate and exploit the Norse colonies and meteor deposits (Ramsden and Rankin 2010). Following the decline of these sources of iron and European technologies, the Thule continued southward into Labrador where coincidentally and fortuitously different European groups were just arriving (Ramsden and Rankin 2010).

The Thule entered northern Labrador in the late-15th or early-16th century and were by no means the first group to inhabit this region (Kaplan 1985; Ramsden 2010; Rankin 2009). At the time of the Thule arrival, Labrador was occupied by Recent Indian populations in the central and southern regions, and potentially Dorset Paleo-Eskimo groups in the north (Fitzhugh 1977; Loring 1992; McGhee 1996). The Thule were quick to exploit the resource rich ecosystems of Labrador and were successful in settling this region and displacing and/or absorbing earlier inhabitants (Fitzhugh 1985). Rather than remain in the north, the Thule continued a southward migration into the central and southern coastal areas beginning in the 16th century, during which material culture and architectural design remained relatively uniform across the region (Rankin 2010a:323). The speed of the Thule migration within Labrador may be attributed to the specialized

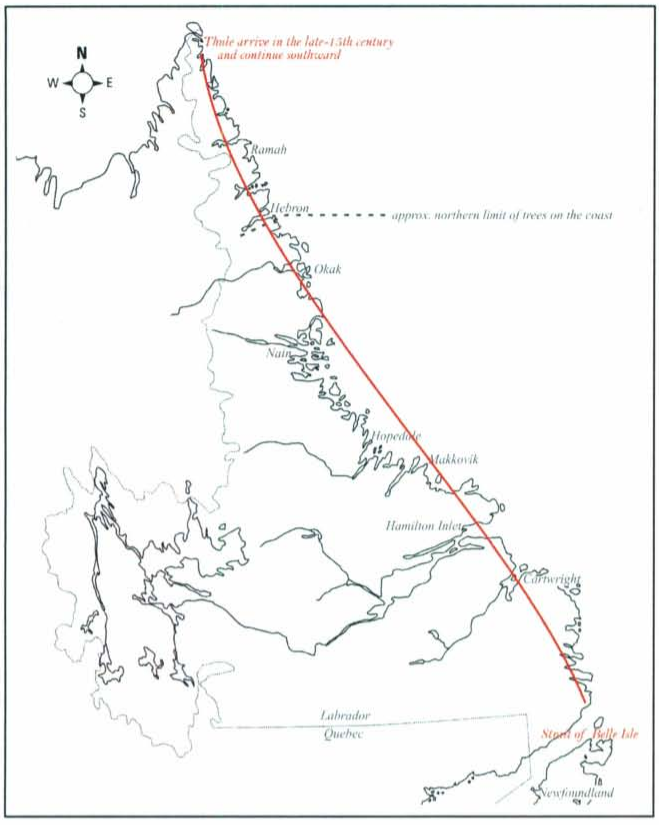


Figure 2.2. Thule entry and colonization of Labrador.

land and sea transportation equipment the Thule brought with them to Labrador, namely dog-drawn sleds and *umiaks* or large multi-person boats (Kaplan 1985:48).

It is at the point of the Thule migration southward within Labrador during the 16th century that archaeologists begin to refer to the Thule as the historic Inuit (Fitzhugh 1977). Archaeological evidence indicates that the Inuit colonization of Labrador was extensive, with groups eventually reaching as far south as the Strait of Belle Isle (Auger 1991, 1993; Stopp 2002) (Figure 2.2). The Thule/Inuit colonization of Labrador was rapid

and encompassed areas ranging from the northern tip to the southern coastal stretches within a century of the initial arrival (Rankin 2009:26, 2010a:323). With Labrador representing part of the southernmost limit of Inuit expansion and occupation, the initial Thule/Inuit colonizers were clearly adaptable and resilient in order to thrive so successfully in southern territory (Brewster 2005; Rankin 2010a).

2.2 Europeans in Labrador: Historical Background

European groups frequented the Labrador coast for centuries and the presence of these groups has played a dynamic role in shaping the trajectory of Inuit-European relations in this region. The European arrival and exploration in Labrador is generally dated to the late-15th century, excluding the Norse who may have occasionally made landfall close to five hundred years prior (Fitzhugh 1985; Gosling 1910; Odess et al. 2000). The Thule/Inuit were unlikely to have encountered the Norse directly in Labrador (Rankin 2009:15), and for the purposes of this discussion, the European presence in Labrador will be outlined from the 15th century onward. The focus of this section will be an overview of the European presence in Labrador up to the early-19th century in order to provide a streamlined summary that is relevant to this study. Particular attention is paid to the French fishery in the 17th and 18th centuries due to the occupation date of the house under examination here, and the historical events following the French control of Labrador are covered more broadly.

2.2.1 Migratory Fishery 16th and 17th Centuries

Various European groups plied the Labrador waters beginning in the late-15th century to exploit the abundant sea resources, search for the elusive Northwest Passage, or conduct trade (Trudel 1981). The dominant enterprise in Labrador during this period

was the migratory fishery, which involved a variety of fishers and whalers originating from Spain, Portugal, France, and England (Gosling 1910; Trudel 1981). The fishery was a seasonal venture and provided ample opportunity for the Inuit to raid the abandoned camps over the winter when the fishers returned to their country of origin. The seasonal nature of the fishery allowed the Inuit to obtain desired European commodities with little interaction with the foreigners (Fitzhugh 1985). It is documented that the Inuit would scavenge the seasonal camps when the migratory fishers returned to Europe in the winter months, but that raids would also occur in the summer and were the major cause of conflict between the European fishers and whalers and the Inuit (Stopp 2002:83). During the tenure of the migratory fishing enterprise in Labrador, Inuit-European relations were tense and fraught with violence.

By the 17th century, independent Dutch traders were also sailing the Labrador waters in order to conduct trade with the Inuit (Kaplan 1983:163, 1985:55). An important contrast between the Dutch trading exploits and the seasonal fishing ventures was that the Dutch traders visited areas along the length of the Labrador coastline, whereas the seasonal fishing and whaling enterprise was predictably focused only on the southern coastal regions (Kaplan 1983, 1985). Visits to Labrador by Dutch traders throughout the 17th century were both inconsistent and geographically variable in comparison to the southern migratory fishery (Kaplan 1983, 1985).

Encounters between the various European groups and the Inuit were of a non-formalized, sporadic nature during this period and European goods recovered on Inuit sites from this time could have been easily obtained through scavenging and do not necessarily indicate direct exchange (Kaplan 1985:56). In a sense, acquiring European

items was relatively simple during this period for the Inuit with the flow of goods constant as the fishery followed a predictable seasonal cycle. The Inuit were able to avoid the hostile and often dangerous direct encounters with the foreigners while still accessing desired commodities. Although the Dutch traders may have sought Inuit trade directly along the Labrador coast, the Dutch traders were much less reliable than the migratory fishers and whalers and contacts were similarly irregular, brief, and potentially hostile (Kaplan 1983, 1985).

One crucial result of the European migratory fishing and whaling in Labrador is that, except for the few Dutch traders, the Europeans were frequenting the southern coastal areas exclusively. This created conditions where goods of European manufacture were available from only a single entry point in Labrador (Fitzhugh 1985). During the migratory fishery and well into the subsequent centuries, European goods were geographically restricted to the southern shores, which proved an integral factor for future developments.

2.2.2 French Fishery 17th and 18th Centuries

Between the late 1600s and 1763, the French were the dominant European population on the Labrador landscape. The French were in Labrador to exploit marine resources and also to contact and trade with the Inuit and Recent Indian populations (Zimmerly 1975). The French presence soon became more intense than the earlier migratory fishing and whaling ventures, and as a result Inuit-European interaction was altered. During the early years of the 18th century, concessions were granted to French merchants to over-winter in Labrador in order to establish sedentary sealing and fishing stations (Anderson 1984; Brewster 2005; Kaplan 1983; Stopp 2008). The sedentary

French fishery meant that camps were no longer abandoned over the winter, upsetting the pre-existing Inuit raiding system. Moreover, establishment of the French sedentary fishery caused major conflicts with the Inuit populations over competition for the best sealing grounds, an issue the Inuit did not have to face in earlier times with the seasonal fishery (Anderson 1984; Stopp 2002).

Although some French fishers involved in the sedentary fishery were already over-wintering in Labrador, the French presence was more severely felt after 1713 with the passing of the Treaty of Utrecht, in which Britain was granted the rights to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay (Auger 1991; Gosling 1910). The Treaty of Utrecht caused the French to focus their attention more heavily on the southern areas of Labrador, including encouraging permanent settlement there (Anderson 1984; Kaplan 1983; Trudel 1981). Due to the resource rich coastline of Labrador, establishing permanent French settlements in this region was seen as particularly beneficial for France and year-round residency was promoted (Anderson 1984). Establishing trade relations with the Inuit was seen as complementary to permanent settlement with the hopes of French settlers trading European manufactured goods for skins, fish, oil, and other commodities the Inuit were adept at harvesting (Anderson 1984:26; Trudel 1981:335-336). Ultimately, the goal was to engage the Inuit populations in the lucrative global commodities market with France reaping the economic benefits (Kaplan 1983; Rankin et al. 2011; Trudel 1981; Zimmerly 1975).

Despite the desires of France, French contacts and trade with the Inuit took place, as phrased by Trudel (1981:332), "in a climate of extreme mutual caution". The period prior to 1713 saw many hostile and even fatal encounters between the French and Inuit

that served to instil a foundational fear in both parties when meeting the other group and conducting trade (Stopp 2002; Trudel 1981). The French desired to establish peaceful relations with the Inuit, yet the majority of French documents from the 17th and 18th centuries describe aggressive and unfriendly encounters with the Inuit (Stopp 2002:82). Following the Treaty of Utrecht, French guidelines were established for dealing with the Inuit in an attempt to rectify the inimical trading relations of the past. This included no trading of alcohol, no firing of weapons or displays of aggressive actions toward the Inuit, and the promotion of treating Inuit trading partners with utmost respect and kindness (Trudel 1981:336). Despite the good intentions, the legislation arrived much too late and had little impact on altering Inuit-European relations (Kaplan 1983). Nonetheless, over the decades of the French presence in Labrador, a number of individuals attempted, with varying degrees of success, to create amicable trading partnerships with the Inuit, most notably Courtemanche, Jolliet, and Fornel (Gosling 1910:134; Stopp 2002:82-83). Although specific individuals may have secured relatively peaceful trading relationships with certain Inuit traders, overall the development of formalized trade did not occur. The hostile encounters of the past between the migratory fishery and the Inuit influenced the relationships of the future with wariness and fear experienced on both sides.

2.2.3 Labrador Post-1763

The French tenure in Labrador effectively came to an end following the Treaty of Paris in 1763 when French held regions of Labrador were ceded to the British (Gosling 1910; Kaplan 1983; Trudel 1981). In an attempt similar to the French in earlier decades, the British introduced a formal trade policy and also prohibited European attacks on the Inuit in an effort to reverse the adverse Inuit-European interactions of the past (Auger

1991; Kaplan 1983). Furthermore, permanent settlement was initially banned to prevent the year-round residents from claiming access to the best fishing grounds and to return the focus to seasonal fishing ventures (Kaplan 1983:168-169). The ban of permanent settlement was temporary, and by the end of the 18th century permanent settlement was again permitted with the establishment of independent traders in southern Labrador. Despite the attempts of British governance, relations between Europeans and Inuit remained antagonistic during the late-18th century.

In 1764, a Moravian missionary named Jens Haven met with the Governor of Newfoundland, Hugh Palliser, to discuss the potential of establishing missions in Labrador, as such ventures were successful among the Inuit in west Greenland (Kaplan 1983:169). The Moravians and the British had complementary goals, as the establishment of Moravian missions with trading posts in northern Labrador would draw the Inuit north to trade, leaving the southern coasts available for British use free of Inuit hostilities (Auger 1991; Kaplan 1983). Moravian lobbying was a success and in arrangement with British governance, the first mission station opened in Nain in 1771, with missions in Okak and Hopedale following shortly after (Kaplan 1985:64). The establishment of Moravian missions marked the first permanent European presence in Labrador north of Hamilton Inlet (Kaplan 1985). The full accounts of the Moravian presence in Labrador are beyond the scope of this project, but it is essential to state that the initial focus of the missionaries was to both introduce the Inuit to Christianity and preserve the traditional Inuit way of life (Cabak 1991; Cabak and Loring 2000). In spite of the Moravian desire for the Inuit to remain self-sufficient, the missions formed a largely economic relationship

with the Inuit, which altered the traditional subsistence systems and caused increasing reliance on European goods (Cabak 1991; Cabak and Loring 2000).

Distinct from the Moravian presence in the north, certain independent British traders were focusing on the south of Labrador in the late-18th century, including Captain George Cartwright (Zimmerly 1975). Cartwright was one of the first British merchants in Labrador and beginning in 1770, lived for 16 years in southern Labrador while operating fishing and sealing posts (Stopp 2008:4). Cartwright resided between Cape Charles and Sandwich Bay and managed to develop and maintain amicable trading partnerships and relationships with the Inuit, at one point even bringing Inuit community members with him to London (Auger 1991; Kennedy 1995; Stopp 2008; Stopp and Mitchell 2010). During this period, the European men employed by the independent traders began to periodically take Inuit women as wives, which ultimately contributed to a distinct Labrador-Métis identity that continues to the present day (Kennedy 1995). From the late-18th to the early-19th century, independent traders residing year-round in Labrador, such as Cartwright, controlled the trading economy (Zimmerly 1975). By the 1830s, however, fur trade companies gained a trade monopoly and managed to force out the independent traders, essentially ending the era of the independent trader/settler in southern Labrador (Zimmerly 1975).

The 18th century saw the French and British exchange rights to Labrador and the development of permanent European settlement in this region. Missions were established in the later part of the 18th century, and were followed in the next century by fur trade companies (Zimmerly 1975). Certain individuals did manage to successfully build relationships with the Inuit, such as Cartwright, though Inuit-European hostilities

continued throughout the century in a similar pattern to earlier decades. It must be stressed that the establishment of missions and trading posts drastically altered the Inuit way of life in the late-18th and early-19th centuries in Labrador, the details of which have only been loosely addressed here.

2.2.4 Conclusions

Inuit-European interaction in Labrador over the several centuries of the European tenure in this region resulted in three crucial developments. First, the realization of the presence of "the other" occurred centuries ago for the Thule/Inuit with a history of engaging in extensive trade networks and of colonizing inhabited lands. The value of European technologies was also quickly realized through access to foreign manufactured resources and products available through exchange networks while the Thule were still in Alaska (McGhee 2009b; Ramsden and Rankin 2010). The Inuit were prepared to exploit the Europeans in Labrador and to use whatever means necessary to acquire the highly sought European items. Second, the Inuit incorporated these foreign objects into their toolkit with little, if any, cultural, social, or economic change (Ramsden 2010:4; Schledermann 1971:19). As mentioned previously, the Inuit were not interested in smelting the iron themselves and instead the metal goods were directly replacing stone and other traditional materials in traditional style Thule/Inuit tools (Fitzhugh 1985:36). Third, prior to the arrival of the Moravians in the late-18th century, the European presence was restricted to the south of Labrador. The nature of the European fishing and whaling ventures, including both migratory and sedentary exploits, created conditions in Labrador where goods of European origin had a single, southern point of entry into the Inuit social system (Fitzhugh 1985). The combination of the southern entry point of European goods

and the linear distribution of Inuit settlements along the length of the Labrador coastline afforded certain niche opportunities and shaped the social and economic realms of the Inuit in the ensuing decades (Kaplan 1985). The three factors outlined above contributed to the distinctive cultural setting of Labrador, which will be explored further in future chapters.

2.3 Southern Labrador Archaeological Context

Archaeological investigation of the Labrador Inuit began with William Duncan Strong in the late 1920s, not long after the conclusion of the Fifth Thule expedition, and research has persisted since (Rankin 2009). Yet the focus of much of the archaeological research in Labrador to date has been concentrated on the central and northern regions while the investigation of southern Labrador has been relatively limited in scope. The interest in investigating the Thule point of entry and the wealth of Moravian documents pertaining to the northern settlements have contributed to the general archaeological focus on northern Labrador. Furthermore, it was widely assumed that the Inuit populations in Labrador did not permanently inhabit the southern region (Taylor 1980), which has resulted in limited archaeological investigation of the area. As Rankin (2010a:320-321) elucidates, the assumption that the Inuit did not inhabit the south may reflect a fundamental bias of researchers who perceived the Inuit as Arctic dwellers associated with an ice-covered environment, and hence overlooked the potential for Inuit sites in the forested, warmer stretches of the southern coast.

Until recently, it was generally accepted that Hamilton Inlet was the terminus of permanent Inuit occupation in Labrador (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980) (Figure 2.3). It was argued that the Inuit populations in Labrador used areas south of Hamilton

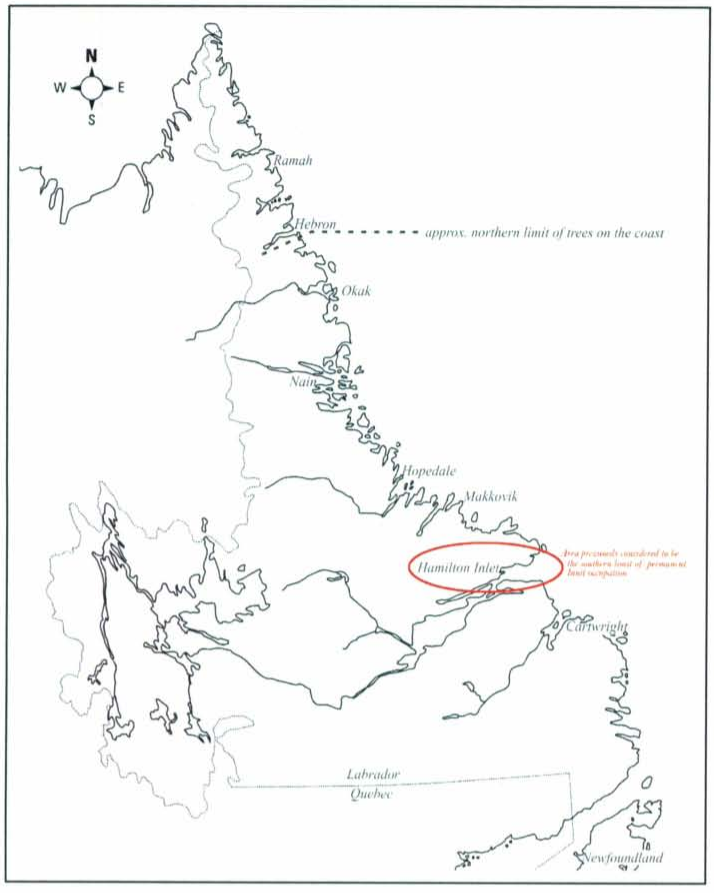


Figure 2.3. Map of Labrador with Hamilton Inlet highlighted.

Inlet only as staging grounds for seasonal forays to trade with or raid the European populations (Fitzhugh 1977; Taylor 1980). The Inuit presence in the south was considered to be seasonal in nature beginning in the 16th century, which coincides with the arrival of the Europeans and the attraction of potential trade and pillaging opportunities (Gosling 1910:166; Martijn and Clermont 1980). Only during the past two decades have these hypotheses about the limits of Labrador Inuit occupation been challenged, thereby

instigating a reassessment of the former explanations. Stopp (2002:96) used documentary evidence to argue that the Inuit were occupying southern Labrador year-round from the mid-16th to mid-18th centuries. Furthermore, recent archaeological work in the Sandwich Bay region, which is 65 km south of Hamilton Inlet, has revealed a number of multi-season Inuit sites occupied between the 16th and the 19th centuries suggesting a sustained and continuous Inuit presence (Beaudoin 2008; Brewster 2005; Rankin 2009; Rankin et al. 2011). The discovery of sites in Sandwich Bay has challenged the notion that southern Labrador was merely a staging ground for the Inuit and has provided substantial evidence that the southern stretches of Labrador were continually occupied. At long last, the contentious issue regarding Inuit occupation in southern Labrador is being resolved, with the area south of Hamilton Inlet now warranting more than staging ground status and indeed appears to be a traditional land-use area for the Inuit.

2.4 Research Context: Communal Houses

During the 18th century in northern Labrador and parts of Greenland, there is a visible change in Inuit winter housing size toward large, rectangular sod houses in which multiple families resided. These structures have been termed communal houses. Such a profound and rapid restructuring of household composition has intrigued researchers for decades, especially due to the extensive geographic focus of this trend as communal houses appear in both Greenland and Labrador almost simultaneously (Gulløv 1997). Communal houses and the reasons for the adoption of these structures have been the subject of continued investigation and debate in Labrador Inuit studies. This section will first briefly outline the basic tenants of Thule/Inuit architecture, including a description of established chronologies. Finally, an overview of the various hypotheses regarding the

adoption of communal houses in Labrador will be presented in order to highlight the main aspects of the communal house debate.

2.4.1 Thule/Inuit House Forms

The Thule/Inuit groups in Labrador constructed and lived in a variety of seasonally adapted houses including tents, *qarmats*, sod houses, and snow houses which complemented the seasonal round (Taylor 1974). In terms of research focus, the concentration has traditionally been on the sod houses due to the archaeological visibility, length of occupation, and relative preservation of these winter dwellings in comparison to the other house forms. The Inuit would move into sod houses around mid-October and the houses were abandoned around the time of the spring thaw when the families would then move into tents, which were more comfortable for warmer weather (Taylor 1974:51-55).

Sod houses are defined as semi-subterranean dwellings with one or two rooms and are square to oval in shape (Mathiassen 1927). The floors generally consisted of flagged stones and often a sunken cold trap entrance passage was present with the function of restricting cold air from entering the living space (Kaplan 1983). House frames were typically constructed with timber or whalebone, depending on geographic resource availability, and covered with skins and sod (Brewster 2005). The sleeping platforms were typically raised above the floor level and constructed of paved stones or gravel and edged by upright stone slabs (Kaplan 1983). The sleeping platforms were covered with skins and twigs and were used as both sleeping and work areas (Beaudoin 2008; Kaplan 1983). Skins were likely hung from support beams to partition the interior living spaces (Petersen 1974/1975; Taylor 1974). Soapstone lamps filled with sea mammal oil provided heat and light in the winter houses and were also used for cooking (Cabak 1991).

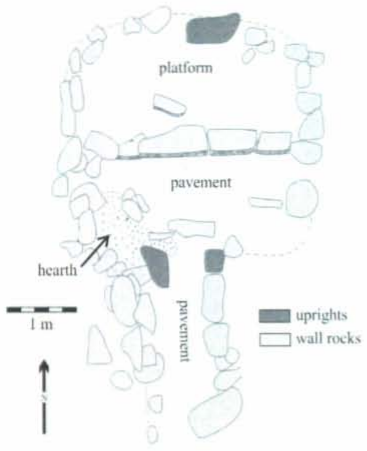
2.4.2 Thule/Inuit Chronology: Northern Labrador

Junius Bird (1945) initially developed a three-stage architecture classification for Thule/Inuit sod houses in Labrador. Bird's (1945:128) chronology consisted of house Types I, II, and III. Bird's (1945:179) chronology followed a sequential order in which small, single-family houses (Type I) were replaced by dual-family rectangular houses (Type II) that in turn were succeeded by large multi-family households (Type III). Schledermann (1971) later adapted and elaborated Bird's three phase model and created a chronology composed of Early, Communal, and Late period houses. Schledermann's adaptation of Bird's architectural model saw the merging of house Types II and III into the overarching Communal House phase and the extension of the chronology into the 19th century.

