CONSUMER CHOICE IN KOMAKTORVIK, SEVEN ISLANDS BAY AND KONGU, NACHVAK FJORD

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By

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Abstract

This thesis examines trends in consumer choice and availability resulting from the economic interaction between the Inuit of northern Labrador and their Euro-Canadian trading partners from the late eighteenth century to early twentieth century. This analysis aims to produce a better understanding of the progressive incorporation of European goods into Inuit society, as well as the reasons behind product choices. The final results of this work are concerned with the relationships between the Inuit, their material culture, and their trading partners. The sites demonstrate a successive transition to a culture more materially hybrid than traditional culture patterns. This included the transition from the use of Euro-Canadian material in traditional Inuit forms to the use of Euro-Canadian forms within Inuit culture. It also attempts to apply gender theory to an understanding of material choice within a larger study of Inuit consumerism during this period.

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In Memory of Jesse Cohen and Tamara Rowlands

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis examines the trends in consumer choice and availability of trade goods that resulted from the economic interaction between the Inuit of northern Labrador and their Euro-Canadian trading partners of the late eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Collections from Komaktorvik (IhCw-1), in Seven Islands Bay, and Kongu (IgCv-7), in Nachvak Fjord (Figure 1.1), both located in northern Labrador, were examined for this project. Previous analysis of archaeological collections from these sites has focused on faunal remains, ceramics, and pipes and what these materials indicate about individual house practices (Jurakic 2007, Swinarton 2008). With the exception of Jurakic's (2007) comparative study of some material from Komaktorvik and Kongu, this is the first analysis in which both sites will be explicitly compared. This analysis aims to produce a more complete understanding of the progressive incorporation of Euro-Canadian goods into Inuit society, as well as the reasons behind product choices. By considering these sites as events within an ongoing process of adoption of new goods, this thesis seeks to compare larger transitions on a relatively small geographical scale.

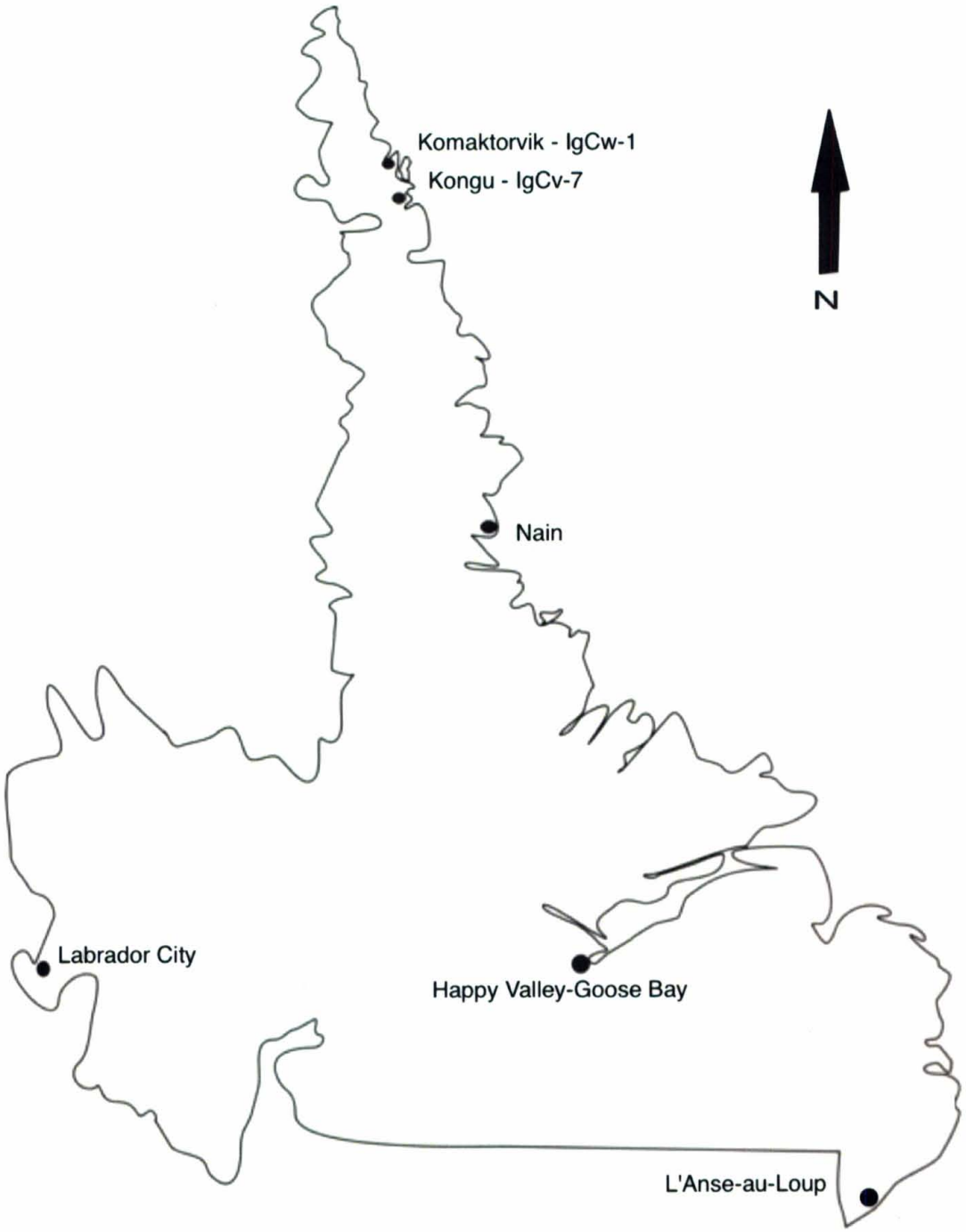

Figure 1.1: Map of Labrador

The majority of Inuit groups in northern Labrador had similar seasonal rounds. While they may have experienced slight differences from one another, in general they exploited marine resources on the coast in the winter and caribou in the interior during the summer (Kaplan 1983:211). The Kongu and Komaktorvik sites are winter settlements, located in fjords. From these locations the Inuit hunted more diverse subsistence resources than were available on the outer islands along the Labrador coast (Kaplan 1983:3). Kaplan suggests that the seasonal round practiced by the Inuit of Komaktorvik in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century would have been almost the same as that of earlier Inuit occupants of the area (Kaplan 1983:288). Hudson Bay Company (HBC) records for the period of 1869-1906 indicate that the Inuit in Nachvak Fjord moved up the Palmer River and into the interior in the summer to intercept the George River caribou herd (Kaplan 1983:198-201). Since the Inuit of Kongu and Komaktorvik were similar in culture and had similar subsistence practices it can be extrapolated that their historical seasonal round would have been comparable to their ancestral one. The links between ancestral and more recent life-ways enable an examination of the gender organization of society covering a period of just over 100 years, represented by these two occupations. The extrapolation of consistency in seasonal rounds suggests a similar regularity in the gendered task division that is so important in Inuit culture. Both men and women possessed a well-organized task list that helped organize their subsistence-based life traditions.

Neither community of Inuit lived adjacent to Euro-Canadian outposts and, while they adopted some aspects of Euro-Canadian culture, the Euro-Canadians did

not govern them. This is reflected strongly in the Inuit of Nachvak and Komaktorvik's unwillingness to move closer to the Moravian missionaries (Brice-Bennett 1981:235-236). The Inuit were traditionally hunter-gatherers, thus an understanding of their environment and the species available to them is relevant to this study.

Inuit-European interaction was sporadic at first, limited to some trading as well as plundering of European outposts further south. Jordan and Kaplan (1980) link this type of collection to a colonization period in which European goods were not always obtained through direct or regular contact. Inuit in northern Labrador were particularly interested in iron but as contact between the groups increased, their interest expanded to include other goods, such as luxury items such as beads and ceramics (Kaplan 1983:341). Initial European contact was with the Basque whalers and fishermen in the south, and later French and English fishermen. By the late eighteen to early twentieth centuries, trade had become frequent with two main Euro-Canadian partners: the Moravian missionaries and the Hudon's Bay Company (HBC) (Jurakic 2007:1). This resulted in an increased incorporation of both Euro-Canadian goods and culture in Inuit life-ways.

Recent research by Jurakic (2007) suggests that the HBC may have been the primary trade partner for the Inuit who resided at Kongu beginning in 1824. While this marks the beginning of settled trade relationships in the north, the Moravians began to settle in Nain by 1771 and other traders were travelling further north as early as the 1790's (Stopp 2009:61). The implications of a stable trading partner may indicate material culture changes that may be more closely related to choice

rather than availability. The Hudson's Bay Company opened a post in Nachvak Fjord in 1868, at about the same time as the Inuit abandoned Kongu (Jurakic 2007). The closest Moravian mission at this time was Hebron, which was established in 1831 (Brice-Bennett 1981:285). Nachvak's HBC post was the closest to the Inuit of Komaktorvik and it is possible that the HBC traders at this post were the latter's primary trading partners.

The likelihood that Inuit were trading with the same Euro-Canadian establishment (HBC) in both fjords allows for an effective comparison of their changing choices through time. Some conclusions may be linked to consumer choice, rather than to a distinct change in trading partners. It has been suggested that the people living in Nachvak and Komaktorvik may have been the same community of Inuit occupying both sites (Kaplan 1983:289). While this is hypothetical, it reflects a sufficient similarity in cultural elements that may help to refine the interpretation of differences observed in collection composition. This is in terms of material availability and choice, rather than other community differences, when comparing contemporaneous collections in Kongu and Komaktorvik.

Kongu, in Nachvak Fjord, is a historic period Inuit winter settlement, dating to the late eighteenth through nineteenth century (Jurakic 2007:84). Nachvak Fjord is surrounded by the Torngat Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. Beginning in the fall and through to the spring, the ocean provided Inuit with access to many large sea mammals. The Inuit hunted harp, ringed and bearded seals in October and November (Kaplan 1983:199). In the eighteenth century they also had access to

bowhead whales, which may have passed through the fjord before it froze over (Kaplan 1983:199). After the ice formed, ringed and bearded seals were hunted at their breathing holes and at the Nachvak polynia, while seals and beluga whales were available beyond the sina. Birds were available all winter long (Kaplan 1983:199). In the spring, the Inuit moved inland to lakes to fish (Kaplan 1983:136). They also hunted caribou in the interior from July to September (Kaplan 1983:136). The fjord's marine and terrestrial environments also provided access to black bears, polar bears and foxes for fur. Seals were the most common taxon in a faunal sample from Kongu, comprising the majority of the collection (Swinarton 2008:93), while birds and fish were also harvested (Swinarton 2008:94). The site is located on the north side of the fjord approximately half way along its length, and contains the remains of seven semi-subterranean houses and other features (Figure 1.2).

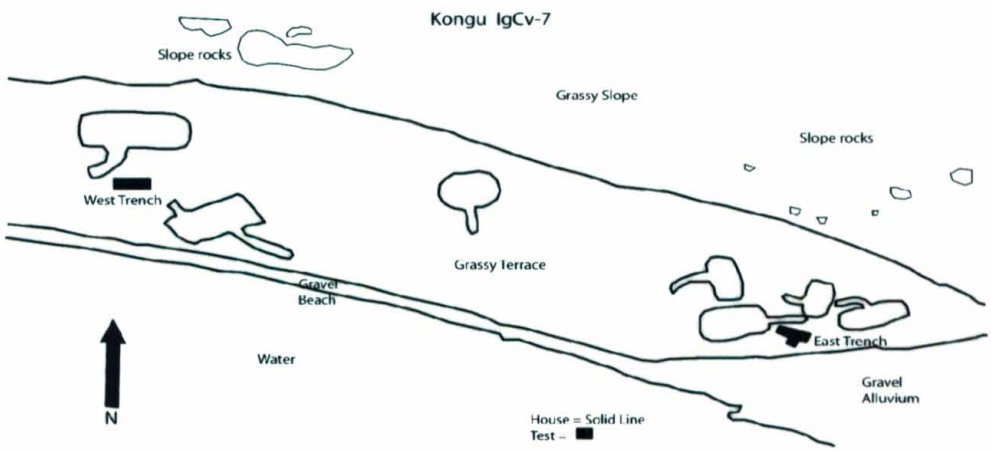

Figure 1.2: Map of Kongu, Nachvak Fjord (Swinarton 2008)

While Peter Whitridge and his crews excavated four trenches in 2004 and 2005 at Kongu, only two trenches, in the middens associated with House 2, West Trench and House 7, East Trench, are considered here, based on their contemporaneity to those from Komaktorvik.

Features at Komaktorvik, analyzed for this project, were dated based on material culture and house architecture, to the early to mid 19th century for House 1, and to the late 19th to early 20th century for House 2 (Kaplan 1983). Mountains and an extensive river and lake system border Seven Islands Bay where the site of Komaktorvik is located. The Inuit hunted seals at the mouth of the fjord, as well as bowhead whales before freeze up (Kaplan 1983:288). In the winter, the hunt focused more on seals. In the spring they moved to the outer islands, less sheltered locations than the bay's interior, to take advantage of fish, walrus, seals, and beluga, as well as birds and bird eggs (Kaplan 1983:288). The fjord provided year round access to arctic fox, arctic char and polar bears (Kaplan 1983:137). Both fjords provided access to a wide range of species, which were hunted for subsistence and trade. The site of Komaktorvik is located on a sandy spit on the northeast side of Komaktorvik Fjord. There are at least six Inuit house clusters at the site, along with associated features (Figure 1.3). Initial excavations in House 1 and 2 included tests in both houses and middens, while more recent excavation focused only on the middens.

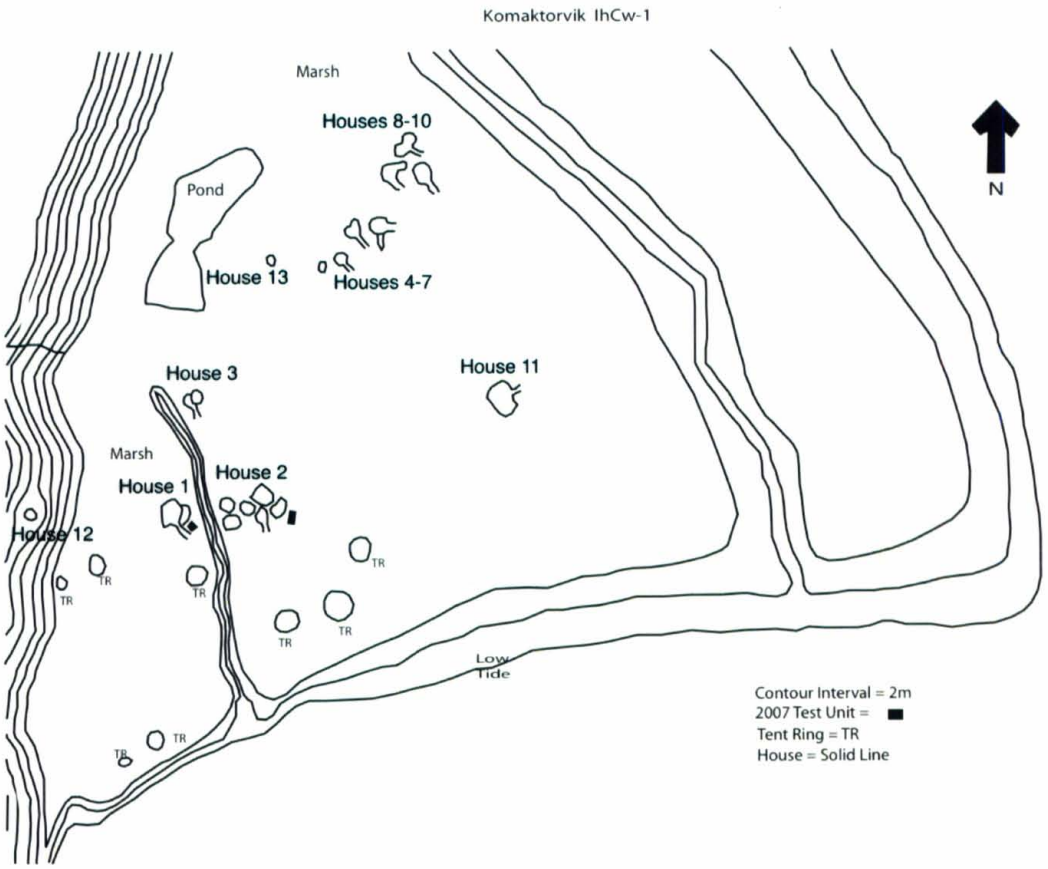

Figure 1.3: Map of Komaktorvik, Seven Islands Bay (Whitridge n.d.)

The material from Komaktorvik was recovered during two different excavations. The first was part of the Torngat Archaeological Project. Susan Kaplan used this material, primarily excavated by Christopher Nagle, as part of her PhD research. She was part of a team that test-pitted the middens and external and internal aspects of structures, including Houses 1 and 2. Dr. Peter Whitridge of Memorial University and Dr. James Woollett of Université Laval, and crew further investigated these houses in 2007, increasing the amount of archaeological material

available for analysis. Dates for the house were suggested by Kaplan's work and later refined through Jurakic's (2007) analysis of the pipes and ceramics found at the site.

The primary point of access to trade goods for the Inuit living in House 2 was probably the contemporaneous Hudson's Bay Company outpost in Nachvak Fjord (Kaplan 1983:285). Material goods for House 1 in Komaktorvik may have been acquired in a similar manner to that of the contemporaneous occupation represented by West Trench in Kongu. As suggested by Jurakic (2007), the Euro-Canadian goods from Kongu were primarily obtained through trade with the HBC or middlemen engaged in trade with the HBC.

Section 1.1 Research Questions

In an effort to gain a more complete understanding of the changing relationship between the Inuit and their trading partners, the intent of this research is to answer the following questions:

1. How did Inuit consumption of trade goods change during the period of increasing contact with Euro-Canadians (late 18th to early 20th centuries)?

2. Did the Moravian missions and Hudson's Bay Company provide different trading opportunities and constraints?

3. Are there significant gendered patterns in the sorts of trade goods that were consumed?

These questions will be answered through the analysis of existing collections from two sites to determine if trends existed in trading behaviour.

The examination of the collections recovered from Kongu and Komaktorvik will be used to determine patterns in the acquisition of Euro-Canadian goods (See Figure 1). Patterns demonstrated through the study of these collections will be compared to a range of comparative material, based on catalogues from similarly dated sites. The range of comparative material will help to determine whether the results of this study resemble those of other Inuit houses from that period of time.

The first goal is to understand differences in the acquisition of goods between the houses at each site. This information will then be compared to consumption patterns at other contemporaneous Inuit settlements. The material collected from West Trench in Kongu and House 1 in Komaktorvik can be considered essentially contemporaneous (Whitridge pers. comm.). East Trench at Kongu represents the earliest occupation in this study while House 2 at Komaktorvik represents the most recent occupation. Another overarching aim of this thesis is to determine if the choices made reflect gendered task divisions that were pivotal in Inuit culture, and will be discussed in later Chapters. The application of gender theory in this project will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of how those divisions affected, or were affected by, the adoption of Euro-Canadian material into their culture.

The collections are examined through a break down by material type. Initial comparisons are between material types within each site's collection to determine their relative frequencies. The quantity of artifacts recovered from each location varies. I have used percentages of artifacts at each location in an effort to enable a balanced understanding of the collections' compositions. These collections, as

organized by percentage of materials, are then compared to a range of comparative samples to determine whether they reflect the wider pattern for the Inuit of northern Labrador during that period. The results from these analyses and comparisons are then used to discern trends in Euro-Canadian goods acquisition by the Inuit at Komaktorvik and Kongu during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Where periods of occupation at each settlement overlap, as with West Trench in Kongu and House 1 in Komaktorvik, these patterns of artifact use are considered in terms of the choices made by site occupants. These also reflect the availability of trade goods, as it is suggested that the residents of both Kongu and Komaktorvik traded with the Hudson's Bay Company, though it is likely that both communities traded with the missionaries as well.

The other manner of exploring changes in acquisition trends is through the use of gender theory. Gullason's (1999) work on gendering artifacts in terms of their relationship to tasks for the pre-contact and historic period Inuit culture on Baffin Island can be extended to these collections. Pre-contact Inuit task division appears to have been divided along gender lines, an organization that continued into the historic period. Gullason's typology was based on the use of ethnography to identify male and female tool kits related to various activities (Gullason 1999:5). These gendered associations were then used to see if Inuit men and woman adapted differently to Euro-Canadian contact through differential consumption of resources, or as a result of task-related differences (1999:126). Gullason's typology is used in this project and, where necessary, augmented with additional historical and archaeological data. Examination of the results through gender research may

indicate whether the choices made in goods acquisition were based on material availability or were gender and, thus, task-related.

Section 1.2 Chapter Organization

Chapter Two is divided into two sections. The first concentrates on a history of Inuit-Euro-Canadian interaction in northern Labrador from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The second section focuses on a history of archaeological research in the same area.

Chapter Three discusses the two bodies of theory that inform this project. Postcolonial theory suggests that the results of this project can be understood in terms of the relationship between Euro-Canadian colonists and the Inuit. Meanwhile, gender theory is used to understand the acquisition of goods on a practical level as well as to understand the incorporation of those goods into Inuit lifestyles, which in turn augments explanations for the choices made.

Chapter Four focuses on the methodology of this project. The first section discusses the location and identification of artifacts. Further, it focuses on the compilation of the resulting data and how this is assessed through acquisition trends and gender theory. The second section covers the assignment of gender categories to the artifacts, and the third section explains the process of assembling a range of comparative material with which to evaluate the results.

Chapter Five organizes the results from the testing of the collections and comparative samples. The first four sections discuss the results from East Trench,

West Trench, House 1 and House 2, respectively. The fifth section outlines the results of the analysis of comparative material.

Chapter Six is a discussion of the results presented in Chapter Five. In this section I attempt to explain these results in terms of the range of comparative material presented in Chapter Four and three major factors: consumer choice, Inuit cultural adaptation strategies, and the availability of goods from different trade partners. This Chapter also endeavors to answer the questions laid out in the introduction.

Chapter Seven outlines suggested directions for further research and provides a concluding discussion and overview of the results of this research.

Chapter Two: Culture Historical Background

This Chapter addresses two separate topics. The first is a history of Inuit and Euro-Canadian interaction in northern Labrador. The second is a history of archaeological research in the area, with a focus on the archaeological investigations conducted at Kongu and Komaktorvik.