Schledermann's (1971:34) Early period (A.D. 1450-1700) is defined as rounded, single-family dwellings with one rear sleeping platform. Early period dwellings were estimated to have housed between six and eight members of a nuclear family (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:352). The following period, termed the Communal House phase (A.D. 1700-1850), consists of large, multi-family houses with sleeping platforms located along three of the interior walls (Schledermann 1971:70) (Figure 2.4). These houses were generally rectangular in shape and contained an average of twenty individuals, and in some instances significantly more, and housed an extended family (Taylor 1974:15). Recorded communal houses range in size from 6 m by 7 m to as large as 6 m by 16 m (Kaplan 1983:238). The Late period (A.D. 1850-present) is described as the shift back towards small, single-family dwellings (Schledermann 1971:114). Both Early and Late period houses typically measure 3 m by 6 m (Kaplan 1983:220). In the 19th century, the

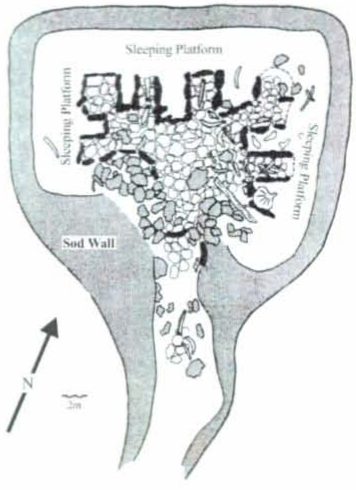
return to small family living arrangements in northern Labrador has been attributed to the pressure placed on Inuit families by Moravian missionaries to live in single family units in an attempt to end the practice of polygyny (Schledermann 1971).

It must be noted that both Bird and Schledermann's chronologies were focused on northern Labrador Inuit settlements since it was not previously known if the same architectural trends even occurred in the south, let alone whether or not established chronologies were applicable to the southern regions of Labrador.



Early Period House

Staffe Island 1, House 10
(Redrawn from Fitzhugh 1994:Figure 7).



Communal Style House

Ikkusik House C
(Redrawn from Schledermann 1976a:Figure 4).

Figure 2.4. Labrador Inuit house forms (Early period and Communal House phase).

2.4.3 Thule/Inuit Chronology: Central Labrador

Complementary to the architecture chronologies discussed in the previous section is a three-stage chronology for the central Labrador coast in the vicinity of Hamilton Inlet. This chronology is based on the excavation of close to twenty sod houses at various Eskimo Island sites with the changes in housing style attributed to the Inuit response to the European presence (Jordan and Kaplan 1980).

The first stage is titled the Colonization period (A.D. 1600-1700) in which architecture equates with the Early phase style of Schledermann's chronology with small and rounded, single-family houses (Jordan 1978:175-176). Material culture recovered from sites of this period includes typical Thule/Inuit items as well as European technologies, often altered into traditional items, for instance iron nails cold hammered into harpoon end-blades, *ulus*, and knives (Jordan 1978:176). The European items recovered from the assemblages could have been obtained through scavenging or pillaging and do not represent direct, formal trade items (Jordan and Kaplan 1980).

The next phase is named the Intermittent Trading period (A.D. 1700-1800), which coincides with Schledermann's Communal House phase. Houses suddenly became larger in size and housed more people. Direct trade with Europeans became a significant aspect of Inuit economy, and the number of European manufactured goods increased dramatically in Inuit houses (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Certain middlemen traders emerged during this period and moved European goods north and Inuit goods south along established trade networks (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). This period also saw a shift in settlement location of winter sod houses from outer islands to inner islands in order to have access to a wider resource base (Kaplan 1983).

The final stage is termed the Trading Post period (A.D. 1800-1870) and corresponds with Schledermann's Late phase. Housing size once again decreased and populations were reduced due to the introduction of European diseases (Jordan 1978:181). Trapping became a mainstay for the Inuit populations in order to trade the furs at trading posts for the European goods which were now heavily relied on, thus involving the Inuit in a cash economy (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Established inter-Inuit and Inuit-European long-distance trade networks essentially collapsed during this period (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980).

The Inuit-European interaction scheme places Schledermann's architecture chronology within a contact framework and situates the changes in household form within the larger historical themes that were occurring. For this reason, the three-stage chronology outlined above is the much-needed complement to the basic architecture chronology. As Jordan and Kaplan's chronology indicates, Inuit-European interaction changed over the tenure of the European presence from opportunistic raiding and plundering, to more direct and formalized trading partnerships, and finally to Inuit employment by the Europeans. The 18th century was undeniably a time of Inuit cultural elaboration, coinciding with the establishment of a permanent European settler population. During this period Inuit architecture style changed and began to incorporate multiple families, established trade networks thrived, and new high status roles, such as middleman trader, suddenly appeared. The next section presents the leading hypotheses concerning the shift of architecture style in the Communal House phase, which corresponds with the significant cultural changes outlined in Jordan and Kaplan's Intermittent Trading period.

2.4.4 Hypotheses Pertaining to the Adoption of Communal Houses

The Labrador Inuit adoption of communal houses in the 18th century has intrigued researchers for decades. Initially, various hypotheses were put forth including the availability of superior building materials, families joining together due to fear of the encroaching European presence, and even a Norse architectural influence was suggested, but these models found no archaeological support and largely did not stand the test of time (Bird 1945:179; Petersen 1974/1975:175; Schledermann 1976a:32). Conventionally, the hypotheses have taken two main stances focusing on either environmental or socio-economic factors for influencing the abrupt housing change; however, hybrid models incorporating multiple factors with a focus on internal dynamics have recently come to the forefront. The purpose of this section is to outline the dominant explanations dealing with the communal house shift as these themes will be engaged later in the analysis.

2.4.4.1 Environmental Causes

The traditional environmental perspective for the adoption of communal houses argued that a prolonged and severe climatic cooling period occurred in Labrador between the start of the 17th century and the first decades of the 18th century (Schledermann 1971:111, 1976a:34, 1976b:39). Schledermann (1971, 1976a, 1976b) suggested that the cooling period would have increased sea ice and consequently reduced the availability of whales on which the northern populations relied so heavily, and instead the Inuit were forced to shift their attention to seal hunting. The argument follows that unlike whales, which were shared at the community level, seals were only distributed at the household level. Living arrangements were soon altered and individual families began to merge into large communal households to facilitate resource sharing during a time of scarcity and to

provide a safety net for less productive seal hunters and their families (Schledermann 1971:111-112; Petersen 1974/1975:178). Communal houses were seen as a response by less successful hunters to seek out and combine with more productive households.

Hypotheses based on harsh climatic conditions have, however, fallen out of favour in recent years as it was revealed that Labrador experienced relatively mild weather during this period, thus disproving the main assumption propelling this interpretive framework (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:352-354; Woollett 2003:613). Nevertheless, the mild climatic weather is similarly argued to have contributed to the communal house phenomena as it has been posited that mild weather and reduced sea ice would have shifted the focus to open water seal hunting (Woollett 1999). As opposed to ice-based seal hunting, which was a solitary task, open water seal hunting from kayaks involved an organized group effort (Woollett 1999). Communal houses may have been used to organize and control cooperative hunts. This would have afforded certain household heads particular leadership authority that may have been extended beyond the seal hunt organization and transposed into other social realms (Woollett 1999:383).

2.4.4.2 Socio-Economic Complexity

Alternative interpretations focus less on the environmental aspects and more on the historical factors of the 18th century which cannot be ignored, namely the increasing and intensifying European presence on the landscape. The size of winter houses appears to correspond with the development of wealthy middlemen traders and it is suggested that large communal dwellings are a result of the rise of a distinct middleman class (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Taylor 1976). Ethnographic documents describe the presence of certain influential men in the 18th century who occupied large

houses, often possessed multiple wives, and acted as middlemen traders and liaisons between the Europeans in the south and the Inuit groups of the north (Taylor 1974:80-81). The single southern point of entry of European goods produced opportunities whereby ambitious Inuit men could carve themselves a role through trading desired European commodities to the north where European goods were scarce in exchange for the baleen, oil, and other seal and whale products sought by the Europeans. The entrepreneurial middlemen often combined the lucrative role of trader with previously held respected roles, such as skilled hunter or shaman (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:352; Taylor 1974:81). It follows that European goods would only be distributed at the household level and through this process middleman traders would easily attract more members to their household (Taylor 1976). By gaining more household members, the traders would increase in status through controlling an even larger economic unit that collectively produced and acquired more of the surplus required for trading. The middleman theory connects with the larger themes of the intensifying European presence and resultant social complexity in an attempt to explain the appearance of communal residences. Moreover, this explanation is applicable also to Greenland, where communal houses appear approximately 50 years earlier than in Labrador, but similar extensive long distance trade networks and the European presence coincided with the building of large communal dwellings (Gulløv 1997).

An underlying assumption of the middleman hypothesis for the adoption of communal houses is that European items were considered private property by the Inuit and would only have been shared within a household (Jordan 1978:184). If the foreign items were considered private property, individuals would wish to join the household of a

middleman trader in order to have access to these commodities that were otherwise inaccessible. A contrasting view that has emerged within the middleman hypothesis is that European items may have instead been treated in the traditional Inuit manner of dealing with scarce resources, which involves notions of reciprocity (Richling 1993:74). Each individual family may belong to a series of extensive social networks in which the distribution of limited resources, such as European manufactured items, is expected (Richling 1993). In this vein, communal households are interpreted as a mechanism for restricting the chain of reciprocity expected of one family. Communal houses served to reduce the obligation of sharing to only the other residents of the communal household (Richling 1993). In this version, the adoption of communal households is seen as limiting the obligation of reciprocity regarding coveted trade goods rather than individuals congregating together through living arrangements to gain access to desired items.

2.4.4.3 Internal Factors

A growing number of researchers are not satisfied with the seemingly monocausal focus for the adoption of communal houses in both the environmental and socio-economic approaches (Whitridge 2008). Instead, the focus has shifted to examining internal processes in an attempt to explain the communal house shift. One such explanation focuses on the long-term trends of Thule household forms and the subsequent re-arrangement over time of the placement of the hearth. The original early Birnirk house design, from which the Thule/Inuit are descended, has the hearth placed in the centre of the house (Whitridge 2008). This design changed over time with cooking areas often in a separate wing or placed off to the side in Thule houses (Whitridge 2008). The changing hearth location is posited to be a reflection of changing gender dynamics associated with

whaling, which placed less emphasis on women's household work (Whitridge 2008:300). In communal houses, the hearth areas were once again located in the centre of the house and are arguably part of a long-term trend back toward the original early Birnirk house form and the return to a focus on female household work (Whitridge 2008:301). The shift is also linked to the fact that men would often embark on trade ventures to the south and would sometimes not return, thereby leaving a disproportionate number of women left at settlements (Taylor 1974; Whitridge 2008). Joining together in large houses to distribute and share resources, including trade goods, as well as to pool labour seems a logical response to declining numbers of males (Whitridge 2008:302).

The final interpretation that will be discussed was put forth by Kaplan and Woollett (2000) and includes a combination of external and internal factors. It is argued that relatively mild climatic conditions during the 18th century allowed for subsistence security and the significant opportunity to amass a surplus (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Accumulating a surplus required increased leadership roles and organization and ultimately allowed some individuals to embark on trading ventures to obtain desired European items (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Apart from environmental factors providing security and enabling trading ventures, the encroaching European presence is considered to be a catalyst for the building of large communal dwellings. It is argued that the Inuit dealt with the intensifying European presence during this period through amplification of leadership roles and other cultural practices, such as architectural elaboration, in a power performance of sorts (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Communal houses are seen as an intensification of existing cultural practices and a symbol of power and distinct "Inuitness" in the face of infringing foreign groups (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:357).

Essentially, the construction of large houses created a visible and distinct boundary between the Inuit and the European cultures. The communal house is viewed as a cultural response to the foreign presence in part allowable because of the mild environmental conditions and the relative security this afforded. Furthermore, the elaboration of cultural practices through such avenues as the construction of multi-family communal houses and the amplification of complex trade networks acted as a means to solidify alliances during a tumultuous period (Kaplan and Woollett 2000).

2.4.5 Communal House Conclusions

The shift in Inuit housing style that occurred rapidly and rather dramatically in the 18th century is clearly compelling. The relatively short length of this phase, spanning only a century or so, and the contemporaneous development of this phenomenon in Greenland, has drawn the attention of numerous researchers. Significant cultural and historical conditions coincided with the adoption of communal houses in Labrador. External factors such as environmental conditions and the European presence cannot be disregarded but neither can the long-term internal workings of the Inuit culture itself (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Whitridge 2008). The European presence was more intense and sustained during this period and historical documents outline the rise of a certain influential middleman group who managed to take advantage of the situation at hand and make a highly profitable play for power (Taylor 1974). It is clear that the development of communal houses was contingent on a series of enmeshed factors including both Inuit and European motives, environmental conditions, increasing socio-economic complexity, and the internal dynamics of Inuit society. The most comprehensive explanations will undoubtedly consider multiple factors in addressing the communal house phenomenon.

The excavation of House 3 from the Huntingdon Island 5 site was not undertaken with the purpose of settling the debate on communal house origins, but instead was focused on contributing to the overall understanding of the nature of communal houses in Labrador through providing information about the first communal house to be investigated in Sandwich Bay.

Chapter 3. Methodology and Excavation

3.1 Site Description

The intent of this section is to provide a brief geographical overview of the Sandwich Bay region in general and Huntingdon Island in particular. The geographic areas included in Sandwich Bay are discussed in a descriptive nature in order to highlight the main resources available in this region. Attention is focused on available land and sea resources that were of importance to the Inuit. Considerably more detailed descriptions are available elsewhere of Labrador geography, climate, and animal and plant species (for more information see Ames 1977; King 1983; Lopoukhine et al. 1977; Peterson 1966).

3.1.1 The Sandwich Bay Region

Sandwich Bay is the second largest bay on the Labrador coast and is scattered with many small islands, peninsulas, and coves (Anderson 1984) (Figure 3.1). The bay is approximately 20 km wide and 30 km in length and so extends well into the forested ecosystem of the interior but also encompasses the outer coastal regions of rocky headlands and offshore islands (Rankin et al. 2011). To the north of Sandwich Bay is a long, sandy beach known as the Porcupine Strand that extends to Groswater Bay. Groswater Bay, which contains a well-known Inuit occupation, was also formally believed to be the southern limit of Inuit occupation (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983). There are three major river systems in Sandwich Bay that were used by the Inuit and other indigenous groups for travel routes as a means to access the interior. Two rivers, Paradise River and Eagle River, drain into Sandwich Bay while the third, North River, is located north of the mouth of the bay (Rankin et al. 2011). For the

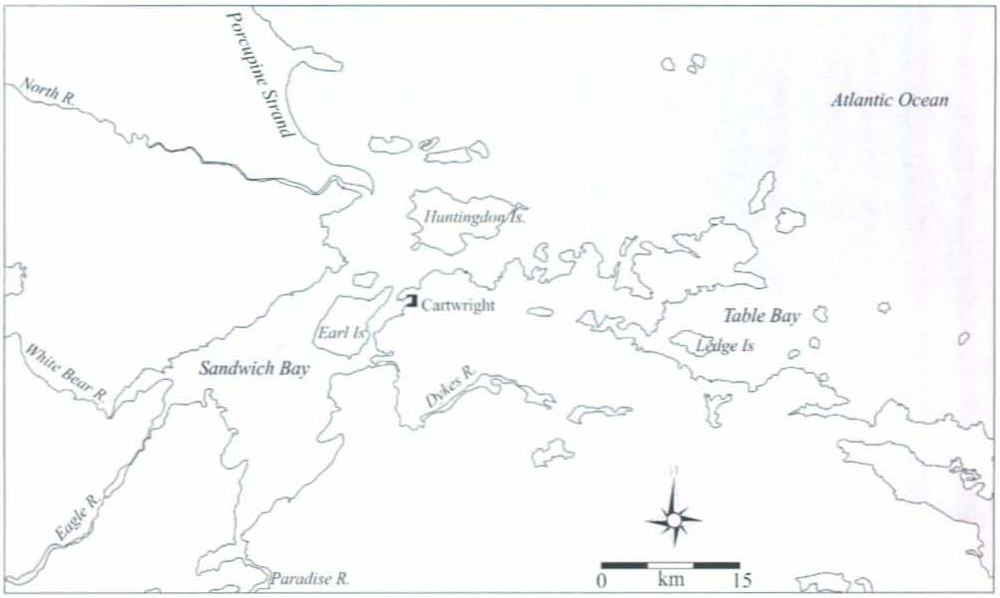


Figure 3.1. Map of Sandwich Bay.

Inuit, Sandwich Bay offered a settlement location that was similar to previously inhabited areas in many respects and was also a location ideally situated near the European visitors.

Sandwich Bay is well equipped for diverse resource exploitation as access is provided to the Labrador Sea, a variety of river ecosystems, and the forested interior. The Labrador Sea offered an abundance of resources that were of importance to the Inuit including whales, walrus, seal, and an array of fish species. Furthermore, mussels were also a predictable food source in coastal areas and were easily collected (Brewster 2005). The Inuit residing in the southern regions of Labrador had generally shifted away from an economy concentrated on whaling (Fitzhugh 1977). As whales became scarce due to European enterprises, the Inuit in the south began to focus instead on seal hunting (Fitzhugh 2009). Harp, grey, harbour, hooded, ringed, and bearded seals were present in

the Labrador waters and provided a substantial subsistence base (Auger 1991; Rankin et al. 2011). Seals have a tendency to congregate in large numbers at specific times and places enabling capture in mass quantities, and some species remained in the area throughout the year, which was equally as important (Auger 1991; Brewster 2005). The assortment of seal species present in Labrador created beneficial conditions for the Inuit as at least one seal species was available at any given time of the year whether to be hunted by kayak in open water or on the ice in winter months (Brewster 2005). Seals provided the Inuit with food, oil, skins, and were a valuable trade commodity (Brewster 2005). It is noteworthy that the Inuit name for Sandwich Bay is *Netshucktoke,* translated as "the place where there are many ringed seal" (Rankin 2010a:323).

The major river systems in Sandwich Bay provided a dependable supply of salmon during the summer months as well as the aforementioned transportation routes. Terrestrial mammals available in this area included caribou, black bear, polar bear, wolf, fox, and small fur bearing mammals like marten, wolverine, otter and mink (Rankin et al. 2011). Terrestrial mammals were used as food sources, for clothing and bedding, and as trade items with European groups. In addition, there were close to fifty permanent bird species in Sandwich Bay and over two hundred migratory species that together provided food in the spring and fall and eggs in the spring (Brice-Bennett 1977; Todd 1963). Over-wintering bird species, such as the ptarmigan, were important winter food sources for the Inuit (Brice-Bennett 1977). In terms of plant species, edible lichens and a variety of berries, for instance blueberries and cloud berries, were present throughout southern Labrador in the summer months (Rankin et al. 2011).

It is evident through this brief description of Sandwich Bay that the initial Inuit colonizers of this region encountered a diverse and rich area containing many mammal and plant species the Inuit already exploited. One contrast with the northern areas of Labrador was the presence of the forested interior that provided plenty of timber for building and burning (Rankin 2010a; Rankin et al. 2011). Essentially, a variety of seasonally obtainable resources were available for the Inuit in Sandwich Bay with predictable animal migrations and gatherings creating the potential for the collection of surpluses. Most of the resources were available between the early summer and the late fall, but key species were present in the winter. Ice edge hunting and localized polynyas, or ice-free areas, allowed for hunting and fishing of ocean species throughout the winter (Rankin et al. 2011). The Inuit subsisted mainly on seal, terrestrial mammals, and fish, supplemented by birds, molluscs, and berries. The Sandwich Bay region provided easy access to coastal areas, river systems, and interior environments and was consequently favourable for settlement. Access to a variety of diverse ecosystems was paramount for supporting a successful settlement and the proximity to the European presence was advantageous and likely purposeful (Rankin 2009:28; Rankin et al. 2011).

To date 29 Inuit sites have been identified in Sandwich Bay; however, Rankin (2010a:323) suggests that the number of definite Inuit sites is closer to 15. The majority of the identified sites are located on outer coastal islands and there is little archaeological evidence thus far of Inuit sites within Sandwich Bay itself (Rankin et al. 2011). The scarce evidence of Inuit sites within the inner bay area may be the result of limited survey of this forested region rather than a lack of Inuit presence (Rankin et al. 2011).

3.1.2 Huntingdon Island

Huntingdon Island is the largest island in Sandwich Bay and in recent years a number of Inuit sites representing both summer and winter habitation have been identified here (Brewster 2005; Rankin 2009, 2010b, 2010c; Rankin et al. 2011) (Figure 3.2). Huntingdon Island is situated near the mouth of Sandwich Bay and offers easy access to diverse ecosystems and permits optimal resource exploitation. The island itself has low hills and rocky beach terraces. It is classified as Forest Tundra, with the ground cover consisting of lichen, moss, and low shrubs with small clusters of spruce trees dotting the landscape (Brewster 2005:39-40). There are fresh water ponds and streams that support mammal habitation, including a caribou population that presently reside on the island (Brewster 2005:102).

Figure 3.2. Huntingdon Island with the sites of Snack Cove and Huntingdon Island 5 (also known as Indian Harbour) indicated.

The eastern side of Huntingdon Island was the location of intensive archaeological excavation between 2003 and 2005 at the site of Snack Cove (Brewster 2005, 2006; Rankin 2009; Rankin et al. 2011). One Inuit tent ring and three Inuit sod houses were excavated at Snack Cove 1 and 3, respectively. The dwellings at Snack Cove were occupied during the 17th century and represent summer through winter occupations (Brewster 2006:33-34). Beginning in 2009, excavation began on the western side of the island at the Huntingdon Island 5 site (FkBg-3), located on a small island named Indian Island. Indian Island is connected to and considered part of Huntingdon Island and one can easily cross between the two islands at low tide. Indian Island is sparser than Huntingdon Island, contains very few trees, and consists largely of a ground covering of moss and small shrubs interspersed with boggy areas. Indian Island has a harbour on the northern coast called Indian Harbour. The Huntingdon Island 5 site on Indian Island contains at least five semi-subterranean sod houses and at least six tent rings indicating more than one season of habitation on this island (Figure 3.3). To date, three of the sod houses have been fully excavated (Houses 1, 2, and 3). Houses 1 and 2 share an entrance passage and preliminary dating suggests an early- to mid-16th century occupation date for House 1 (Rankin 2010b:9) and a slightly later occupation date for House 2 (Rankin 2010c:3). House 3 forms the basis of this study and represents an 18th-century occupation date. The other sod structures have yet to be examined in detail but the initial assessment of size, shape, and amount of wall slumping is suggestive of later period occupations in relation to the houses already investigated (Rankin 2010b:5). It appears that the two distinct sites of Snack Cove and Huntingdon Island 5 represent sustained use of the

Huntingdon Island area by the Inuit spanning two or more centuries and reveal multi-seasonal visits.