2.1 History of Inuit-Euro-Canadian Contact in Labrador

"Thule Inuit" is the term used in this thesis to refer to the Inuit that first arrived in Labrador and before regular contact was initiated with Euro-Canadians in the eighteenth century. The Thule Inuit had gradually colonized the Canadian Arctic over the preceding centuries, and eventually moved south along the Labrador coast, arriving in Seven Islands Bay and Nachvak Fjord by the late fifteenth century (Kaplan 1983:218; Schlederman 1971:17; Whitridge 2005:3).

These groups' first contacts with Euro-Canadians were sporadic encounters with Basque whalers and fishermen in southern Labrador (Kaplan 1983:154). The Inuit made it as far south as Sandwich Bay by the 1600's (Brewster 2005:122). Trade goods would have been moved north to Inuit in places such as Seven Islands Bay and Nachvak through Inuit trade networks. This type of contact probably continued until the Basque left the coast of Labrador in 1630 (Auger 1991:15). The Basque brought their own goods and repair items for their ships and structures associated with whaling (Kaplan 1983:161). They did not come for the primary purpose of trading with the Inuit and did not purposefully overwinter. Therefore,

according to archival sources, contact between the Thule Inuit and Basque fishermen was minimal (Kaplan 1983:161). The archaeological record indicates only slight interaction, suggesting that the Inuit still strongly adhered to their traditional way of life during this period (Kaplan 1983:56).

When the Inuit first came into contact with Euro-Canadians, Inuit interest in obtaining metals likely encouraged trade. By the 1600's when the Inuit reached Hamilton Inlet, they had some French goods (Kaplan 1980:650). The French were mandated to trade during their control of southern Labrador during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Stopp 2002). Iron, in particular, was sought more than any other material (Whitridge 2006:13). It was likely the functionality of this material that prompted its widespread adoption. As a material, iron was easily worked and maintained in comparison to traditional stone blades. Emerging trade networks, designed to take advantage of more sustained contact with Euro-Canadians in the south, were probably related to the Inuit desire for iron as well as Euro-Canadians' desire for baleen and other whale products (Whitridge 2005:3).

While contact between the French and the northern Inuit was not face-to-face, the Inuit felt Euro-Canadian demands through their trade networks by the 1700's. The French desired to obtain seals, baleen, and sea mammal oil (Kaplan 1983:649). There is some evidence that contact between the Inuit and the French in the south was not always easy, and some hostilities occurred (Auger 1991:15). At times, the French are reported to have killed Inuit for no reason (Kaplan 1983:167).

Significant changes occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1752, the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel sent Moravian missionaries to establish a mission in southern Labrador. When John Christian Erhardt and six crew members were killed by the Inuit, it brought an end to the Moravian's first mission attempt (Taylor 1974:5). Despite this setback, they did not change their intentions to preach to the Labrador Inuit and in 1769, funded by the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, they secured land grants to set up missions to the Inuit (Kennedy 1985:266). The main goals of the Moravians were to convert the Inuit to Christianity and teach them to read and write (Brice-Bennett 1981:447). They wished for the Inuit to remain close to the missions and not travel south to trade (Taylor 1972:139). By the 1770s the Moravians had moved onto the central coast of Labrador (Kaplan 1983:241). The Moravians' first priority was to spread their religion to the Inuit. Their conversion mission was fairly well received, as the Inuit saw Christianity as a continuation of their own faith (Kleivan 1966: 68-69): they saw missionaries as shamans and doctors as healers, allowing them to be incorporated within their traditional belief systems. The Moravians did not encourage this sort of cultural translation, but it made the incorporation of Christian faith and ideals into Inuit society easier. The Moravians also limited the enforcement of English language use until the twentieth century (Kleivan 1966:81). The Moravians spoke Inuktitut while teaching and during church services. However, the Moravians enforced social changes, such as how to raise children, on the Inuit living next to their missions, and discouraged the use of tobacco (Kleivan 1966:71). For those Inuit living near Moravian outposts, there were also social

restrictions that interfered with traditional social organization (Kaplan 1980:655). The Moravians dictated where the Inuit could hunt to keep them close to the mission and discouraged traditional family dwellings as they felt that children living in such situations would be exposed to examples of improper sexual and social roles (Brice-Bennett 1981:339). They encouraged Inuit to live in single-family dwellings, which altered patterns of social and economic cooperation within the community. With the abandonment of communal houses, hunting proceeds would likely have been distributed differently. Initially the Moravians refused to trade firearms, but by 1785, they changed their policy in an effort to entice the Inuit to remain faithful in their trade to the mission and not go south (Taylor 1977:17).

While the way in which the Moravians furthered their goals in Labrador changed over the years, there was always a specific four part focus: to convert more people to Christianity, to locate the majority of the Inuit population in the north and share their gospel with them and to encourage the Inuit to trade with them (Brice-Bennett 1981:230). An increase in trade would be financially advantageous for the mission as well as give them more influence over the Inuit than if they traded with other groups such as the HBC, the other major source of Euro-Canadian goods by the early 1800's.

By the 1820's, the Moravians realized they would need to expand northward to continue spreading their religious message to the Inuit. They wished to deter the Inuit of Labrador from travelling south where European settlers were willing to engage in trade. This expansion was also influenced by the need for trade to support the mission and contact the majority of the Inuit population (Brice-Bennett

1981:230). This involved northward expansion, so that Inuit would not go south where they might come into contact with other traders such as the HBC (Kaplan 1983:176) or other religious groups such as the Methodists (Brice-Bennett 1981:174).

Moravian missionaries in Labrador were able to secure generous land grants from the British Crown, while the HBC acquired land unofficially for outposts (Kleivan 1966:127). Representatives and employees of the HBC arrived in Labrador by the early 1830's (Kleiven 1966:127). By the mid nineteenth century, both the HBC and the Moravians were pushing northward and were in direct competition with each other (Kaplan 1980:655). In 1867, the Moravians built a post in Nachvak, but when they returned in 1868 to occupy it, the HBC had also established a post there (Kaplan 1983:675). As the HBC was already engaged in trading activities, the Moravians withdrew from the fjord. This likely took place after Kongu was abandoned, perhaps for resettlement in Ivitak, a community across Nachvak Fjord. This kind of jockeying for locations close to the Inuit demonstrates the competition between the HBC and the Moravian missionaries for Inuit trade partners. The northward conflict of expansion of both groups ended in the 1860's. The Moravians ceded representation in Nachvak Fjord and Saglek Bay but opened posts in Ramah in 1871, Makkovik in 1896 and Killinek in 1904 (Kaplan 1983:172).

In addition to the differences noted above, there were two main trade practices that distinguished the two parties. The HBC would only trade in firearms with southern native groups, namely the Innu, not the Inuit (Barr 1994:241). In the

1730's they still were not trading guns to the Inuit (Barr 1994:241) but by the time they opened their post in Nachvak, they were trading in ammunition (Kaplan 1983:184) and presumably firearms as well. They did, however, trade in liquor with the Inuit (Kleivan 1966:128). The HBC offered better prices than the Moravians for furs. The Moravians offered significantly less but argued this was in favour of being able to provide for people when food was scarce and for their ability to be present year round (Brice-Bennett 1981:321). The HBC was only interested in a trade relationship, while the Moravians actively attempted to create a community of followers. However, the benefits to lower prices would not be seen for the Inuit outside of the mission stations.

Despite their distance from established posts, Inuit communities in northern Labrador continued to change. Kongu was abandoned at about the same time as the HBC arrived in Nachvak Fjord (Whitridge 2005:15). Culturally, the Inuit were also beginning to change. This is best seen by their material culture, which incorporated more Euro-Canadian goods over time (Jurakic 2007:112).

There also appears to have been a population resurgence of Inuit in the eighteenth century during a period when there was a higher degree of inter-annual variability in environment in addition to mild sea ice conditions (Kaplan 1983:60; Woollett 2007:77). This came at the same time as an increase in Europeans in southern Labrador, producing an increase in available trade goods moving north through traditional trade networks. Such environmental and social stresses had serious effects within Inuit society. For example, there were more polygamous marriages and instances of situational leadership during the eighteenth

century, though the Inuit of northern Labrador maintained basic economic stability (Woollett 2007:72,77-81).

This ecological turmoil and its social effects continued into the nineteenth century (Brice-Bennett 1981). Fishing and fur trapping increased and groups were wealthy enough to hunt whales, a relatively high-cost, low-yield practice (Woollett 2007:81). It required considerable time to hunt whales and a favourable outcome was rare. Europeans would have frowned upon these kinds of activities, as they challenged the Christian cultural ideals the Moravians were trying to instill, that included a settled existence near the mission station with fish and seals as the primary resources (Brice-Bennett 1981:139). Both the HBC and the Moravians discouraged spending time on procuring resources that did not yield the most valued trade goods, encouraging instead fishing and fox trapping (Kaplan 1980:654). Subsistence practices eventually changed, with more emphasis on trapping and fishing for trade (Swinarton 2008:31).

Cabak and Loring (2000) investigated the Inuit of Nain during the nineteenth century and suggested that the Inuit were becoming part of the global economy through their increasing interaction with Euro-Canadian traders. As a result of this trade, Inuit were becoming a hybrid society, combining both new and traditional methods and materials for various tasks. However, it was only for those living next to a mission or trading post that life changed dramatically (Graburn and Strong 1973:192). While changes were perhaps more visible in those locations, it is undeniable that the Inuit of northern Labrador were affected by the presence of Europeans during this period.

The HBC and Moravian missionaries both exerted strong, but indirect influence on the Inuit who traded with them but did not live with them. Jurakic (2007) has suggested that the relationship between the Moravian missionaries and the Inuit of Kongu was not particularly friendly, and that the latter may have traded with the HBC in Ungava Bay to avoid the Moravians. This seems likely since the northern Labrador Inuit were known at the HBC post in Ungava Bay (Turner [1894] 2001:176).

2.2 History of Inuit Archaeological Research in northern Labrador

Study of the Inuit in Labrador has been ongoing since the early twentieth century. The second half of this chapter focuses on this past research in northern Labrador, specifically research conducted at Kongu and Komaktorvik. This section is organized temporally, discussing each of the relevant researchers, their geographic focus and the results of their research.

William Duncan Strong was the first archaeologist to conduct extensive research in Labrador, beginning in the 1920's (Kaplan 1983:13). His focus was on the Inuit of the central coast, and archaeological sites within the communities of Nain and Hopedale. His research was never completed, and his collections left stored at the Smithsonian Institution, unanalyzed and unpublished.

Junius Bird published the results of excavations at five sites in the Hopedale area (Bird 1945:125). He focused on excavation and testing of 32 houses and associated middens of various Inuit settlements. His team was small, consisting of himself, his wife, and an Inuit guide. There were several important results from his

research. The first was that during a period of sporadic or restricted contact, iron was conserved and only used for knife blades. He also suggested that, as of 1753, Euro-Canadians were still trying to trade "hoop iron" to the Inuit. Hoop iron was simply the bands that were used to keep barrel staves together. He determined that while these still had trade value in northern Labrador, by this point the Inuit in southern Labrador wanted complete tools (Bird 1945:127).

Douglas Leechman's research concentrated on the Killinek and Button Islands regions of far northern Labrador. He was looking for evidence of Inuit migrations in the Arctic (Leechman 1945:3), and partially excavated four houses with the aid of an Inuit crew.

Vanio Turner was the next anthropologist to conduct research in northern Labrador. He headed the Finland-Labrador Expedition in 1937 and the Tanner Labrador Expedition in 1939 (Kaplan 1983:17). These resulted in outlines of the geography, life and customs of the people of Labrador, which were published in two volumes in 1947. The first focused on the geology and geography of the area, while the second focused on the people, both First Nations and Inuit, and their acculturation.

Charles Elton worked more from a biological and historical point of view than from an archaeological one. He compiled excerpts from Moravian missionaries' texts and incorporated them into an understanding of the climate and faunal changes over time (Elton 1942).

Kleivan published The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador in 1966, focusing on the relationship between Moravians and Inuit, with a positive bias towards the

Moravians. Kleivan concentrated on schools, the use of Inuktitut, and Inuit history in Labrador (Kleivan 1966).

Patrick Plumet, in 1967, was the next researcher to conduct work in northern Labrador (Kaplan 1983:19). He mapped both Dorset and Inuit settlements between North Aulatsivik Island and the Button Islands. He also discussed burials and the relationships between different populations.

James Tuck was the first researcher from Memorial University to study the Inuit in northern Labrador (Tuck 1975). He initially focused on Maritime Archaic and Paleoeskimo sites in Saglek Bay between 1969 and 1971, excavating more than 24 structures in the area. He concentrated on Upernavik Island site K and Rose Island sites E and W, but only the Upernakvik Island location was Inuit.

Peter Schlederman's study focused on the Thule Inuit, which resulted in an M.A. from Memorial University (1971) and a 1976 article. He excavated three communal houses, dating to the seventeenth through early twentieth centuries. He focused on the determination of the timing of Inuit arrival in Labrador (whether it occurred before or after contact with Euro-Canadians), as well as changes in house styles (Schlederman 1971:19-20).

Steven Cox conducted research in northern Labrador between 1974 and 1975 (Kaplan 1983: 27). He worked primarily in the Okak region and constructed cultural chronologies from a range of comparative materials as well as describing the subsistence settlement systems for both Thule and historic Inuit groups. He documented five Inuit sod houses, including Okak-1.

William Fitzhugh and Richard Jordan led a group of researchers, including Susan Kaplan, in the Torngat Archaeological Project (TAP), in 1977 and 1978 (Fitzhugh et al. 1979, Fitzhugh 1980). The TAP had six primary objectives:

> "(1) studies of present and past environmental variation; (2) determination of local culture history; (3) reconstruction o settlement and subsistence patterns; (4) relation of northern Labrador culture history and adaptations to external regions; (5) investigation of processes of culture change; and (6) assessment of archaeological potential and site conservation status. (Fitzhugh 1980: 586-587)"

As well, Fitzhugh investigated the processes of culture change and conducted an assessment of the potential for further archaeology. He felt that the results of the project could demonstrate the influence of contact and natural variables on culture change (Fitzhugh 1980: 604). Fitzhugh also suggested that while sites were currently stable in northern Labrador, excepting erosion in the Killinek region, they would not remain so forever. He suggested further research be conducted in the area before the resources were lost. As part of the TAP, Stephen Loring worked in Nachvak Fjord, and Christopher Nagle led a crew in Komaktorvik Fjord (Fitzhugh et al. 1979:2-3). Richard Jordan was on the crew in Komaktorvik and tested winter houses, suggesting nineteenth and twentieth century dates for the site. Fitzhugh's final conclusion was that there was a complete sequence of the Labrador Inuit on the Torngat coast from the early contact period until the twentieth century.

Kaplan's PhD research focused on the Inuit of northern Labrador. The primary goals of her research were to develop a culture history and investigate the

environmental and economic context of contact with Euro-Canadians (Kaplan 1983:32). She was particularly interested in how long-term contact affected economic and social organization. One of the sites she investigated was Komaktorvik, and some of the material she collected there has been integrated into this project.

There was relatively little archaeological activity in northern Labrador after the TAP. Whitridge of Memorial University initiated research at Nackvak Fjord in 2003, and conducted the first fieldwork at Kongu in 2004. He tested midden deposits next to houses in 2004 and 2005 and, on that basis, suggested that the site represented a late eighteenth through mid nineteenth century settlement that had been effectively abandoned by 1870, when the HBC arrived (Whitridge 2005). His work also suggested that metals were much more important than ceramics in the first centuries of trade. His work at Kongu was used by students to produce two Masters theses related to the site (Swinarton 2008; Jurakic 2007).

Jurakic (2007) examined collections from Kongu and several other sites, including Komaktorvik, for her thesis research. Her studies focused on analysis of the ceramic and pipe assemblages from the sites. She determined likely dates for the sites that are relevant to this project, including Houses 1 and 2 from Komaktorvik (1832-33, based on the TAP collections) and the East Trench (1839-41) and West Trench from Kongu (1837) (Jurakic 2007:84). She examined the assemblages to look at the relationship between cultural contact and identity. Her project examined the idea that the historical record relating to Kongu expressed the

Euro-Canadian perspective on the Inuit, and that archaeology provided access to the way the Inuit perceived themselves.

Swinarton (2008) conducted a faunal analysis that employed ethnography and spatial patterning. Her research looked at Nachvak Village, a mostly precontact settlement, and Kongu. She noted that hunting practices changed in the historic period, as Inuit moved from subsistence hunting practices to hunting for trade.

In 2007 Whitridge and Woollett led excavations at Komaktorvik. Part of their research there included the testing of middens near Inuit winter houses, including Houses 1 and 2. The material recovered from these houses forms part of the basis for this project's research in northern Labrador.

Archaeological and anthropological research has been ongoing through various interdisciplinary undertakings. The general goal has been to gain a well-rounded understanding of the history of the Inuit in Labrador. There is useful information to be gained from historical sources, which, combined with archaeology, potentially provides a less biased view of the Inuit and their interaction with Euro-Canadians, as in Jurakic's (2007) study.

The researchers discussed above have one principal interest in common. They all sought a greater understanding of the complexity of Labrador Inuit lives, and they were able to provide a clearer picture of many of the concrete aspects of the Inuit past. In the following theory section I hope to interpret these archaeological contributions with the use of contemporary theory to document how the introduction of Euro-Canadian goods had profound effects on Inuit communities, and not only on their material culture.

Chapter Three: Theory

There are two main bodies of theory that permeate this project: gender theory and postcolonial theory. This chapter is divided into two sections that address each one in turn. Each section addresses the basic principles of the theory and its application to the interpretation of results from this project.

Postcolonial theory is primarily used, in this context, to understand the relationships between Euro-Canadians, operating as the colonizers, and the Inuit, as the colonized. This project focuses on the development of that relationship through continued interactions over the period of time represented by the sites of Kongu and Komaktorvik.

Gender theory is the study of the social construction of gender and its role in society. Specifically, the focus of this project is on the more recent emphasis in gender theory, which seeks new frameworks to answer questions about gender and rethinks the position of material objects in a society (Sørensen 2007:77-78). Gender theory is used to address two issues. From a practical perspective it informs an examination of task organization and the use of Euro-Canadian goods within Inuit societies. Theoretically, it informs an understanding of how gender influenced and was influenced by the choice and incorporation of Euro-Canadian goods within Inuit material culture.

3.1 Postcolonial Theory

An understanding of the nature of colonialism is essential for understanding the postcolonial perspective. Colonialism refers to the situation in which a state controls a group of other people, defined by cultural and ethnic differences, for exploitative purposes (Silliman 2005:58). In the present case, when the Moravians, and to a lesser degree the HBC, came into sustained contact with the Inuit, they attempted to control various aspects of Inuit society. As discussed in Chapter Two, the relationship between Euro-Canadians and Inuit was a dynamic one, and the interaction changed with each group with whom the Inuit came into contact.

The degree of control possessed by the HBC and Moravians was determined through geography. While the Moravians had direct control over those within their community, Inuit outside that geographical area exercised more complete control over their lives. The influence of the HBC on Inuit society in its geographical vicinity did not extend to Kongu or Komaktorvik. All influence within these groups is of an indirect kind, through contact between groups and intermediary trading.

The patterns represented by trade with Europeans and Euro-Canadians addresses similar questions to those explored by John Bennett in the prairies, which Kaplan and Woollett have examined in Inuit settings (Bennett 1969; Kaplan 1983:36; Kaplan and Woollett 2000:352). The basic premise behind Bennett's work is that individuals, the Inuit of Komaktorvik and Kongu in this case, make decisions to address immediate problems. These decisions multiply over time to create patterns called adaptive strategies. Over the long term, these strategies may lead to larger changes within a culture called adaptive processes. This project examines the

material culture from Komaktorvik and Kongu to establish the adaptive strategies at these sites. Since the assemblages from Kongu and Komaktorvik represent a temporal progression of site occupation, they provide a window on adaptive processes during long-term Inuit contact with Euro-Canadians.

Colonialism usually results in a hybridization of indigenous cultural elements and ones adapted or adopted from the colonizing group, in this case possibly through adaptive strategies and processes. Originally only seen as a one way incorporation, recent research has focused on the exchange of goods and cultural traits between both parties (Lyons and Papadopoulous 2002:5). In this case, hybridization refers to the mix of cultural elements from traditional Inuit and Euro-Canadian cultures that are visible in the material record, or can be inferred from it. This is one area in which postcolonial and gender theory can be applied in conjunction to form a better understanding of the ways in which Inuit and Euro-Canadian culture related to each other. This project suggests, through the use of gender theory, reasons for the observed patterns in the Inuit acquisition of Euro-Canadian goods. Postcolonial theory helps us understand these trends as a reflection of cultural choice rather than enforced cultural transfer.

To view the relationship between the Inuit and Euro-Canadian traders in a postcolonial framework, it is important to see colonized peoples as active participants in their relationships with their colonizers (Lyons and Papadapoulous 2002:5). As a result, research should focus not only on the Euro-Canadian goods that the Inuit would have chosen to incorporate into their activities, but also on their social or practical reasons for doing so. This questions whether the Inuit passively

accepted what was available through trade, or if their use of those trade goods transformed their initial purpose. This is not simply about the contact between groups but about the hybrid result of it (Gosden 2001:242). The use of postcolonial theory aids in the interpretation of not only what the colonizers wanted from the subsumed people, but of how those colonized people adapted to and interacted with the new culture.

Initially, Euro-Canadian goods may have made their way into Inuit culture through theft or from abandoned Euro-Canadian locations (Kaplan 1983:56). However, in more recent periods, such as the nineteenth century, trade became more important and was actively pursued at trading posts and missions. The emphasis in these relationships should not be on the initial meeting, but rather on the results of contact. It should focus not only on what the Inuit chose to incorporate into their society, but also on if and how such things were altered, physically or metaphorically, to fit into the cultural space into which they were inserted.

Examining a heterogeneous culture within the postcolonial framework enables a longer-term examination of cultural contact. Indeed, the idea of cultures making 'contact' is a terminological problem for three main reasons (Silliman 2005:56). First, it emphasizes short-term contact. In this case study, the Inuit began interacting with the Basque shortly after they arrived in Labrador and have continued to interact with Euro-Canadians and their descendants up to the present day. There was more than short-term contact between Inuit and various Euro-Canadian groups, and all had long-term effects. The second concern is that the word 'contact' downplays the importance of the interaction between groups. It

suggests that interaction was a singular event without cultural consequences. As discussed above, it is important to not regard the Inuit as passive partners in interactions with Euro-Canadian traders. Historically, Inuit possessed a dynamic culture whose amalgamation of Euro-Canadian and traditional Inuit material culture resulted in changing definitions of what it meant to be Inuit. The third issue raised by Silliman (2005) is that 'culture contact' emphasizes the original culture traits over the hybrid ones that emerged later. While it is important to understand the traditional forms of Inuit culture, it is equally important to address the changes. Emphasis should not be placed on either culture's original traits over those that developed through time with the incorporation of material goods and new styles of living.