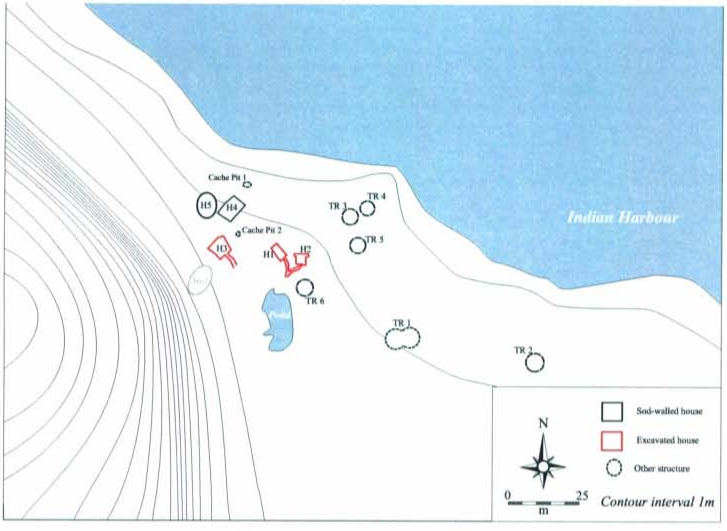


Figure 3.3. The Huntingdon Island 5 site map. All known sod house structures and tent rings are indicated. The structures identified in red have been excavated.

3.1.3 House 3 (FkBg-3), Huntingdon Island 5

House 3 at Huntingdon Island 5 was identified in 2006, mapped in 2009, and completely excavated in 2010. Prior to excavation, the house appeared to be excavated into the ground with high sod-walls and was roughly rectangular in shape (Figure 3.4). The entrance tunnel was not well defined but a slight depression was visible in the south wall extending to the southeast. Measurements taken from the highest portion of the wall crest prior to excavation indicated that the house measured 10 m in length by 8 m in width. Spruce trees were growing out of the sod walls around the perimeter of the structure as well as in the probable entrance passage. Long grass, small shrubs, and

Figure 3.4. House 3 prior to excavation.

patches of moss covered the entire surface of the structure and large rocks were exposed in several locations. Initial survey did not locate a visible midden area near the site. To the west of the house is the highest ridge on Indian Island with an elevation of approximately 20 m (Rankin 2010b:3) and one of the many small fresh water ponds on the island is located directly to the southeast of the house. The beach and harbour area are located less than 50 m north of House 3. Houses 1 and 2 are located to the east and House 4 is positioned to the north of House 3. Significantly, all of the sod houses identified on the island to date are within meters of each other and cluster on the western side of the island. The tent rings are scattered to the north and to the east of the sod houses and are situated closer to the beach than most of the sod houses.

3.2 Field Methods

During the summer of 2010 a crew of thirteen, composed largely of graduate students, helped to excavate House 3. We arrived in late July and remained for six weeks. The crew was shared between two excavations, as Dr. Lisa Rankin excavated House 2. In addition, a laboratory was established in the nearby community of Cartwright, which employed four local students for the summer.

The excavation of House 3 was structured in a similar manner to previous excavations undertaken on Huntingdon Island at Snack Cove and Huntingdon Island 5 in order to facilitate comparisons and to keep records consistent. In 2009, two permanent datums were set up on Indian Island and these same reference points were used in 2010 in order to tie the current excavation in with the previous grid. A total station was used for recording purposes and for establishing the excavation grid. In total, 70 1x1-m units were set up in House 3 oriented north-south and east-west, and 63 of the units were completely excavated. Four datums were placed within the house in order to take level measurements and to record the provenience of artifacts. All measurements were taken from the northwest corner of the unit and similarly, the northwest stake determined the unit name.

Due to the lack of visible stratigraphy, which was also encountered during Snack Cove excavations (Brewster 2005:59), the excavation was undertaken in arbitrary 10 cm levels. Excavation was by trowel following the removal of the sod surface layer. Excavation began with east-west and north-south trenches that were then profiled to record any visible stratigraphy. The trenches were placed through the centre of the house in order to expose portions of the sleeping platforms and the floor area and with the expectation of potentially cross-cutting the beginning of the entrance passage. Units were

excavated by 50 cm quadrants and all artifacts were measured *in situ* apart from faunal remains, which were recorded to level and quadrant. Large and important finds were photographed *in situ*. All sediment was screened through ¼" mesh and all artifacts and faunal remains recovered were collected. Excavation continued until house floor stones or sterile sand were reached. Large rocks resting on the floor stones were left in place and mapped. After all of the stones were mapped, those determined to be roof collapse were removed to fully reveal the floor area. Once the entire floor area was exposed it was intensively mapped, depths and angles of vertical rocks were recorded, and the house was photographed. At the conclusion of the floor plan mapping, the house floor stones were removed to collect any artifacts that may have fallen between the floor stones and to determine if there was a previous occupation beneath. After reaching sterile sand directly beneath the house floor stones, the house was photographed and then the excavated sediment was backfilled into the house structure.

Sediment samples were collected from the sleeping platforms and the entrance passage for archaeoentomological and paleoethnobotanical analysis. Radiocarbon samples were collected at various points throughout the excavation; however, it has been noted that the radiocarbon dates obtained from the most common organic remains recovered from Inuit sites – wood and sea mammal bone – are particularly suspect as these items produce dates that are often too old for the context (Friesen and Arnold 2008:528; Rankin 2009:17). This is due to the fact that the wood may be driftwood or curated from other contexts and as such may pre-date site occupation and the sea mammal bones are subject to the marine reservoir effect, which also produces dates that are too old (Friesen and Arnold 2008:528; Ramsden and Rankin 2010:5; Rankin 2009:17). In an

attempt to obtain the most accurate radiocarbon dates from Inuit sites, unmodified terrestrial mammal bone, particularly caribou bone, has been suggested as the most viable organic to sample (Friesen and Arnold 2008; McGhee 2009b; Ramsden and Rankin 2010). Only unmodified caribou bone recovered from House 3 was selected for radiocarbon analysis.

3.3 Excavation Results: Architecture

3.3.1 House Description

The excavation of House 3 revealed a large, single room Inuit winter house orientated to the northwest (Figure 3.5). During the course of excavation, no whalebone structural elements were recovered as is typical in Inuit housing in northern Labrador, which is likely due to the availability of timber in this region. House 3 appeared to be constructed of sand, turf, and large rocks with timber structural components. Measurements taken from the interior limits of the excavation, excluding the entrance passage, revealed that the internal house dimensions were 7 m in length by 8.5 m in width constituting a 60 m^2 area. The floor was constructed of tightly placed and levelled flagged stones. A large portion of exposed bedrock formed part of the floor space near the eastern wall of the house and floor stones were placed around this natural feature. The bedrock was also exposed near the edge of the sleeping platform on the southwest side of the house and in the entrance passage. The total floor space measured approximately 23 m^2 in a generally rectangular shape.

Raised sleeping platforms were located along the three interior walls around the periphery of the floor area. The sleeping platforms were composed of grey to brown coloured sand and fine gravel with small, rounded beach cobbles. The sleeping platforms

Figure 3.5. House 3 with floor and features exposed.

were raised approximately 30 cm above the paved floor and were skirted by upright stone slabs. Vertical rocks were placed in an angular arrangement around the sleeping platforms and protruded into the floor space creating discrete open-ended, alcove or niche areas (Figure 3.6). Furthermore, in at least five separate locations and corresponding with the distinct alcove areas, were horizontal tabular rocks situated around the edge of the sleeping areas. The horizontal tabular rock areas around the edge of the sleeping platforms were interpreted as bench or seating locations associated with each sleeping and alcove area. At least three distinct areas of compact light yellow to brown coloured sand were apparent at the junction between the end of the floor space and the edge of the sleeping platforms and were interpreted as cooking or lamp stand locations. Clusters of

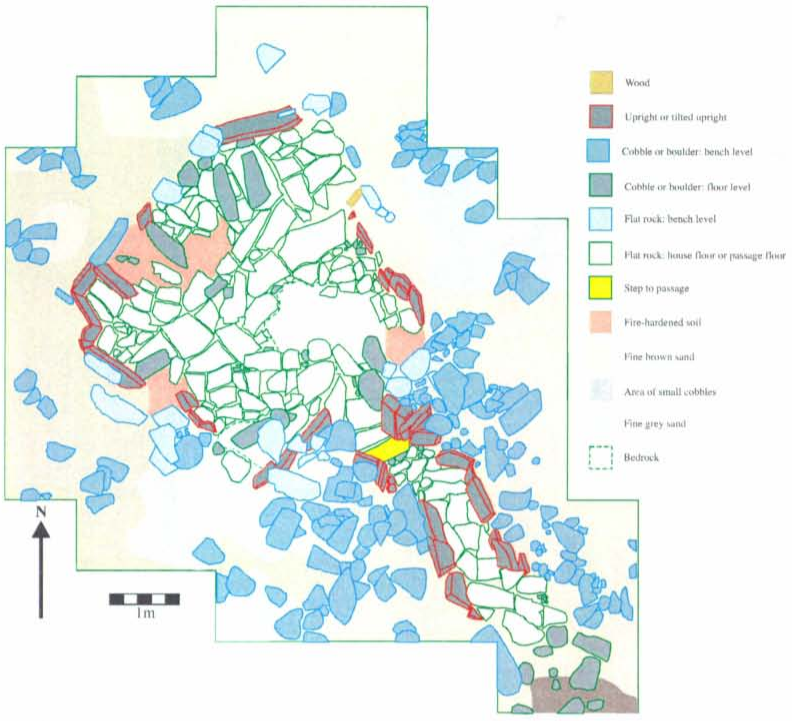


Figure 3.6. House 3 floor plan map.

rocks on the sleeping platforms around the wall area were either roof collapse material or post support locations.

The entrance passage was also constructed of tightly placed flagged stones and measured 4.5 m in length and was 75 cm wide. The entrance passage was excavated approximately 40 cm below the house floor level, and the bedrock that extended into the entrance passage may have been the limiting factor for the depth of the tunnel. Upright stone slabs bordered the passage and a horizontal step transitioned the entrance passage to the living space. Clusters of rocks bordered the exterior of the tunnel area and were likely

structural components of the covered passage. The passage did not follow a straight path and curved slightly along its length. The entrance/exit opened to the southeast directly to a small pond situated behind the house.

House 3 had simple stratigraphic layers with little surface disturbance. The initial excavation level consisted of a sod surface and roof collapse layer in which limited material culture was associated. The first level was covered with thick sod and plant roots with lenses of sand (Figure 3.7). Beneath the sod level was a dark organic level composed of fine-grained, slightly oily sediment representing the occupation layer. This level contained the majority of the material culture and faunal elements recovered. The dark occupation level often contained remnants of mussel shells, although all that remained of the bivalves was the brown periostracum or outer skins (Bird 1945:134). At the base of the dark organic level was either the floor stones or sterile sand on the sleeping platform areas or areas beyond the house limits. The floor stones were resting on a brown coloured sterile sand level that also represented the limit of excavation. In the sleeping platform areas, one often excavated through a light brown organic layer composed of wood and other fibres before reaching the sand layer. The light brown organic layer was likely the remnants of plant-based matting or covering placed on the sleeping platform for insulation and comfort.

When the Inuit were building House 3 and cutting sod blocks from around the house area to use for construction, it appears that they cut into previous occupations from Recent Indian groups. This was speculated due to the presence of quartz and Ramah Chert flint knapping debris in the roof collapse and sod level. The Inuit used ground stone technology when working stone (Rankin 2009:5), and the flake debitage recovered from

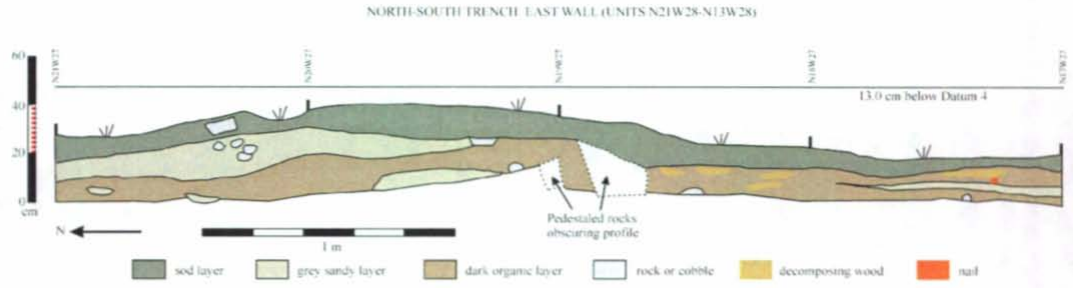


Figure 3.7. Profile of north-south trench.

the sod layer was most likely Recent Indian in origin. The quartz and Ramah Chert flakes were not associated with the occupation layer of the dwelling. The presence of Recent Indian material culture was a direct result of cutting turf blocks to construct and cover the exterior of House 3 for insulation, and in all likelihood remained buried in the sod roof during the Inuit occupation of the house.

3.3.2 Discussion

House 3 appears to adhere to the communal house form in terms of size and spatial design. In regards to size, Kaplan (1983:220, 238) identifies Early and Late period houses as averaging 18 m^2 whereas Communal period houses were in the range of 42-96 m^2. House 3 measures nearly 60 m^2, not including the entrance passage, and falls well within the size defining parameters of communal houses. Spatially, House 3 conforms to the general description of communal houses in Labrador. The house had three interior sleeping platforms around the rear and lateral walls and a number of discrete alcove or lamp stand areas. The presence of multiple sleeping platforms was a trait distinct to

communal structures as earlier and later period houses tended to contain single, rear platforms. House 3 contained a large, paved central living area and a paved, sunken entrance passage to enter the house. In communal structures, families shared the central floor space but each family had a separate lamp and cooking area and a separate sleeping area (Petersen 1974/1975). The sleeping platforms would have been divided into family units by skins suspended from the roof and the area directly in front of a sleeping area was a storage location for that particular family (Petersen 1974/1975:181; Taylor 1974:70). Each alcove area defined by vertical stone slabs and associated bench was interpreted as belonging to a single family. Along this line of reasoning, the results of the excavation of House 3 revealed that five families were residing in this structure (Figure 3.8).

According to ethnographic documents, large winter houses were generally shared by closely related nuclear families (Taylor 1974). The most common household composition of winter houses was the sharing of a large structure between fathers and their married sons, though brothers were documented as sharing a residence if the father was deceased (Taylor 1974:74). Father-in-laws and son-in-laws did not frequently share living quarters in the winter and, similarly, uncle and nephew household sharing was equally as scarce (Taylor 1974:74-75). Moreover, polygamous marriages were relatively common which created a large, extended family and kin network (Taylor 1974:67). Members of an extended family or kin group would often reside together in winter houses. Although one can never be certain without the support of documentary evidence, it is fair to speculate that the inhabitants of House 3 were likely paternally related family

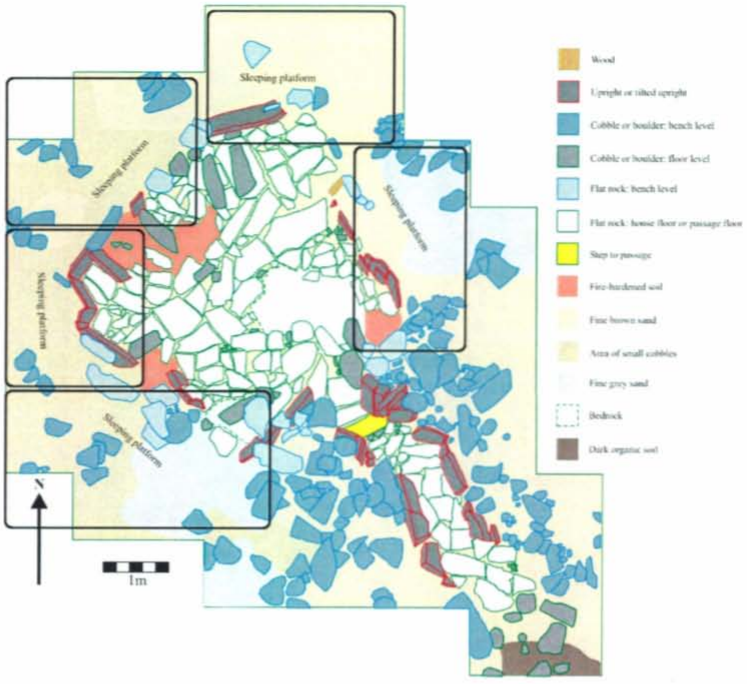


Figure 3.8. House plan map with the five posited family spaces indicated.

members or an extended family with most, if not all, of the inhabitants being related in some manner.

The lack of a large and separate midden accumulation or refuse area associated with House 3 is suggestive of a single season occupation. Although two small faunal deposit areas on either side of the entrance passage were encountered during excavation, neither area was deep or large enough to suggest sustained use and accumulation. A potential explanation for the lack of a rich midden area is that refuse was dumped into the small pond located directly to the southeast of the house. It may be, however, that no rich midden area was accumulated due to the short duration of the house occupation. It is

noted that the accumulation of a separate and distinct midden area near to Inuit houses was generally the result of an interior cleaning of the house the following autumn prior to the re-occupation of the dwelling (McGhee 1984a:78). If the house was not re-occupied, a large midden area would not be present. In accordance with the absence of a large and rich midden area, the stratigraphy of House 3 lacked visible and complex layers, which also suggests a short stay or a single period of habitation as opposed to a long-term occupation. House 3 did not appear to have been rebuilt in any manner for re-use or to have been re-occupied over a series of seasons. The presence of multiple sod houses at the Huntingdon Island 5 site with a range of occupation dates suggests that Inuit groups were frequenting this area over time as part of a land-use area, but rather than rebuild an abandoned structure, groups chose to build new houses near to the previous house locations. After moving out of the sod houses and into tents in the spring, the sod structures would often become waterlogged while the snow covering melted, causing wall slumping and potential collapse. It may have been faster and safer to build a new house rather than attempt to fix a slumping structure. Regardless of the motives, it is clear that House 3 represents a single component, winter period habitation in which multiple families resided.

The archaeological data presented in the next chapter places the excavation of House 3 within a narrowed time frame of occupation to enable future discussion about the positioning of this house within the larger themes of the Labrador Communal House phase.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Introduction and Artifact Classification

Chapter 4 presents the artifact and faunal data recovered from the excavation of House 3. The artifacts have been divided into categories based on material of composition in order to effectively organize the discussion. The categories include metal, glass, stone, ceramic, whalebone and mammal products, clay, and wood (Table 4.1). Metal is further subdivided into iron, lead, copper, and pewter. The artifacts are discussed in terms of material type in order to distinguish those of Inuit origin from those items of European origin (Brewster 2005:72). Items of Inuit origin include whalebone, soapstone, stone, and wooden items whereas European items are manufactured from metals, ceramic, clay, and glass. A number of artifacts recovered are European in origin but have been modified in some manner by the Inuit, which will be discussed further.

Table 4.1. The artifacts recovered in House 3 sorted by material type.

Material	**Amount**
Metal	372
Glass	125
Stone	117
Ceramic	81
Bone and Mammal Products	29
Clay	25
Wood	4
Total	**753**

In total 753 artifacts were recovered from House 3. The artifacts are discussed from most abundant to least abundant based on material type. Whenever possible, date ranges for the manufacture of European artifacts will be outlined as well as a country of

origin if relevant or known. After the presentation of the findings, the final sections will discuss the artifact distribution within the house and the assemblage date range followed by a summary of the House 3 collection.

4.2 Artifact Results

4.2.1 Metals

Items composed of metal were the most abundant material type recovered forming 49 percent of the entire assemblage of House 3. Of the metals, iron constituted the largest portion of the collection, followed in smaller amounts by lead, copper, and pewter items. Each of the four metal types will be discussed separately from most abundant to least abundant type.

4.2.1.1 Iron

Nails

Iron dominated the assemblage from House 3 with a total of 339 iron objects collected. Over 80 percent of the iron objects recovered were nails. All the nails that could be identified with certainty were of hand-wrought manufacture, except for one that was of machine-cut manufacture. The machine-cut nail was found near the sod interface and is not directly associated with the occupation level and may represent a recent intrusion. Hand-wrought nails were the only type of nail available throughout the 17th and 18th centuries prior to the introduction of machine-cut nails in the 1820s (Auger 1991:67; Noël Hume 1970:252-253). Despite the introduction of machine-cut nails, hand-wrought nails continued to be produced and used throughout the 19th century (Auger 1991; Noël Hume 1970). The nails present in the assemblage could have been curated or collected by

the Inuit from older European or Inuit sites and used and re-used well past the end of the manufacture date for hand-wrought nails and are therefore not reliable time indicators.

In general, the nails were in poor shape and the head type was difficult to identify; however, both rose-head and T-head types are represented in the assemblage, with the rose-head type appearing four times as frequently with 69 identified specimens. Rose-head nails were the most common nail variety produced and were used for general, multi-purpose tasks (Auger 1991:67). Of the 277 nail fragments recovered, only 80 were complete and the majority of the nails recovered in complete form ranged in length from 5 cm to 10 cm. The bulk of the nails were small to medium in size, though three complete iron spikes were collected. The Inuit had modified 18 of the nails in some manner, most commonly through removing the nail head and/or cold hammering the shaft flat. One cluster of three large iron nails was found directly below the western sleeping platform in the alcove or niche area. The cluster of large hand-wrought nails were fused together and displayed evidence of burning. The nail cluster may have been a stash of nails tucked away in the personal space located in front of the sleeping platform (Petersen 1974/1975:181).

Women and Men's Knives

Six traditional style Thule/Inuit knives were collected including *ulus* or women's knives and one men's style knife. Five *ulu* blades or semi-lunar shaped knives were recovered. The *ulus* appear to be made from iron pieces that were hammered flat into the desired shape. The Inuit may have fashioned the iron *ulus* out of a variety of collected iron items, such as spikes, European tools, or door parts. Two *ulus* are complete or near to complete blade forms, varying in size from 9.5 cm in width to 18 cm in width. The larger

Figure 4.1. Iron *ulu.*

ulu has a portion of a wooden handle still hafted to the iron blade (Figure 4.1). A third, incomplete *ulu* blade was also collected. The final two items are identified as probable *ulus.* These are constructed of iron pieces that have been roughly formed into an *ulu* shape (Figure 4.2). It is interesting to note that there are drilled circular holes in each of these items centred in the upper portion of the blade directly below the vertical handle form. The holes may have been drilled to facilitate the hafting of a handle to the iron blade as appear in Thule *ulu* forms made of slate (McGhee 1984b:Figure 2j). The similarity of the hole location on these two items suggests that the central hole was for handle hafting purposes and lends credence to their identification. Apart from the five *ulu* fragments, one stemmed end-blade men's knife form was recovered (Figure 4.3). The knife is constructed of hammered iron and is made in the traditional Thule/Inuit knife style, with slate or other traditional materials simply replaced with iron.

Figure 4.2. Probable *ulus*.

Figure 4.3. Iron men's knife.

Figure 4.4. Iron axe.

Axe

A roughly rectangular axe blade measuring 15 cm in length with straight sides was discovered during excavation (Figure 4.4). An oval shaped eye is present where the handle would have been attached. A rounded poll extends from the opposite end of the blade. Axes were generally constructed of two identical pieces welded together around a removable steel bar in order to create the eye for the handle attachment (Neumann 1973). In this case, only one half or side of the axe head was recovered. Axes and the smaller hatchet were popular trade items in the 18th century and were predominately hand-forged in a variety of axe head styles (Kauffman 1972:11; Neumann 1973:252-254). The first axes brought to North America from Europe were large and heavy with blades measuring over 15 cm in length (Neumann 1973). During the 18th century, axes were in high demand

in North American contexts for trade and utilitarian purposes and axe heads became smaller and lighter (Neumann 1973). The axe head recovered from House 3 is 15 cm in length and in terms of dimension and weight appears to be the larger camp or felling axe form and not the small hatchet or belt axe form popular by the 1720s (Neumann 1973:255). Although the hatchet had gained popularity by the 1720s, it did not replace the larger camp axe and both forms were used throughout the 18th century (Neumann 1973). An identical axe blade was recovered from Structure 4 at the Hare Harbour-1 site, a 17th- or 18th-century Inuit site in the Quebec Lower North Shore (Fitzhugh 2010:Figure 10).

Padlock

One complete iron padlock was collected. Padlocks similar in appearance to the one recovered from House 3 are common in 18th-century North America, particularly in British contexts (Priess 2000:80). The padlock resembles Priess et al.'s (1975:416) Category 6 padlock form described as a parallel-plate type with asymmetrical housing and a pivoted iron keyhole cover (Figure 4.5). The style of padlock recovered from House 3 has been identified by Priess (2000:81) as dating to within the second or third quarter of the 18th century. The keyhole cover may suggest an approximate date range as keyhole covers from the 17th and early-18th centuries were made of iron while keyhole covers dating to the 19th century were made of brass (Noël Hume 1970:250-251). The padlock found in House 3 has an iron pivoted keyhole cover, which places it prior to the 19th century when brass keyhole covers were in use (Noël Hume 1970:250-251). A manufacture date of 1750-1800 was assigned to the padlock.

Figure 4.5. Iron padlock.

Miscellaneous Iron Items

Four iron fishhook fragments were recovered. One of the fishhooks collected is a composite iron and lead cod jig. Moreover, one nearly complete iron knife of European manufacture was collected as were three partial knife or straight razor blades. Due to poor condition of the three partial blade pieces, it was not possible to distinguish if the items represented knife or straight razor blades. In addition, a bodkin and a partial sled nose shoe were recovered. The sled nose shoe is made of iron with six circular holes spaced along the length of the object for attachment locales, and one nail is still attached to the sled part. Finally, two pieces of iron strapping, one bar iron piece, and 51 miscellaneous and unidentifiable iron fragments were also recovered during the course of excavation, 11 of which displayed evidence of hammering or working.

4.2.1.2 Lead

Projectiles

In total 20 lead artifacts were recovered in House 3. The most common lead item collected was lead projectiles with seven represented in the assemblage. The projectiles range in size from 1.1 - 1.3 cm in diameter. According to size classifications, three of the projectiles are classified as buck or swan shots and the remaining four are considered musket balls (Auger 1991:63-64). Mold seams are visible on all of the items collected and one of the buck shots still has the casting sprue attached. It appears that the European groups in contact with the Inuit during this time were casting their own lead projectiles as both lead sheet pieces and casting waste or sprue were recovered in House 3 (Perttula 1994:71). Three hammered lead pieces were also collected with one piece roughly hammered into the shape of a harpoon head (Figure 4.6). A harpoon head fashioned from lead would be ineffective for hunting and may instead represent an item fashioned by a child to practice crafting the traditional harpoon style or the item may have been hammered into form for some other purpose.

Figure 4.6. Hammered lead harpoon head.

Pendants

One conical shaped lead pendant with an incised motif encircling the object with a drilled hole at one end was collected. Similarly, three lead drop pendants were also recovered which consist of three circular shapes aligned in a linear row with an indentation in the centre of the first drop (Figure 4.7). Lead drop pendants of this exact design have been found in Inuit sites throughout Labrador. Three pendants of this design were recovered from House 7 at Uivak Point near Okak, which was occupied in the 18th century (Woollett 2003:348), and 75 such pendants were found in a Thule grave at Iglosoataligarsuk in the Hopedale area (Bird 1945:175). Moreover, one lead drop pendant was also collected from a 17th-century tent ring site at Snack Cove 1 on Huntingdon Island (Brewster 2005:77, 2006:23). The lead drop pendant form resembles an ivory pendant recovered from the Thule site of Brooman Point (McGhee 1984a:Plate 26m). The lead drop pendants decorated the fringes of clothing and talismans in a similar manner that perforated animal teeth were traditionally used (Karklins 1992:198-199; Woollett 2003:348).

Figure 4.7. Lead pendants. From left, three lead drop pendants and one conical incised pendant.

4.2.1.3 Copper

Sword Hilts

Two copper sword hilts were recovered from the western sleeping platform and were situated less than 2 m apart (Figure 4.8). The term "hilt" refers to the entire handle portion, which together with a blade, constitutes a sword. In this case, the hilt portions recovered are half-heart shaped (for complete image see Neumann 1973:Figure 54.S). The complete hilts lacked an inboard counterguard and had a wooden grip wound in brass wire (Neumann 1973:79). A bulbous quillon protrudes from one end and the knuckle guard or bow has been removed from both specimens recovered. One of the hilts has been hammered flat and has leather or fibre tied around the quillon presumably to facilitate the wearing or hanging of this item. Hilts of this variety were carried by French grenadiers during the first half of the 18th century and were manufactured from 1725 to 1750 (Neumann 1973:79). The type of sword that would accompany the hilts is known as the *pontet simple* sword (Bryce 1984:31). At least ten examples of this type of hilt were recovered from the archaeological investigation of the 1760 wreck of the French frigate *Machault* (Bryce 1984:31). *Machault* was attacked by the British en route to resupply French troops in Canada and was sunk near the Restigouche River, which bisects present day Quebec and New Brunswick (Bryce 1984:7-8).

During the 18th century, swords were important defence weapons but were also representations and visual indicators of status and rank (Bryce 1984:31; Neumann 1973:51). In colonial contexts, swords were of particular value as Neumann (1973:51) aptly describes, "to the ordinary soldier or sailor the sword was a "last resort" weapon when face-to-face at close quarters". As early as 1501, Gaspar de Corte-Real's travels

through the Strait of Belle Isle documented aboriginal captives possessing a broken sword (Holly et al. 2010:37; Karklins 1992:194). The captives cannot be culturally identified; however, they could quite possibly have been Inuit (Karklins 1992:194-195). Furthermore, House 2 at the site of Eskimo Island 1 in Hamilton Inlet, which was occupied during the 18th century, contained two sword pieces (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). The proximity of the sites of Eskimo Island 1 and Huntingdon Island 5 and the presence of two sword pieces in each of the communal houses at these sites is compelling. Considering that swords would not be a possession a French sailor in Labrador would conceivably part with easily, it is surprising that four sword pieces were recovered within two separate Inuit dwellings. Perhaps the Inuit obtained a pair of swords and each was subsequently cut into pieces and moved through established trade networks, as sword parts would be valuable commodities even in partial form.

Figure 4.8. Copper sword hilts. The hilt on the left has been hammered flat and has leather tied around the quillon.

Coins

Three copper coins were collected during the course of excavation. One of the copper coins is a George II halfpenny with a circular drilled hole in the centre (Figure 4.9). The George II coin dates from the period 1729-1754 and is of British origin (Krause and Mishler 1993:492). Furthermore, two circular disks, presumed to be copper and suspected to be coins, were also found (Figure 4.10). The coins were examined by an expert but were unfortunately too degraded to enable identification. Both coin objects have small drilled holes near the edge and one of the disks had a second drilled hole in which a strip of leather suspends a small purple bead. It is noteworthy that the three coin items collected were in an altered state with drilled holes around the centre or edge presumably for suspension. The 19th-century ethnologist, Lucien Turner, reported seeing Inuit with "coins of various countries attached to the arms and dress" (Turner 1894:212). It is likely that the coins recovered from House 3 were used for a similar decorative purpose.

Figure 4.9. George II halfpenny.

Figure 4.10. Perforated copper coins.

Miscellaneous Copper Items

In total five miscellaneous copper based items were collected including a small machine-cut nail, a partial fishhook, and a plain band finger ring. Two triangular shaped copper pieces with drilled holes were also present and show evidence of hammering. The triangular drilled pieces are posited to have been pendants or attached to clothing or other items for decoration.

4.2.1.4 Pewter

Three pewter objects were recovered including a partial spoon in which approximately half of the handle has been cut off and is missing (Figure 4.11). During the 17th and 18th centuries, pewter spoon styles changed rapidly, which is useful for providing date ranges in archaeological contexts (Wadley 1985:36). Lacking touch marks and the finial of the spoon, the pewter spoon was dated through stem cross-section, rat-tail, and bowl shape (Wadley 1985:36). The stem cross-section is roughly rectangular in shape and rounded across the top in the round end spoon style, which was manufactured post-1700

Figure 4.11. Pewter spoon.

(Wadley 1985:39). The elongated rat-tail present on the bottom of the spoon bowl is indicative of spoon styles that were manufactured between 1700-1730 (Wadley 1985:41-42). After 1730, rat-tails were no longer included in spoon designs (Wadley 1985:41). The bowl form is long and narrow and appears to be in the round end style, which was developed between 1690 and 1730 (Wadley 1985:40). The dates obtained from the three aspects examined in the pewter spoon indicate the spoon is of the round end variety and was likely manufactured between 1700 and 1730 (Wadley 1985:43). It is interesting to note that during an ethnological study in the late-19th century, Turner (1894:211) described and collected Inuit women's coats, one of which was adorned with pewter spoons. In this instance, the handles were removed and the bowls were attached to the front of the coat in a linear fashion (Karklins 1992:197). Although this may not be the case for the spoon recovered in House 3, it is an intriguing explanation for the presence of a pewter spoon bowl with a removed handle.

Apart from the pewter spoon, two other pewter pieces were collected which also appear to be utensil parts. One piece is part of a handle, though in size and shape does not match the spoon described above. The other object is the finial of a utensil. The finial has been cut at one end and has a small, drilled hole near the top edge presumably to facilitate suspension.

4.2.2 Glass

Bottle Glass

Altogether, 72 glass fragments were recovered during excavation. Unfortunately, the fragments are largely small and undiagnostic pieces lacking designs and markings. Of the undiagnostic specimens, 53 are curved body sherds and 16 are flat sherds. Except for 10 colourless fragments, the glass recovered is exclusively shades of light and dark green. Two circular base fragments consisting of partial heel and push-up portions of dark green glass were collected. Moreover, one incomplete, light green coloured glass stopper was recovered. The stopper has a finial of 1.8 cm in diameter and the diameter of the shank is 1.1 cm. Twelve of the pieces recovered have a green exterior with a blue coloured cross-section which is likely a result of exposure to heat or burning. Judging by the differing bottle glass colours and considering the two base fragments, it is suggested that the remnants of approximately four different vessels are represented in the assemblage. Despite the presence of the base and stopper pieces, date ranges could not be obtained for the glass items recovered.

Glass Beads

Fifty-three glass beads were recovered, 47 of which were of the seed bead variety. Seed bead is a generic term referring to small, drawn beads that were typically used in

beadwork or strung to wear around the neck or wrists (Francis 2009:59). The seed beads recovered from House 3 average less than 3 mm in diameter. Using Kidd and Kidd's (1970) colour classification guide, it was determined that bright navy and white were the most common colours collected with 15 and 13 beads, respectively. The white beads are compound beads, consisting of an opaque white core covered with an exterior white layer. A dual-coloured layered bead was the third most prevalent colour type with five specimens and consisted of a redwood exterior with an apple green coloured core. Three beads each of black, palm green, aqua blue, and robin's egg blue were recovered and two shadow blue coloured seed beads were also present. Apart from the 47 seed beads, six wound beads of a larger size (averaging 8 mm in diameter) were discovered in House 3. Five of the larger, wound beads were turquoise and each differ slightly in shape and form due to the wound manufacturing technique but are all basically round in shape (Kidd and Kidd 1970). Finally, one large, wound layered bead with a rose brown exterior and apple green core was collected.

The five seed beads and one wound bead with green cores and red exteriors are often referred to as "green heart" beads (Francis 2009) (Figure 4.12). The compound "green heart" style of bead was popular in North American contexts beginning in the 1600s and had largely disappeared by the 1830s (Francis 2009:62). Similarly, the compound white beads were manufactured from 1600-1890 and the two shadow blue coloured seed beads were manufactured from 1699-1890 (Brain 1979:101-102, 105-106). Unfortunately, none of the other beads recovered were diagnostic of a specific time period.

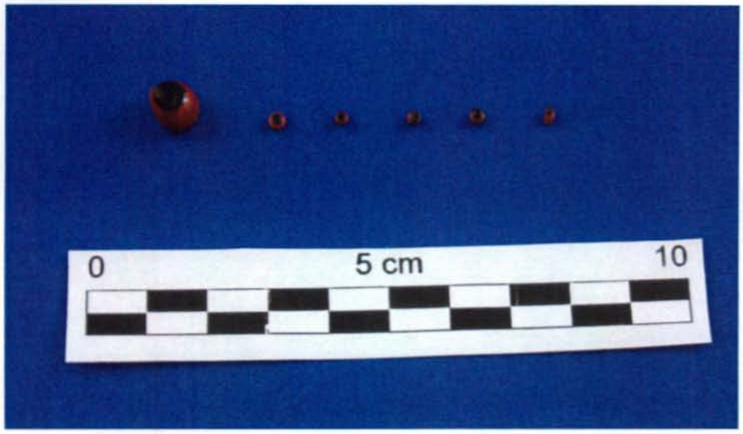


Figure 4.12. Green heart beads. The bead on the left is of wound-manufacture while the other five beads are drawn-manufactured seed beads.

4.2.3 Stone

Stone Tools and Debitage

Flint knapping debitage and a small number of finished tools were collected from House 3. As outlined in Chapter 3, the flakes appear to be Recent Indian in origin and likely appear in House 3 as a result of cutting sod blocks from nearby Recent Indian sites to construct the dwelling with the flint knapping debris remaining in the roof of the house during its occupation. Three complete stone tools were recovered including a chert scraper and two chert projectile points. Sixty-two flakes were recovered, 50 of which were Ramah Chert, 11 were quartz, and 1 was chert. The stone tools and debitage collected during excavation cannot be directly associated with the Inuit occupation of the dwelling and typical Inuit ground stone items were noticeably absent.

Pyrite Concretions

Twelve iron pyrite concretions (FeS_2) are included in the House 3 assemblage. The rounded iron pyrite cobbles would likely have been collected from streambeds as the outer surface appears to be weathered by water (Graham Layne, personal communication 2010). Interestingly, the pyrite concretions are not available on Huntingdon Island and these items would have to be collected from other parts of Labrador and brought to this location (Graham Layne, personal communication 2010). The pyrite nodules were used as effective strike-a-lights and have been reported in a number of Thule and Inuit contexts, including nearby Eskimo Island (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:41; Maxwell 1985; Taylor 1972:139).

Soapstone

Eight soapstone fragments were recovered in total. Two triangular shaped vessels, posited to be soapstone pots or kettles, were recovered with rounded corners and straight, vertical walls. Both of the triangular soapstone pieces show evidence of working around the rim edges and are blackened from burning activities. One of the triangular pot pieces was inset into the floor in the western side of the house with the paving floor stones placed around the triangular soapstone vessel (Figure 4.13). The vessel was likely much larger in original form and over time and breaking episodes, only the triangular corner portion of the pot survived. Two more pot bases were collected, both of which exhibit a roughly rectangular shape with short vertical walls. None of the pot fragments collected were from the same vessel and the pot fragments indicate that at least four different soapstone pots were present in House 3. The final four pieces that were recovered are similar in form and appear to have been shallow circular lamps. One of the fragments has

an incised parallel line design below the rim. A soapstone fragment with an identical incised design was recovered from a midden at the Avertok site near Hopedale and was roughly dated to the period prior to the 18th century (Bird 1945:151). The fragments found in House 3 represent at least two different lamps as the pieces vary in shape, thickness, and size. The collective soapstone vessel count within the house is six, with a minimum of two lamps and four pots.

Figure 4.13. Triangular soapstone pot.

Gunflints

Two gunflints were present in the assemblage. One is of a yellowish blond colour and is a blade-type gunflint while the other is a spall-type variety gunflint and is dark grey in colour. Conventionally, the colour of gunflints was used to determine the country of origin with yellow or brown flints regarded as French in origin and grey to black coloured flints considered to originate from Britain (Noël Hume 1970:220). Similarly, spall-type gunflints were traditionally believed to pre-date blade-type gunflints (Durst 2009:21). In recent years, both of the former assertions for sourcing and dating gunflints through colour and type have been reassessed (Durst 2009). It is now clear that colour cannot directly indicate country of origin and that spall- and blade-type gunflints have similar production dates as both types have been found in contemporaneous contexts (Durst 2009:21). The two gunflints recovered from House 3 cannot be assigned a country of origin or date estimation with any certainty.

Miscellaneous Stone Items

A rectangular shaped sandstone whetstone was also collected with horizontal striations along the top surface. Approximately 30 pieces of mica were also present in House 3, four of which were burnt. Mica may have been used in place of a window or as mirrors and is commonly found within Inuit dwellings.

4.2.4 Ceramic

Eighty-one ceramic fragments were collected during the course of excavation. Five different ceramic types are represented, including Normandy coarse stoneware (CSW), coarse earthenware (CEW), Ligurian-style, tin-glazed earthenware (TGEW), and

refined earthenware. Each type will be discussed separately from most abundant to least abundant type present.

Normandy Coarse Stoneware (CSW)

Normandy coarse stoneware, produced in the Normandy region of France, was the most prevalent ceramic fragment with 30 pieces (Figure 4.14). The fabric is of a beige-brown colour with a matte dark brown to bluish-grey exterior. Twenty-two body sherds from at least two different vessel types were present, including a thick and straight walled form and a small, thin-walled form. Eight base sherds all of the thicker walled variety were present and interestingly, no rim sherds were collected. Although eight base pieces are present, only five were large enough specimens to determine the base size of the vessel. Three base diameter sizes are represented in the assemblage: 8 cm (1), 9 cm (2), and 11 cm (2). Four of the base sherds display evidence of burning on the exterior base of the vessel. Normandy CSW was produced from the Middle Ages to the 20th century, but production was at its height in the 17th and 18th centuries (St. John 2011:100). Normandy CSW vessels are typically jars and bottles that are storage related and were used to transport food, butter, and liquids (St. John 2011). At least four vessels of differing sizes are represented in the House 3 assemblage, including at least three different sizes of thick and straight-walled forms and one small and thin-walled type. The lack of rims and prevalence of base pieces with evidence of burning is suggestive that these pots might have been acquired in an incomplete form and were used as lamps or cooking vessels, much in the same way soapstone pots were traditionally used. At Snack Cove 3, a Normandy CSW bottle was recovered with burnt residue, and a similar cooking or heating function was posited for this vessel (Brewster 2006:26-27).

Figure 4.14. Normandy coarse stoneware base fragment.

Coarse Earthenware (CEW)

The next most abundant ceramic fragment type was coarse earthenware with 29 sherds. The vast majority of the CEW sherds were undiagnostic body sherds and only two rim fragments and one base fragment were recovered. It appears that two different hollowware vessels are represented in this assemblage, as there are two differing temper and glaze colours present. The first vessel type represented is a pink-beige fabric with green glaze, which is generally classified as Saintonge-type or French green-glazed coarse earthenware (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:28-29; St. John 2011:84) (Figure 4.15).

This ceramic type has been recovered from a number of French sites in Eastern Canada, including the Seal Islands site in Labrador, Fort Beauséjour, Louisburg, and the *Machault* shipwreck (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:29). The French green-glazed CEW has a production range from the 1600s to 1760 (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:29; St. John 2011:84). A variety of vessel forms were constructed of this ceramic type ranging from food preparation to storage vessels (St. John 2011:84-85); however, the fragmentary nature of the sherds recovered in House 3 does not allow a form to be clearly identified. The second type of CEW is composed of a grey-beige fabric with a dark yellow glaze. Only four sherds of this description were recovered and all are in poor shape with only small remnants of the glaze still present, though it is evident that both the interior and exterior of this vessel were glazed. Unfortunately, the amount of body sherds and small and fragmentary rim and base pieces did not allow for vessel type to be identified for the CEW sherds. Two different CEW vessels appear to be represented in this collection, though neither form was complete.

Figure 4.15. Green-glazed coarse earthenware.

Figure 4.16. Ligurian-style ceramic sherd.

Ligurian-Style

Eleven ceramic sherds with a red terra cotta coloured paste and dark red to brown coloured glaze with black stripes were recovered (Figure 4.16). This ceramic has been identified as a Ligurian-style ceramic popular in the 18th century (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:22; St. John 2011:70). Ligurian-style ceramics were originally created in Northern Italy but the French replicated this style throughout the 18th century (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:22; St. John 2011:70-71). The quality of the French replicas does not allow one to discern Italian from French origin in ceramics of this form, thus the general term Ligurian-style is applied to ceramics of this type (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:22; St. John 2011:70-71). The Ligurian-style vessel recovered in House 3 is a flatware, likely a plate or platter. The vessel has been glazed on both sides, though the black stripe decoration appears only on the visible, topside of the plate. The rim fragments indicate that the

flatware had a 20-21 cm diameter for the vessel and only one vessel of this type is present in this assemblage. Ligurian-style ceramics were most popular in the 18th century, prior to the installation of a heavy tax on this ceramic by the first few decades of the 19th century, which drastically reduced its distribution (St. John 2011:71).

Tin-Glazed Earthenware (TGEW)

Five tin-glazed earthenware fragments were collected, all of which are body fragments except for one foot or rim fragment. The fabric is dark brown to grey in colour with white glaze containing a hint of very light blue colour. Glaze is present on both sides of the sherds collected. This ceramic is likely white faïence, which is the particular name for French tin-glazed earthenware (St. John 2011). White faïence vessels were generally serving rather than cooking dishes and came in a variety of forms (St. John 2011:74-76). This type of ceramic was common in North American contexts between 1700 and 1760 (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:60). The sherds of white faïence recovered from House 3 are too fragmentary and small to allow comment on vessel form or size.

Refined Earthenware

Finally, two refined earthenware sherds were collected during the course of excavation. Refined earthenwares are common in late-18th- and 19th-century sites in North America (Noël Hume 1970; St. John 2011:66). It must be noted that these two sherds were collected from the surface of the sod during excavation and do not appear to be associated with the occupation level and instead appear to be recent intrusions. Two small fragments of white coloured glaze were also recovered, though the small size and separation of the glaze from the ceramic fabric does not allow comment to be made on vessel type or form.

4.2.5 Bone and Mammal-Derived Products

Leather and Baleen

Bone and other mammal-derived items composed approximately four percent of the overall assemblage. Fourteen leather pieces were collected, all of which were small and fragmentary. One leather piece had a perforated hole and a second piece was sewn in a braided, over-lapping manner. A pair of leather shoe soles with probable machine stitching was collected from the sod surface layer. The shoe soles are not associated with the occupation level of the dwelling and may be evidence of recent disturbance or dumping. Four pieces of baleen were recovered, one of which was rectangular in shape with a rounded top portion displaying lateral notches. Furthermore, one coil of fibrous material, potentially baleen, was discovered. The fibres were formed into a circular shape and were tied into a knot at one end to keep the bundle secured. A small and fragmentary textile fragment was also discovered, though little information could be gleaned in regards to fabric type, as the piece was incredibly fragile.