An emphasis on hybridization focuses on the importance of how objects incorporated into another culture are re-contextualized. Harrison (2002) suggests that the exchange of objects changes how they are perceived. The focus of this project is on the articles of Euro-Canadian manufacture that the Inuit adopted and the outcome of their incorporation. Changes to be considered include not only what the Inuit chose to incorporate over time, but also how these items were used.

In considering the re-contextualization of goods, identification of the material and its uses are key. It is also important to situate that material within an understanding of the changing culture. In postcolonial archaeology it is important to make the distinction between material culture and culture. Material culture can be seen as a physical representation of society (Silliman 2005:68). The communities of Kongu and Komaktorvik contain examples of the changes Inuit society went

through as a result of extended contact, both direct and indirect, with Euro-Canadians and their culture. The material culture collected from archaeological excavation allows this project to examine those changes.

Harrison suggests that by using Euro-Canadian goods in a novel fashion, these goods became recycled symbols for a new hybrid system, with links to traditional forms (Harrison 2002:372). Cabak and Loring's (2000) findings from their study of a midden in Nain suggest that the use of hollow vessel wares may be evidence of the incorporation of new goods to fill traditional roles (ie. the use of iron to fashion endblades instead of the traditional stone). Jurakic's (2007) study of the ceramics recovered from Kongu and Komaktorvik also suggests this hybridization of material culture. If these instances of reuse hold true for the ceramics from these sites, it is possible that the same ideas may be applied to other elements of material culture.

Choices that link the past and present through material culture may be seen as a reflection of change in social organization. Social norms are usually maintained despite small shifts in social practices that would occur through the incorporation of new material (Lyons and Papadapoulous 2002:1). So, if large-scale changes are apparent in the material culture of a society, it should suggest substantial social change. Archaeological research into these changes increases our knowledge of such adaptations, beyond what ethnographies can provide. Harrison's (2002) work with Australian Aborigines in a colonial situation sheds light on Inuit-Euro-Canadian interaction in northern Labrador. The groups that he studied were involved in a long-term cross-cultural encounter that resembles those of the Inuit in

mission and outpost settings, but the most relevant correlation is the recontextualization of material objects during that process. Primary examples of this will be tools produced using Euro-Canadian material. The presence of those materials in raw form is also important. For example, fragments of hoop iron indicate an intention to use those items in some form or to create something new. Further, Harrison suggests that the incorporation of a colonizer's material culture may affect the power structure of a community (Harrison 2002:366): "Cross-cultural material exchanges are thus a powerful site for understanding the localized experiences and consequences of settler colonialism" (Harrison 2002:372). Studies of material culture hybridization provide insight into the complex interactions between colonizer and colonized societies.

The cultural development that stems from amalgamation may not always be one-sided (Silliman 2005:65). The Inuit of Kongu and Komaktorvik represent over one hundred years of continuous but indirect contact with the HBC and the Moravian missionaries. During that period, it seems unrealistic to expect that Euro-Canadians would not have adopted some aspects of Inuit culture as they adapted to the harsh conditions of northern Labrador. While the Moravian missionaries did not marry into Inuit culture, early Euro-Canadian traders and their crews did (Kennedy 1985:273-274). The interaction between the Inuit and Euro-Canadians changed both cultures in Labrador and even created new ones through their offspring (Kennedy 1985:273-274).

This kind of complex interaction, initiated through trade, aided in bringing Inuit groups into a global economy as well (Cabak and Loring 2000:2). Cabak and

Loring suggest that the Inuit of Nain would have been engaged in such wider interactions, and not just in a purchasing or trading capacity. Interaction affected the kinds of Euro-Canadian goods that were imported, as well as providing goods desired for Euro-Canadian markets.

In spite of the incorporation of Euro-Canadian materials and social practices into Inuit life, the Inuit did not completely lose their identity. There are very distinct differences between pre-contact and historic Inuit culture, but the transformation was gradual. As a result of continuous contact with Euro-Canadian traders, a hybrid society developed, which is reflected in the material culture. Archaeologists can examine the patterns of material culture change to identify changes within the fabric of a community. One example of this in northern regions is the relationship between periods of continuous light and dark and the activities associated with them. As discussed below, divisions in Inuit society are between gendered tasks but also defined seasonally with different activities taking place at particular times of year. This kind of organization did not always translate well when the Inuit adapted to the Euro-Canadian-inspired practices carried out near mission stations (Bordin 2002:51). Euro-Canadians continued with work regardless of light levels whereas within Inuit culture, activities were changed to incorporate it. This created social friction based on the amount of time spent on tasks within mission-organized communities. This kind of conflict of cultural values happened repeatedly as Inuit groups embraced more and more Euro-Canadian activities in distinctive fashions. However, groups living outside the confines of mission stations and trading posts would not have experienced the same pressures (Kennedy

1985:269). These social transformations are apparent through the incorporation of Euro-Canadian elements in Inuit material culture.

As Euro-Canadians settled in Labrador and increasingly interacted with the Inuit, they developed new perceptions of Inuit society. Guemple (1995:17) suggests that the idea of male dominance within Inuit society may have been a misconception of Euro-Canadian traders and missionaries during their interactions with the Inuit. These opinions were shared with the rest of the world and had long-term effects on the development of Inuit-Euro-Canadian interaction. The establishment of missions, in turn, would have affected the social, economic, and ideological aspects of Inuit culture (Cabak and Loring 2000:4). While the groups at Kongu and Komaktorvik were not living in a mixed community, like those in Nain, they were nevertheless changing to incorporate interaction with westerners. Swinarton (2008) suggests that there was a change in the hunting practices at Kongu over time that reflected increasing harvesting for trade. Since the Inuit living in Komaktorvik were similar both culturally and materially to those living in Kongu, it may be that they too were moving away from predominantly subsistence-oriented harvesting.

3.2 Gender Theory

The first application of a gendered approach in this project is a practical rather than a theoretical one. Gender theory was used by Gullason (1999) to develop a gendered artifact list based on Inuit ethnographies. A more complete explanation of this approach is presented in the methodology Chapter. The following paragraphs explore gender theory and its applicability to this project.

Gender theory arises from a desire to situate women in interpretations of human interaction in the past (Conkey 2003:5). That desire to include women gave rise to the investigation of women's roles in the past, which also had implications for archaeological manifestations of men and other social actors (Nelson 2004:5). Gender theory developed through three stages: a critique of androcentrism in science, an emphasis on research that focused on women, and a broader rethinking of subject fields (Wylie 1991:31). This redefinition can be seen as the "coming of age" of gender research (Sørensen 2000:6). Gender is now seen as something that is socially constructed, and as a result, it is not a stand-alone concept but one that must be contextually incorporated into research (Sørensen 2000:7). Gender is socially defined, with roles, behaviours, and activities assigned to it (Nelson 2004:3).

To properly understand gender attributes it is necessary to create an appropriate organizational framework (Ackerman 1990:209), which must be both theoretical and practical. From a theoretical standpoint, this requires a basic understanding of what gender theory is and how it pertains to the research question.

This thesis focuses on gender as a social construct that is also relevant for understanding symbolism and ideology in a society (Wylie 1991:36, Sørensen 2007:77). Inuit culture placed social emphasis on gender differences in task distribution (Guemple 1995:19). The incorporation of novel material culture as a reflection of tasks, can be indicative of social change. This social change, represented within material culture, enables a more detailed, site intensive study of gender within Inuit society. The study can also contribute to our understanding of

the link between the gendered Inuit world and their spiritual one, as discussed in the literature (McGhee 1994, Bordin 2002, Whitridge 2004).

The other application of gender theory addresses the assumption that all genders are uniformly constructed. Wylie expresses concern over interpretations that treat gender as a uniform concept (1991:40). Societies may not have identical ways of defining or organizing gender within their culture. Gender comparison between cultures is thus a cause for caution. This project addresses Wylie's concerns through the use of two similar groups, who were members of the same culture.

Similarly, related to Wylie's concerns about inter-culture comparison, is Sørensen's suggestion that the use of material culture as identifiers of the diverse aspects of a gender and its role within society is problematic (2007:99). Involvement in different activities, both economically and socially, would affect how groups organized culture and gender. A wealthier group may foster different social roles than an economically disadvantaged one. The Inuit study groups chosen for this research were both living in similar geographical locations, had access to similar resources and lived a similar distance from Euro-Canadian trading partners. Their material culture should still have been traditional enough to allow for an observation of gender within each social group and between each social community, this provides a degree of uniformity for the project's comparisons.

Material culture is critical to gender research in archaeology. Most objects, whether through their own inherent qualities or through repetitive associations, become gendered (Sørensen 2000:89). For example, the continuous use of harpoons by men has rendered the harpoon head a male artifact in archaeologists' minds,

associated with male activities. These objects can then be used to understand the construction of gender within the culture from which they derive. The artifact make-up of a site can be indicative of a culture's emphasis on certain activities and their related gender roles.

Close attention is paid here to Nelson's four principles for "engendering" research (2004:39). The first principle is to make sure that research does not focus on specific gender differences, but on the entire constitution of gender within a society. The second is to consider the division of labour as a question, not a given. While much emphasis is put on the gendered division of labour within Inuit society, it is also important to recognize that various tasks may not have been performed by only one gender. The third is to question the public/private dichotomy of gender where possible, though this division may not be present in some cultural settings. The last principle suggested by Nelson is to avoid homogenizing either women or men. Not every person is involved in the same activities or performs the same tasks. These guidelines are kept in mind when developing the implications of gender theory, discussed further in the methodology Chapter.

Examining genders as heterogeneous helps to support Wylie's argument that researchers need to focus more on internal and local organizing principals (1991:34). If we understand how gender influences society, and vice versa, it supports a more integrated understanding of how life was organized within a community, thereby enriching our understanding of Inuit society. Jean Briggs examined gender roles within an Inuit household in northern Canada, discussing how those roles were so closely related that when one person was missing it altered

the entire range of activity in the house (Briggs 1970). Social practices are a reflection of ideology. This project focuses on the motives behind the acquisition of Euro-Canadian goods to aid in understanding the changing gender dynamics of the communities of Kongu and Komaktorvik over time.

Task oriented gender divisions shaped Inuit societies across the Arctic (Bordenhorn 1990; Briggs 1974; Graburn and Strong 1973; Gullason 1999; Hennebury 1999; Jolles and Kaningok 1991:24; Park 1989; Taylor 1972). Women were primarily associated with the home and with activities that could be completed nearby. They were responsible for the care of children, hide preparation, sewing/knitting, and other clothing manufacture and repair. They were responsible for the care of the lamp, a central physical and metaphorical aspect of the home (Whitridge 2004; Briggs 1970). They were also considered responsible for the cooking of food and its distribution within the family, and for the construction of covers for umiaks, kayaks and tents.

Men were responsible for the construction and maintenance of most tools. This included both items made from traditional and Euro-Canadian materials. They built the frames for kayaks and umiaks, which the women covered. Their other main responsibility was hunting to support their household and community. It is important to note that, while this conventional task division helped organize society, activities could be completed by either gender. For example a woman could kill a caribou even though it was traditionally a male task.

This thesis will endeavor to determine if this gendered labour division influenced the material culture that was obtained from Euro-Canadian trading

partners. The application of gender theory allows a nuanced understanding of how divisions of labour and material culture affected and were affected by consumer behavior.

Despite its short 25-year history, gender theory in archaeology has branched out into many subfields, including childhood (Nelson 2004:1). While searching for women as a forgotten group in the past, other neglected groups have come to researchers' attention. This application suggests possibilities for understanding some of the composition within the collections from Kongu and Komaktorvik. The presence of children in the archaeological record was one of these neglected subfields. This thesis focuses on adult gender distinctions within the material culture, but the presence of children is recognized through the identification of toys. Childhood archaeology helps to enrich our understanding of the change and progression of society across generations (Baxter 2005:10-11).

Early trade with the Inuit reflected reigning Euro-Canadian ideas about gender. For example, in the eighteenth century, British sailors brought sewing needles for the women and hunting equipment for the men (Barr 1994:241). It is possible that these distinctions were made because of the way that Inuit tasks were divided along gender lines but also that trade goods were selected based on the Euro-Canadians' own social values. In gendered Inuit social roles, needles were always associated with the female task of sewing (Briggs 1974:274). While there are no direct examples of female traders from either Kongu or Komaktorvik, Inuit women have been instrumental in trade during the contact and trade periods (Stopp 2009). Ethnographies from all over the world, including North America, also show

examples of women as traders (Nelson 2004:109). Thus, the possibility of material being procured by traders of both genders should be considered when analyzing the choice of Euro-Canadian materials.

Briggs' ethnographic research in the Canadian arctic suggests that Western goods obtained through trade were restricted to the things that would have been useful in a hunting camp (Briggs 1974:263). The examination of the collections in this study reveals an initial emphasis on practical items for the communities of Kongu in the eighteenth century and Komaktorvik in the early nineteenth century. This, however, changed over time, through increased access to Euro-Canadian goods as well as a change in hunting practices (Jurakic 2007; Swinarton 2008). This may be due to changes in the nature of interaction between Euro-Canadians and Inuit groups. As the Inuit became more involved in trade and the Western economy, their choices of material culture would have become more important (Cabak and Loring 2000). The materials that they sought in return for their trade goods reflected communities' choices, rather than general goods from Europe.

Gender theory helps provide a more comprehensive understanding of the changes that took place in tool acquisition over time. It is possible that gender may be more rigidly expressed in material culture than it was in practice (Sørensen 2000:81). For example, while awls are identified as female goods in these collections, it is possible that other social actors occasionally used them. Gullason's (1999) work was based on a combination of ethnography and archaeology, and her gendered artifact lists attempted to marry both disciplines for a more impartial

interpretation. This makes it an appropriate guide for assigning gender to artifacts in this project.

Gullason's (1999) work on the application of gender to Inuit culture through archaeology is particularly relevant to this project. Her focus was on the Inuit of Baffin Island, located in the Eastern Arctic, immediately north of Labrador. She excavated houses and examined the resulting collections to determine if it was possible to organize material by gender and to see changes in its effects over time (Gullason 1999:i).

The marked gender division of labour makes this a sensible starting point for investigating Inuit society. This gender system is relevant to archaeology in three main ways: through labour organization, social relations between genders and the association of raw material with gender (Gullason 1999:73). Gullason argues that in labour organization the social relationships between women and men, and Inuit gendering of raw material use, are of key importance.

Gullason's (1999) thesis focused on the gendering of artifacts in relation to activities, and in particular whether the use of Euro-Canadian goods was as egalitarian as some ethnographies suggest (Gullason 1999:1). She felt that ethnographic reports should not be assumed to be accurate, and that a combination of archaeology and ethnography was appropriate for addressing archaeological questions. She concluded that Inuit men and women had relatively equal access to Euro-Canadian materials, based on the final results of her research (Gullason 1999:593).

While Gullason's general approach seems appropriate, the application of her methodology in Labrador presents some problems. The two main problems are assigning gender to objects that she did not analyze, such as window glass, and understanding how the use of an artifact created a gender association.

Gullason recognizes the problem of associating a tool with either its user or its creator when they differ (Gullason 1999:100). If there is differentiation between the producer of the tool and its primary user, a specific stage of manufacture needs to be selected when assigning it to a gender category. Gullason assigned gender categories to artifacts based on labour organization, social relationships between women and men, and the symbolic associations of raw materials (Gullason 1999:73). This project focuses on changes in tool materials as well as the introduction of new types of tools. Based on associations between artifacts and labour organization, I have assigned tools to gender categories, in an effort to extend Gullason's approach. In cases where gender designation was ambiguous, Gullason followed Scheitlin (1980) and assigned an object to one gender category or the other if it was used by that group more than 75% of the time (Gullason 1999:74). An example of gender ambiguity in my project was glass. Gullason does not have a specific gender designation for glass. As a hollow vessel, like ceramic wares, bottle glass was associated with both women and men. Gut windows were a common element of traditional Inuit house construction, and were usually located above the entrance tunnel (Whitridge 2008:301). Glass would have replaced gut in this situation as a more transparent alternative. According to Gullason's typology, all construction materials including tools and those artifacts related to house

maintenance are considered men's (1999:80-82). The one exception to this rule is that of skins for house coverings, processed by women and gendered accordingly. As window glass would not have been processed, and served as a replacement for gut window coverings, it is gendered male as are all other construction materials and tools associated with the task of house building.

The gender assignments used by Gullason were based on Inuit ethnographies (Gullason 1999:5). Her breakdown of activities and their related toolkits resulted in a working gender designation. However, it is possible that the way that tasks were viewed was affected by the cultural understandings of the region and time period in which the ethnographic data were collected. More recent research works with expanded ideas of gender organization, in particular by including an Inuit third gender (Guemple 1995; Laugard and Oosten 2008). The dichotomized ethnographies of the nineteenth century did not take such possibilities into account, perhaps because this was not comprehensible from a contemporary Euro-Canadian perspective. While Gullason does not try to assign gender beyond a simple female/male designation, neither does she impose a gender where it cannot be clearly assigned. This project will follow Gullason's approach, but the possibilities represented by additional genders will be examined in the discussion chapter.

Christine Hennebury (1999) also conducted an archaeological investigation of Inuit gender relations. In her attempt to interpret the spatial distribution of activities, she assigned gender affiliations to the artifacts involved in various tasks. Hennebury suggests that this method of gendering material only works for groups where ethnographic data specifies the division of gendered tasks (1999:2). While

Hennebury's work focused on the Thule ancestors of the historic Inuit, she believed that gender assignments based on ethnography could reach temporally both forward and backward within a culture.

There are several problems that arise from the assignment of gender to artifacts. Tuohy's (2000:151) work on the gendering of combs and the activities associated with weaving in Iron Age Britain has suggested that the gender of tool users and manufacturers can be ambiguous. This problem has been addressed, to a degree, through Gullason's use of ethnography to distinguish between female and male tasks and tools, and application of these categories to archaeological remains (Gullason 1999). In this situation the integration of ethnography and archaeology is used to reduce ambiguity.

Tuohy's (2000:141) other concern is that even if an activity can be associated with a gender ethnographically, the tool involved might not be. Her concern develops from her inability to determine which gender was primarily responsible for weaving, or whether both genders were involved to varying degrees. This is applicable to the current project because it is based on the gendering of tools due to ethnographically supported task divisions. However, if ethnographic accounts are dismissed, linking tools and gender accurately becomes difficult. The combination of ethnography and archaeology provides the most feasible way of modeling past gender roles.

In summary, the two main theories that are employed in this thesis are gender theory and postcolonialism. Postcolonial theory aids in developing an understanding of the relationship between the Inuit and Euro-Canadian traders,

through their interaction in a colonial setting. Gender theory provides both a theoretical perspective and a practical guide for organizing the analysis, by helping devise a gender-based dichotomy of tool and task organization. It also provides insights into the motives behind Inuit groups' acquisition of Euro-Canadian goods.

Chapter Four: Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology used to collect and analyze the data used for this thesis. It focuses on the location and attributes of material culture collected from the sites and the creation of a range of comparative material to aid in understanding the analytic results. The chapter is broken into two sections. The first discusses the collection of data and the processes involved in their recovery. The second outlines the methods used in analyzing the results, and the identification of a range of comparative material with which the results from the current research are compared.

4.1 Data Collection

The material analyzed for this project was identified through the use of historic sources, as well as the preliminary artifact catalogue from the fieldwork where appropriate, such as cases when the artifact was no longer recognizable. In a few cases, artifacts no longer resembled their original form, as some metal objects had corroded beyond recognition. Where possible, the catalogue was used to identify them, and their current state was noted.

The first step in the project was the identification of the collections that were to be examined. Previously unanalyzed collections from Houses 1 and 2 at Komaktorvik, collected in 2007 by Whitridge, were identified as the initial research focus of this project. Further research at The Rooms (Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Museum) identified more material recovered from House 1 and 2 at

Komaktorvik. This material had been collected in the late 1970s by the Torngat Archaeological Project (TAP), and was combined with the 2007 collections. The 1970s material was collected from middens and houses, while the 2007 material was recovered only from the middens. Material from Komaktorvik comes from a combination of test pit locations. This presents some difficulties when considering the means by which material was deposited. The material in the midden was generated elsewhere as refuse, while material recovered from the house is presumably *in situ*. However, since this project is focused more on the types of Euro-Canadian material present, these contexts were combined for House 1 and House 2. A decision was then made to compare the collections with materials recovered from East and West Trench at Kongu in order to produce more viable conclusions since the collections from the 2007 work at Komaktorvik were comparatively small.

All catalogues pertaining to the Komaktorvik and Kongu assemblages were obtained from Memorial University and The Rooms. Additional catalogues from Uivak Point, Ivitak, and Oakes Bay, were also borrowed from The Rooms. In an attempt to confirm whether these results were typical or unique, a range of comparative material was compiled in a similar fashion to the methodology of this work with which to compare the results from Kongu and Komaktorvik.

Most of the specimens from Kongu and Komaktorvik considered here are either nails or identifiable fragments of other tools, such as knives. They were identified as such and returned to storage without further examination. Those artifacts that were identifiable beyond the level of nail or iron fragment were

analyzed further. The iron artifacts were identified using historical sources, and through consultations with Gillian Noseworthy, Amanda Crompton, and Barry Gaulton, all material culture specialists at Memorial University familiar with historic material. Lead, mostly consisting of shot or unidentifiable fragments, copper alloy and unidentified metal items were also examined. The copper alloy consisted mostly of easily identified and well-preserved specimens such as cartridge casings.

Jurakic (2007) analyzed the ceramics and pipes from some of these collections for her MA thesis. These ceramics were sampled to confirm the identifications. In addition, I examined pieces excluded from her analysis as their size may have precluded their relevance. For the most part, they remained unidentifiable beyond basic information, such as ware type. No pipes were excluded from the analysis.

Glass artifacts were examined and identified using the Newfoundland Archaeological Heritage Outreach Program (NAHOP) manual (Wicks 2003). For the most part I could only identify morphological attributes such as whether the piece derived from the body, rim, or base of a vessel. For the glass bottles, shape and colour were used to differentiate between wine bottles and case bottles. Window glass was identified by curvature, or lack of it, and tint. Some dates were determined through pressed glass and other markers, again using the NAHOP manual and other historic sources.

The most informative source for glass beads was Kidd and Kidd (1970). The beads were sorted based on colour, size, decoration, and type. The most

common were the simple tubular beads, which were monochromatic and readily identifiable. In addition, there were some wire beads and some more complex tubular forms. They were all identified as closely as possible using the charts and colour pictures in Kidd and Kidd (1970). There were a small number of anomalous beads, including a Venetian bead, which would have been a more expensive trade good (Karklins 1992). Unusual beads were more common in the Kongu assemblage than in the Komaktorvik collection, which produced a much smaller number of beads (one from each house).

The excavation at Komaktorvik in 2007 produced a very small collection. The glass artifacts were identified in the same manner as described for the Kongu collection. The metal artifacts presented a greater challenge. Some of these artifacts were still being treated in the MUN conservation laboratory, requiring protective gear to compare the artifacts with the catalogue. They were analyzed in the same manner as the metal artifacts from Kongu and identified accordingly.

Material collected by the TAP at Komaktorvik was analyzed at The Rooms. The ceramics and pipes from the Komaktorvik collection were included as a comparative sample in Jurakic (2007), and were not examined in detail. The iron and lead artifacts from Komaktorvik were much better preserved than those from Kongu and for the most part were easily identified with the help of the catalogue.

The only artifacts that I was not able to examine and identify were the copper alloy artifacts recovered from the TAP's research at Komaktorvik. These were unavailable due to an internal reorganization that was occurring at The Rooms.

The material that could not be located within the time frame of this project, and was thus excluded from the analysis, amounted to approximately 10% of each collection. The one exception to this was the cartridge casings, indicators of firearms use, from the Komaktorvik collection. Whereas the missing portions of most collections included a range of materials, the absence of the brass casings potentially biases the results. However, the casings were fully identified within the catalogue. I compared the identification of cartridge casings in other collections and determined that identifications were generally consistent. As a result, it was decided to include the cartridge casings in the analysis based on the catalogue information.

4.2 Data Analysis

Once all the raw data had been collected, it was compiled and subjected to various forms of quantitative analysis in an attempt to answer the primary research questions. This section reviews these calculations and the steps involved in the construction of comparative assemblages to evaluate the quantitative results.

The first step was to quantify the material types (glass, ceramic etc.) from each site. Only those artifacts whose identification could be confirmed were used. The tallied quantities of artifacts for each site were used to determine percentages, and the results were then compared to the other collections to identify any similarities or marked changes. As well as examining functional types, the collection was divided by material type. This was conducted to determine if the

material varieties of artifacts varied between the contexts at each site, as well as between sites.

In addition to exploring the quantities of material usage and artifact types, the other important aspect of this analysis was the application of gender designations to the artifacts. For this part of the analysis I employed the methodologies used by Gullason (1999). Further sources were incorporated into her determination of categories of gender-associated artifacts (Ackerman 1990, Bodenhorn 1990, Briggs 1970, Cabak and Loring 2000, Guemple 1995). Gullason's gendered artifact categories, based on historic Inuit assemblages from Baffin Island, were generally applicable to the collections from Kongu and Komaktorvik, and changes were made where appropriate. One of the principal changes was to the idea that some artifacts could not be gendered. Gullason's project focused on direct differentiation between the genders for artifacts. By not assigning gender to specific artifacts, it may appear that certain activities were only associated with women or men, and never both. In response, this project has created an additional "gender inclusive" category that encompasses activities related to both genders.

Gullason (1999) decided that some artifacts could be considered Euro-Canadian, and as a result she did not assign a gender to them. Ceramic was one of the material types that she did not classify. However, based on Cabak and Loring's (2000) analysis, certain ceramics seem to have replaced traditional artifact forms, some of which have discernable gender associations. An example of this is ceramic teacups replacing small vessels of other materials. Thus, I assigned a gender category to all vessels. For example, hollow vessels were used by both sexes and

are considered gender inclusive; hollow ceramic vessels, including bowls and cups were likely used in the same manner. Since plates did not replace a traditional form, they were included in the inclusive category with the remainder of the consumption ceramics.

Gullason (1999) did not assign a gender to glass artifacts, which left me with the options of either ignoring them or assigning them to a category with which she had worked. There were four different types of glass in the collections, including case bottle and wine bottle glass. Alcohol consumption by the Inuit appears to be generally gender inclusive, and all bottle glass is labeled accordingly (Seale et al. 2006:7). It cannot be determined if the bottles represent alcohol consumption at these sites or the reuse of bottles. Cabak and Loring's discussion of the use of Euro-Canadian containers in Inuit lifeways considers alternative re-use (Cabak and Loring 2000:25). Kettles were used as drinking vessels and teacups were likely used to hold other liquids such as water. It is possible that the bottles represented at Komaktorvik and Kongu also met with an alternative use. In addition, it has been discussed in Chapter 2 that the Inuit of Nachvak Fjord were unwilling to become engaged with the Moravian missionaries. However, the Moravians wanted to encourage trade with the Inuit and prevent them from travelling to southern Labrador where they would come in to contact with firearms and alcohol (Stopp 2009:53). If the Inuit were trading primarily with other groups such as the HBC, it is possible they were obtaining alcohol. If so they were either consuming it at trade locations and bringing the bottles home or bringing the alcohol to their community. Regardless, the presence of bottle glass at the site demonstrates a use of the material

in some form. Since both alcohol use and hollow vessel use is gender inclusive, bottle glass was assigned to that category.

Glass in other forms was associated with gendered tasks where possible. Window glass was considered a construction material and therefore gendered male as discussed in the last Chapter. Jean Brigg's research with the Inuit in the Canadian arctic noted that the men of the community constructed all dwellings (Briggs 1970). Therefore, men would have been the primary user of window glass. A glass costume jewel was also present in the collections. It appeared to have been mounted in some way but no longer retained its setting. I gendered it female, based on Gullason's treatment of other decorative artifacts. Finally, medicine bottles were considered gender inclusive.

A possible indication of a third gender through symbolic items was a piece of copper alloy that appeared to be an amulet. It resembles a human, but since it alone represented a possible third gender it was categorized gender inclusive. The meaning of this artifact will be discussed later (amulets and shaman's dolls were attributed to both genders by Gullason (1999:95)). Just as shamans were known to straddle the boundary between daily life and the spirit world, they were also known to cross the gender boundary as needed (Laugrand and Oosten 2008). Amulets represented non-gender activities such as breathing and hearing (d'Anglure and Anderson 2005:136-137). Other copper artifacts were also ambiguous, including a ring and a jaw harp (ornamental and musical goods). References to jaw harps were not gender specific (Barr 1994) and it did not occur in Gullason's list so the jaw harp

was considered gender inclusive. In the historic period women, rather than men, wore rings, which were gendered accordingly (Gullason 1999:174).

Iron and composite artifacts were assigned to a gender category based on their forms. Lead artifacts consisted primarily of shot; the only exceptions were unidentifiable pieces or fragments. Lead shot was considered a male hunting tool in Gullason's list, in the same way that brass shells were. Fishhooks and weights were linked to male-associated tasks. While fishing was a task taken on by everyone in a community, this was only done when men were involved in other subsistence activities (Whitridge 2001:17-18).

Beads were considered female by Gullason, regardless of size, and remain so in the present analysis. The final category contains items related to tobacco use. According to Gullason's 1999 list, tobacco, and presumably the smoking of it, could not be gendered, and so was considered gender inclusive in this project. However, according to Gullason (1999), the tobacco pouch was used by females. She made no distinction for pipes, but since tobacco was considered gender neutral, the pipes were as well.

All artifacts were thus given one of three gender designations: male, female, or gender inclusive. These categories were then totaled to examine the frequencies of gendered materials within the collections. The main concern with this approach was that for different material classes, different proportions of artifacts could be assigned to a gender category. For example, more than half of the iron category is made up of flakes and unmodified nails that were not gender specific since they represented only the presence of iron. As a result, only half of the iron artifacts

were included in this analysis while all artifacts of some types, such as beads, were categorized. These differences have the potential to bias the results. However, any attempt to mitigate this issue will only lead to further biases within the collection. Removing identifiable artifacts will modify the original artifact pattern within collections, thereby altering the results of this project. While the removal of unmodified iron may influence the percentage of iron in the collection, the presence of it as a raw material is recognized, despite not being integrated.

The final stage of the analysis was the identification of comparative samples. This was done in an effort to situate the results of the current research within a larger regional framework, which would help to mitigate sample biases. Since so many of the categorical classifications for the project were subjective, there was concern about the degree to which they reflected larger spatial trends. For comparative purposes, three artifact catalogues were examined from sites excavated elsewhere in northern Labrador. The detail within these catalogues varied, but by keeping the required information to a minimum, it was possible to incorporate additional data from nineteenth century Inuit sites from northern Labrador. The three sites selected were Ivitak, Uivak Point and Oakes Bay. A cursory examination confirmed that these assemblages contained similar artifact types to Kongu and Komaktorvik, and so could be retained in the analysis. The artifacts from each site were divided into material types, as was done for the collections from Komaktorvik and Kongu. The resulting artifact counts were converted to percentages and the three sites averaged to generate a comparative sample of a "typical" nineteenth

century Inuit site. These data manipulations were conducted in an effort to produce a more thorough understanding of material culture use by Inuit women and men.

Chapter Five: Results

Following the methodology laid out in Chapter Four, this chapter outlines the results from analysis of the collections and comparative samples. It is divided into five sections. The first four discuss the analysis of the materials from East Trench and West Trench from Kongu, then House 1 and House 2 from Komaktorvik. This includes a discussion of the composition of the collections as well as an analysis of gender associations. The fifth section discusses the analysis of comparative samples and the numerical summaries of the materials recovered from the sites. For each assemblage the finds are discussed first by material type and then in terms of gender patterning.

5.1 East Trench

5.1.1 Material Types

East Trench is located outside House 7 at Kongu (see Figure 2), near the entrance tunnel of this most easterly house at the site. Table 5.1 presents the counts of artifacts recovered from East Trench, Kongu. The total is based on identifiable artifacts after iron fragments and nails are removed.

Table 5.1: East Trench Collection Composition by Material

Category	Count	Percentage
iron/composite	127	44
ceramic	92	32
glass - bead	31	11
kaolin - pipe	19	7
glass - various	8	3
lead	4	1
copper alloy	3	1
composite	2	<1
Total	288	100

Iron is the most abundant material category from this location, accounting for 44% of the total. However, of the 127 iron pieces present, only 77 can be positively identified. The remainder of the collection is made up of disintegrated iron or fragments of sheet iron such as that taken from barrel hoops. Of the 77 identifiable iron artifacts the most abundant type was unmodified nails (n=56). The second most common artifact type was knife blades (n=7). These were of the type usually used by men. Iron end blades (e.g., for harpoon or lance heads) accounted for six specimens and ulus, the traditional woman's knife, and iron weights were each represented by three specimens. The weights were probably used with fishing lines. An awl and a rivet were represented by single examples. Almost three quarters of the collection of iron artifacts was made up of nails, but none were modified in any discernable fashion. The men's knife blades were broken to varying degrees and did not appear to have been altered to serve any other purpose. The ulus and the awl suggest, respectively, the presence of women, and the occurrence of sewing activities.

Most of the ceramics from this collection were identified by Jurakic (2007). The collection was re-sampled for the present analysis in an effort to make sure that ceramics were being identified in the same fashion. Of the 92 pieces in this collection, only 12 were excluded from Jurakic's analysis. All were identified as refined earthenwares, mostly pearlware and some creamware, conforming with Jurakic's (2007) identifications.

All of the recovered beads were tube beads, commonly referred to as seed beads, which are made by stretching a tube of molten glass and then chopping it into tiny cylinders. There was variability in the types of beads recovered. Some were made from a single colour of glass, and others from two colours layered one on top of the other. One exceptional specimen was a large blue bead that appears to have been wire made and more carefully produced than the tube beads. Wire beads are produced as individual pieces through the winding of glass in a spiral pattern, which is a more expensive process (Kidd and Kidd 1970).

Pipe fragments made up 7% of the 288 specimens in the collection. Jurakic (2007) analyzed the pipes, identifying 14 stem fragments and five bowl fragments.

Glass was the next most common artifact type, with eight specimens. Of these, four are window glass fragments, three are bottle glass, and one is a piece of costume jewelry. There were no examples of case bottles, only fragments of wine bottles.

Lead and copper alloy each made up 1% of the collection. The lead objects are unidentifiable molten fragments. There are three copper alloy artifacts in the collection, consisting of an amulet, a ring, and a portion of a jaw harp. The ring

appears to have been roughly fashioned rather than carefully molded. It is possible that the ring was not an item of adornment, but the size, material, and intentional shaping are consistent with this use.

The last artifact type from East Trench considered here is that of composites, a grouping comprised of those artifacts made up of iron and some other material. Two such items are present in this collection, but only one is identifiable in form. The other has disintegrated in conservation and only wood and iron fragments remain. The remaining artifact is also in poor condition, but it is clearly a utensil handle of iron and bone. Beyond this it is impossible to determine whether it was a knife or another type of tool.

5.1.2 Gender Associations

The second half of the artifact analysis is a consideration of use by women, men, and children. This section discusses which artifacts could be assigned to a gender category (Table 5.2) and the interpretation of the gender patterning is presented in the following chapter.

Table 5.2: East Trench, Kongu, Collection Composition by Gender and Age

Category	Inclusive	Female	Male	Child
iron/composite	0	4	17	0
ceramic	21	0	0	0
glass - bead	0	30	0	0
kaolin - pipe	19	0	0	0
glass - various	2	1	2	0
lead	0	0	0	0
copper alloy	2	1	0	0
Total	38	41	20	0

The iron component was composed mostly of male artifacts, with 17 identifiable pieces, eight of which were knife blades. Three were possible fishing weights and the other six were end blades. Both the long knives and end blades are associated with male activities. The weights were also associated with male activities such as construction, fishing or tool manufacture. Female task-associated artifacts were limited to three ulus and one awl.

The ceramics were broken down by vessel form, into hollow or flat categories. Only 21 pieces out of the 92 present in the collection were identifiable by shape to a given form and thus potentially assignable to a gender use category. The bowls present numbered 16 and were associated with gender inclusive activity. Five flat pieces (plates), were associated with gender inclusive activities as well.

Beads, all assigned to female occupations, make up the next most common object in the collection. They were listed in Gullason's categorization as related to female tasks, which conforms to the ethnographic data. The next most common object type is pipes, considered a gender inclusive artifact.

Glass was one category where this analysis differed from Gullason's. Only two types of glass could be associated with gender-based activities. Two fragments were bottle glass. Based on Kaplan and Woollett's (2000) research, in which they demonstrate that the use of Euro-Canadian hollow vessels replaced those of traditional material, they were classified as hollow vessels and listed as related to gender inclusive use. The window glass, as a construction material, was associated with male activity, and was represented by two pieces. The construction of dwellings, whether for summer or winter, was conducted by male members of the household (Briggs 1970). The other piece in the glass category was an item of costume jewelry, associated with female occupation.

Lead artifacts could not be associated with either gender's activities as they were not identifiable to type. There were three copper alloy artifacts. The amulet was considered to be linked to gender inclusive use but could conceivably have represented a third gender's activities. This notion will be further considered in Chapter 6. Gullason associates the use of different musical instruments with different genders but does not mention a jaw harp. In an effort to remain unbiased, the jaw harp is related to gender inclusive activities. The ring, as a decorative object, is associated with female apparel.

5.2 West Trench

5.2.1 Material Types

West Trench was located in the midden area outside of House 2 at Kongu. House 2 is the most westerly structure on the site and is tentatively identified as

being more recent than East Trench, dating to the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. The material results from this location are listed in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: West Trench Collection Composition by Material

Category	Count	Percentage
iron	219	26
ceramic	263	32
glass - bead	74	9
kaolin - pipe	214	26
glass - various	30	4
lead	19	2
copper alloy	7	<1
composite	5	<1
Total	831	101

The ceramic category makes up the largest proportion of the collection, at 32%. Some pieces in the collection had not been identified by Jurakic, as was the case with the East Trench collection. These were identified, and as with East Trench, identification results matched those of Jurakic (2007). Present identifications were limited to refined earthenware, and in some cases creamware and pearlware.

Iron, at 26%, was the next most numerous material in the collection. This differs from East Trench, where iron represented more of the collection than any other material. There was a much greater diversity of artifact types in West Trench, though the collection is made up of more than 50% flakes and fragments of sheet metal, as with East Trench. Likewise, it includes a large proportion of nails, but they did not represent as large a proportion of the collection: only 26%, compared to

almost 75% in East Trench. In addition to the greater diversity, this suggests a change in metal use between the two occupations. The most abundant artifact types are end blades, vessel handles, and fishhooks, at four each. Male knife blades, female ulu blades, vessel rims, vessel lids, and scissor blades were each represented by two specimens. Ulus aside, these artifacts represent the use of Euro-Canadian artifacts for their original function. The types represented by one artifact each were a gun screw, suggesting the use of firearms, a bottle cap, a vessel fragment, a lid from a shaker, and a buckle. Compared to the tool types available in East Trench, the West Trench finds were more diverse. The fish hooks include both modified nails and Euro-Canadian-made types. There appears to have been an increased availability of Euro-Canadian commodities, which means that West Trench residents did not have to create their own hooks from Euro-Canadian materials as frequently as at East Trench.

The kaolin pipes from this collection were identified by Jurakic (2007). They make up 26% of the collection, and are the most abundant material type after iron. The number of pipe stems is comparable to that of bowl fragments: 95 bowls versus 116 stems. Tobacco was clearly more important than for those who produced the East Trench deposit.

Beads are the next most abundant material type. Representing 9% of the collection, they are nearly as abundant as at East Trench. Once again, the predominant bead type is one and two colour tube beads or seed beads. However, there is a marked difference in the proportion of more elaborate beads. These include a white bead with brown polka dots that could not be identified, but that is

obviously a molded bead of some sort, examined more closely in Chapter 6. There are also larger wire and tube beads present. Another white bead was made by pressing canes of glass into the tube during the first stage of manufacture to produce a striped appearance (Kidd and Kidd 1970). One specimen was identified as a Venetian bead (Karklins 1992). By the early to mid nineteenth century, represented in West Trench, Inuit access to trade goods had increased, as had their access to higher quality goods. The increased occurrence of trade goods in Houses 1 and 2 in Komaktorvik also suggests that this occurred elsewhere. However, it is also possible that the material from West Trench represents a wealthier household with heightened access to trade goods.

Glass, at 4% of the collection, occurs at a similar frequency to East Trench. A molded bottle, popular between 1870 and 1920 (Wicks 2003:12), provides temporal information for the site. However, production of molded glass began as early as 1840 so it may be associated with the Inuit occupation, despite the abandonment of Kongu before 1868. There was also a wider variety of glass types in West Trench collection than in the East Trench collection. These include a case bottle fragment, indicating a change in available vessel forms. The glass from East Trench was all associated with curved wine bottles. As well, in the West Trench collection, there was a small, clear bottle identified as a medicine bottle. The largest proportion was once again window glass fragments, at six out of 30 glass pieces, followed by wine bottle fragments at two.

Lead makes up 2% of the collection or 19 specimens, and consists primarily of lead shot. The lead shot and iron gun screw (a part of a musket) confirm the

presence of firearms in West Trench. This contrasts with the assemblage from East Trench, where there was no evidence of firearms.

Copper alloy was the next most abundant artifact material. There are seven pieces of copper alloy and, like all the other categories, they represent a slightly wider range of artifacts types than is present in East Trench. There were three copper buttons, usually used for decoration, one miscellaneous fragment, and portions of three jaw harps. Much as with the collection from East Trench, the material made from copper alloy seems to be related to either decoration or music. The other material type that numerically compares to copper alloy is the composite category, with five artifacts. Three of these were no longer recognizable, other than as fragments of bone or wood and iron. The other two pieces were an endblade attached to a bone shaft, and a men's knife handle made from bone and iron.

5.2.2 Gender Associations

West Trench produced direct evidence for the presence of children's activities, in the form of toys. While difficult to confidently recognize, the indication of family groups within the houses is important. The breakdown of artifacts associated with gendered activities in West Trench is very different from that of East Trench, which yielded similar proportions of artifacts linked to female and inclusive tasks. The pattern is different in West Trench (Table 5.4). West Trench includes almost three times the number of inclusive related artifacts as those associated with female occupations, and six times those associated with male activity.

Table 5.4: West Trench Collection Composition by Gender and Age

Category	Inclusive	Female	Male	Child
iron/composite	1	8	13	1
ceramic	72	4	0	3
glass - bead	0	74	0	0
kaolin - pipe	214	0	0	0
glass - various	8	0	7	0
lead	0	0	17	0
copper alloy	6	0	0	0
Total	301	86	37	4

The ceramic breakdown by vessel form was conducted in the same way as for East Trench. Cups were added to the forms of hollow wares, as were sugar containers and teapots. Artifacts associated with inclusive activities are still more abundant than those categorized with female-related uses. No specimens were identified as related to male tasks, in accordance with Gullason's (1999) breakdown of vessel gender association. The three possible doll necks made from porcelain and represented in this collection are the most abundant indication of children's activities. Tobacco use, and thus the pipes, were considered a gender inclusive activity, as there is no way to differentiate between female and male usage.

The breakdown of iron artifacts by gendered tasks was conducted in the same manner as for East Trench. In both cases, the composite materials were combined with iron ones. End blades (n=5) were the most abundant gender associated artifact in the collection. Following closely behind were vessel handles, which were associated with the female gender, and fishhooks, associated with male activity. End blades, a traditional tool, were conventionally made from stone. Metals were sought for use in tools during the pre-contact migration across the

Canadian arctic, both from local sources and trade with Norse (Whitridge 2002). As contact with Euro-Canadians and Euro-Canadian goods increased, iron became less of a luxury item. Their appearance is widespread in both East and West Trench, but the presence of Euro-Canadian-made fishhooks and vessel parts indicates an adoption of Euro-Canadian material culture. Male-linked knife blades (n=3) were comparatively underrepresented. These were followed closely by scissor blades, which were assigned to female occupations. Represented by one specimen each were a buckle, associated with gender inclusive use, a female-associated ulu, and a gun screw, linked to male tasks. A salt or pepper shaker was associated with female-gendered tasks as a part of meal preparation paraphernalia. As well, there was a semi-circular piece of iron that was identified as an ulu or ulu preform for children's use.