Whalebone

Seven whalebone pieces were collected, all of which were modified in some manner, particularly through shaping and drilling. Five of the pieces have drilled holes and lashing grooves and are sled shoe fragments (Figure 4.17). The drilled holes are aligned in linear arrangements as well as in staggered patterns and in all the pieces recovered the end of the whalebone fragment is notched. The diameters of the drilled holes range from 4 to 14 mm with the majority measuring 10 mm in diameter. All of the sled parts display evidence of thinning and shaping on most, if not all, surfaces. It appears

that the fragments recovered were construction pieces for the same item, as the pieces show a uniform amount of wear (Tim Rast, personal communication 2011).

Figure 4.17. Whalebone sled parts.

Apart from the whalebone sled parts, a mattock blade was also recovered (Figure 4.18). The item is roughly rectangular in shape with a rounded distal end. Centred in the upper potion of the object is a rectangular hole measuring 6 cm in length by 2 cm in width in which the handle would be attached. Mattocks were tools typically used to dig house pits (Maxwell 1985:261). Finally, one wound pin used in seal hunting was found and is square in cross-section and has been formed into a point at one end.

Figure 4.18. Whalebone mattock.

4.2.6 Clay

Pipes

Clay items represent less than four percent of the overall assemblage with 26 items, 19 of which are kaolin pipe pieces. Three pipe bowls and one pipe bowl fragment were recovered and the three partial pipe bowls were examined in terms of bowl form as legible maker's marks or decoration were not present. The form of pipe bowls has evolved over time and chronologies exist in which to generally place a pipe bowl in the chronological scheme (Noël Hume 1970; Oswald 1975). The general chronological pattern of pipes in the 17th and 18th centuries was that stem holes became smaller over time and the bowl moved from a more horizontal orientation to an upright position (Neumann et al. 1975: 244; Oswald 1975:37-38). The pipe bowls recovered were placed

Figure 4.19. Kaolin pipe bowls (A, B, and C).

in the general classification scheme in terms of general form, size, and shape in order to produce a date range for the item (Figure 4.19). The first pipe bowl form (pipe A) collected from House 3 has a broad 18th-century manufacturing date (1700-1790) (Savard and Drouin 1990). The bowl is almost horizontal in its orientation with a pronounced heel. A country of origin could not be assigned to pipe A with any certainty. The second pipe bowl (pipe B) has a more vertical bowl orientation with a heel that displays a raised pinwheel pattern. This pipe appears to be of British manufacture during the period of 1700-1770 (Savard and Drouin 1990:156-157). The third bowl (pipe C) is also of British origin and has a crown with an illegible initial underneath present on either side of the bowl. The bowl form adheres to the forms manufactured from 1720-1780 (Savard and Drouin 1990:164-165; Walker 1977:1531). Overall, it appears that the pipe bowls present in the assemblage were manufactured from as early as 1700 to as late as 1790.

Fifteen stems were recovered, two of which have a bore diameter of 4/64", nine with 5/64", and three with 6/64". Stem bore diameters are not a reliable indicator of time period in this context or with such a small assemblage and thus stem-bore chronological analysis will not be applied here. The presence of three different stem-bore sizes, however, indicates that at least three pipes were present in this assemblage, which correlates with the number of pipe bowls.

Aside from the kaolin pipe pieces, one coarse tempered, red-brown, clay pipe stem with quartz inclusions was collected. The pipe stem is of irregular shape and displays evidence of burning on the exterior. The pipe does not appear to be of European manufacture and is likely of aboriginal origin, though cultural affiliation is presently unknown.

Roof Tiles

Apart from the clay smoking pipes, six red clay roofing tile fragments were recovered. The tiles appear to be visually similar to the Basque roof tiles that are found at fishing and whaling stations in the vicinity of the Strait of Belle Isle, most notably at the site of Red Bay. Woollett (2003:270) suggests the tiles may have been used as abraders and could explain the presence of small pieces of the clay tiles, which would be effective iron sharpeners. Roofing tiles likely of Basque origin have been found in Inuit houses across Labrador, including neighbouring Houses 1 and 2 at the site of Huntingdon Island 5 (Rankin 2010b, 2010c).

4.2.7 Wood

Four wooden artifacts were collected from House 3, including a large circular item suspected to be a button. A folded bark handle was also present and would have

been wound around a metal, stone, or bone blade. Apart from the identifiable wooden items, a miscellaneous layered wooden item roughly rectangular in shape with evidence of lateral shaping was recovered. Finally, a circular wooden piece posited to be a post support was collected from the western side of the house resting on the flagged stone floor, further supporting the notion that the house contained a timber frame.

4.3 Artifact Discussion

4.3.1 Artifact Distribution

The artifacts recovered from within House 3 were generally clustered around the edges of the house interior. Few artifacts were collected from the flagged stone floor and most of the items were concentrated on the sleeping platforms and in the alcove areas just below the sleeping platforms. Personal effects of each family residing in the house were stored in the alcove areas and on the sleeping platforms and it is understandable that the artifacts were distributed in this manner. The entrance passage contained fewer artifacts than the house proper, with the first 2 m of the passage closest to the house interior containing the most items. The final 2 m of the house leading to the exit produced few artifacts. The passage was quite narrow and confined with a low ceiling and it is understandable that objects would be dropped or lost as one moved through the tunnel.

Metals were the most abundant material type collected and in terms of distribution appeared to be evenly spread around the house, which indicates that all members of the household had access to metal items (Figure 4.20). Soapstone items were located on the floor area around the sleeping platform edges, suggesting the use of soapstone in the traditional manner for heating, lighting, and cooking (Figure 4.21). Similarly, four of the Normandy coarse stoneware bases were situated around the sleeping platform edges,

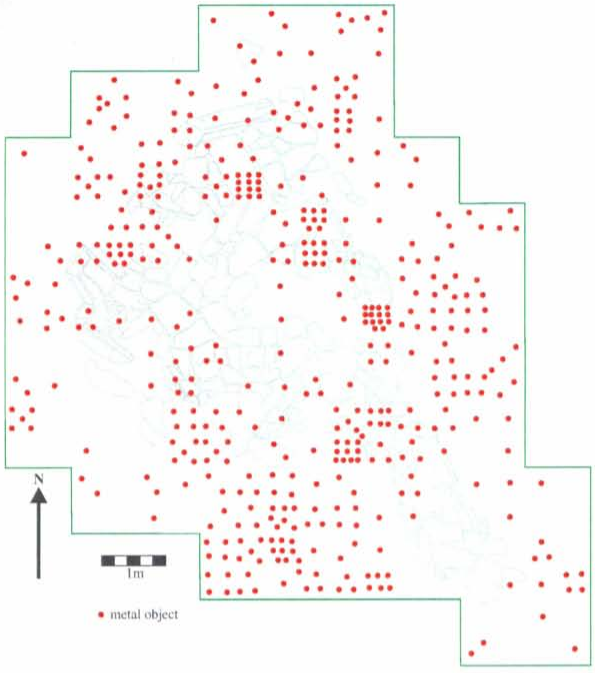


Figure 4.20. Distribution of metal items in House 3.

which may further support the proposition that the Normandy CSW bases were used in the same manner as traditional soapstone vessels. The distribution of the more rare items within the house and the items of adornment were almost exclusively located on the platform areas or alcoves directly below the platforms. As is demonstrated in Figure 4.22, the beads, lead pendants, sword hilts, and copper ring were found on the platform areas. A distinct cluster of beads and lead pendants was located on the eastern platform and may indicate a family's personal space and property. A similar cluster of items, including both sword hilts, was located on the southwest platform and may also represent the property of one family within the shared dwelling.

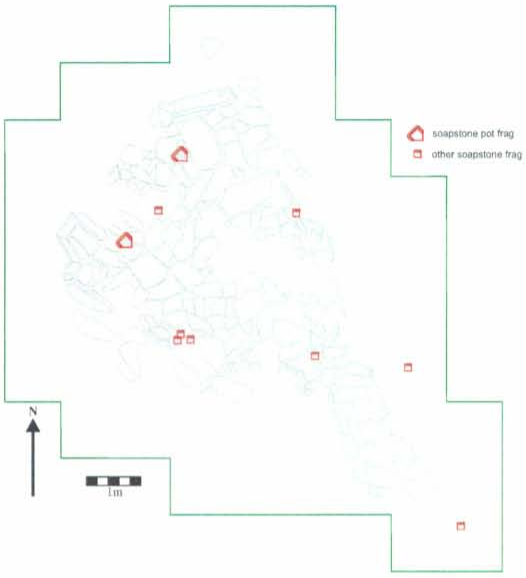


Figure 4.21. Distribution of soapstone in House 3.

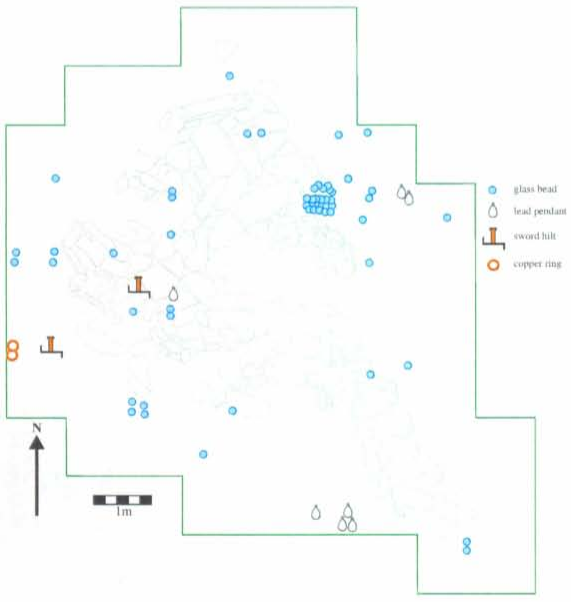


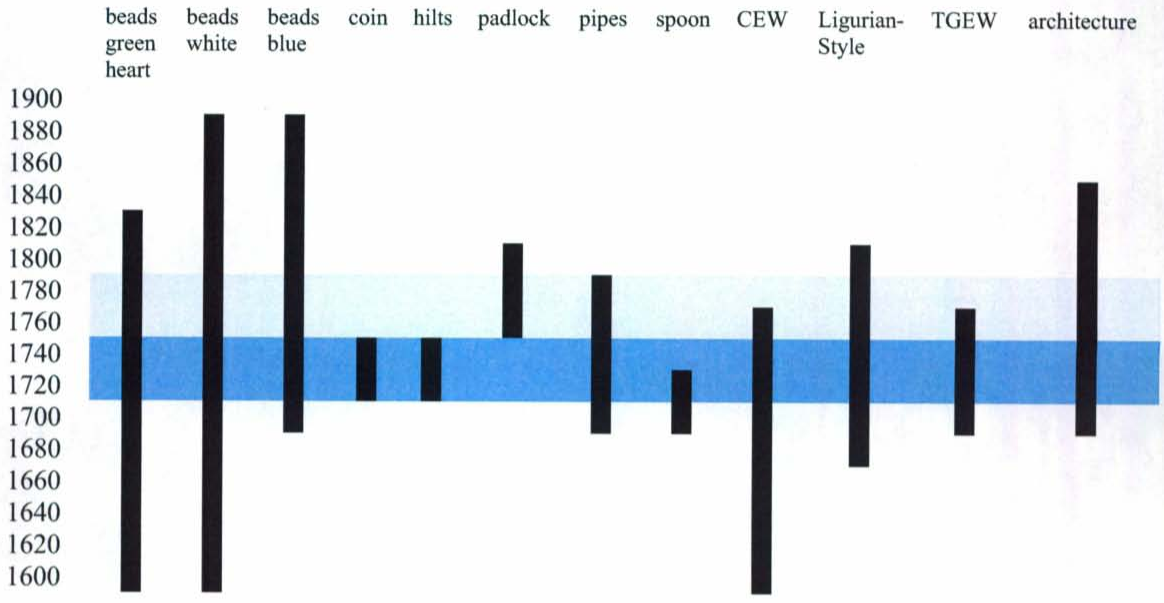
Figure 4.22. Distribution of adornment items in House 3, including glass beads, lead pendants, sword hilts, and a copper ring.

Levels 1 and 2 contained the most cultural material with over half of the assemblage collected from these levels. The sod surface contained approximately 30 items, which were not included in analyses for dating the house occupation as these items cannot be firmly associated with the occupation level. The items collected from the sod surface may be representative of recent fill or dumping as they were not buried in the house deposit. For instance, the refined earthenware and the machine-stitched leather shoe soles were collected from the surface level and appear to post-date the majority of the cultural material collected from the occupation level inside the dwelling. Less than 60 items were collected from beneath the floor stones and the vertical stones skirting the sleeping platforms when these stones were lifted at the conclusion of the excavation.

4.3.2 Assemblage Dates

In order to provide a date range for the occupation of House 3, the datable European artifacts were examined (Table 4.2). Artifacts recovered from the sod layer were not included in this analysis as only items associated with the occupation level of the dwelling were considered. The European artifacts of which date ranges could be obtained included beads (green heart, compound white, and shadow blue), ceramics (CEW, TGEW, and Ligurian-style), George II coin, sword hilts, padlock, pipes, and a pewter spoon. Normandy coarse stoneware was not included in determining the date range of House 3 as Normandy CSW has a broad manufacturing range from the 14th through to the 20th century, though its production did peak in the 17th and 18th centuries (St. John 2011:100). The communal house architecture style was included for comparative purposes. The Communal House phase was generally considered to range from A.D. 1700-1850 (Schledermann 1971:70).

Table 4.2. Artifact and architecture dating chart. The highlighted areas indicate the probable occupation date range for House 3.



According to the assemblage analysis, House 3 was occupied at some point during the last three quarters of the 18th century. Although many of the datable artifact types have extended chronological ranges, the obtained dates tend to align in the period between 1720-1780 and in particular between 1720-1740. Most of the datable European artifacts were manufactured within this period or a few decades prior, and artifacts may have been traded to the Inuit after the terminating manufacture date. The sword hilts and the George II coin had short manufacture ranges of 1725-1750 and 1729-1754, respectively. Similarly, the pewter spoon had a brief manufacture period from 1700-1730. Though all three artifacts could have been obtained much later than these time ranges, these artifacts are useful indicators that the house was not occupied prior to the early 18th century. The majority of the identifiable European-origin items are either of French or

British manufacture. The ceramics and sword hilts are indicative of a French presence while the two pipe bowls (B and C), George II coin, and padlock are considered to be of British origin. The French had control of Labrador from 1713-1763 and the House 3 assemblage largely dates to the French tenure in Labrador. Nevertheless, the French were not the only group frequenting Labrador during this period, which may explain the items of British manufacture within House 3. To complicate matters further, European countries traded goods with each other and British manufactured items may not have been brought to Labrador exclusively by fishers or traders from Britain. For instance, French settlers may very well have traded British manufactured items, tobacco pipes for example, to the Inuit. More than one European group is visible in the assemblage of House 3, which serves to highlight the complexities of the Labrador contact milieu during the 18th century, as a number of European groups were frequenting the landscape and interacting with the Inuit.

4.3.3 Radiocarbon Dating Results

Three samples of caribou bone were submitted for radiocarbon dating to Beta Analytic Incorporated to be used in conjunction with the artifact dating results (Figure 4.23). The first sample (sample #IH 2) submitted was collected from underneath the floor stones of the house and the calibrated date ranges are A.D. 1447-1528 and A.D. 1580-1630. The dates from the first sample are not consistent with the date range received from the artifact assemblage analysis and may be representative of an earlier occupation or component to the site that was not visible during the excavation. The second sample (sample #2204.1), collected from the southwest midden accumulation, produced three calibrated date ranges. The highest probability date for the sample falls within the period

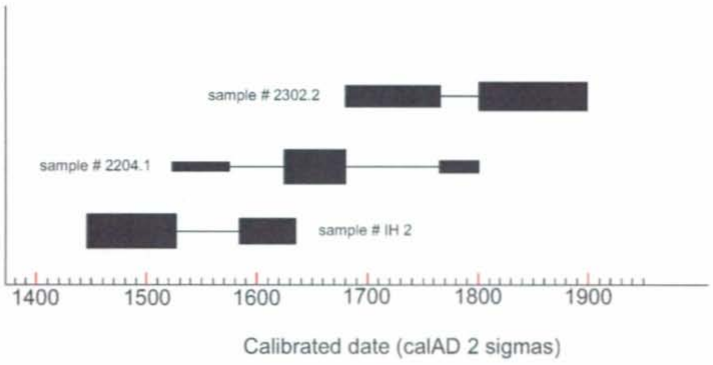
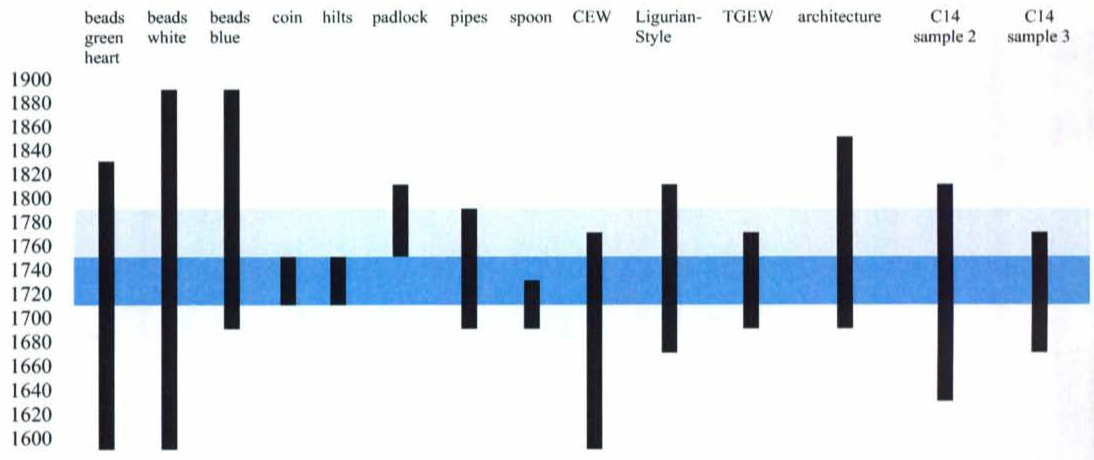


Figure 4.23. Graph displaying calibrated date ranges for the three radiocarbon samples submitted from House 3.

A.D. 1630-1680. The other two calibrated date ranges obtained for the sample fell within the periods A.D 1530-1580 and A.D. 1760-1800, respectively. None of the date ranges received from the second sample are necessarily a perfect fit for the assemblage date obtained from the artifact analysis, but the later two dates, A.D 1630-1680 and A.D. 1760-1800, are largely consistent with the overall findings of an early- to mid-18th century occupation date. The third sample (sample #2302.2) submitted for analysis produced two date ranges, an earlier 18th-century range and a much later 19th-20th century date range. The earlier range from A.D. 1680-1770 is included in this analysis as it is the most consistent with the other data. The third sample was collected from the northern end of the entrance passage. Although radiocarbon dating of recent samples is problematic and radiocarbon dating is best suited for archaeological contexts that are at least a few hundred years old (Brewster 2005:74), the results obtained provide compatibility with the

other dating methods employed. An 18th-century date range is consistent with the radiocarbon data obtained from sampled caribou bones and this corresponds with the other date ranges associated with House 3 from both artifact and architecture analysis (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3. Artifact and architecture dating chart, including radiocarbon samples. The highlighted areas indicate the probable occupation date range for House 3.



4.3.4 Artifact Summary

The assemblage from House 3 provides a mixture of traditional Inuit items, European manufactured items, and modified artifacts. The artifacts recovered were discussed in categories based on material of composition in order to distinguish Inuit from European-origin items. Overall, unaltered European manufactured items dominated the assemblage with 554 artifacts in total (Table 4.4). This included nails, ceramics, glass bottles, glass beads, lead projectiles, roof tiles, utensils, pipes, an axe, padlock, and many

Table 4.4. Origin of artifacts.

Origin	Amount	Percent
Inuit	52	7
European	554	73
European - Modified	52	7
Unknown	95	13

other miscellaneous fragments of iron and other metals. Inuit-origin items included baleen, whalebone, leather, wood, soapstone, and pyrite nodules. Perhaps the most interesting items recovered in House 3 were the European manufactured items that had been altered in some manner by the Inuit through such means as hammering, drilling, cutting, and bending. Just over 50 of such items were collected including altered nails, numerous drilled metal pieces presumably for suspension, hammered metal items, and iron *ulu* and knife blades. Inuit-origin items and modified European items totalled over 100, still a fifth of the amount of the unaltered European items. A fourth category is delineated as unidentified, and this includes flint knapping debitage, a coarse clay pipe, a textile fragment, and mica pieces.

The artifacts collected provide insights into the types of activities taking place during the occupation of the structure. For instance, sled parts of both iron and whalebone are indicative of winter travel. The presence of fishhooks and a wound pin are suggestive of fishing and seal hunting activities. Furthermore, lead projectiles and gunflints indicate that the Inuit were potentially in possession of firearms, though the gunflints could have been collected for fire starting purposes. At least three kaolin pipes were present in the assemblage suggesting that smoking may have been an activity undertaken by the Inuit inhabitants of House 3, but was likely not a regular practice at this time. The collection of

soapstone pot and lamp pieces indicates that food was prepared through traditional means and that sea mammal oil lamps were providing heat and light within the structure. The Normandy coarse stoneware may also have been used in this manner. All of the ceramics recovered were hollowware vessel forms, except for the one Ligurian-style flatware. Traditional Inuit food preparation and cooking vessels were pots constructed of soapstone, baleen, skin, or wood to facilitate the preparation of communal meals of stews and broths (Jurakic 2007:81). Although European ceramics were incorporated in the assemblage of House 3, hollowware forms predominated. The dominance of hollowware forms indicates that traditional liquid based meals intended for communal consumption were still the norm and that the Inuit were selecting hollowware ceramic forms to be used in the same manner as traditional materials (Jurakic 2007:81-82). In addition, the importance of iron implements is highlighted through the plethora of iron pieces recovered, including iron tools such as European and traditional knives and an axe as well as a number of roof tile fragments and a whetstone ideal for sharpening iron implements. Finally, a large amount of adornment items were collected including beads, pendants, a ring, and an array of metal items drilled and modified to permit suspension. Attachments of European manufactured items to clothing and to the interior of houses were emblems of prestige and status (Gulløv 1997:369). Both utilitarian and adornment items of European origin were collected by the residents of House 3 and incorporated into daily practices through processes of direct replacement.

The predominance of European manufactured items within the House 3 assemblage firmly places the house occupation in the contact period. The quantity and variety of European items indicate direct Inuit-European trade and interaction rather than

scavenging activities (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). Certain items in the assemblage, such as coins, sword hilts, beads, and kaolin pipes, suggest that direct exchange was taking place as these items were unlikely to be gathered in large numbers through scavenging events. In terms of cultural chronology, House 3 appears to fall within Jordan and Kaplan's (1980:42) Intermittent Trading period (A.D. 1700-1800) defined as a period of flourishing trade networks, increasing amounts of European goods in Inuit houses, and intensifying Inuit-European contact. Traditional Inuit implements continued to be made and used during this period; however, foreign goods began to dominate the trade networks creating an increased demand and dependence on European commodities (Jordan 1978:181).