Beads (n=74) were all associated with female tasks, as suggested by Gullason (1999:172). There were seven bottle glass fragments, associated with gender inclusive activities. As well, there were seven fragments of window glass, related to men. The last category, represented in East Trench as well, was a medicine bottle fragment, related to gender inclusive use.

Lead associated with male activities made up 17 pieces in the collection, all shot. Copper alloy artifacts included three buttons and three jaw harps, all associated with gender inclusive use.

The presence of more varied artifact types changes the gender make-up of the collection. Assuming that the artifacts that were not modified were used for their intended function, associating them with a gender changes accordingly.

5.3 House 1

5.3.1 Material Types

House 1 is located at Komaktorvik in Seven Islands Bay. The Inuit occupation was tested twice: first by the Torngat Archaeology Project (TAP) and later by Whitridge and Woollett in 2007. Nagle tested in and around House 1 as part of the TAP investigations and Whitridge and Woollett excavated test units in a midden area outside of the entrance tunnel. House 1, dated from the early to mid nineteenth century, is considered to be more or less contemporaneous with West Trench from Kongu.

Some of the problems with the House 1 collection may relate to the history of excavation. The majority of the collection was recovered from the midden, demonstrating more of what was discarded than lost. The three test pits were located within the central depression but may represent not the entire house but a single activity area. There were only five test pits associated with House 1: three in the house and two in the midden, during the TAP excavation and another two during the Woollett and Whitridge excavation. This is substantially less than what was excavated at House 2. Despite an effort to remain unbiased with the use of percentages, it is possible that the scarcity of artifacts has influenced the result. Materials recovered from House 1 are discussed and compared below (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: House 1 Collection Composition by Material

Category	Count	Percentage
iron	28	49
ceramic	10	18
glass - bead	1	2
glass - various	6	11
lead	3	5
copper alloy	7	13
composite	1	2
Total	56	100

There are 28 identifiable iron artifacts. In contrast with the assemblage from Kongu, House 1's iron collection is made up almost entirely of identifiable artifacts and includes 25 unmodified nails, one drill bit, and two men's knife blades. The drill bit indicates the presence of premade iron artifacts at the site, while the knife blades indicate male activities.

The glass artifacts from House 1 include two sherds of stippled and press-molded glass, which date after 1820, but did not become popular until the 1860s (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 34). There was also a small clear bottle fragment, as well as some violet-coloured glass sherds, but no wine or case bottle glass. Violet and other coloured glass did not become popular until after 1845 (Wakefield 1982: 57). The other glass object of note was a dark lens from a pair of sunglasses. There is metal corrosion around the edges of the lens where it was presumably set into a frame.

The next most abundant material is copper alloy. Six artifacts from this collection were firearms cartridge casings. Since so many were being disposed of, it is likely that ammunition was sufficiently plentiful that the casings were not

consistently reused. There is also one anthropomorphic amulet. There are no holes in it for suspension, but it may have been tied on or placed in a pocket or pouch.

There are three lead artifacts. One, a piece of lead shot, supports the presence of firearms. The other two consist of a cylinder and an unidentifiable fragment.

There were also several unique artifacts within the collection. The only composite object present is an iron and lead weight used for fishing. By this time, Inuit were clearly obtaining Euro-Canadian goods for fishing. Only one bead was recovered from the site. It is a two-layered tube bead, which would have been a somewhat more expensive trade good than the monochrome seed beads. It is also noteworthy that no pipe fragments were recovered from the site. Pipes had increased in quantity in West Trench, compared to the earlier period represented by East Trench. Their absence in the collections from House 1 suggests a change in consumption patterns.

5.3.2 Gender Associations

The small number of artifacts recovered from House 1 produces a much different gender profile than the collections from Kongu and House 2 at Komaktorvik. (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: House 1 Collection Composition by Gender and Age

Category	Inclusive	Female	Male	Child
iron/composite	0	0	4	0
ceramic	8	0	0	0
glass - bead	0	1	0	0
glass - various	2	0	1	0
lead	0	0	1	0
copper alloy	1	0	6	0
Total	11	1	12	0

The drill bit and two knife blades are associated with male gendered tasks. The iron/lead fishing weight has been linked to gender inclusive tasks. The former artifacts indicate the presence of male activities on the site.

Of the ceramics from House 1, eight could be assigned to a gender category. Five of them are hollow vessels of undetermined form, two are bowls, and one is a cup. All ceramics were assigned to the gender inclusive task category.

Since snow goggles were associated with male tasks in Gullason's scheme (1999:94), I categorized the dark glasses lens the same way. There were only two hollow glass vessels and both were linked to gender inclusive use.

The single piece of lead shot was assigned to the male occupations. Since the function of the lead cylinder could not be determined, it was not assigned to a category. The six firearms cartridge casings were assigned to the male-gendered activities. The only other copper alloy artifact, an amulet, was linked to gender inclusive use since there were no identifiable characteristics to suggest a particular gender association for it. However, this amulet, like the one from Kongu, could

represent the presence of a shaman or third gender, which will be further explored in Chapter 6. The one bead suggests female occupation.

The artifact and material type distributions of this collection differ greatly from those of the other houses in this study. As well, gender organization does not resemble that in the other collections. This may be the result of different social organization or living patterns. However, there is direct evidence of the presence of women: a single bead, and a significant portion of the collection, is related to gender inclusive activities, suggesting a mixed-gender household.

Only 57 Euro-Canadian artifacts were recovered from House 1 during two test excavations, which is a small sample size. Since the gender patterning does not resemble that of larger collections, these results are problematic. The results from House 1 are examined in the discussion chapter, but their interpretation is ambiguous. It is possible that, at this period, the occupants of the house had reduced access to Euro-Canadian goods. Further investigation of House 1 might clarify the situation.

5.4 House 2

5.4.1 Material Types

House 2 is also located at Komaktorvik and is composed of a group of adjoining dwellings. The structures that make up House 2 are the youngest included in this analysis and date to the end of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries. These test units were excavated by Nagle's team (1977-78) and by Whitridge and Woollett (2007). TAP's test pits were inside the structures as well

as outside. Whitridge and Woollett's test units were located on the southeastern side of the structure, where midden deposits overlapped the exterior wall. As with House 1, the material recovered by Nagle and Whitridge and Woollett was combined.

Table 5.7: House 2 Collection Composition By Material

Category	Count	Percentage
iron	80	56
ceramic	34	24
glass - bead	1	<1
kaolin - pipe	5	3
glass - various	8	5
lead	1	<1
copper alloy	12	8
composite	2	1
cork/glass	1	<1
Total	144	100

There were 65 identifiable iron artifacts. Unmodified nails make up the largest part of the collection at 46 specimens. There were two files, three container fragments, a comb, an unidentifiable cylinder, two drill bits, three iron sled runners, two wires, and a buckle. In addition, there was one end blade and one male knife blade, as well as two rifle bolts. There were two composite iron and wood artifacts; both were male knife blades with attached handles. The materials represented in this category indicate that a wide range of Euro-Canadian goods were incorporated into Inuit culture. With the exception of the end blades and the sled runners, deliberate modifications could not be observed on any of the artifacts. End blades and sled runners were created using Euro-Canadian material for a traditional form.

The iron artifacts in House 2 represent a wider array of artifact types than is present in the other collections. It is clear that by the period in which House 2 was occupied, trade was regular enough between the Inuit of Komaktorvik and Euro-Canadian groups that a variety of material goods were available.

The ceramic material recovered in Kaplan's excavation was identified by Jurakic (2007). The ceramics recovered from Whitridge and Woollett's 2007 excavation were identified for this project.

As with House 1, the majority of copper alloy artifacts (n=9) were firearms cartridge casings. They represent the only indication of firearms use at House 2. Also like at House 1, they seem to have been discarded, which may indicate a plentiful source, and that the house occupants did not need to intensively conserve metal. There were three other copper alloy artifacts from the site. One of them was an unidentifiable fragment, while the others were a button and a British half penny. The coin is dated 1884.

The glass forms from House 2 are more varied than those from House 1. The collection includes a medicine bottle, as well as two case bottles. Window glass is also present. Once again, the presence of press-molded glass indicates a date after 1830, as the form did not become popular until the 1840's.

Based on the number of pipe fragments from House 2, either smoking was no longer popular or pipes were not as readily available. Cigarettes had begun to be mass produced in the 1850's in England but did not become popular until World War I (Musk and De Klerk 2003: 287). Only five pipe stem fragments were recovered.

The only lead artifact recovered from the site was a circular disc. This is the only feature in the sample that did not contain any lead shot, though the presence of lead on the site as well as the cartridge casings suggests that shot might occur in a larger sample. The advent of cartridges containing bullets and powder may also be responsible for the absence of small shot in the collection.

Only one bead was recovered from House 2: a monochrome seed bead. Compared to the other sites, beads were less prevalent and of a less expensive variety at Komaktorvik. The only other artifact type was a composite object of glass and cork, consisting of the neck of a small clear glass bottle with the cork still inside. It may have been a medicine bottle. The wide range of artifact types in this collection suggests substantial access to Euro-Canadian trade goods when this house was occupied.

5.4.2 Gender Associations

The gender patterning in House 2 is different from that in the houses at Kongu (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: House 2 Collection Composition By Gender and Age

Category	Inclusive	Female	Male	Child
iron/composite	3	5	9	0
ceramic	9	0	0	0
glass - bead	0	1	0	0
kaolin - pipe	5	0	0	0
glass - various	5	0	1	0
lead	0	0	0	0
copper alloy	1	1	9	0
composite	0	0	2	0
Total	23	7	21	0

While all three adult gender possibilities are present, artifacts linked to male activities are much more abundant than those related to women's. The male-gender task-related artifacts in iron substantially outnumbered the female associated ones. These included, in the male association category, two drill bits. The three sled runner fragments were also assigned to the male task grouping, following Gullason (1999). The three knife blades and end blade were included in the male task-related group along with the two rifle bolts. The single comb and four vessel fragments were assigned to the female associated group, and were the only artifacts in the iron collection associated with female tasks. Two files and the buckle were the only iron or metal composite artifacts and were related to gender inclusive activities. The ceramics were all categorized as for gender inclusive use as well.

The majority of the copper alloy category consisted of cartridge casings, all associated with male tasks. The one button was correlated with gender inclusive use, but the half penny was linked to female tasks. Gullason's (1999) listing for coins was under ornaments and amulets, suggesting that they were primarily used by women as ornaments. No glass artifacts were related to female occupations.

The medicine bottle was associated with gender inclusive use, as were the two hollow vessel fragments and the two bottle fragments. The glass and cork composite bottle was assigned to the gender inclusive category. The only other artifact was one fragment of window glass, assigned to the male task group. All five pipe fragments were categorized as inclusive use. There were no lead artifacts, and the one bead was associated with female activities.

As mentioned above, the breakdowns of the collection both by material type and gender association differ from those at Kongu, and also from the other feature at Komaktorvik. This may be representative of a late nineteenth to early twentieth century Inuit household. It appears that there was a distinctive difference in the occupation of House 2 that is reflected in the artifact collection, and this will be discussed further in the next chapter.

5.5 Inter-site Comparison

5.5.1 Material Types

The results from Kongu and Komaktorvik can be compared with other historic Inuit assemblages from northern Labrador. Three sites were selected for this comparison based on information in site record forms: Oakes Bay, Uivak Point and Ivitak. They all represent Inuit winter settlements from time periods similar to those in this study (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Collection Composition by Material

Category	Ivitak IgCw-1	Oakes Bay HeCg-8	Uivak HjCl-9	Average
	%	%	%	%
iron	60	79	41	60
ceramic	19	2	22	14
glass - bead	0	5	15	7
kaolin - pipe	7	0	7	5
glass - various	7	5	7	6
lead	0	5	2	2
copper alloy	5	2	2	3
composite	2	2	0	1
cork/glass	0	0	0	0
unidentified metal	0	0	3	1
Total	100	100	101	99

The site of Oakes Bay (HeCg-8) is located 36 kilometers north of Nain on the north end of Dog Island. It was first recorded by Garth Taylor (Taylor 1966) and further investigated by Fitzhugh (1977), Kaplan (1980b), Kaplan and Woollett (2000b) and Woollett (2005). Wollett (2005) dated the site to the late eighteenth century in an archaeological site record form. It consists of six or seven semi-subterranean houses located to the north of a beach. The site was probably partially abandoned during the mid nineteenth century as Inuit began to relocate to the Moravian mission at Nain. The material used in the comparative collection came from the middens associated with Houses 1 and 3.

Uivak Point (HjCl-9) is located on the south side of Uivak Point, 110 kilometers north of Nain. It was investigated by Taylor, Fitzhugh, and Kaplan (Taylor 1966b, Fitzhugh 1977b, Kaplan 1977). It consists of nine semi-subterranean winter houses and was dated through dendrochronology to the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries (Wollett 2000). The Moravians noted occupation of the site between 1776 and 1779, and artifact analysis suggested a late

eighteenth century date. The collection from this site was excavated from the House 7 midden. Kaplan suggests that the sites in this area were first settled in the eighteenth century and flourished during the nineteenth century (Kaplan 1983: 272).

The site of Ivitak (IgCw-1) is located on the east shore of Ivitak point on the south side of Nachvak Fjord, approximately 9 kilometers west of Kongu. The site was recorded by Fitzhugh (1977), and re-visited by Kaplan in the early 1980's (1980-83) and Whitridge (2004b). The site consists of eleven semi-subterranean houses as well as tent rings. The site was dated to between 1865 and 1920, making it contemporaneous with the Hudson's Bay Company post that operated across the fjord at Kongu (Kaplan 1983: 285).

The collections considered here did not have the same depth of catalogue detail as those from Komaktorvik and Kongu, but the basic material types were consistently available. Since not all artifact descriptions were sufficiently detailed, gender assignments could not be made. What is apparent from the collection, however, is that while there is variation between sites with regards to materials usage, there are discernable trends. Iron is generally the largest component of these collections, usually followed by ceramics, and then glass. Other artifact types vary slightly in relative importance, but their counts remain much lower than iron or ceramics. With the exception of House 1 in Komaktorvik, the collections from Kongu and Komaktorvik examined in this thesis match the pattern observed in the comparative sample. This suggests that the collections from Kongu and House 2 in Komaktorvik are reasonably typical for this study period, the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries. However, this is only true of the proportions of material types.

The artifacts within each material category vary, which reflects changes in both artifact choice and availability and the vagaries of small samples. Based on the wide range of materials present during the occupation of House 2 in comparison with that of East Trench at Kongu, this cannot be entirely the result of community choice, but likely also represents a greater availability of trade goods available to the Inuit during the nineteenth century.

Chapter Six: Discussion

This chapter discusses the results presented above in light of the research questions set out in Chapter 1 and the postcolonial and gender theories discussed in Chapter 3. These perspectives will help to explain change in the assemblages over time. They will also be used to answer the three main questions posed in the introduction to this thesis.

6.1 Inuit Consumption of Trade Goods

1. How did Inuit consumption of trade goods change during the period of increasing contact with Euro-Canadians (late 18th to early 20th centuries)?

This section is broken down using the material types in the collections recovered from Kongu and Komaktorvik (Table 6.1). While the collection from House 1 does not match the patterns evident in the other assemblages, I have attempted to incorporate it where relevant. The progression from East Trench through West Trench to House 1 and House 2 represents a short period of time in the continuing interaction between Inuit and Euro-Canadian culture. These four sites represent a progression of increased Euro-Canadian influence on Inuit in northern Labrador, which is primarily visible in the proliferation of materials and the increasing variety of consumer choice.

Table 6.1: Iron

Iron	East Trench (n)	West Trench (n)	House 1 (n)	House 2 (n)
awl	1	0	0	0
bottle cap	0	1	0	0
buckle	0	1	0	1
child's ulu	0	1	0	0
comb	0	0	0	1
cylinder	0	0	0	1
drill bit	0	0	1	2
end blade	6	4	0	1
file	0	0	0	2
fish hook	0	4	0	0
gun screw	0	1	0	0
knife	7	2	2	1
lid	0	2	0	0
nail	56	58	22	46
rifle bolt	0	0	0	2
rivet	1	0	0	0
scissors blade	0	2	0	0
shaker	0	1	0	0
sled runner	0	0	0	3
ulu	3	2	0	0
vessel fragment	0	1	0	3
vessel handle	0	4	0	0
vessel rim	0	2	0	0
weight	3	0	0	0
wire	0	0	0	2

In the case of iron (and composite artifacts including iron) there are distinct trends in the accumulation of this material over time. One of the concerns with the abundance of iron in the collection is that it may break into smaller pieces more easily than other materials, altering its representation in the collection. This is the result of processes of physical and chemical deterioration to which ceramic and glass are relatively immune. However, since all the artifacts are fragile, due either to their natural composition or chemical and natural weathering, their relative

abundance can be considered indicative of their frequency on the site when occupied.

In the East Trench, iron is used as a raw material, much as ground slate was in the past. The Inuit took what appears to be hoop iron and sheets and reworked them to make tools based on traditional forms: such as end blades, knives and ulu blades (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Knife Blade, East Trench

By using traditional forms the Inuit were maintaining links to their traditional culture. It also represents the first step in the incorporation of Euro-Canadian goods into Inuit culture. When iron was scarce, it was conserved for the manufacture of blades (Bird 1945: 125). However, trade was sufficiently intense by the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century to provide a variety of iron tool forms. This pattern is emphasized in West Trench. The Inuit living in the associated house were still reworking Euro-Canadian iron into traditional forms,

such as ulu blades, but this was beginning to change as a wider array of useful Euro-Canadian tool forms were becoming available.

In East and West Trench at Kongu, flakes and fragments of iron made up a large portion of the collection, presumably reflecting the production of Inuit tools from reworked scrap rather than access to suitable Euro-Canadian tools. However, this was beginning to change by the period of time represented by West Trench, the early to mid nineteenth century. For example, Euro-Canadian fish hooks are present, reflecting the use of manufactured goods. However, at the same time, there are nails that have been modified as fish hooks: sharpened at the appropriate end and cut to the appropriate shape. This indicates a continued reliance on the modification of Euro-Canadian objects to meet local needs, but also reflects what the Inuit were being offered and what they wanted. Both Moravian missionaries and the HBC were encouraging the Inuit to turn to cod fishing for trade as early as the eighteenth century, explaining the presence of hand made as well as pre-made fish hooks (Kaplan 1983: 169, 184).

During the creation of the West Trench deposit, Inuit were beginning to exercise some choice over Euro-Canadian trade goods, which they incorporated alongside traditional forms. The near absence of ulus and men's knife blades in the West Trench collection is surprising in comparison to their abundance in the material from East Trench, where they are more than twice as abundant as in West Trench. Bird (1945: 125) explains how in times of iron scarcity, priority was given to the manufacture of blades. Their absence may be explained by conservation of

these tools, rather than their absence from Inuit toolkits. Based on the increased variety of iron goods, iron remained an important commodity during this period.

The collection from House 2 at Komaktorvik demonstrates that there is a distinct difference between the materials available at Kongu and at Komaktorvik. The collection is similar to that from Kongu, and includes many Euro-Canadian artifacts with only a limited occurrence of traditional forms.

The question of the increase in the use of ammunition also arises when interpreting this collection. End blades were relatively common in the collection from East Trench. By the occupation of the house associated with West Trench, this appears to have changed. In West Trench, a gun screw was identified, suggesting firearms were used (Hogg 1980) (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Gun Screw, West Trench

By the time that House 2 was occupied at Komaktorvik, firearms were even more important, as reflected by the two iron rifle bolts. These objects were presumably common enough to be discarded, rather than converted or repaired.

The artifacts chosen by the occupants of House 2 may also reflect their increased access to Euro-Canadian material. A wider variety of available goods would have produced a larger pool for consumer choice, evident in the artifacts being discarded. For example in East Trench at Kongu Euro-Canadian material was reused to produce tools, while the occupants of House 2 at Komaktorvik discarded complete cartridge casings and rifle bolts. Iron began to appear in the form of luxury items, such as a comb, rather than just the utilitarian goods represented at Kongu. These items became desired trade goods though they are not necessary to survival and could be produced in traditional forms. The acquisition of a wider range of non-essential items indicates a growing range of affordable imports.

The results of ceramic identifications confirm Jurakic's (2007) observations (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Ceramic

Ceramic	East Trench (n)	West Trench (n)	House 1 (n)	House 2 (n)
bowl	16	24	2	6
cup	0	42	1	1
doll kneck	0	3	0	0
hollow vessel	0	0	5	1
plate	5	6	0	1
sugar/tea pot	0	4	0	0

Jurakic argued that the incorporation of Euro-Canadian goods produced an increasingly 'hybrid' material culture (Jurakic 2007:113). Ceramics, pipes, and tobacco functioned as items of prestige and social negotiation. She suggested that the Inuit at Kongu avoided trade with the Moravians and obtained pipes and ceramics primarily through the HBC, to the west in Ungava Bay (Jurakic 2007:114). Since the Inuit at Komaktorvik lived in a similar geographic location, it is likely that the preference for trading partners was similar.

It should be noted that the investigation of a wider range of materials in the current study has enabled a richer understanding of the overarching choices that the Inuit made with regard to the incorporation of Euro-Canadian goods. The increased information from the examination of other materials has refined the dating suggested with ceramics, as well as demonstrating more wide-ranging trends of goods acquisition.

Glass was one of the more abundant materials in the collections. Primarily made up of bottle and window glass, it displayed changes over time and may be seen to illustrate the use of Euro-Canadian goods in traditional forms (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Glass

Glass	East Trench (n)	West Trench (n)	House 1 (n)	House 2 (n)
bead	30	74	0	1
bottle glass	2	4	0	2
hollow vessel	0	0	2	2
jewelry	1	0	0	0
lens	0	0	1	0
medicine bottle	0	1	0	1
window glass	2	6	0	1

While the bottles present at all sites were intended for alcohol, bottles do not definitely indicate the presence of alcohol at the site. Rather, glass vessels may have been adopted as hollow wares for relatively traditional purposes, such as drinking vessels. Even if bottles were traded full of alcohol, their presence at these sites, away from trading posts may indicate a desire for reuse or sharing within the community. Since the Inuit spent the majority of their seasonal round in sod houses like those at Kongu and Komaktorvik, the fragility of glass may have been a minor concern.

There was also a glass ornament found in the collection from East Trench (Figure 6.3). There are traces of some metal, probably from the setting, along the edges of the piece.

Figure 6.3: Glass Ornament, East Trench

Costume jewels, along with seed beads, were popular into the late 1800's in northern Labrador (Karklins 1992: 195). This ornament, a popular trade item, was

more likely to have been acquired through exchange. It also suggests that trade between the Inuit and Euro-Canadians was sufficiently well-organized for popular trade goods to become available.

While glass was present at Komaktorvik in the form of wine and case bottles, there was a change in forms from those seen at Kongu. Changes in the type of glass at the site, especially the use of press molded glass, popular after the 1840's, indicates a change based on choice rather than availability. This change mimics the trend that iron follows at this site. The use of molded glass bottles and press-molded vessels reflects an incorporation of new glass, and pieces made using more fashionable techniques. It is difficult to say definitively whether the inclusion of these new materials represents merely their increased availability through trade or deliberate selection. With such significant change in form only apparent in House 2, and with no relevant material recovered from House 1, these suggestions of choice over necessity are tentative.

While iron and glass show a marked increase in the range of forms, incorporating contemporary styles, beads on the site show a different picture. In particular, there is a marked difference between what occurs at Komaktorvik and Kongu. When all other material types are increasing in variety over time, it might be assumed that the range of bead types would have increased, or at least held constant. Beads make up a large proportion (11%) of the collection from East Trench at Kongu, usually in the form of simple, inexpensive seed beads (with one exception). By the time the West Trench deposit was formed, the number of types of beads had increased, in terms of colour, form, and country of origin (Figure 6.4).

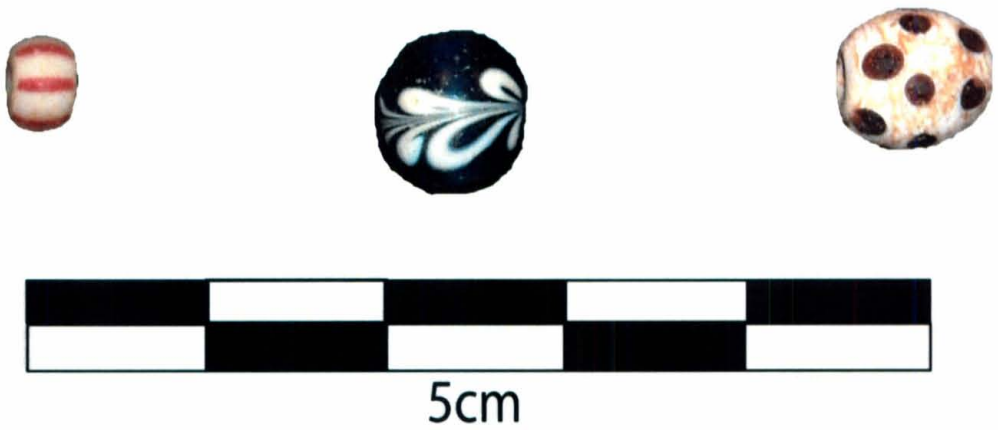

Figure 6.4: (from left) Striped Bead, Venetian Bead, Spotted Bead

In addition to tube beads, there is a spotted and a striped bead, and one of Venetian origin. As availability increased, Inuit consumption patterns reveal more details about choice. In direct contrast with these results are the beads from Komaktorvik. While the single bead in House 1 might be attributed to the small size of the collection, the fact that only one bead was recovered from House 2 as well suggests otherwise. It seems that despite the increase in availability and diversity over time, the people living at House 2 and possibly House 1 no longer considered beads a desirable trade good. Beads appear to have declined in importance in Inuit culture. Traditionally, bead decoration was very important (Karklins 1992: 196-198) but perhaps with the increasing consumption of Euro-Canadian goods, Euro-Canadian styles of dress were becoming more popular. While all four collections contained some traces of fabric, the quantity of samples were too small for them to be incorporated in this analysis.

Copper alloy occurs with the most consistency across all of the collections. There is a slight increase in the frequency of copper alloy artifacts in the period represented by the Komaktorvik assemblages, but the usage of the material remains the same (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: Copper Alloy

Copper Alloy	East Trench (n)	West Trench (n)	House 1 (n)	House 2 (n)
amulet	1	0	1	0
button	0	3	0	1
cartridge	0	0	6	9
coin	0	0	0	1
jaw harp	0	3	0	0
ring	1	0	0	0

It only appears in the form of firearm parts and ammunition and luxury or symbolic items (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5: Amulet, House 1

There are two possible amulets in the collections, both made from copper alloy. The rest of the copper alloy objects are either fragments or music-related items. From East Trench, these include an amulet, a ring, and a portion of a jaw harp. West Trench produced a button as well as three jaw harp parts. Besides cartridge casings, the only piece of copper alloy found in House 1 is an amulet (Figure 6.5). The samples are too small to evaluate any trends in material use, but they do reflect its use for non-utilitarian purposes. By the time House 2 was occupied, the forms have changed little. There are no jaw harps in the collection but a button, a coin, and cartridge casings occur. The increased incidence of cartridge

casings in that house may indicate a change in the acquisition of ammunition. While the forms of the artifacts changed over time, their association with something valuable remained constant. Copper alloy represents a small part of the sample and with the exception of Euro-Canadian made ammunition, was used for luxury and symbolic goods.

Lead makes up a relatively small proportion of the collections, occurring only in the form of fragments or lead shot (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Lead

Lead	East Trench (n)	West Trench (n)	House 1 (n)	House 2 (n)
circle	0	0	0	1
cylinder	0	0	1	0
fragment	4	1	1	0
shot	0	15	1	0
square	0	1	0	0

In East Trench no shot was recovered. It is likely that the presence of raw, melted lead from East Trench indicates the use of shot, but the lack of actual shot makes this speculative. Alternatively, Karklins (1992:199) suggests that northern Labrador Inuit melted pewter objects to make ornaments. He notes that the Inuit of Labrador used small weights as decoration for clothing (Karklins 1992:195). West Trench is the earliest context in these collections in which lead shot is definitely present. Combined with the presence of a gun screw from this context, firearms were clearly in use. This may reflect a shift to trading partners more willing than the Moravians to provide firearms. The other lead artifact is a weight, probably

used in fishing, from House 1. The rest of the lead from House 2 is fragmentary. The cylinder from House 1, and other pieces of lead with no obvious function, may indicate the use of lead as a raw material for ammunition, fishing net weights or ornaments, as at East Trench.

Jurakic (2007) discussed the importance of smoking in Inuit culture as well as presenting data regarding the identification and use of pipes (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Kaolin

Kaolin	East Trench (n)	West Trench (n)	House 1 (n)	House 2 (n)
pipe bowl	5	95	0	5
fragment	0	3	0	0
pipe stem	14	116	0	0

Some of the results of the present analysis supplement her findings. For example, the small collections from East Trench produced an almost equal number of pipe stems and bowls. Since stems are generally more common on historic sites, this may be an indication of deliberate conservation of pipes. Pipe stems are more fragile than the bowl, and can be discarded while the rest of the object remains in use (Orser 2002:423). Equal numbers of pipe stems and bowls suggest careful usage of the pipes, so as not to break them and require replacement. A future study of pipe stem lengths may shed more light on this practice. None of the pipe stems in the collection are modified but it is possible that they may have served another purpose as decoration for clothing, like other Euro-Canadian materials (Karklins 1992). There appears to be a greater emphasis on tobacco by the time of the

occupancy of the house near West Trench, as the proportion of pipes in the collection rises considerably. For House 1, the small size of the collection may, in part, explain the absence of pipes. However, the small proportion of pipes in House 2 suggests an alternate explanation. There may have been a change in trading partners to one with reduced access to tobacco, or there may have been a shift in Inuit preferences. Since other materials were readily available in greater variety, the absence of pipes seems to be linked with consumer choice rather than availability. The collection from House 2 is comparably representative to the sample from East Trench and West Trench from Kongu. As a result, the conclusions are more substantial than those for House 1, making it more relevant to the examination of wider consumer trends. Alternative explanations for the small collection size related to House 1 may be the reuse of kaolin. There are no modified specimens in the collection but if they were reused, perhaps they would be found in another house collection. However, the kaolin from House 2 also makes up a small portion of that collection. Another alternative is a change in duration of feature use. It is possible that a house that was occupied for shorter periods of time would result in a different assemblage composition, as a short-term occupation could bias the overall trends. However, if this were the case one would expect other artifact types to behave in a similar fashion.

The main trends revealed by this analysis are an increase in both consumer choice and the range of goods available through the East Trench, West Trench, and House 2 sequence. Most of the shifts in patterns of consumption can be attributed to availability, but changes related to consumer choice are also significant. In

particular, while most goods represent utilitarian needs, the increasing visibility of ornamental and luxury goods may reflect patterns of choice. For example, the decline in beads and the slight increase in copper artifacts may indicate consumer choice in luxury items or may be attributed to more careful conservation of those goods.

These results can be placed in a wider theoretical context. Gender theory is discussed in greater detail below, but postcolonial theory is particularly relevant at this juncture. As trade became more routine, as a result of the HBC and Moravians pushing northward in the nineteenth century, the availability of trade goods likely increased (Brice-Bennett 1981:285,310). Instead of having to make their tools from raw material such as hoop iron, premade articles became more common. The transition from East Trench to House 2 represents a glimpse of the period when trade was becoming more frequent and the Inuit were incorporating a wider range of goods into their way of life. By the late nineteenth century, represented by House 2, and to a lesser degree House 1 and West Trench, a large variety of objects were readily available. For example, we know from the presence of beads in Kongu that they were available, but the absence of large numbers of beads in Komaktorvik suggests a change that reflects consumer choice. The decision not to purchase the same quantity of beads, even though they were available, suggests consumer desire within the household and perhaps the community. These repeated choices, or adaptive strategies, would have influenced what goods traders would have offered, and resulted in changes that can be considered adaptive processes.

Postcolonial theory also provides a useful perspective on the transition from using Euro-Canadian goods to create traditional forms of objects to using Euro-Canadian goods for their intended purposes. This is an example of the transition from traditional Inuit culture to the cosmopolitan mix that resulted from continued interaction with Euro-Canadians all along the coast. The wider range of material culture available within the community was a direct result of the adaptation of Euro-Canadian goods within traditional culture. The communities of Kongu and Komaktorvik represent approximately a century of occupation within the greater time frame of Inuit occupation of North America. The process of the incorporation of new technology and material is one that was ongoing at their arrival; this project captures a part of that continuous process of adaptation (Whitridge 2008:300).

6.2 Trade Partners and Opportunities

2. Did the Moravian missions and Hudson's Bay Company provide different trading opportunities and constraints?

The Hudson's Bay Company and Moravian missionaries both exerted strong influences on the Inuit of Komaktorvik and Kongu. Since neither group lived next to an outpost, their influence was more indirect than domineering. Jurakic (2007) has suggested that the relationship between the Moravian missionaries and the Inuit of Kongu was not particularly friendly, and that the latter may have traded with the Hudson's Bay Company in Ungava Bay to avoid the Moravians. Inuit were known

at the Hudson's Bay Company post in Ungava Bay as an eastern coast group that would come to the area for trade (Turner 2001:176). While Turner does not indicate whether northern Labrador Inuit traded in Ungava Bay, he does say that the HBC workers knew of Inuit traders from this area. Jurakic's analysis of the ceramics and pipes from Kongu and Komaktorvik suggests that the HBC was a primary trading partner based on artifacts with direct links to that supplier (Jurakic 2007:114).

An example of long-term differentiation between the policies of Moravian missionaries and Hudson's Bay Company traders was the eventual change in policy regarding selling firearms to the Inuit. Initially, the HBC did not sell guns to the Inuit (Barr 1994: 241), nor did the Moravians. In 1785, the Moravians began to change their policies, and offered trade in firearms, in an effort to keep the Inuit from trading elsewhere (Stopp 2009:61). Clearly Euro-Canadian opinions regarding firearms and the Inuit changed. This is borne out by the Euro-Canadian emphasis on fox trapping. Since guns enabled hunters to obtain caribou alone, or in much smaller groups, they were left with more time to pursue activities that the traders considered profitable, such as fur trapping. No longer required en masse, hunters could go in smaller groups when necessary, rather than spending the extra time required to coordinate a larger hunting party. Gun use is reflected at Kongu (West Trench) in the form of a gun screw and lead shot, so by this period the Inuit had access to firearms. There were several ways in which they could have obtained them. In the first place, both the Moravians and the HBC may have traded in firearms by the mid-nineteenth century. Before this, Inuit may have traded for guns through their traditional middlemen in southern Labrador. However, Jurakic's

(2007) ceramic and pipe evidence suggests the Hudson's Bay Company were the major providers of ammunition and firearms. This suggests that the middleman system was drastically reduced in importance if it was even present, as Euro-Canadian outposts were geographically much closer to Kongu and Komaktorvik by the middle of the nineteenth century.

Gullason (1999:80) suggests that the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic were not as interested in the alcohol trade as other native groups. The Dutch were known to have tried to trade alcohol during their sojourn on the Labrador coast without success (Kaplan 1983:163). Both of these authors suggest that alcohol may not have been a significant trade good in northern Labrador during this period, although the presence of bottles at both sites suggests some may have been acquired. As discussed earlier in the chapter, there is a trend at both Kongu and Komaktorvik away from the incorporation of Euro-Canadian goods for traditional Inuit purposes, towards using them for their manufactured purposes. Thus, the glass finds may represent the use of hollow vessels for an alternative purpose as discussed earlier. There is no indication that empty bottles were traded; however, their use indicates either the transportation of alcohol to be shared within the community or the transportation of then empty bottles for reuse.

The other general policy difference between the Moravians and the Hudson's Bay Company that may appear archaeologically relates to the use of tobacco. The Moravian missionaries discouraged tobacco usage (Kleivan 1966:71). It is possible that this may be directly linked to the change in frequency of pipe fragments in Kongu and Komaktorvik. At Kongu there was a marked increase in the number of

tobacco pipes between East Trench and West Trench, suggesting an increased use of pipes. This shows that either the Moravian opinion of tobacco use had little effect on the Inuit of Kongu or that the HBC was more willing to provide it. The latter is more likely since the HBC was the largest provider of ceramics at Kongu (Jurakic 2007). However, by the late nineteenth century occupation of Komaktorvik, pipes had become less prominent. This may reflect a change in community choice. However, the Inuit living there must have traded with the HBC in Nachvak Fjord (Jurakic 2007). The reduction in pipe, and perhaps tobacco use, at Komaktorvik may reflect Inuit choices since cigarettes didn't become popular until later (Musk and De Klerk 2003:287). Further investigation of contemporaneous houses in the community may confirm or refute these results. The apparent demand for tobacco at Kongu may reflect a flouting of Moravian opinions or indicate that the HBC was a primary trading partner by the mid-nineteenth century, when the house associated with West Trench was occupied.

6.3 Gender Patterns

3. Are their significant gendered patterns in the sorts of trade goods that were consumed?

In attempting to understand the social factors underlying the consumer choices made at Kongu and Komaktorvik, gender theory provides a useful perspective. Patterns can be detected both within individual collections,

representing adaptive strategies, and through time, representing adaptive processes (Bennett 1969). Gender divisions within Inuit society structured social relations, and must have influenced material choices as a result.

By the late nineteenth century, when House 2 was occupied, there appears to have been a distinct change in how material was used in relation to gendered tasks. This may be due to the increasing adoption of imported goods, many of which were associated with female occupations. There was also an increase in the consumption of iron artifacts, most of which were associated with male tasks. An important effect of the adaptive processes in which the Inuit of Kongu and Komaktorvik were engaged was a change in what Euro-Canadians offered them as trade goods.

The material from House 1 is unusual, likely due to the small size of the collection (only 57 specimens). There was only one artifact that was associated with female activities (a single bead). The rest of the collection was made up of artifacts associated with gender inclusive or male tasks.

The collection associated with House 1 may be unrepresentative of the inhabitants' activities due to excavation practices. Despite an effort to produce representative results, the paucity of the collection may result in insoluble biases. As a result, the comparatively small collection from House 1 may be inadequate for comparison with the other assemblages. However, many of the artifacts are relevant to the discussion and results will be incorporated where possible (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7: Collection Organization by Material

Category	Kongu East Trench %	Kongu West Trench %	Komaktorvik House 1 %	Komaktorvik House 2 %
iron	44	26	5	56
ceramic	32	32	18	24
glass - bead	11	9	2	<1
kaolin - pipe	7	26	0	3
glass - various	3	4	11	5
lead	1	2	5	<1
copper alloy	1	<1	13	8
composite	<1	<1	2	1
cork/glass	0	0	0	<1
Total	100	100	101	100

All collections' gender results are broken down below (Table 6.8), and overall trends are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Table 6.8: Collection Size by Gender and Age

Gender	Kongu East Trench	Kongu West Trench	Komaktorvik House 1	Komaktorvik House 2
Inclusive	38	296	12	19
Female	41	97	1	8
Male	20	36	11	24
Child	0	4	0	0
Total	99	433	24	51

In East Trench, iron was used primarily for tools linked to male tasks, with the exception of some traditionally female associated artifacts such as ulus and awls. More knife blades, linked to male tasks, were present than ulu blades, linked to female use. This may be related to trading practices, as flat knife blades were effectively premade, while ulus needed to be fashioned from sheets of iron.

However, the artifacts in this collection suggest individual manufacture for all of the blades. This indicates that the presence of more knives associated with male activities than knives associated with female is unlikely to be attributable to trade practices, since both blades appear to be hand-made rather than industrially produced. Therefore, the gendered make-up of the iron collection may be seen as a reflection of the social group within that house, unrelated to interaction with outside traders. This may suggest a greater importance placed on male-associated activities, or a greater number of men present in this house.

Beads represent the most abundant category of artifacts associated with female tasks, and would have formed part of ornaments (necklaces, earrings, bracelets) or have been attached to clothing. A copper alloy amulet from East Trench provides a hint of the possible presence of shamans, or a third gender. While all genders and ages could have worn amulets, the possibility of the presence of a third gender is important to consider (Laugrand and Oosten 2008). It demonstrates the possibility of a shaman within the community. This may be important in relation to trade patterns since the Moravians did not approve of shamans (Kleivan 1966:69). The Moravians also considered the community of Nachvak to be uncooperative (Jurakic 2007:15), an opinion perhaps related to the presence of a shaman in the community. A different amulet form occurs in House 1. The relatively small proportion of copper alloy within the collection emphasizes the former's importance. Indeed, amulets were often made of precious materials (Laugrand and Oosten 2008:70). Regardless of whether the ornament represents the presence of a shaman, it can be considered an important object: "With respect to

Inuit miniatures, we should thus not pay too much attention to our western distinctions...but rather see them as powerful objects endowed with transformative power for better or worse" (Laugrand and Oosten:81). The focus is on the point in which the difference between the ritual and ornamental use of an object fade (Laugrand and Oosten 2008:79). This applies both to miniatures and amulets. The presence of this type of object in both East Trench and House 1 indicates the possibility that shamans were present in these communities. It is also possible that these pieces represent decorative objects or personal amulets. Since amulets could have been used by everyone, their presence on the site does not definitely confirm the presence of a shaman. As a result, the amulets were treated as ornaments in this analysis.

There are very few differences in the composition of the West Trench and East Trench collections. There are twice as many artifacts associated with female tasks as there are with male, while gender inclusive artifacts are almost as abundant as those related to female occupations. Beads remain an important category of female-related material culture in this collection. West Trench also produced the only direct indication of children in the collections, in the form of the necks from porcelain dolls. There is also an iron artifact that may be a child's ulu or ulu preform.

Before continuing to House 2, where the gender composition changes, some conclusions can be drawn. The breakdown of gender associated artifacts, and the use of relatively traditional materials in East and West Trench, indicates that traditional tools were largely associated with female activities or with gender

inclusive ones. When manufactured tools were adopted, a slightly different pattern ensued: after gender inclusive, the largest related grouping was male. Gender inclusive is consistently the most significant grouping, perhaps suggesting that a large portion of the materials associated with the houses in Kongu reflect an egalitarian use of Euro-Canadian resources.

In House 2, iron is associated predominantly with objects related to male tasks. Artifacts associated with female tasks make up only a small proportion of the collection, being composed of a single bead and a small portion of the remaining material types. As discussed above, it is possible that the presence of more Euro-Canadian artifacts in the toolkit changed how artifacts were linked to gender. The ceramics present are all associated with gender inclusive use. Hollow vessels predominate by this period, though this may be due to community preferences rather than gender influences.

The coin is related to gender inclusive use, as they were often used for decoration by males and females (Gullason 1999). The medicine bottle is also considered a gender inclusive artifact as it represents the integration of Euro-Canadian goods that were becoming more prevalent in the collection from House 2. The rest of the glass is predominantly of gender inclusive use as well.

The largely male-associated category remains that of ammunition. Despite the changes in the gendered make-up of artifacts from House 2, those changes may be related to the incorporation of more Euro-Canadian goods, many of which are related to male activities, a possible indication of the gender of those active in trade. However, if this was the case, it throws into question the composition of the

assemblages from the earlier houses, which include more items associated with female tasks. It may be that the variation in gendered breakdown reflects changes in the kinds of materials that were being acquired or possibly sample size. As the pattern in East Trench suggests acquisition of utilitarian trade goods, the use of Euro-Canadian materials was restricted to those artifacts that were associated with important activities, such as the production of clothing, and tools related to subsistence. There were more female-related serving dishes as well. In West Trench and Houses 1 and 2, there is a trend towards the incorporation of more luxury items. As well, many of the tools needed for male activities became available in Euro-Canadian materials, such as the metal drill bits. A further examination of the gender-associated organization of all the collections, including both traditional and Euro-Canadian materials, may indicate whether the trends observed with the Euro-Canadian material are biased and are only present at these sites, or whether they occur across the region as a whole.

The results of this project shed an informative light on the Inuit living in Kongu and Komaktorvik. The East Trench assemblage reflects a mostly traditional lifestyle, in which Euro-Canadian goods were assimilated to long established practices. Iron ulus were used instead of stone ones, and Euro-Canadian beads for clothing decoration instead of ivory or stone ornaments. The way in which artifacts, and therefore activities, were gendered remained similar to traditional patterns.

West Trench, and to a lesser degree House 1, reflects a blurring of this pattern. More and more Euro-Canadian goods made their appearance and they were adapted for new sorts of activities. Pipes, for example, became much more

prominent in West Trench, and there are more beads and pre-made Euro-Canadian artifacts. Inuit were beginning to not only replace traditional materials but to incorporate Euro-Canadian variants, and novel types of material culture.