4.4 Faunal Results

4.4.1 Quantification and Results

During the course of excavation, 688 faunal elements were collected and were recorded to level and quadrant. The faunal remains were sent to a zooarchaeologist, Lindsay Swinarton, at the Université Laval for identification to the species level when tenable. The elements recovered from the sod surface layer totalled 58 and were not included in the quantifications or distribution analysis in order to ensure that only the elements associated with the undisturbed occupation level were considered. The faunal assemblage minus the sod layer elements included 630 pieces. To aid in the interpretation of the faunal assemblage, two main quantification methods were employed including the number of identified specimens (NISP) and the minimum number of individuals (MNI) (Table 4.5). NISP is simply the basic tally or count of the recovered remains. NISP is

Table 4.5. Faunal quantification results.

Species	NISP	MNI
Caribou	121	6
Ringed Seal	42	11
Harp Seal	7	4
Harbour Seal	3	1
Bearded Seal	1	1
Ringed or Harbour Seal	105	
Unidentified Seal	178	
Fox	13	1
Arctic Fox	7	1
Dog	13	2
Unidentified Bird or Duck	4	
Eider Duck	3	1
Bear	1	1
Whale	1	1
Indeterminate Gastropod/Bivalve	4	
Indeterminate Mammal	127	
Total	**630**	

seen as a relative abundance count and not a true representation of the number of individual animals present in the assemblage. Many of the bones collected could belong to one individual animal and may appear more frequently in the assemblage due to fragmentation processes, ease of identification, or animal size (Ringrose 1993:125-126). In order to correct for the over-representation of species from the NISP count, the MNI for each identified species is also presented. The basic tenant of MNI is to reduce or eliminate the potential for counting the same animal more than once in a collection (Ringrose 1993). MNI is calculated through dividing the remains of each species by element and side and taking the maximum value of this calculation to represent the number of individuals from that species present (Ringrose 1993). In short, the highest number per side of an element is the MNI value for each species. MNI tends to over-represent the rarer species, as exhibited through the bearded seal, whale, and bear as only

one element of each of those species was collected, though the MNI value is also one. In contrast, 13 fox elements were collected, but only one individual was represented through the MNI calculation. Nevertheless, the combination of the NISP and MNI counts provide insights into the faunal assemblage of House 3.

Collectively, seal species were the highest number of remains recovered with 336 elements. In both NISP and MNI calculations, seals comprised just over 50 percent of the overall assemblage. Seals are considered difficult to identify to the species level (Brewster 2005:88), and in the House 3 assemblage, 183 were classified as unknown members of the seal family. The unknown seal species were only included in the NISP count and not in the other calculations. Similarly, 105 pieces were identified as either ringed or harbour seal, but were also not included in the MNI calculations. In terms of MNI values, the most abundant species found within House 3 were ringed seals (11), caribou (6), harp seal (4), and dog (2). Harbour seal, bearded seal, fox, Arctic fox, eider duck, bear (likely polar bear), and whale each had one individual represented in the assemblage; however, both the bear and whale were represented by only one element each and do not indicate that a complete individual was present in the house. At least 17 individual seals were included in the collection and appeared to be the most important resource, followed by caribou. The diet of seal and caribou was supplemented to a limited degree by birds and shellfish. The foxes and dogs were unlikely to have been primary food resources and instead were used for pelts and winter transportation and traction, respectively (Brice-Bennett 1977; Woollett 2007). No fish bones were collected during the excavation, which may be a result of taphonomic processes or recovery techniques.

In terms of aging the elements recovered, just over 20 percent of the assemblage was definitively assigned a category of either adult or immature, with the remaining portion of the assemblage indeterminate in regards to age. All of the caribou remains assigned to an age category were classified as adult. Similarly, the majority of the identified ringed and harp seals were also adults. Immature seal elements were recovered but were not identified to species. The two dogs were also assigned to the adult category, which supports the notion that the dogs were used as work animals and not as a food source. Dogs were culled during periods of severe economic stress; however, if this were the case in House 3 a much larger amount of dog elements would be expected (Woollett 2007). Finally, cutting, chopping, and carnivore gnawing evidence was visible on approximately 10 percent of the overall assemblage exclusively on the seal and caribou bones, further indicating the use of these species for human and dog consumption.

4.4.2 Seasonality

Ringed seal was the most abundant seal species in the House 3 assemblage and is one of the only seal species present year round in Labrador (Brice-Bennett 1977). The Inuit term for Sandwich Bay, *Netshucktoke,* meaning "place where there are many ringed seal", clearly rings true for this assemblage (Rankin 2010a:323). Despite the presence of ringed seal almost continuously in Labrador waters, the Inuit primarily hunted ringed seal in the winter along the ice edge or at ice breathing holes (Brice-Bennett 1977; Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Harp seals were generally hunted in the late fall during their annual southern migration (Brice-Bennett 1977). In contrast to the late fall and winter hunting of harp and ringed seal, bearded seals and harbour seals were typically hunted from kayaks in open water during the summer months and into the early fall (Brewster 2005). The

abundance of ringed seal, and to a lesser extent harp seal, in the collection suggests a late fall and winter period occupation for the dwelling. This is further supported by the lack of seal species that prefer open water conditions of the late spring and summer, such as the harbour seal.

Caribou and fox were hunted by the Inuit in the late fall and winter and polar bear would most likely be encountered and hunted during this period as well (Brice-Bennett 1977). Eider ducks, of which one was represented in the assemblage, gather in large flocks in coastal areas during their southern migration in the late fall prior to the winter freeze-up (Brice-Bennett 1977). Shellfish were generally collected in the spring (Brice-Bennett 1977), but were also gathered in the winter (Petersen 1974/1975:171; Taylor 1974:54). The faunal assemblage supports a late-fall to late-winter season of occupation, which correlates with the winter sod house architecture style. Seal comprised over half of the total assemblage, suggesting that seal was an important resource to the Inuit residing in House 3. Nevertheless, the reliance on secondary species, caribou in particular, indicates that seals may not have been plentiful enough to fully support the residents of House 3 or that caribou was readily available in the area and was taken when encountered. Alternatively, caribou may have been exploited in larger numbers than usual to allow seal to be stockpiled for trading purposes. Although large quantities of seal remains were not encountered, the inhabitants of House 3 may have gathered seals in large numbers for trading purposes and processed these animals at the shore after capture. Sandwich Bay is regarded as an excellent sealing location and the residents may have exploited this resource for trading ventures with little evidence of this activity transcending into the archaeological record.

4.4.3 Archaeoentomology Results

In addition to the faunal analysis, two samples were submitted for archaeoentomological analysis. One sample was collected from the southwest sleeping platform and one from the entrance passage. The minimum number of individuals (MNI) from the sleeping platform sample was 121 insects with over 90 percent of the insects identified belonging to the Staphylinidae family, commonly known as rove beetles (Cloutier-Gélinas et al. 2011:7-8). The other 10 percent of the identified specimens were grain and ground beetle species (Cloutier-Gélinas et al. 2011). The sample from the entrance passage contained very few insect remains overall with 13 individuals represented (Cloutier-Gélinas et al. 2011:8-9). The entrance passage sample included scarab beetles, water scavenger beetles, a rove beetle, and unidentified insect species. Apart from the identified beetle species, both the sleeping platform and entrance passage samples contained numerous *puparia* or the larval stage of flies (Cloutier-Gélinas et al. 2011).

In regards to the sleeping platform sample, all of the beetle species identified were predatory, meaning they fed on other insects. It is suggested that the beetles were feeding on the *puparia* and also that decaying organic matter was present on the sleeping platform (Cloutier-Gélinas et al. 2011:15). It appears that food was stored on or near the sleeping platform and also that waste accumulated in these areas and was likely periodically removed from the house by the residents of House 3. The entrance passage sample contained both predatory and non-predatory beetle species indicating that decaying organic and vegetable matter was present in the entrance passage (Cloutier-Gélinas et al. 2011). The low number of insect species present in the entrance passage sample may be a

result of systematic cleaning of the tunnel (Cloutier-Gélinas et al. 2011:16), or perhaps the natural clearing of the tunnel due to annual spring flooding.

4.5 Faunal Discussion

4.5.1 Faunal Distribution

The identifiable faunal elements were plotted within House 3 to assess the distribution. Only the identified species were included and the sod level elements were not plotted as the analysis was focused exclusively on the occupation level. During the course of excavation, two small exterior midden areas were located on the southeast and southwest areas of the house on either side of the entrance passage (Figure 4.24). The faunal accumulation areas were seemingly outside of the interior living space of the structure and may represent periodical dumping of refuse outside of the house. As cooking and food preparation would occur indoors, animal bones and other waste would gather in the house interior on a daily basis. The archaeoentomological analysis supports the notion that some amount of food storage, preparation, and cooking occurred on the sleeping platform areas. It appears that the residents of House 3 were regularly throwing waste out of the entrance passage into the two central accumulation areas outside of the house walls.

Each species was plotted separately and it was revealed that each species conformed to the general distribution pattern with heavily concentrated exterior clusters on either side of the entrance passage. A few elements were scattered within the house interior on the platforms areas while the paved central floor area was basically devoid of

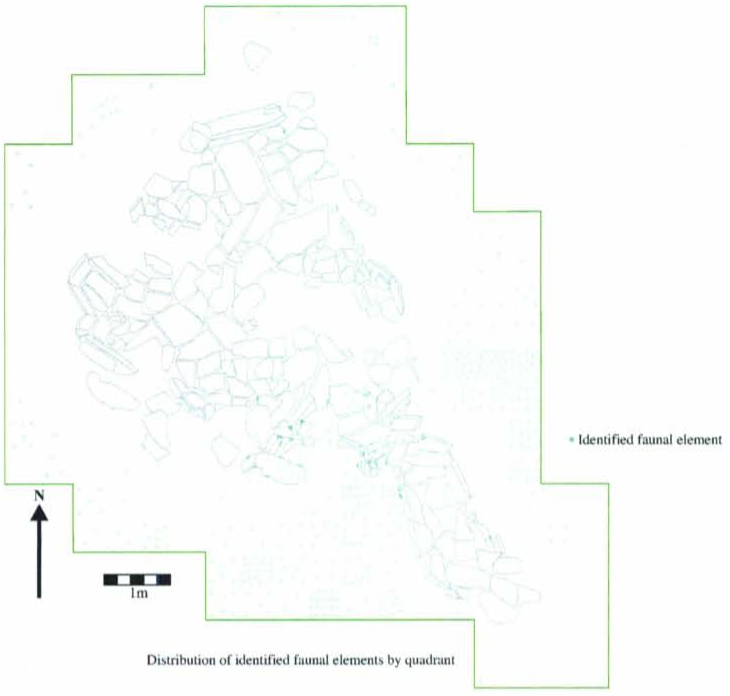


Figure 4.24. Distribution map of all of the recovered fauna from House 3.

faunal remains. The seal species plotted together were distributed the most widely, with elements recovered from all areas of the rear and lateral platforms as well as the exterior accumulations (Figure 4.25). Caribou was restricted to the exterior accumulations with one element recovered from the interior of the house on the northwest platform (Figure 4.26). Interestingly, the dog remains were only collected from the western side of the house. Furthermore, the eider duck elements were clustered together on the northwest platform, an area containing few faunal remains in general. The isolated eider duck may indicate that the duck was being processed in order to use the feathers for various means or that the elements were the remnants of a single family's meal.

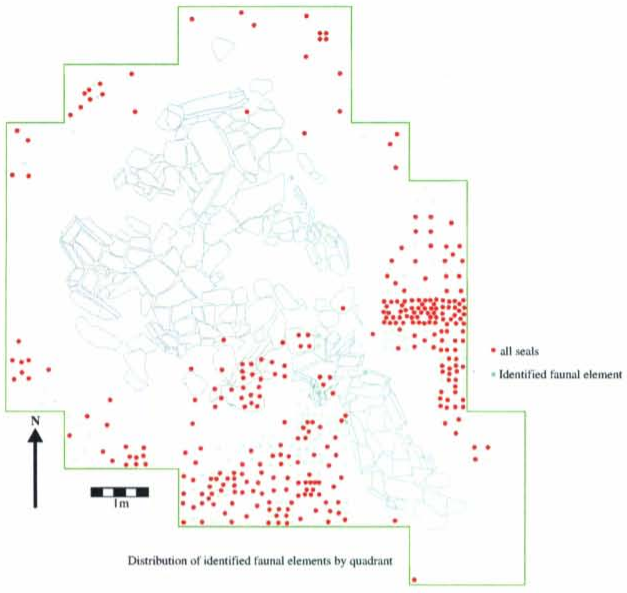


Figure 4.25. Distribution of all seal species recovered from House 3.

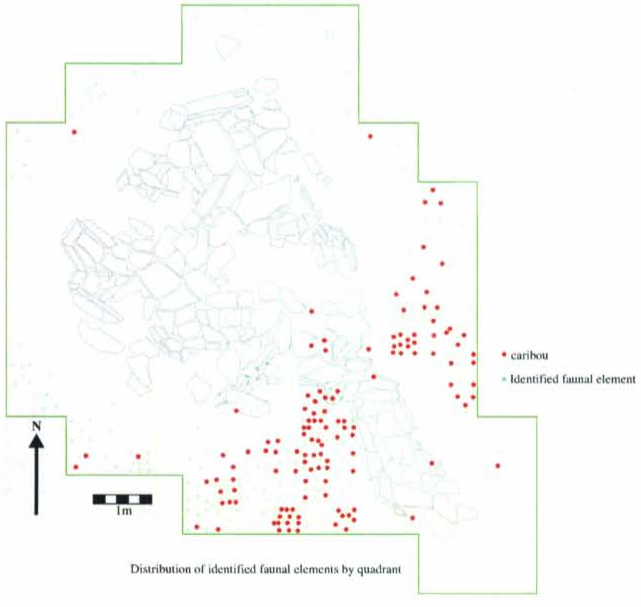


Figure 4.26. Distribution of caribou remains recovered from House 3.

During excavation, the periostracum or outer skins of molluscs were frequently encountered and were recorded by quadrant and quantity. The mollusc remnants were encountered most frequently in the occupation level and were scattered around the edges of the platform areas. The central floor area produced few molluscs in general. The highest concentration of molluscs occurred in the same areas as the faunal accumulations located outside of the house walls on either side of the entrance tunnel. Apart from the collection of periostracum skins from mussels, clams and gastropods were also present in the assemblage suggesting the periodic collection of shellfish by residents of House 3 throughout the duration of occupation.

4.5.2 Faunal Summary

Analysis of the House 3 faunal assemblage indicates that seals were an important resource, but so were seasonally available resources such as caribou. According to Woollett (2007:77), the majority of faunal assemblages from Inuit winter houses are completely dominated by seal, usually constituting over 90 percent of the recovered material per house. The faunal assemblage from House 3 at Huntingdon Island 5 contains fewer seal remains, with seal comprising just over 50 percent of the total assemblage. The majority of Inuit winter houses examined in Labrador to date are from more northern locations than Sandwich Bay, and the variation in the House 3 assemblage may be a result of geography and available resources. Regardless, the House 3 assemblage appears to be atypical due to the reliance on species such as caribou. The winter that House 3 was occupied may have produced unfavourable seal hunting conditions, seal may have been processed in large quantities away from the house proper for trading purposes, and/or caribou may have been more prevalent than usual and were taken opportunistically.

The types of species present in the assemblage, such as ringed and harp seal, caribou, fox, and eider duck suggest a late fall to late winter occupation for the dwelling. Ringed seal was the dominant seal species in the collection with at least 11 individual seals of this type represented. Furthermore, the presence of dog remains supports the notion that dogs were used in the traditional manner for winter travel and traction. The archaeoentomological analysis of sediment samples from within the house indicate that decaying organic matter was present on the sleeping platforms and that food was periodically stored on or near the platforms. The entrance passage contained few insect remains, which may be a direct result of spring flooding. The distribution of the faunal remains within and around the structure suggests a distinction between personal living areas and areas in which to dispose of waste outside of the house proper.

Next, the archaeological results discussed in this chapter are compared to contemporaneous Inuit winter houses located in Labrador and Greenland. The data discussed in Chapter 4 are positioned within the Labrador Communal House phase in order to assess the nature of the House 3 occupation.

Chapter 5: Communal House Comparisons

5.1 Comparative Sites

In order to contextualize the House 3 occupation, the architecture, interior spatial organization, and artifact and faunal assemblages are examined within a comparative framework. Comparing House 3 to contemporaneous Inuit houses from various regions within Labrador and Greenland allows an assessment to be made about similarities or divergences in terms of style, size, and other communal house attributes. The focus of this comparative analysis is on the Communal House phase rather than involving earlier and later period houses, as an analysis of such a vast temporal scope is beyond the limits of this project.

The purpose of the comparisons is to shed light on whether House 3 is a typical communal style dwelling or perhaps represents a regional variation specific to the south of Labrador. It was not definitively known whether the development of communal houses occurred throughout all the regions of Labrador or whether the communal houses within Labrador were similar in form or function. As House 3 from the Huntingdon Island 5 site represents one of the only communal house investigations south of Groswater Bay, it needs to be positioned within the context of Labrador Inuit communal houses in order to indicate if adaptations related to its southern location are present or absent. Furthermore, the comparative study allows an assessment to be made in regards to whether or not the proximity to European groups affects the nature of communal houses and the associated assemblage. The residents of House 3 were living relatively near to the permanent European settlements in the south of Labrador, which differs markedly from central and northern communal houses that were removed from direct European contact prior to the

arrival of the Moravians in the late 18th century. Ethnographic documents from the 18th century indicate that a middlemen trading system was thriving in Labrador with certain influential Inuit middlemen controlling vast inter-regional trade networks (Taylor 1974). Northern Labrador contained large whaling settlements in which cooperative labour was required to produce a surplus in order to trade with the middlemen for coveted European technologies. For the purpose of this study, what is under investigation is how House 3 from the Huntingdon Island 5 site compares to contemporaneous Labrador Inuit communal houses and how the structure fits within the cultural framework and systems of 18th-century Labrador.

Five sites were included in the comparative study and were selected on the basis of predefined criteria in regards to temporal period, geographic area, and level of excavation. Although numerous sites fit within the defined criteria, a sample size of five sites was considered adequate and manageable for the purpose of this discussion. The sites included were all 18th-century occupations in order to be contemporaneous to House 3. Furthermore, four sites were selected from various locations within Labrador and one Greenlandic site was included in order to provide geographic breadth to the study. Finally, preference was given to sites that had undergone complete or near to complete excavation so that architectural features and spatial organization could be discussed. The Greenlandic site examined is from the southwestern Godthåb District and cannot be considered representative of Greenland as a whole. The southwest area of Greenland is posited to be the area where communal houses first emerged and was the main geographic region frequented and eventually colonized by Europeans following the Norse abandonment (Gulløv 1997:97).

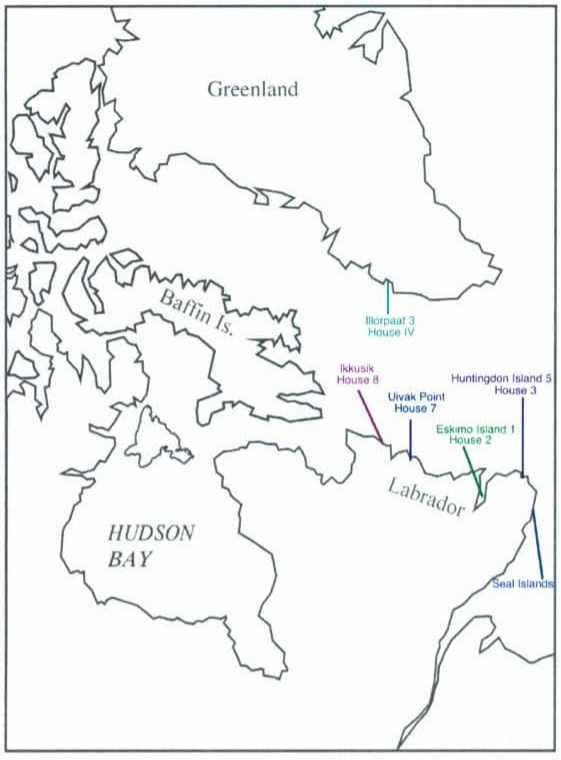


Figure 5.1. Map of Labrador and Greenland with the locations of the comparative sites used in this study.

The focus is on a brief description and overview of the five sites examined with the main concentration on architecture, spatial organization, and assemblage traits. The data presented in this section is a compressed version of characteristics relevant to this comparative study and should not be considered a full description of each site. Attention is particularly directed to dimensions, interior organization, construction material, types of items present, and faunal species exploited. It must be noted that the data sets examined are not equivalent in level of description or amount of detail provided, but the

general features of the architecture and collections create a framework in which to compare and contrast House 3. The five 18th-century Inuit houses selected for this discussion are Ikkusik House 8, Uivak Point House 7, Eskimo Island 1 House 2, Seal Islands, and Illorpaat 3 House IV (Figure 5.1). The four sites from Labrador are discussed first from the most northern site to the most southern site and the single Greenlandic site examined is discussed last.

5.1.1 Ikkusik, House 8

The Ikkusik site (IdCr-2), located in Saglek Bay, is situated on a small island referred to as both Rose Island and Saglek Island (Schledermann 1976a). House 8 is the focus as it was the most thoroughly investigated structure dating to the Communal House phase at the Ikkusik site (Schledermann 1971). The occupation of House 8 dates from the mid-18th century to the early-19th century (Schledermann 1971:90, 1976a:29). The rear wall measured 11 m in length and the width of the house differed on either side (Schledermann 1971:77). The western wall of the house measured approximately 5.5 m in width and the eastern wall measured approximately 8.5 m in width (Schledermann 1971:77). The total interior floor area was estimated to be roughly 75 m^2. The southeast facing entrance passage was over 10 m long and was excavated approximately 20 cm below the floor level (Schledermann 1971:77). Both the house floor and the entrance passage were paved with flagged stones. The house contained three sleeping platforms around each of the interior walls as well as six lamp stand areas that protruded from the sleeping platforms and were skirted by upright stone slabs (Schledermann 1971). The structure was built of whalebone, timber, and sod elements.

The artifact assemblages collected from the communal houses at the Ikkusik site examined by Schledermann were discussed collectively in order to delineate artifacts characteristic of this period (Schledermann 1971:84). Nevertheless, the types of artifacts found were representative of the artifacts recovered from House 8 and included slate and iron knives, iron harpoon heads, whalebone sled and kayak pieces, soapstone pot and lamp fragments, iron implements, gunflints, bottle glass, metal and ivory pendants, kaolin pipe fragments, and ceramics (creamware, pearlware, and stoneware) (Schledermann 1976a:29; 1971). Although items of European manufacture were recovered, it is stated that European commodities were not collected in large quantities from any of the structures examined at Ikkusik (Schledermann 1971:103). Unfortunately, no faunal evidence was included in the report of the House 8 excavation.

5.1.2 Uivak Point, House 7

Uivak Point (HjCl-9) is located near Okak Bay and the focus here is House 7 as it was the house investigated most intensively at the site (Woollett 2003). House 7 had a relatively lengthy occupation history. It was occupied by the mid-18th century through to the 1770s and showed evidence of rebuild after 1785 and was inhabited until the first few years of the 19th century (Woollett 2003:413). The presence of a large midden near to House 7 further supports the notion that the house was occupied repeatedly and in a sustained fashion for a number of years. The interior of the house measured 11 m by 8 m constituting a living space approximately 88 m^2 (Woollett 2003:320). The longest portion of the house was orientated north/south and a short entrance passage extended out of the west wall to the southwest (Woollett 2003). The house was constructed of rocks, turf, and whalebone and timber structural elements (Woollett 2003). The interior floor of the house

and the entrance passage were constructed of paved floor stones. Three interior platforms lined the inner walls with the largest platform situated along the rear wall measuring between 10-12 m in length and 1-2 m in width (Woollett 2003:331). At least three lamp stand areas were inferred due to the presence of fat saturated areas (Woollett 2003).

The artifact assemblage included 2653 items, close to 70 percent of which was European in origin (Woollett 2003:335-336). European goods included adornment items such as beads and pendants, numerous iron tools and knives, thimbles, combs, buttons, and kaolin pipe pieces (Woollett 2003:339). Traditional Inuit hunting, fishing, transportation, and food preparation equipment were present in the assemblage, some of which were constructed into traditional forms from imported iron implements (Woollett 2003). Seals, particularly ringed and harp species, comprised close to 80 percent of the faunal assemblage (Woollett 2003:559-560). Furthermore, molluscs, fox, and dogs were also well represented, though caribou appears to have been of limited importance (Woollett 2003).

5.1.3 Eskimo Island 1, House 2

Three settlements were located at the Eskimo Island site in the Hamilton Inlet region and are so-named Eskimo Island 1, 2, and 3. The focus of the comparison is House 2 from Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1) due to its intensive excavation in comparison to the other sites at Eskimo Island 1 as well its 18th-century occupation range and communal house classification. House 2 was the largest of the three houses at Eskimo Island 1 and was the centre house in the group of three interconnected dwellings. House 2 had a back wall approximately 12.5 m long and side walls measuring over 8 m in length, comprising a roughly 100 m^2 area (Kaplan 1983:413). The entrance passage was almost 11 m in

length and opened to the south. There was a deep and rich midden area adjacent to the three linked communal houses indicating a lengthy and sustained occupation (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42; Kaplan 1983:413). House 2 was constructed of rock, sod, and timber elements with an interior flagged stone floor (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). The interior spatial organization of House 2 consisted of three raised sleeping platforms lining the rear and lateral walls along with interspersed lamp stand areas (Jordan and Kaplan 1980).

The artifact assemblage of House 2 was indicative of the accumulation of goods related to participation in a trade network (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Thousands of European manufactured items, most notably close to 9000 trade beads, were included in the collection (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). Other European items included nails, fishhooks, knives, pewter spoons, files, a key, an axe, kaolin pipes, gun spalls, two sword pieces, and stoneware ceramic sherds (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). Apart from the European manufactured items were traditional Inuit items such as a wooden bow and harpoon pieces, a kayak seat, and numerous soapstone and baleen fragments (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). Modified European items such as iron *ulu* blades, iron harpoon heads, metal pendants, and modified nails and spikes were also prevalent (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). The majority of the European commodities date to the 18th century and were of French manufacture (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). The sheer variety and quantity of the European goods within House 2 suggests formalized and direct trading encounters with Europeans (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). The faunal assemblage was analyzed at the site level in an amalgamated format and revealed that seal constituted more than 90 percent of the overall collection at Eskimo Island 1, whereas caribou formed approximately 2 percent of the assemblage and is considered a minor resource (Woollett 2003:504).

5.1.4 Seal Islands

The Seal Islands site is located in the Strait of Belle Isle, which is the area between southern Labrador and the island of Newfoundland. This site was included in this analysis as it is the most southern communal house recorded in Labrador to date; however, it must be noted that the Inuit cultural affiliation of this site has recently been drawn to question (Gaudreau 2011), and it may indeed represent a strictly European occupation. Nevertheless, the site is included for comparative purposes, but is ultimately approached with caution.

The sod house excavated at Seal Islands (FaAw-5) measured 12 m by 6.5 m constituting a living space 78 m^2 (Auger 1991:28). Two separate occupations are inferred for the Seal Islands house including a European occupation dating to the 1720s and a later Inuit occupation suggested in the 1770s (Auger 1991:75). The house lacked some traditional characteristics of Inuit architecture, such as an entrance passage and a paved floor, but basically fits the standard communal house description. Auger (1989:106) suggested that the lack of an entrance passage at this site might be due to the entrance passage originally being constructed of snow. A midden area was located near to the house entrance. It was posited that there were sleeping platforms along all of the interior walls of the house of which only one lateral platform was constructed of rock slabs covered in crushed shell with the remaining platforms likely constructed of wood (Auger 1991:35). Furthermore, the structure had a wooden planked floor and a timber house frame (Auger 1991).

The Seal Islands site contained a large amount of material culture and particularly of European manufactured items. For instance, the assemblage included close to 6000

iron nails, hundreds of kaolin pipe fragments, beads, buttons, pewter spoons, window glass, fishhooks, lead projectiles, gunflints, and over 1000 ceramic sherds (Auger 1991:77-78). Traditional Inuit material was extremely limited, including a whalebone harpoon, a pierced tooth pendant, wound pin, and fragment of a soapstone pot (Auger 1991:73). The large size of the Seal Islands collection was likely a result of the multiple occupations of the site and the mixing of the assemblages (Auger 1991); nevertheless, the assemblage itself was clearly diverse and substantial. Auger (1991:82) suggested that the large size of the assemblage was a direct result of the accumulation of goods by the Inuit inhabitants for trading. For the purposes of this analysis, only the faunal remains collected from the house interior are discussed as these elements have been attributed to the Inuit occupation of the house. The faunal remains collected from the house interior total over 1500 with seal species (likely harp seal) and a variety of sea birds comprising the majority of the assemblage (Auger 1991:101). In total 10 individual seals were represented in the assemblage and 84 sea birds (Auger 1991:102). Fish bones and small fur bearing animals were collected in limited quantities. Interestingly, very few caribou remains were collected, which may be related to the general scarcity of caribou in the Strait of Belle Isle region (Auger 1991:101). Just over 50 elements of domestic pig and cow were collected and may indicate the Inuit were trading with the Europeans for salt pork or the elements may be intrusive from the earlier European occupation of the dwelling (Auger 1991:101).

5.1.5 Illorpaat 3, House IV

The Illorpaat 3 site is the Greenlandic Inuit site included for comparative purposes. The site is located on the southern side of Hope Island in the Godthåb District

of southwest Greenland (Gulløv 1997). The Illorpaat 3 site consisted of four communal houses that were built one atop another representing almost continuous occupation of this location throughout the 18th century (Gulløv 1997). For the purposes of this study, House IV is the focus of analysis as it was the most recent structure at the site and consequently the least disturbed and least complex to interpret. The occupation of House IV was dated to the period 1770-1800 (Gulløv 1997:364). The house was rectangular in shape and had a paved stone floor and entrance passage (Gulløv 1997). The internal dimensions of the house were roughly 11 m in width by 4 m in length, constituting a 44 m^2 area (Gulløv 1997:35). The passage was excavated lower than the floor level in the cold trap fashion. Only the rear platform running the width of the house was clearly defined and was constructed of flat stones and wooden planks (Gulløv 1997:46-47). It appears that the occupants of House IV shared the rear platform that measures 11 m in length as evidence for lateral platforms was lacking. The presence or locations of alcove or lamp stand areas was unknown.

House IV contained traditional hunting implements, fishhooks, men and women's knives, pendants, soapstone pieces, iron, kaolin pipes, gunflints, buttons, and over 100 glass beads (Gulløv 1997:105-108). Goods of European manufacture comprised close to 55 percent of the total assemblage from House IV (Gulløv 1997:367). Faunal data was not provided for the excavation; however, caribou, harp seal, and sea bird elements were collected and were likely associated with the earliest Thule occupation of the site and thus not directly associated with the House IV inhabitants (Gulløv 1997). Regardless, the hunting equipment recovered from House IV indicates that these same species were still

hunted during the occupation of the structure with bird darts, bladder darts, wound pins, and bows present in the collection (Gulløv 1997).

5.2 General Trends in Comparison to Huntingdon Island 5, House 3

5.2.1 Introduction

The information deemed relevant to reference for the following discussion is displayed in Table 5.1. The table presents a brief outline of total house dimensions excluding the entrance passage, total artifact assemblage counts, percent of European in origin items in each assemblage, and lists the most abundant faunal species recovered from each house discussed in the previous section. House 3 from the Huntingdon Island 5 site is included for comparative purposes. General trends or divergences in house dimensions and use of space, artifact assemblages, and faunal assemblages are each outlined separately followed by a discussion focused on situating House 3 within the comparative framework.

Table 5.1. Table containing total interior area of the houses examined, artifact assemblage counts, percentages of European manufactured items in assemblages, and most abundant faunal species. If no data were available, "unknown" is listed. The ~ symbol indicates approximate values calculated by the author.

Site	Area	Artifact Counts	European Items	Most Abundant Faunal Species
Ikkusik, House 8	75 m^2	unknown	unknown	unknown
Uivak, House 7	88 m^2	2653	67 %	seal (ringed, harp)
Eskimo Island 1, House 2	100 m^2	~ 10,000	~ 75-80 %	seal (harp, harbour)
Seal Islands	78 m^2	11,296	~ 85-90 %	seal (harp), sea birds
Illorpaat, House IV	44 m^2	~ 400	55 %	unknown
Huntingdon Island 5, House 3	60 m^2	753	74 %	seal (ringed), caribou

5.2.2 Dimensions and Organization

In terms of interior dimensions, Huntingdon Island 5, House 3 was the smallest examined house in Labrador by 15 m^2 to as much as 40 m^2, but is larger than the communal house at the Illorpaat 3 site in Greenland. It is interesting to note that the largest communal house recorded in the Godthåb district of Greenland measures only 61 m^2 and its size and assemblage, which contained a large amount of soapstone vessel fragments, lead researchers to suggest a special purpose for this structure revolved around feasting (Gulløv 1997:368). Entrance passages appear to vary in length from over 10 m long at Ikkusik House 8 and Eskimo Island 1, to roughly 5 m in length as at Uivak Point and Huntingdon Island 5, to non-existent as at the Seal Islands site. In terms of size, House 3 was smaller than its contemporaries.

The spatial organization of Labrador Inuit communal houses appears to be quite standard with three interior sleeping platforms along the rear wall and both lateral walls. The longest platform was typically the one along the rear wall directly across from the entrance passage. The Seal Islands site contained one traditional style raised platform of sand, gravel, and rock and two or three probable platforms made of wooden planks. Similarly, the platform at Illorpaat 3 was constructed of a combination of wooden planks and flat stones. Interestingly, the Illorpaat 3 site contained only one single platform along the rear wall in a differing style than Labrador communal houses, though this form was common in Greenland communal houses (Petersen 1974/1975). Multiple lamp stand areas interspersed along the platforms are a standard communal house feature and are inferred to denote each family's space.

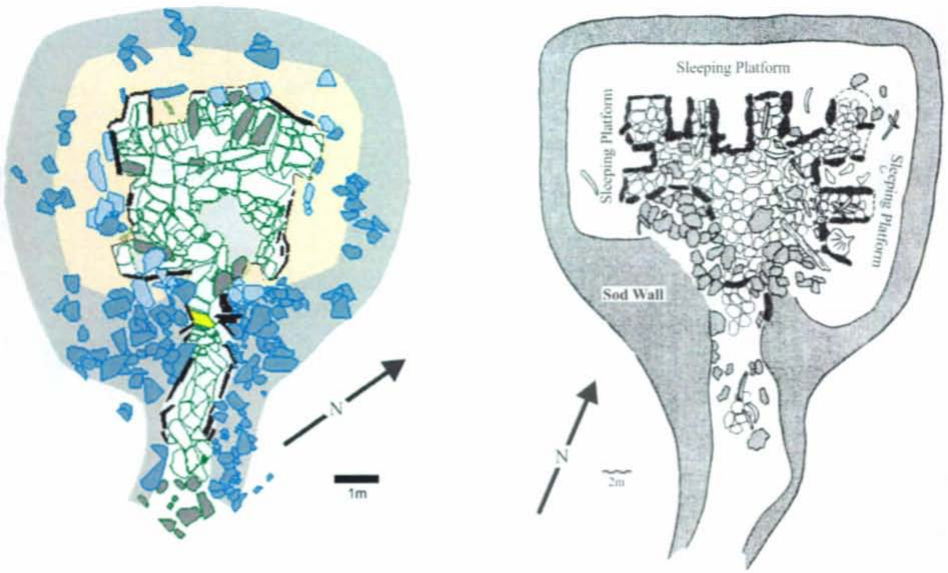


Figure 5.2. House plans from Huntingdon Island 5, House 3 (left) and Ikkusik House 8 (right). Ikkusik House 8 is redrawn from Schledermann 1976a:Figure 4.

In design, House 3 bears uncanny resemblance to Ikkusik House 8 (Figure 5.2). The interior alcoves are similar in terms of placement indicating parallels in the division and the use of space as well as style conformity within Labrador. The Ikkusik site is located near the northern tip of Labrador and the close correlation in design between the two contemporaneous houses over a vast geographic area indicates that communal house design is not regionally specific to northern or southern Labrador.

All of the houses examined were constructed of sod, stone, and timber elements with the two most northern Labrador sites, Ikkusik and Uivak Point, containing whalebone structural components. This appears to be a regional trend as timber was utilized from central and southern regions where trees were more prevalent. When

possible, it appears that the Inuit would use timber elements for construction. All of the houses examined with the exception of Seal Islands, had flagged stone floors, including House 3.

5.2.3 Material Culture

Material culture analysis revealed a trend towards a large amount of European manufactured commodities within the assemblages alongside traditional Inuit hunting, transportation, and food preparation items indicating a consistency in Inuit subsistence and daily activities. Traditional Inuit items common in each collection included soapstone vessel fragments, whalebone sled and kayak parts, seal hunting equipment, and traditional knife and tool forms often possessing iron blades. Furthermore, modified European items were recovered from the sites examined with the exception of Seal Islands, which contained a large amount of European goods in complete, unmodified form. The Eskimo Island 1 assemblage contained modified nails, perforated items, and a pewter spoon formed into a pendant (Jordan and Kaplan:1980:42). Similarly, Uivak Point contained metal pieces reworked into traditional tool forms, cold-hammered nails and spikes, and hammered copper pieces (Woollett 2003:339-340). House 3 from Huntingdon Island 5 is consistent with the other assemblages in terms of reworked and modified European manufactured goods with 52 such items present representing seven percent of the entire collection. In terms of representative European commodities, items such as iron nails and tools, ceramics, gunflints, lead projectiles, kaolin pipes, and glass beads were collected in each house examined. The Inuit were predominately acquiring items of utilitarian function and items for adornment purposes.

The assemblages discussed reveal marked similarities in the types of items present and the variation is instead revealed in the quantity of items in each house. Eskimo Island 1 and Seal Islands both contained a significantly large amount of items, the majority of which were European manufactured. Both sites were suggested to be areas where goods were stockpiled for trading purposes. Seal Islands must be approached with caution as the amount and variety of goods may be a result of the mixing of assemblages from the previous European occupation (Auger 1991), and the Inuit cultural affiliation of this site is debatable (Gaudreau 2011). Uivak Point House 7 has a considerably large assemblage with close to 3000 items, almost 4 times the amount recovered from Huntingdon Island 5 House 3. Just over half of the Illorpaat 3 House IV assemblage was composed of European in origin items with a much larger traditional toolkit than House 3. No overall counts were provided for Ikkusik House 8 but it was stated that few European items were recovered (Schledermann 1971:103). The European items common to each assemblage, including beads, pipes, and adornment items, are indicative of trading rather than scavenging activities (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). This is particularly revealing for the northern sites as these groups were unlikely to be in direct European contact during the first three quarters of the 18th century, which subsequently provides evidence that a middleman trading system was in operation.

5.2.4 Faunal Data

Comparative faunal data was not included from Ikkusik House 8 and this site is not incorporated in the faunal discussion. Similarly, Illorpaat 3 House IV is not included as the faunal component only received cursory mention inasmuch that the inhabitants exploited caribou, harp seal, and sea birds. The general trend that appeared from Uivak

Point, Eskimo Island 1, and Seal Islands was that seal made up the majority of the assemblages, constituting 80-90 percent of the overall collection in these assemblages. The House 3 assemblage was composed of 50 percent seal and the total seal NISP count was just over 300, a small fraction of the much larger samples of over 2300 seal elements each at both Eskimo Island 1 and Uivak Point House 7 (Woollett 2003). The seal assemblage at Eskimo Island 1 was dominated almost exclusively by harp and harbour seal with very minimal ringed seal elements (Woollett 1999:377). In contrast, Uivak Point aligned closely to the House 3 assemblage with ringed seal constituting the most abundant identified seal species followed in lesser amounts by harp and harbour seal (Woollett 2003:561). Seal Islands contained 10 individual seals, which was almost half the amount recovered in House 3; however, the subsistence base for this house was heavily based on sea birds with over 80 individual birds represented in the assemblage (Auger 1991:102).

Considering the small number of seal elements in House 3 in relation to the other assemblages, the NISP count of caribou was much higher with 121 fragments representing six different animals. This is quite large when directly compared to the much larger faunal assemblages from Uivak Point House 7 and Eskimo Island 1 House 2, where only 27 and 45 caribou elements were recovered, respectively (Woollett 2003:561, 1999:377). The faunal comparisons reveal that House 3 represents a different exploitation of resources than the more northern areas with less seal taken overall and higher caribou yields. Nevertheless, House 3 compared to Uivak Point House 7 was similar in terms of the types of seal species exploited most heavily, which may indicate that the houses were occupied during the same season. Despite potential similarity in season of occupation,

House 7 at Uivak point contained almost eight times the amount of faunal material compared to House 3. House 3 was occupied for a shorter duration than the comparative houses and contains less faunal elements overall. The short occupation likely affected the nature of the assemblage and the differences in the collection may represent a specific seasonal variation rather than a regional subsistence pattern. It is suggested that House 3 located in Sandwich Bay, an area renowned for its ringed seal hunting, may have been chosen for its potential of gathering a seal surplus for trading purposes. Although the faunal assemblage does not attest to large amounts of seal captured for trading purposes, the seal could have been processed outside of the house proper. No evidence is forthcoming to support this notion; however, the potential for mass seal hunting and surplus gathering in this area is noteworthy.

5.2.5 Discussion

The discussion is concentrated on addressing the previously stated queries regarding 1) whether House 3 is a typical communal style dwelling or perhaps represents a regional variation specific to the south of Labrador and, 2) if the proximity to European groups affects the nature of communal houses and the associated assemblage. These two inquiries are certainly closely linked as becomes clear when these issues are explored further.

To begin, House 3 adheres closely in style to the contemporaneous houses examined. In Labrador, though size of communal houses can vary, the spatial organization does not deviate and follows a standardized type of pattern. Typical communal house features include a paved entrance passage and central floor area, three raised platforms around the interior edges of the house, and discrete lamp stand areas.

House 3 essentially conforms to this standard patterning. The spatial organization is not exactly the same in Greenland, which may represent a regional variation. In terms of architecture style and spatial design, House 3 is a typical 18th-century style Labrador Inuit communal house.

All of the sites examined except for House 3 show evidence of a lengthy or repeated occupation and/or rebuild through the accumulation of rich and distinct midden areas and evidence of rebuild within the structure. This is where House 3 seems to differ in comparison to the other structures, as there is no evidence to suggest that House 3 was occupied for longer than a season. The length of occupation may also explain its smaller size, as the inhabitants may have expended less energy in building the dwelling for a short stay. This leads one to speculate about the purpose of building a large, communal structure at all, even for a short duration stay. It is possible that the house was slated for a longer occupation but the area was not conducive to repeated occupancy. This proposition is weakly supported in light of evidence for sustained re-use over multi-seasonal visits to the Huntingdon Island 5 site (Rankin 2010b, 2010c). Perhaps the building of the communal house during this period of increasing European encroachment in Inuit territory was a symbol of power and "Inuitness" (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:357) and a connection to the north of Labrador. The inhabitants of House 3 were likely closely related (Taylor 1974), and the household head may have instigated the building of a communal style structure in a show of solidarity to the northern kin groups. The large communal structures were representations of power and wealth to other Inuit groups as well as to European groups who would have recognized that large houses were home to wealthy Inuit and/or Inuit willing to trade. The large dwelling at Huntingdon Island 5 is a

reflection of the desires of the household head or residents to construct a winter house of a particular style and size, suggesting a level of cultural solidarity within Labrador. Furthermore, the large communal structure is representative of a certain level of prestige attributed to the family residing within the structure. The building of the communal structure at Huntingdon Island 5 may have been more symbolic than necessary.

Taking into consideration that House 3 was a single season or partial season occupation, the assemblage is relatively large and laden with European commodities. The inhabitants of House 3 were undoubtedly in contact with European groups and arguably southern traders acting as liaisons between the Europeans and the central and northern Inuit communities (Taylor 1976). Ethnographic documents reveal that the middlemen themselves were not involved in whaling and instead established trading partnerships with Europeans and subsequently traded desired commodities at a high price to the northern Inuit in exchange for copious amounts of baleen and other products (Taylor 1976:2). Contemporaneous houses in northern Labrador, such as Uivak Point, were clearly supplied with a rich and diverse amount of European goods. To keep this supply constant to allow for the type of accumulation of goods seen in the north, the northern population must be heavily involved in capturing whales or hunting seals to obtain the products that enable trade. This may be correlated with the large size and lengthy occupation of the houses in the north. The focus on whaling and amassing a surplus requires a substantial amount of people and a level of coordination, which may affect the size and nature of settlements (Taylor 1974:43-44, 84). Alternatively, Eskimo Island 1 in central Labrador represents a different phenomenon not focussed on whaling. Instead it appears Eskimo Island was a permanent trading location that was central to other areas

and a place where surplus was gathered and stored. Both the northern whaling communities and the central trading post locations differ from the House 3 occupation in Sandwich Bay. The inhabitants of House 3 were arguably front of the line traders involved in the middleman system that dealt directly with the Europeans and also potentially undertook sealing in Sandwich Bay for trading purposes. Essentially, the Inuit residing in northern Labrador were focused on communal whaling, the Inuit in central Labrador were involved in a trading post endeavour, and the Inuit in the more southern locales were front of the line traders undertaking direct transactions with Europeans. Significantly, the Inuit groups throughout Labrador were constructing and living in similar style communal houses.

In regards to the initial question posed, the results obtained from the analysis of House 3 suggest that the structure appears to represent a variation of the communal house despite its typical communal style form. House 3 represents a different type of occupation of a less permanent nature than the contemporaneous houses from northern Labrador or the trading centre of Eskimo Island. Inuit groups involved in European trade relationships required settlement flexibility and mobility in order to move quickly to the European groups. In contrast, whaling communities of northern Labrador involved in the middleman trade needed a more permanent settlement system for undertaking whaling and also for the purpose of being located easily by the middlemen for trading to occur.