By the time House 2 was occupied, a new hybrid of Inuit and Euro-Canadian culture had emerged. This was the next step in a transition that was already visible in East Trench, but which became more visible and concrete by House 2. This house represents a society in which Euro-Canadian artifacts were purchased and used in increasingly standardized ways. The presence of firearms indicates a distinct change in the economy represented at the site as well. The changes brought about through the adoption of Euro-Canadian goods were accelerated through an increased Euro-Canadian influence on activities such as trapping and fishing. Gendered activity lines were also altered with the incorporation of Euro-Canadian goods and the ideals that underlay them, such as appropriate times for work, and which tasks should be gender specific (e.g. cleaning of skins for trade).

Postcolonial theory suggests that these gradual changes and incorporations are signs of the influence of a colonizer on the people it encounters. Influence is more indirectly seen in the archaeological record of Kongu and Komaktorvik. This suggests that as the Inuit adapted Euro-Canadian materials into their traditional frameworks and then changed those frameworks, they were in turn influencing the Euro-Canadians they came in to contact with. It was a dynamic relationship apparent through the changing goods provided in trade. Those changes are as much a result of consumer choice as availability. Both are equally important when

viewing the relationship between Inuit and Euro-Canadians through the postcolonial framework.

Trends apparent in the make-up of the collection include an increase in the availability of Euro-Canadian trade goods over time. There are also changes in the patterns of choice exercised by the Inuit, not just in what was available but also in what Inuit sought to acquire. Their consumer choices affected the goods offered by Euro-Canadian traders.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Future Directions

This project focused on the examination of transitions in Inuit consumer choices during the late eighteenth through early twentieth century, as represented by four contexts at two sites in northern Labrador. As was discussed in Chapter 2, during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, Inuit began to have more face-to-face contact with Euro-Canadian traders and missionaries in northern Labrador. This increase in contact led to an Inuit society in the north that was more technologically hybrid, incorporating Euro-Canadian goods not only as raw material for Inuit-made items, but also for the culturally exotic purposes for which they were intended. Postcolonial theory suggests that this is an example of an equitable relationship between Euro-Canadian traders (the colonizers) and the Inuit of Kongu and Komaktorvik (the colonies).

The other focus of this project was on the way gender divisions affected, and were affected by, the purchase of consumer goods. The application of gender theory in a practical setting suggests viable reasons for consumer choices and their relationship with traders. Changes in both individual artifact choice and overall material ratios were examined. These changes took the form of an increase in the incorporation of varied Euro-Canadian material culture within traditional Inuit lifestyles. This research elucidates the transition from a traditional society that incorporated Euro-Canadian materials into tool kits to a hybrid one that used tools in what Euro-Canadians would consider a conventional fashion. While some of these choices may be linked primarily to the availability of goods at trading

establishments, even this would have been affected by what the Inuit sought at various times as their requirements changed what materials were imported.

The incorporation of outside samples was an attempt to alleviate concern over sample size in this project. The available information in the catalogues for Ivitak, Uivak Point and Oakes Bay did not permit an examination of the gender question regarding the material from these sites. Once it could be determined that the material organization of the collections from Komaktorvik and Kongu was typical for this culture and time period, focus could be placed on gendering the primary collections. Further research on the sites included in the comparative sample may suggest more widespread trends of gender association, but this project focused on Kongu and Komaktorvik as an example of Euro-Canadian influence on Inuit material culture.

The primary findings of this project relate to tool use associated with gender and its relationship to consumer choice. In an effort to aid in the explanation of these choices, this project sought to understand the relationship between activities, gender, and the related tools. The final conclusions are somewhat general in nature. The ratio of gender-associated tools changed from an almost even value in the more traditional period represented by East Trench in Kongu, to a more heavily male-skewed one in House 2, Komaktorvik. The change is from 36 female-associated artifacts compared to 19 male-associated ones in East Trench, to three times as many male-(21) compared to female-associated ones (7) in House 2. Understanding the changes expressed at these sites may elucidate the relationships between gender ideologies and their practical application in a society as this applies to consumer

culture. Researchers employing gender theory seek to investigate the role of gender within society and through that investigation, it seems as though we can see gender through the practical patterns of material consumption. It may also reveal more about the relationship the Inuit had with their trading partners. The relationship between Euro-Canadian traders and the Inuit of Kongu and Komaktorvik appears to have been an equal one. The interaction was not based on exploitation. It was a symmetrical relationship between two cultures that developed over time, similar to Inuit and their Euro-Canadian contemporaries in Nain (Cabak and Loring 2000).

While the main conclusions address more overarching questions and indicate ways in which this project can be expanded on, this research successfully addressed the questions set out at the beginning. The specific conclusions are as follows:

1. The sites at East Trench and West Trench at Kongu and House 2 at Komaktorvik demonstrate a successive transition to a culture more materially hybrid than traditional, visible through the changes in Euro-Canadian goods.
2. There was a cultural transition from the use of Euro-Canadian material in traditional Inuit forms to the use of unaltered Euro-Canadian forms within Inuit culture.
3. Although ceramics may indicate a contemporary date among sites, an examination of the entire collection (this project; Swinarton 2008) demonstrates a temporal shift in subsistence activities and consumer choice.
4. There was a transition in the types of goods the Inuit of Kongu and Komaktorvik chose. In the period represented at Kongu, emphasis was placed on materials, such

as hoop iron, which could be easily transformed into traditional tool forms as well as ornamental goods. By the period of time represented at Komaktorvik, this had changed to a more utilitarian acquisition and use of Euro-Canadian material.

The first research question concerned the overall changes in trade goods over time. The results of the project reveal a period of transition to a more hybrid society, produced through an equitable relationship that shaped the trade encounter. As in Cabak and Loring's study (2000) in Nain, the process of supply and demand inextricably links the changes in trade goods offered through the direct choice of traders and the communities they represented. For example, the increased use of beads and their subsequent drop in importance indicates changes in community preferences. It appears that trade was steady enough during the period represented by this project that the availability of Euro-Canadian goods also increased. Jurakic (2007) suggested that the Inuit of Kongu might have been trading almost entirely with the HBC either to the west or the south, or that they traded with middlemen who had access to HBC wares. The time period represented by the houses at Komaktorvik coincides with the operation of an HBC post at Nachvak Fjord, only 29 kilometers away in the next fjord to the south. The geographic proximity of this post, in addition to Jurakic's (2007) suggestion that the HBC were a primary trading partner for the settlement of Kongu, suggests that Inuit engaged with one primary Euro-Canadian trading partner throughout this period. Thus, changes in trade good assemblages can be assigned to community demand rather than changes in trading partners.

The second research question addressed how the differences in trading partners must affect the assemblage compositions. As the primary trading partner, the HBC, is argued to have remained consistent throughout this period, changes in artifact assemblage may therefore be linked to community preference. However, the shift in material use suggests that adaptive processes or gradual changes had more of an impact on consumer choice than trading partner. For example, there was a change in faunal assemblages in Kongu to a more trade-related animal choice over time (Swinarton 2008).

The third question focused on the gendered aspect of trade. In an effort to understand the motivations behind the trade choices Inuit made, artifacts were coded by the gender of the primary user. The general result is that a close gender parity in trade goods is indicated for the earlier time period, represented by East Trench in Kongu, but this changed to a larger gulf between male and female consumption patterns in the later assemblages. House 2 demonstrates three times as many male-associated artifacts as female.

The implications of this research can easily be extended, as this was the first gender-influenced study of changing consumer choice in this region. Comparisons with other Inuit sites could be made, both pre-contact and historic. A more extensive study of the relationship between gender and the choice of materials for tools could be attempted, while the application of other theoretical perspectives may also suggest alternative reasons for the pattern of consumer choice that was observed.

The project could also be expanded to encompass different time periods. The present research focused only on the Euro-Canadian material collected from the houses in Kongu (late eighteenth to mid nineteenth century) and Komaktorvik (mid nineteenth to early twentieth century), but it would be relevant to determine if the trends represented here are reflective of earlier patterns of material use. Alternatively, the other samples from Ivitak, Oakes Bay, and Uivak Point (Table 5.9) could be broken down into analogous time periods.

The final results of this work are concerned with the relationships between the Inuit, their material culture, and their trading partners. This incorporation began in these sites as the use of new materials in traditional forms, and eventually shifted to the use of new tool types within Inuit culture. It has also suggested a way in which traditional gender divisions within northern Labrador Inuit groups may have changed through increased contact with Euro-Canadian groups. The sites of Kongu and Komaktorvik represent a short period within the larger process of cultural adaptation of the Inuit to North American environments and eventually Euro-Canadian culture.

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Appendix Key:

I - Inclusive

F - Female

M - Male

C - Child

rew - Refined Earthenware

b - pipe bowl

s - pipe stem, number refers to size of bore ex: 4 = 4/64"

-numbers in reference to beads refer to typology in Kidd and Kidd (1970)

Ceramic terminology is summarized from Jurakic (2007).

Appendix 1: East Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifcts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
17	ET	ceramic	ceramic fragment		rew	
25	ET	ceramic	pottery		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print, "Daisy" Script	
36	ET	ceramic	ceramic fragment		rew-tp blue, fit 1245, blue transfer print, plate	I
92	ET	ceramic	ceramic fragment		rew, blue stripe	
96	ET	ceramic	ceramic fragment		rew-anb, banded	
114	ET	ceramic	ceramic sherd	pearlware		
127	ET	ceramic	ceramic flake		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print	
133	ET	ceramic	ceramic fragment		salt glaze stoneware, wheel thrown	
201	ET	ceramic	ceramic fragment		rew-yw, yellow ware	
600	ET	ceramic	ceramic shard		tew, white tin glaze	
641	ET	ceramic	ceramic frag (4 pieces)		rew	
1118	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 6 fragments		rew-yw, yellow ware	
1119	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, cabled/marbled slipware	
1209	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, lip, banded	
1210	ET	ceramic	Ceramic NW Quad		sw, mica, iron oxide glaze	
1211	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
1212	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, fit 3453	
1215	ET	ceramic	Ceramic NW Quad		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print tartan	
1217	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-scsp, scottish, fit 2307, pink sponge painted	
1218	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 12 frag		rew-scsp, rim, scottish, fit 2307, spongepainted w/band	
1219	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 4 frag		rew/anca, cabled/marbled slipware	
1222	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware, fit 1548, bowl	I
1223	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware, slipware, white banded	

Appendix 1: East Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifcts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1227	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 13 frag screen		rew-yw, yellow ware	
1228	ET	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		cew	
1235	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 2 frag SW Quad		rew, fit 3453	
1237	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, rim, banded slipware, bowl	I
1239	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 3 frag		rew, lip, cup	I
1245	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, fit 36, blue transfer print, plate	I
1410	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp bue, blue transfer print, fit 2431, plate	I
1411	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, drilled	
1415	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, banded	
1423	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware, fit 1426, bowl	I
1426	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware, fit 1423, bowl	I
1428	ET	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1430	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
1534	ET	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-yw, yellow ware	
1536	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
1542	ET	ceramic	Ceramic	creamware		
1543	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, cabled/marbled slipware	
1544	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
1548	ET	ceramic	Ceramic SW Quad screen		rew-yw, yellow ware, fit 1222, bowl	I
1551	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, cabled/marbled slipware	
1555	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware	
1556	ET	ceramic	Ceramic rim frag		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print tartan, sugar bowl?	I
1559	ET	ceramic	Ceramic NW Quad screen		tew, french faience, dark red body w/dark brown/white glaze	
1810	ET	ceramic	Ceramics SW Quad screen		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print, plate	I

Appendix 1: East Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifcts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1816	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, cabled/marbled slipware	
2036	ET	ceramic	Ceramic NW Quad	rew		
2041	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-moc, brown mochaware	
2265	ET	Ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2431	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, lip, fit 1410, plate	I
2682	ET	ceramic	Ceramic incised		ew, incised lines	
2688	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 2 frags		rew-yw, yellow ware, light blue band	
2690	ET	ceramic	Ceramic	creamware		
2693	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 2 frags		rew, lip	
2699	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2701	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-molded, rim, molded, floral	
2704	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, blue transfer print, tartan	
2886	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 8 + pieces		rew, base, bowl	I
2889	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbca, banded slipware, marbled/cabled	
2896	ET	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2897	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware	
2898	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbca, banded slipware, cabled, bowl	I
2899	ET	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2900	ET	ceramic	Ceramic 2 frags		rew-anbca, banded slipware, cabled, fit 2903, bowl	I
2903	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbca, banded slipware, cabled, fit 2900, bowl	I
2905	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware bowl	I
2906	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbca, banded slipware, cabled	
2914	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, lip	
2919	ET	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		

Appendix 1: East Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifcts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
3067	ET	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-anb, lip, banded slipware	
3070	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-ancama, cabled/marbled slipware	
3077	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
3078	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbca, lip, drilled, banded slipware, marbled/cabled	
3089	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, lip, slipware, cabled, bowl	I
3090	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbca, banded slipware, cabled, bowl	I
3091	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware, bowl	I
3159	ET	ceramic	Ceramic SW Quad		rew-yw, yellow ware, light blue band	
3161	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbca, banded slipware, cable, bowl	I
3344	ET	ceramic	Ceramic tinglaze		tew, white tinglaze	
3450	ET	ceramic	Ceramic SW Quad screen		rew-yw, yellow ware	
3451	ET	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-yw, yellow ware	
3452	ET	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew		
3453	ET	ceramic	Ceramic drilled		rew, drilled, fit 1235/1212	
3454	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware	
3455	ET	ceramic	Ceramic SW Quad screen		rew-tp green, green transfer print	
3478	ET	ceramic	Ceramic screen	pearlware		
3480	ET	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew, banded	
3534	ET	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca cabled/marbled slipware	
3537	ET	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
3538	ET	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-yw, yellow ware	
451	ET	copper	copper ring	copper ring, folded into shape, no decoration		F
802	ET	copper	drilled pendent	pendent		I
1246	ET	copper	Brass buckle-like object	jaw Harp/copper		I
20	ET	glass	bottle glass	pale green, case bottle		I
32	ET	glass	glass (window?)	clear, window glass		M

Appendix 1: East Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifcts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
924	et	glass	blue-green glass	bright green, body sherd		
1120	ET	glass	Glass	clear, window glass		M
1124	ET	glass	Glass bottle	clear, window glass		M
1804	ET	glass	Glass green charm/bead?	bright light green, costume jewelry stone		F
2888	ET	glass	Glass	dark olive green, wine bottle		I
2902	ET	glass	Glass	clear w/tint, window glass		M
2939	ET	glass	Glass SE Quad	light olive green, body sherd		
2940	ET	iron/wood	Iron and wood composite object	handle for knife/utensil		M
3386	ET	iron/wood	Iron/ wood composite	flakes		
99	ET	iron	iron	weight		M
101	ET	iron	iron	flakes		
103	ET	iron	iron	nail frag		
113	ET	iron	iron	iron endblade? shape is different		M
119	ET	iron	iron fragment	nail frag		
122	ET	iron	iron (2 pieces)	strap frags		
129	ET	iron	iron	knife blade frag		M
197	ET	iron	iron fragment (ulu?)	ulu blade frag		F
208	ET	iron	drilled iron	ulu blade		F
328	ET	iron	iron fragment	flake		
330	ET	iron	iron fragment	nail		
358	ET	iron	iron w/ organic attached	strap frag		
430	ET	iron	iron nail (sw-q)	nail		
439	ET	iron	Iron	nail frag		
447	ET	iron	Iron	frag		
493	ET	iron	iron frag	strap frags		
572	ET	iron	iron frag	nail?		
586	ET	iron	iron fragment	endblade		M
587	ET	iron	chared iron	frag		
594	ET	iron	iron nail	nail		
599	ET	iron	iron nail	nail		
607	ET	iron	iron	nail/spike frag		
608	ET	iron	iron frag	frag		
610	ET	iron	iron nail	nail		

Appendix 1: East Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifcts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
611	ET	iron	iron endblade with rivot	endblade		M
613	ET	iron	iron	spike?		
625	ET	iron	iron	nail frag		
629	ET	iron	iron nail	nail frag		
634	ET	iron	iron	frag?		
636	ET	iron	iron nail	nail		
640	ET	iron	iron	knife blade		M
644	ET	iron	iron material	frag		
653	ET	iron	iron	frag		
655	ET	iron	iron	frag		
679	ET	iron	iron fragment	frag		
684	ET	iron	iron nail	nail frag		
685	ET	iron	iron fragment	flake		
686	ET	iron	iron nail	nail frag		
719	ET	iron	iron fragment	knife blade point, made into endblade		M
777	ET	iron	Iron fragment	frag		
782	ET	iron	iron frag	flake		
783	ET	iron	iron nail	nail		
785	ET	iron	iron knife end ?(drilled)	iron knife blade/strapping, drilled		M
792	ET	iron	iron nail	nail		
793	ET	iron	iron frag	nail		
845	ET	iron	iron	nail frag		
852	ET	iron	iron nail (in screen)	nail frag		
880	ET	iron	iron frag.	frag		
956	ET	iron	iron nail	nail		
1130	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1138	ET	iron	Iron	nail		
1147	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	awl		F
1208	ET	iron	Iron hinge?	frag		
1391	ET	iron	Iron Blade Fragment	knife blade		M
1398	ET	iron	Iron round object	iron frag, round		
1407	ET	iron	Iron endblade tip	endblade preform		M
1412	ET	iron	Iron sheet iron frag	frag		
1414	ET	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1422	ET	iron	Iron frag screen	triangular frag		

Appendix 1: East Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifcts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1424	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1538	ET	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1545	ET	iron	Iron frag -like heavy spike	spike		
1550	ET	iron	Iron flat frag	iron frag w/drilled hole		
1552	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1558	ET	iron	Iron flat strip	frag strip		
1760	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1808	ET	iron	Iron nail frag NE Quad	frag		
1815	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1817	ET	iron	Iron frag	nail		
1818	ET	iron	Iron frag	spike frag		
1828	ET	iron	Iron frag	nail		
1988	ET	iron	Iron frag	nail		
2034	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
2039	ET	iron	Iron sheet frag NW Quad	flake		
2196	ET	iron	Iron sheet frag	frag		
2220	ET	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2222	ET	iron	Iron frag	flakes		
2225	ET	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2252	ET	iron	Iron frag rectangular	rectangle, weight?		M
2263	ET	iron	Iron nail frag?	nail frag		
2266	ET	iron	Iron frag	flakes		
2274	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
2277	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
2432	ET	iron	Iron frag	flakes		
2485	ET	iron	Iron frags screen 9 pieces	7 frags, one knife blade frag?		M
2490	ET	iron	Iron hook/handle?	iron nail, mod.		
2501	ET	iron	Iron frag	flake		
2647	ET	iron	Iron flat drilled knife?	knife handle		M
2648	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	frag		
2660	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	frag		
2670	ET	iron	Iron nail head	nail		
2684	ET	iron	Iron frag	knife blade?		M
2689	ET	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2698	ET	iron	Iron frag	weight?		M

Appendix 1: East Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifcts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2706	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
2710	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
2769	ET	iron	Iron nail head	nail head		
2893	ET	iron	Iron frag	strapping		
2923	ET	iron	Iron nail frags 2	slightly flat, rust?		
2927	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
2928	ET	iron	Iron flat frag	flat/folded frag		
2931	ET	iron	Iron nail complete	nail		
2933	ET	iron	Iron nail frags 3	3 frags		
2934	ET	iron	Iron nail complete	nail		
2935	ET	iron	Iron frag	uni. frag		
3063	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail		
3066	ET	iron	Iron frag	flake		
3071	ET	iron	Iron blade frag?	endblade preform		M
3073	ET	iron	Iron frag North wall	frag		
3074	ET	iron	Iron frag	frag		
3076	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	frag		
3085	ET	iron	Iron frag crescent shaped	ulu blade		F
3088	ET	iron	Iron object screen	rivet		
3097	ET	iron	Iron nail SE Quad screen	nail		
3119	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
3128	ET	iron	Iron frag	frag		
3164	ET	iron	Iron nail frag screen	nail frag		
3251	ET	iron	Iron frags SW Quad screen	spike and nail frags		
3284	ET	iron	Iron frag	frag		
3287	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	frag		
3324	ET	iron	Iron nail	nail		
3327	ET	iron	Iron frag	frag		
3335	ET	iron	Iron frag	nail		
3352	ET	iron	Iron nail frag	nail		
3374	ET	iron	Iron frags	nail		
3385	ET	iron	Iron strip	strip		
3414	ET	iron	Iron frag screen	nail		
2227	ET	iron	Barrel strip frag?	strip		
1409	ET	lead	Lead melted screen	melted, uni.		