To address the closely related second question regarding the proximity to Europeans affecting the assemblage, it appears that closeness to Europeans does not necessarily equate with robust assemblages full of European manufactured items. The Inuit in the south obtained European items and immediately traded them north where they

eventually transcended into the archaeological record, while more southern sites, such as House 3, remained bare in comparison (Rankin 2009:25). Proximity to Europeans does not mean houses will be full of European items, as commodities were gathered and traded up north, thereby creating a type of regional assemblage variation. Historical documents detail the difference in household assemblages between the north and south populations, with northern houses described as containing a greater variety of items of better quality and appearance than residents of southern Labrador (Rollmann 2011:3). Evidence of the accumulation of goods for trading purposes is not present on the face of the House 3 assemblage, but that is as expected unless the house had to be unexpectedly or suddenly deserted with the trade items abandoned inside. The House 3 assemblage instead indicates that the inhabitants were in possession of European items and that many more items were likely sent north along the established trade networks in exchange for baleen, oil, and other items in which to barter with the Europeans.

To sum up, the proximity to Europeans did essentially alter the nature of communal houses and the associated assemblage. This was manifested in a more mobile settlement system and less diverse assemblages transcending into the archaeological record. Significantly, the communal style was maintained throughout Labrador, which may have been less a result of function as it was a cultural symbol of power and identity within the Inuit social system that was sustained at the local family level. The House 3 excavation has been thoroughly examined within a comparative framework and now the initial research objectives can be fully addressed and the final interpretations put forth in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

The final chapter first provides a condensed summary of the House 3 excavation and results. The summary of results is not meant to be comprehensive as the full data presentation is available in Chapters 3-5. Instead, the summary is provided to reiterate the main findings in order to inform the proceeding discussion, and to facilitate further interpretation. The final section presents the closing remarks and incorporates suggested areas for future research.

6.1.1 Summary of House 3 Excavation and Findings

The excavation of House 3 undertaken in the summer of 2010 revealed a large semi-subterranean structure with paved interior and entrance passage. The house contained three raised sleeping platforms lining each of the interior walls and sunken cold trap entrance passage. The interior of the house measured 8.5 m by 7 m and was orientated to the northwest. At least four other sod houses were situated near to House 3 at the Huntingdon Island 5 site representing various contact period occupations suggesting the Inuit re-use of Huntingdon Island over a lengthy chronological period. House 3 was constructed of sod, stone, and timber components indicative of an Inuit winter house. The size and spatial organization of House 3 classified it as a typical Labrador Inuit communal house form and it was very similar in design to 18th-century communal structures in central and northern Labrador.

In terms of material culture, 753 items were collected, approximately 80 percent of which were of European manufacture. Although European items dominated the assemblage, traditional Inuit food preparation, tools, and transportation gear were

recovered. Seven percent of the European manufactured items were modified from the intended function and fashioned into traditional Inuit tool forms or adornment items; however, the majority of European items recovered were in unaltered form. The artifacts were generally distributed around the sleeping platform and alcove areas.

In total 688 faunal remains were collected. Over 50 percent of the assemblage consisted of seal species, which was largely dominated by ringed and harp seal. At least 17 individual seals were present in the assemblage and at least six individual caribou. Apart from the dominant presence of seal and caribou in the assemblage, the inhabitants also exploited seasonally available resources such as fox, eider duck, and molluscs in limited amounts. The species present in the assemblage were indicative of a late fall to winter period occupation which is consistent with the winter house form. Two small midden areas were encountered during the course of excavation located outside of the house proper on either side of the entrance passage. Limited faunal elements were recovered from the interior of the house.

6.2 Addressing Initial Research Questions

As outlined in Chapter 1, this research has three central objectives that seek to address the date of the House 3 occupation, the extent and nature of the cultural interactions between the Inuit and Europeans, and the positioning of House 3 within the region of Labrador as a whole through placing it within a comparative framework. The primary objective is concerned with the description of House 3 and the dating of the house occupation through various complementary means. The secondary research objective is focused on the cultural interactions between the Inuit and the European groups in Labrador, specifically: the manner in which European items were incorporated

and used by the Inuit residing in House 3 and the nature of the Inuit-European trade relations. The third objective is focused on assessing the similarities or differences in communal house characteristics across the region of Labrador through placing the excavation within a comparative framework consisting of contemporaneous Labrador Inuit winter houses. The purpose of the house form comparison is to situate House 3 within the region of Labrador to allow comment on the nature of the southern communal house and any potential variation the location of this structure, the only one of its kind to be examined thus far south of Groswater Bay, may represent.

6.2.1 Dating of the House 3 Occupation

The excavation of House 3 exposed a large multi-family residence in the Labrador Inuit winter house style. The volume of European goods recovered during excavation indicated that the house was occupied during the contact period. A more specific date range was obtained for the occupation of House 3 through employing various dating methods including datable European items, radiocarbon dating, and architecture style. The results were outlined specifically in Chapter 4, but the main conclusions are succinctly reiterated below. The recovered European-origin material culture of which date ranges could be obtained included beads, ceramics, a George II coin, sword hilts, a padlock, pipes, and a pewter spoon. According to the material culture analysis, House 3 was occupied after 1720 and prior to 1780. Radiocarbon dates obtained from unmodified caribou bone produced complementary date ranges that fell generally within the first three quarters of the 18th century. Radiocarbon ranges for such a recent period cannot stand alone and need to be substantiated with other dating methods as have been applied in this analysis. Finally, the architecture style of House 3 was placed within the established

architecture chronology for northern and central Labrador, which dates communal houses to the period 1700-1850. Altogether, a 1720-1780 date range was suggested for House 3 with the occupation likely falling within the period of 1720-1740. This places House 3 firmly within the period of permanent French settlement, Schledermann's (1971) Communal House period, and Jordan and Kaplan's (1980) Intermittent Trading period.

Despite the dating of the structure falling within the period of the French control of Labrador, the assemblage of House 3 does not appear to represent Inuit interaction with one specific European cultural group as both French and British material culture was present. The occupation date of the structure likely falls around 1720-1740, which is the period that France held rights to southern Labrador. Nevertheless, even when France had control of Labrador prior to 1763, other groups were still frequenting the area and material culture from different European cultural groups entered Inuit exchange networks. Europeans in Labrador traded manufactured items from various countries to the Inuit and, as a result, there is no clear evidence of direct Inuit interaction with one specific European cultural group in the assemblage.

6.2.2 Inuit-European Cultural Encounters

6.2.2.1 Incorporation of European Goods

As outlined in Chapter 1, the focus of the interpretation will not be on estimating the level of acculturation of the Inuit as these models are both restrictive and directional in outcome (Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998). A large percentage of the recovered assemblage was European in origin, but this is not to be interpreted as a widespread adoption of European behaviours, practices, or beliefs. As indicated in the assemblage, traditional food preparation items such as soapstone pots and lamps were recovered as

well as traditional style women and men's knives. Furthermore, whalebone sled gear and hunting equipment were also collected as were traditional fire starting implements. The assemblage from House 3 indicated that the inhabitants practiced traditional seal hunting techniques, used oil lamps to heat and light the dwelling, prepared food and materials in conventional manners, and used traditional transportation gear. The assemblage also suggests that European iron tools and items were incorporated as substitutes for traditional stone, bone, and wood items. Less than ten percent of the European items recovered were altered to suit traditional Inuit functions and certain items, such as iron implements and ceramics, were used as direct replacements for slate tools and soapstone pots. Despite the large quantity of European-origin items, the assemblage from House 3 points toward cultural continuity in terms of daily activities and practices.

The manner in which foreign objects were incorporated and imbued with meaning is at least as significant, if not more significant, than the fact that they are found in contact contexts (Kopytoff 1986; Silliman 2005). Objects in colonial situations are complex to interpret as these items were generally produced in one context and consumed in a separate milieu (Stahl 2002:833). In terms of House 3, European items were incorporated on a large scale but were often used in traditional ways thereby providing a connection to the past (Stahl 2002). Objects were selectively incorporated into Inuit toolkits and were likely collected for trading purposes to send to northern Labrador where direct contact with Europeans was nonexistent. The House 3 assemblage suggests that the Inuit were obtaining items that were both utilitarian in function and items for adornment. The cultural tradition determined how items were incorporated and beads, lead pendants, and other ornaments were used to decorate clothing in the same manner animal teeth and

amulets were used in the past (Karklins 1992; Woollett 2003). The Inuit were not collecting all European items available and were selectively incorporating certain items in familiar ways.

Objects in contact situations were used in both traditional and novel ways to create and negotiate identities (Silliman 2005). To Inuit traders, European items represented a conduit to increased social standing and connections. To the people obtaining the goods from the middlemen traders, European items fulfilled utilitarian functions and were a display of status exhibited through access to these items and the means to acquire them. Embellishing women's clothing and accessories with beads and other European manufactured ornaments was a traditional sign of material wealth in Inuit society (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:357). The prevalence of beads and other decorative items in House 3, such as pendants, a ring, and perforated copper coins and pieces, indicates that the inhabitants were displaying overt symbols of wealth on their bodies as signs to other Inuit and to Europeans and were acquiring these pieces to trade to northern communities. A compelling example is the pair of French grenadier copper sword hilts recovered in House 3. The Inuit wearing these sword pieces, which were altered to permit suspension, were likely representative of prestige and access to Europeans. The sword pieces may also have embodied a symbol of warning to Europeans that these Inuit were dangerous and capable of acquiring prized French possessions.

6.2.2.2 Nature of Interactions

The nature of the cultural encounters and contacts between the Inuit and the European groups was an integral aspect of the House 3 analysis. The focus was on the long-term Inuit-European entanglements rather than short-term contact episodes. The

awareness of the existence of the other was not a new cultural concept for the Inuit as for centuries the Thule were knowledgeable about other groups through both direct contact and access to foreign material culture. In Labrador, the Inuit obtained goods initially through pilfering and sporadic contact during the tenure of the migratory fishery, which eventually shifted to direct exchange transactions by the 18th century. The types of items present in House 3 indicate some form of direct exchange occurred rather than pure scavenging or opportunistic collecting. The sheer volume and variety of goods within the assemblage attests to a certain level of direct, perhaps even formalized, exchange. For instance, beads, pipes, and other ornamental items such as coins and sword hilts, are likely indicative of direct trading rather than scavenging (Jordan and Kaplan 1980).

Encounters between the Inuit and the Europeans were ongoing in Labrador for centuries with both groups involved in processes of mutual accommodation. A permanent colonial institutional presence was still decades away during the occupation of House 3, and 18th-century Labrador was not a time solely of Inuit cultural subordination to the Europeans. Instead, Inuit-European relationships were tumultuous and unpredictable, though undeniably intertwined. Arguably, the relationships with the Europeans, which were intensifying on an unprecedented scale during the 18th century, spurred a reaction from the Inuit in which local customs were elaborated to contrast with the foreign presence (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Thomas 1991:4). This occurred through the amplification of architecture and the expansion of support networks and alliances through extending trade systems (Kaplan and Woollett 2000).

The nature of the Inuit-European trade relations during this time was likely direct, as indicated by the types of goods recovered, and this increased access to the foreigners

created scenarios in which traditional Inuit cultural boundaries could be pushed and new social roles negotiated. Contact situations are instrumental in "reshaping cultural orders since they provide individuals from all walks of life with new opportunities to negotiate and redefine their social identities in the process of daily practice" (Lightfoot et al. 1998:202). In 18th-century Labrador, ambitious Inuit traders were able to adapt to the situation at hand and create a vital role for themselves as middlemen bridging two or more cultural groups. An 18th-century Inuit questionnaire recorded by a missionary reveals that the Inuit were uncomfortable residing near Europeans and were "afraid of their irregularities with respect to their Women etc." (Taylor 1972:138). Certain individuals may have used this general feeling of unease around the foreign presence to their advantage and took on the liaison and intermediary role. The middleman had access to the Europeans and their goods and possessed information concerning the foreigners. Through attaching distinct European emblems on clothing, such as perforated coins, the Inuit perhaps provided an immediate status indicator to both Inuit and European groups. Despite the potential for new high status roles, "the contact situation was both an economic windfall and a source of tremendous ideological stress" (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:352). Although a regularized European presence created advantageous situations for certain ambitious traders, the year-round settler population was also a threat to the established Inuit cultural system.

6.2.3 Comparative Framework

The purpose of this section is to position House 3 from the Huntingdon Island 5 site within the context of 18th-century Labrador. The discussion begins with the larger picture of the Communal House phase and then focuses specifically on the nature of the

House 3 occupation in Sandwich Bay. It is through the information gleaned from the comparative analysis that an interpretation is put forth concerning the purpose of House 3 located in the southern stretches of Labrador.

6.2.3.1 Continuity and Change in 18th-Century Labrador

During the 18th century in Labrador a rather abrupt change occurred throughout the region regarding the size and organization of space within Inuit winter dwellings. Three or more families combined into large structures, replacing the small, single-family houses of earlier periods. The re-organization of space and the domestic unit would have dramatically affected the lived experiences of the residents of the multi-family houses. Household units are areas where people perform tasks, interact, sleep, reproduce, consume, and, most generally and importantly, dwell. According to Heidegger (1977:325; emphasis in original), to dwell is the way in which "humans *are* on the earth" and the manner in which human beings create a sense of self and place in the world. Clearly, during the 18th century in Labrador, the sense of self was changing and adapting as residences were amplified on a much larger scale.

Various hypotheses exist for the drastic change in housing size and arrangement that occurred in 18th-century Labrador, which were outlined in Chapter 2. The evidence gathered during this research does not allow for direct comment on the origins of communal houses in Labrador; nevertheless, indirect evidence from this research indicates that communal houses were built in all the environs of Labrador and that multi-family structures were associated with increased communalism, high status roles, and culturally prescribed notions of prestige. Regardless of the motives for the adoption of communal houses, the change occurred quite rapidly and it appears, ubiquitously, within

Labrador. Communal houses were fairly well documented in parts of northern and central Labrador while House 3 represented the first house of this period to be examined in Sandwich Bay. The analysis of House 3 allows preliminary comments to be made on the nature of communal houses throughout the entire region of Labrador as the results of the excavation suggest that the Communal House phase was a Labrador-wide phenomenon.

The comparative analysis employed for this research revealed a marked continuity in the organization and use of space within contemporaneous Inuit winter houses. All of the structures examined contained three interior sleeping platforms, multiple lamp stand locations, sunken entrance passage, and delineated discard areas separate from the house proper. Cooking and food preparation occurred indoors near the bench areas through the use of oil lamps. This is consistent with earlier period single-family winter houses in terms of the organization of internal and external space and the types of activities taking place, but the similarities occurred on a much smaller scale in the single-family structures. The consistency in the use of space within communal houses and the similarity in the types of activities taking place are telling as "people repeatedly enact and reproduce their underlying structural principles and belief systems in the performance of ordering their daily lives" (Lightfoot et al. 1998:201). With the abrupt and widespread shift from single-family houses to large communal structures, it appears that the use of space and ordering of daily life remained structured in a specific manner throughout the region of Labrador. Furthermore, as outlined in the previous section, foreign material culture was incorporated into daily life but was used in familiar ways. During this period, families converged to form a single economic unit, create and maintain political alliances, and negotiate previous social positions and create new social roles. Nevertheless, foundational

cultural systems and beliefs remained constant in regards to the organization of space, practice of daily activities, and cultural ideals of status and prestige (Lightfoot et al. 1998). The geographic location of the houses within Labrador does not appear to alter the style or use of space within these dwellings.

Apart from the relative continuity in the ordering of daily life in 18th-century Labrador, the adoption of communal houses instigated a drastic change in lifestyle for the Inuit. The adoption of communal houses did not occur in isolation and coincides with significant changes on the Labrador landscape involving a permanent European presence, intensifying trade networks as the availability of European items suddenly increased, and resultant overt displays of wealth and power by the Inuit. The structuring of daily life was altered to incorporate more people within the residential dwelling and new opportunities materialized for obtaining powerful social roles. For instance, new high status roles were suddenly available in the form of long-distance trader and liaison. High status roles were conventionally narrowly restricted and were generally held only by whaling captains and shamans. The new role of middleman trader was a lucrative means in which to gain wealth in addition to a leadership position. Traditionally, high status males often acquired multiple wives, which was a cultural symbol of power and social distinction (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:357; Taylor 1974). By the 18th century, polygyny was relatively common with more men having access to wealth and power with the sudden increase in availability of prestigious roles (Taylor 1974:70). During the Communal House phase, wealth was expressed in traditional ways such as possessing multiple wives, owning extensive dog teams, and living in large houses (Richling 1993:72). The difference during this period

was that the traditional forms of wealth could be gained through unconventional means including acting as a middleman trader and liaison.

6.2.3.2 The Nature of the House 3 Occupation

Assessing House 3 within a comparative framework revealed that was indeed a typical style communal structure. The differences do not appear to lie in the style or form of the communal house, which was remarkably similar to its contemporaries, but rather in the associated assemblage and length of occupation. Although more thoroughly outlined in Chapter 5, House 3 was occupied for a much shorter duration than contemporaneous houses from central and northern Labrador and the associated assemblage was much smaller in the number of items present. It was presented in this study that these two factors constitute a type of regional variation in regards to communal houses in the southern areas of Labrador.

Location did seem to determine the nature of the occupation related to the economic undertakings of the inhabitants. In regards to Sandwich Bay, the economic mainstay arguably involved front of the line trading and information gathering and perhaps the location was chosen for seal production to enable the collection of a surplus for trading ventures. Sandwich Bay was well away from the French settlement zone in which Inuit competed directly with the French for the best sealing grounds (Anderson 1984; Stopp 2002), and was regarded as a productive sealing locale. Seal may have been caught in abundance at the Huntingdon Island 5 site and processed away from the houses for trading purposes. If seal hunting was indeed occurring on a large scale in Sandwich Bay for trading ventures, it was largely an independent undertaking in the winter months when ice-edge hunting was the mainstay, and did not require the large communal labour

force required for whaling. Moreover, to remain productive and maintain trade alliances, the inhabitants of House 3 may have practiced a highly mobile lifestyle to continually move back and forth to trading groups. In this scenario, the residents of House 3 would not have required the more permanent houses found at the northern whaling locales or the trading posts in central Labrador. Both whaling settlements and trading centres were integral to the operation of exchange networks as the relatively permanent settlements associated with these undertakings allowed people to be easily located throughout the region for trading purposes.

House 3 contained fewer European manufactured items, which would be expected if any acquired items were immediately traded north. There was a general level of coherence during the Communal House phase in Labrador in terms of architecture style and the possession of European manufactured items of similar kind, but a type of regional specialization is seen in the quantity of goods recovered. More robust and diverse assemblages are encountered in central and northern Labrador communal houses compared to House 3, which is related to the middleman trading system and the role of the southern Inuit in this network. Houses in the south of Labrador were not stockpiling European items, and were instead instrumental in acquiring the desired commodities and moving them north.

It is suggested that House 3 was a single season residence, perhaps for a travelling front of the line trader and/or sealing captain and his extended family that differs from the more permanent northern whaling settlements and central trading posts. In addition, House 3 was the only communal house present at the Huntingdon Island 5 site, which differs from the contemporaneous central and northern sites. Central and northern

settlements contained multiple communal residences that also produced rich midden deposits indicative of sustained occupations. House 3, and likely other southern communal houses, was perhaps more representative of the desires of the residents to project a certain culturally prescribed image of status and power through architecture rather than a structure built out of necessity.

6.2.4 Summary: A Southern Variation

The excavation and analysis of House 3 from the Huntingdon Island 5 site provided a glimpse into the dynamics of 18th-century southern Labrador. As stated by Whitridge (2008), the single southern point of contact with Europeans in Labrador calls for separate regional analyses of communal houses as the situations in the north and south are not entirely comparable. The comparative analysis of House 3 to contemporaneous communal houses from central and northern Labrador revealed that regional variations are indeed present in Labrador despite continuity in household design and spatial organization. The economy of southern Labrador had shifted away from whaling (Fitzhugh 1977), and with the advent of permanent European settlement in the southern region, the economic focus in the south was much more likely about access to Europeans and desired European commodities. In terms of House 3 specifically, the assemblage indicates that at least some form of direct exchange was taking place, that the incorporation of European goods was selective to fit within the established Inuit toolkit and daily practices, and that there was a basic consistency in the subsistence pattern. The residents of House 3 were arguably in direct contact with Europeans but were choosing to live on Huntingdon Island away from the foreign presence rather than live next to or among the Europeans. In essence House 3 appears to represent a continuation of the

Communal House phase with a distinctive southern variation based on a highly mobile settlement system directly related to the middleman economy.

6.3 Suggestions for Future Research

The findings and interpretations of House 3 are largely preliminary in scope as it represents the first communal house excavation in the Sandwich Bay region and therefore lacks comparative data. The analysis of contemporaneous southern communal houses in Labrador may fully support or refute my interpretations of the southern communal house as more findings come to light. The inevitable future discovery, documentation, and examination of other Inuit communal house sites in Sandwich Bay and other southern regions of Labrador will undoubtedly create a clearer picture of the nature of these sites. In addition, the identification and examination of more sites will enable a refinement of the Inuit settlement chronology for this region. A comprehensive comparative study of all reported 18th century Labrador Inuit winter houses available to date, a scale not possible for this particular study, would be most beneficial for revealing trends and disparities within the Labrador Communal House phase.

A promising avenue to explore that was similarly beyond the scope of this particular research is a complete faunal analysis of the houses located at the Huntingdon Island 5 site to determine any changes or persistence in subsistence systems over time from Early to Late period houses. Furthermore, an inclusive artifact analysis of communal house sites in Labrador in terms of the types of European items present, the origin of items, and any visible modifications would serve to illuminate regional differences, preferences, and outline the suite of items that were obtainable by the Inuit and how these items were incorporated into daily lives. Analyzing the larger regional trends in Labrador

during the complexities of the 18th century appears particularly fruitful and will enable the understanding of the long-term history of the Inuit. The Communal House phase has intrigued researchers for decades and there are still many unanswered questions that further research will undoubtedly explore and necessarily provide valuable contributions to the field of Labrador Inuit studies. The future analysis of the Communal House phase and its southern variation will produce a more textured understanding of the Inuit inhabitants of southern Labrador and their life ways.

6.4 Conclusions and Final Remarks

The Inuit travelled to southern Labrador for a purpose, which constitutes an important component of their history. The two centuries of the seasonal European presence during the migratory fishing and whaling industry were generally hostile, but the nature of the fishery created certain opportunities for the Inuit in terms of access to desired items. With the establishment of permanent European settlement in the 18th century, new opportunities were afforded for certain Inuit individuals accompanied by, of course, restrictions from the pending European encroachment in Inuit territory. The resultant Communal House phase and establishment of extensive trade networks and newly negotiated social roles changed the Labrador landscape during the 18th century. It is posited in this study that communal houses in the south of Labrador, though similar in style and organization, are representative of a type of regional variation related to the trade economy practiced by the southern residents.

The Inuit groups residing in Labrador were by no means a static group before, during, or after contact with the Europeans as marked changes and adaptations were ongoing and appear to be a fundamental component of Inuit culture. Although the

findings from House 3 are both preliminary and exploratory, it represents the first analysis of a communal structure in Sandwich Bay and has contributed to the understanding of this phase of Inuit culture. The research pertaining to House 3 at the Huntingdon Island 5 site contributed to the field of Labrador Inuit studies by providing information, however preliminary, about the relatively undocumented southern inhabitants of Labrador. The Inuit did colonize and inhabit the southern stretches of Labrador by the 16th century, and it is time for this region to receive the focus of archaeological inquiry and investigation in order to understand more about the past lives of the southern Inuit.

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