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1569	ET	lead	Lead frag	folded frag		
3337	ET	lead	Lead frag	strip		
3346	ET	lead	Lead frag	flat square		
601	ET	glass	blue bead	wld		F
97	ET	glass	bead	1a14		F
326	ET	glass	bead	1a16		F
482	ET	glass	bead	111a1		F
483	ET	glass	bead	1a5(s)		F
484	ET	glass	bead	1a5(m)		F
568	ET	glass	bead	1a16		F
580	ET	glass	bead	1a5(s)		F
581	ET	glass	bead	1a5(s)		F
716	ET	glass	bead	1a13		F
717	ET	glass	bead	1a5(m)		F
722	ET	glass	bead	1a18(s)		F
882	ET	glass	bead	1a5(s)		F
933	ET	glass	bead	111a1		F
1234	ET	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
1382	ET	glass	Bead	1a13		F
1408	ET	glass	Bead	1a18(m)		F
1541	ET	glass	Bead white	1a5(m)		F
1806	ET	glass	Bead red	111a1		F
1983	ET	glass	Bead	111a1		F
2224	ET	glass	Bead blue	1a13		F
2258	ET	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
2500	ET	glass	Bead	1a5(s)		F
2502	ET	glass	Bead	1a5(s)		F
2687	ET	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
2702	ET	glass	Bead	1a(5)		F
2703	ET	glass	Bead	1a(5)		F
2890	ET	glass	Bead	1a?		F
2915	ET	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
3165	ET	glass	Bead	?		F
21	ET	pipe	pipe fragment		b	I
100	ET	pipe	pipe stem		s4	I
118	ET	pipe	pipe bowl fragment		b	I
124	ET	pipe	pipe stem fragment		s4	I
125	ET	pipe	pipe stem		s4	I
217	ET	pipe	pipe fragment		s5	I

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1221	ET	pipe	Pipe stem NW Quad		s4	I
1404	ET	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1535	ET	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1807	ET	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s	I
2192	ET	pipe	Pipestem frag SW Quad		s4	I
2195	ET	pipe	Pipestem frag		s4	I
2226	ET	pipe	Pipe stem frag		b	I
2434	ET	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2695	ET	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2765	ET	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s5	I
3108	ET	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s	I
3275	ET	pipe	Pipe bowl frags		s4, b frag, mark "VI"	I
3535	ET	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
994	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, engine turned, H, sugarbowl	F
1002	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, ip, H, banded slipware	I
1003	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-poly, handpainted, body sherd	
1007	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		cew, H, body	I
1009	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-mono, H, body sherd, hand painted	I
1016	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic			
1063	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, H, body sherd	I
1065	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic			
1067	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, body sherd, banded	
1073	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic			
1074	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic			
1075	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd		rew-engt, H, rim, cup	I
1077	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, H, lip	I
1078	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic			
1081	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, H, body,cup	I
1082	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		cew, H, body	I
1090	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic	rew, body		
1178	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic			
1186	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic	rew, base		
1188	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware	cew, body		
1276	WTS	ceramic	Ceramic	rew, body		
1201	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, lip, blue transfer print, plate	I
1294	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tpfb, transfer print flow blue	
1328	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1330	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic 4 frag		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print, greek key, cup	I
1331	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	creamware		
1333	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		sw, normandy?	
1336	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew, traces of decoration		
1337	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew	
1340	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1343	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic			
1353	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic 2 frag		rew-anb, banded slipware, cable, bowl	I
1354	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	creamware		
1356	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, drilled	
1357	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic 2 frag		rew-anb, lip, branded slipware	
1364	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, base	
1365	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, base, banded	
1369	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic 6 fragments	rew		
1371	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew, drilled	
1374	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp brown, brown transfer print, cup	I
1376	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1439	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp brown, brown transfer print brick, fit 1 piece 1663	
1461	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd		rew, lip, banded	
1462	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		b	
1472	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp brown, lip, brown transfer print brick, fit 1663	
1484	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic handle frag		rew-tp blue, handle, blue transfer print, cup	I
1504	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tpfb, transfer print flow blue	
1511	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic frags screen		rew-tp brown, brown transfer print	
1512	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		rew-engt, engine turned redware	
1513	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd		rew-tp violet, violet transfer print leaves and acorns, fit 1956, cup	I
1515	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic			
1519	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic marked "Cope..."		rew-tp brown, transfer print brown, "Copeland," plate	I
1523	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd		rew-tp blue, lip, blue transfer print, cup	I
1525	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd screen		rew, rim, blue banded	

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1624	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-mono, blue hand painted motif	
1626	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic Copeland		rew-tp brown, transfer print brown, "Copeland", fit 1925, plate	I
1630	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, sponged	
1631	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1635	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1645	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, lip	
1647	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tpfb, lip, transfer print flow blue, cup	I
1663	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic 3 frag refit		rew-tp brown, lip, brown transfer print brick, fit 1472	
1673	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, base	
1677	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, hand painted motif	
1679	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp turquoise, turquoise transfer print floral w/figure, fit 1730	
1684	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print landscape, fit 1737, cup	I
1687	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1688	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print, greek key, cup	I
1689	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1691	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp brown, brown transfer print, cup	I
1709	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
1712	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp violet, violet transfer print leaves and acorns, cup	I
1717	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp brown, brown transfer print, brick	
1724	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp brown, brown transfer print, cup	I
1726	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim frag		rew-tpfb, lip, transfer print flow blue, cup	I
1730	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp turquoise, turquoise transfer print floral w/figure, fit 1679	
1735	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic frags		rew-anb, banded slipware, bowl	I
1737	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic handle frag		rew, handle fit 1684 cup	I
1738	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tpfb, transfer print flow blue, cup	I
1746	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware, bowl	I
1747	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim blue floral		rew-tpfb, lip, transfer print flow blue, cup	I
1751	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1767	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-tp turquoise, turquoise transfer print floral w/figure	
1769	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic handle frag		rew, handle, teapot?	F
1782	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew		
1783	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew		
1844	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-scsp, scottish pink spongepainted	
1856	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	creamware		
1858	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew, banded	
1868	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, banded	
1886	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramics 2 frag	creamware		
1891	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	creamware		
1896	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic 3 frag charred?		rew-anb, fit 2340/3473, banded slipware, bowl	I
1906	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1924	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim frag		rew-tp brown, transfer print, brown, "Copeland," plate	I
1925	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic Copeland		rew-tp brown, base, transfer print brown, "Copeland," fit 1626, plate	I
1934	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		cew, red earthenware	
1938	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, cup	I
1942	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, nlue transfer print, landscape, fit 2138, cup	I
1951	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic flow blue		rew-tpfb, lip, transfer print flow blue, cup	I
1954	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		cew, red earthenware	
1956	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp violet, lip, violet transfer print, leaves and acorns, fit 1513, cup	I
1964	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
1975	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, drilled, fit 1975, banded slipware	
2000	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp violet, violet transfer print leaves and acorns, cup	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2007	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic SW Quad		cew, red eathenware	
2015	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-tp blue, lip, blue transfer print, plate	I
2050	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anma, slipware, marbled	
2051	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, lip, blue transfer print, fit 2364, cup	I
2056	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2058	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, base	
2064	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware, bowl	I
2065	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2069	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print	
2085	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbma, slipware, cabled	
2087	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2093	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp, blue transfer print	
2103	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, blue glazed	
2106	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	creamware		
2117	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew, bowl	I
2124	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp-brown, brown transfer print, brick	
2126	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp turquoise, turquoise transfer print, floral	
2133	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tpfb, transfer print flow blue	
2138	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic frag sugarbowl?		rew-tp blue, base, blue transfer print landscape, fit 1369, cup	I
2151	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp brown, brown transfer print, cup	I
2152	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew, banded	
2157	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2159	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic stoneware?		por, rim, doll neck?	C
2174	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware	
2177	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-tp violet, violet transfer print leaves and acorns, cup	I
2183	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-moc, rim, banded brown mocha, cup	I
2185	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp violet, violet transfer print leaves and acorns, cup	I
2291	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, slipware, cabled	
2307	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-scsp, scottish, fit 1218, pink spongepainted	
2308	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware	

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2309	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-scsp, scottish pink sponge painted w/green band	
2310	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware, bowl	I
2311	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, slipware, cabled, cup	I
2318	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2321	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2322	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, slipware, cabled	
2324	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2328	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled		rew, drilled	
2334	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anma, slipware, marbled	
2336	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2338	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic South wall clean up			
2340	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, fit 1896/3473, banded slipware, bowl	I
2342	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic	pearlware		
2346	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew, banded	
2348	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled		rew-tp green, lip, green transfer print, cup	I
2354	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, slipware, cabled, cup	I
2355	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled		rew, drilled	
2357	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2359	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, lip, banded slipware, cup	I
2362	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, lip, banded slipware	
2364	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled		rew-tp blue, drilled, blue transfer print, fit 2386/2051, cup	I
2366	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, sponged	
2367	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		cew, red eathenware, light brown glaze	
2369	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2376	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		cew	
2377	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware, bowl	I
2383	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-anbma, slipware, banded/marble	

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2385	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print	
2386	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	dble #, also iron nail frag	rew-tp blue, lip, blue transfer print, fit 2364, cup	I
2388	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2390	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled		rew-yw, rim, drilled yellow-ware	
2471	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp turquoise, turquoise transfer print floral w/figure	
2530	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2536	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic handle		rew-tp blue, handle, blue transfer print, cup	I
2551	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2552	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2553	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp blue, blue transfer print houses, cup	I
2554	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, base	
2583	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2584	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		rew-anb, drilled, banded slipware, bowl	I
2585	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic frag		rew-moc, lip, banded slipware w/mocha	
2586	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic frag 2 pieces		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2587	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp green, green transfer print, cup	I
2588	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic frag		rew, lip	
2589	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled rimsherd	creamware, rim sherd		
2590	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		cew	
2591	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2592	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-yw, yellow ware, slipware white banded	
2593	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anma, slipware, marbled	
2594	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		sw, base	
2595	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled rimsherd		rew-anb, lip, drilled banded slipware, cup	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2596	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tpfb, transfer print flow blue	
2597	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2598	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2599	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic stoneware screen		sw, wheel thrown, Lt. Brown/Pink glaze	
2600	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd		rew, base	
2601	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anbca, banded slipware, cable, bowl	I
2602	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware, bowl	I
2603	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2604	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2806	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic handle		rew, handle, pitcher/teapot	F
2807	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, base, fit 2874/2831	
2809	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, fit 2841, banded slipware, bowl	I
2811	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anma, slipware, marbled	
2813	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic 10 frags screen		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2819	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware, bowl	I
2823	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2824	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd		rew, base	
2830	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic handle 2 frags		rew-tp blue, handle, blue transfer print, cup	I
2831	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, base, fit 2807/2874	
2833	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp violet, violet transfer print	
2837	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, banded	
2838	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, slipware, cable	
2839	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		cew	
2841	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled frag 2 pieces		rew-anb, drilled, fit 2809, banded slipware, bowl	I
2842	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	pearlware		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2843	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2844	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
2850	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2852	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd		rew-tp green, lip, green transfer print, cup	I
2859	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware, bowl	I
2863	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anma, slipware, marbled	
2865	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2866	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
2867	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anma, slipware, marbled	
2868	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		cew, red earthenware, corner frag, Lt. brown, flaze, tile?	
2874	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic base		rew, base, fit 2807/2831	
2879	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anma, slipware, marbled	
2880	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic rim sherd		rew-anb, lip, banded slipware, cup	I
2881	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, banded slipware, cable, cup	I
2882	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2884	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, lip, banded	
2965	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	??		
2969	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	creamware		
2973	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
2980	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic drilled rim		rew-mono, rim, blue hand painted motif	
2989	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew, trace decoration		
2991	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anca, slipware, cabled	
2992	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	creamware		
3003	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic earthenware		cew, read earthenware	
3232	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
3288	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, banded slipware	
3292	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-poly, hand painted motif, polychrome	

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
3295	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic stoneware salt-glazed		sgs, salt glazed stoneware, wheel thrown	
3318	WTST2	Ceramic	Ceramic		rew	
3456	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
3459	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-tp violet, violet transfer print, leaves and acorns, cup	I
3460	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
3461	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	creamware		
3462	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-tpfb, transfer print flow blue	
3463	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, fit 1975, banded slipware	
3464	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	creamware		
3465	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		
3466	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-anca, slipware, cable	
3467	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew		
3468	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew, lip, banded	
3469	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew		
3470	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew		
3471	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		rew-anb, banded slipware	
3472	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	creamware body sherd		
3473	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-anb, fit 1896/2340, banded slipware, bowl	I
3475	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	creamware		
3476	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew, base, fit 994, sugarbowl?	F
3477	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic	rew		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
3484	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen	rew		
3485	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic screen		porcelain, doll neck?	C
3536	WTST2	ceramic	Ceramic		rew-tp brown, brown transfer print brick	
1855	WTST2	Ceramic			porcelain, doll neck?	C
1197	WTST2	copper	Button copper	button, criss cross pattern, copper		I
1698	WTST2	copper	Copper frag	jaw Harp leg		I
1702	WTST2	copper	Copper frag screen	frag		
1713	WTST2	copper	Copper? Screen	jaw Harp leg		I
1852	WTST2	copper	button	button		I
1623	WTST2	copper	Jews harp? Metal	copper, "jaw" Harp		I
1463	WTST2	copper	Button brass? Copper? screen	button, copper, decoration on both sides, CHECK		I
1011	WTS	glass	Glass			
1189	WTS	glass	Glass			
1190	WTS	glass	Glass			
1198	WTST2	glass	Glass	clear, window glass		M
1341	WTST2	glass	Glass	curved neck, clear , medicine bottle		I
1346	WTST2	glass	Glass	dark olive green, wine bottle		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1375	WTST2	glass	Glass	pale green, body sherd, dble number, also bright green glass, body sherd		
1448	WTST2	glass	Glass green	nail frag		I
1457	WTST2	glass	Glass green	pale green, case bottle		I
1474	WTST2	glass	Glass green	dark green body sherd		
1633	WTST2	glass	Glass	pale green, body sherd		
1644	WTST2	glass	Glass	pale green, shoulder mold mar, 1870-1920		I
1682	WTST2	glass	Glass	pale green, body sherd		
1685	WTST2	glass	Glass	bright green, body sherd		
1703	WTST2	glass	Glass green	pale green, body sherd		
1719	WTST2	glass	Glass bottle frag	dark olive green, wine bottle		I
1732	WTST2	glass	Glass window	clear, window glass		M
1743	WTST2	glass	Glass green w/ neck screen	pale green, neck frag		I
1771	WTST2	glass	Glass screen	clear w/tint, body sherd		
1776	WTST2	glass	Glass green	pale green, body sherd		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1943	WTST2	glass	Glass window	clear, window glass		M
2122	WTST2	glass	Glass window 5 pieces	clear, window glass		M
2180	WTST2	glass	Glass green screen	dark olive green, body sherd		
2520	WTST2	glass	Glass	clear, bottle base		I
2549	WTST2	glass	Glass	clear, window glass		M
2971	WTST2	glass	Glass screen	clear, body sherd		
3201	WTST2	glass	Glass green screen	dark olive green, body sherd		
3216	WTST2	glass	Glass	clear w/tint, window glass?		M
3448	WTST2	glass	Glass green	light green, wine bottle base?		I
2158	WTST2	ground stone	Glass window	clear, window glass		M
2179	WTST2	IR/BO	Bone and metal knife handle	comp. knife handle w/ rivets		M
2571	WTST2	IR/BO	Iron arrowhead w/ bone shaft	Yes		M
2943	WTST2	IR/UN	Iron frag w/ UOM attached	flakes		
1646	WTST2	IR/WO	Iron frag w/ wood?	iron frag		
1963	WTST2	IR/WO	Iron w/ wood	uni.		
1013	WTS	iron	Iron			
1059	WTS	iron	Iron			

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1060	WTS	iron	Iron nail			
1061	WTS	iron	Iron drilled			
1062	WTS	iron	Iron	strapping		
1064	WTS	iron	Iron buckle	buckle		I
1079	WTS	iron	Iron			
1080	WTS	iron	Iron nail tip	square nail head		
1084	WTS	iron	Iron	nail, possible worked		
1085	WTS	iron	Iron	flakes		
1088	WTS	iron	Iron			
1093	WTS	iron	Iron knife blade	iron knife blade		M
1095	WTS	iron	Iron	frag		
1101	WTS	iron	Iron	square nail head		
1107	WTS	iron	Iron nail	nail frag		
1180	WTS	iron	Iron	curved piece		
1271	WTS	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1273	WTS	iron	Iron drilled	drilled, curved, ulu?		F
1274	WTS	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1275	WTS	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1280	WTS	iron	Iron nail frag	square nail head		
1281	WTS	iron	Iron frag	frags		
1282	WTS	iron	Iron drilled	square with hole drilled in centre		
1195	WTST2	iron	Iron	frag		
1200	WTST2	iron	Iron	2 frags		
1205	WTST2	iron	Iron	copper? frags		
1322	WTST2	iron	Iron	2 frags, one endblade preform		M

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1325	WTST2	iron	Iron	nail		
1332	WTST2	iron	Iron screen	frag		
1344	WTST2	iron	Iron nail screen	nail		
1347	WTST2	iron	Iron nail screen	nail		
1348	WTST2	iron	Metal salt shaker lid screen	salt/pepper shaker lid		F
1358	WTST2	iron	Iron	nail		
1362	WTST2	iron	Iron screen	nail		
1363	WTST2	iron	Iron	frags		
1367	WTST2	iron	Iron	frag		
1368	WTST2	iron	Iron	nail	rew-tp blue, blue transfer print, landscape, cup	I
1432	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flakes		
1434	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag?	nail frag		
1443	WTST2	iron	Iron fragment screen	2 frags, one preform endblade		M
1445	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag screen	nail frag		
1447	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frags		
1458	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flake		
1473	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flake		
1477	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1478	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1479	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1486	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1491	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	frags		
1494	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	pot handle base		F
1495	WTST2	iron	Iron nail?	frags		
1501	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
1502	WTST2	iron	Iron lid?	frag, bent, lid?		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1509	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	frags		
1516	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1518	WTST2	iron	Iron	vessel frag		F
1520	WTST2	iron	Iron drilled	frags, one drilled		
1524	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1526	WTST2	iron	Iron nail/pin screen	2 frags		
1531	WTST2	iron	Iron slab	frags/flakes		
1625	WTST2	iron	Iron	frags		
1629	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1632	WTST2	iron	Iron	flakes		
1637	WTST2	iron	Iron	flakes		
1648	WTST2	iron	Iron	frags		
1652	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1674	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	frags		
1680	WTST2	iron	Iron endblade	endblade		M
1681	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1686	WTST2	iron	Iron	small flakes		
1695	WTST2	iron	Iron nail screen	nail		
1699	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	vessel rim		F
1700	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1706	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1708	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	frags		
1710	WTST2	iron	Iron strap	pot handle base		F
1716	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	folded strap		
1721	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	frags		
1722	WTST2	iron	Iron kettle frags	pot handle base		F
1733	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag	nail		
1742	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	frags		
1744	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1752	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	folded strip?		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1763	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	frags		
1788	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag screen	frag		
1846	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	curved. Child's ulu?		C
1853	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	flakes		
1854	WTST2	iron	Iron nail screen	nail		
1862	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	flakes/nail		
1863	WTST2	iron	Iron disc screen	bottle cap?		
1871	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flake		
1876	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	folded flake		
1892	WTST2	iron	Iron nail screen	iron nail		
1899	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flake		
1900	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	flakes		
1901	WTST2	iron	Iron nails 2	2 nails		
1904	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	flat frag		
1907	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1909	WTST2	iron	Iron frags 2	large flakes		
1919	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1926	WTST2	iron	Iron nail screen	nail		
1941	WTST2	iron	Iron frag knife blade	knife blade		M
1944	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag	folded strip		
1945	WTST2	iron	Iron slab	uni. iron object		
1948	WTST2	iron	Iron frag drilled	drilled, uni.		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1950	WTST2	iron	Iron rectangle	drilled iron frag		
1953	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	base/lid of can/container		
1966	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1967	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	modified strap, uni.		
1972	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1977	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
1998	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	flakes		
2008	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	cut strapping		
2009	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	frags		
2011	WTST2	iron	Iron Nail	nail		
2052	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	overlaid/riveted strapped/attachment		
2057	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	scissors blade		F
2059	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag	nail frag		
2066	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	uni.		
2067	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	flakes		
2068	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	mod. nail, fish hook		M
2070	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	flakes		
2078	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flakes		
2079	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	scissors blade		F
2080	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	uni.		
2082	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
2086	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2089	WTST2	iron	Iron nail/spike modified?	mod. nail, fish hook		M

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2099	WTST2	iron	Iron fishhook w/ Lead weight	composite utensil handle?		I
2104	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	endblade preform		M
2108	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	mod. nail, groove in centre		
2116	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	vessel rim		F
2128	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frags		
2129	WTST2	iron	Iron 1/2 circle ulu?	look again		
2137	WTST2	iron	Iron drilled bottle stopper?	gun screw		M
2140	WTST2	iron	Iron frag North wall	frags		
2142	WTST2	iron	Iron slab	frags		
2143	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flat frag		
2146	WTST2	iron	Iron can frag	vessel base/lid		F
2153	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
2162	WTST2	iron	Iron slab broken	frags		
2165	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	3 frags		
2170	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag	nail		
2171	WTST2	iron	Iron nails screen	nail frag		
2181	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	frags		
2184	WTST2	iron	Iron cylinder	uni.		
2303	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	sheet		
2305	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	frags		
2317	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2323	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2329	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	flakes		
2330	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	frags		
2331	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	nail frag		
2332	WTST2	iron	Iron frag NE Quad	cut strapping		
2335	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	nail		
2358	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	nail/rivet		
2360	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flake		
2371	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	cut iron frag		
2373	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	nail frag		
2382	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	rectangular frags		
2384	WTST2	iron	Iron nail screen	nail		
2387	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	frag		
2391	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	flake		
2393	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flake		
2394	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
2401	WTST2	iron	Iron	flakes		
2472	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	frag		
2473	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail frag		
2511	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	modified nail to fish hook		M
2513	WTST2	iron	Iron nail SE Quad	nail		
2515	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2525	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	nail frag		
2526	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	nail frag		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2528	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frags		
2533	WTST2	iron	Iron frag pot lip w/ loop for handle?	pot handle base		F
2558	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flake		
2559	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2560	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2561	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2562	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2563	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2564	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2613	WTST2	iron	Iron stick	spike frag		
2614	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	frags		
2615	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	curved frag		
2616	WTST2	iron	Iron square	frag		
2617	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	bent nail frag		
2618	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
2619	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frags		
2620	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flat frags		
2621	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frags		
2622	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2623	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2624	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flat frags		
2625	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2626	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
2638	WTST2	iron	Iron frag from east of U3	round flake		
2789	WTST2	iron	Iron nail screen	nail		
2801	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	iron nail		
2815	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	frags		
2818	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail frag		
2826	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	flat frag		

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2840	WTST2	iron	Iron heavy band	strapping, hammered hole		
2855	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
2860	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frags		
2861	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frags		
2870	WTST2	iron	Iron heavy rectangle	frag		
2873	WTST2	iron	Iron rim frag	rim		F
2972	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
2998	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	flat frag		
3011	WTST2	iron	Iron object	iron frag		
3017	WTST2	iron	Iron frag screen	frag		
3197	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail frag		
3221	WTST2	iron	Iron frags screen	frag		
3231	WTST2	iron	Iron nail	nail		
3245	WTST2	iron	Iron frags	frags		
3290	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag	frag		
3291	WTST2	iron	Iron nail frag	frag		
3315	WTST2	iron	Iron frag	frag		
1338	WTST2	lead	Lead shot screen	lead shot		M
1359	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
1521	WTST2	lead	Lead? Screen	frag		
1650	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
1725	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
1766	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
1957	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
2046	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
2092	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
2109	WTST2	lead	Lead? Metal disc screen	squished shot		M
2172	WTST2	lead	Leadshot big	lead shot		M

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2301	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
2320	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
2341	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
2365	WTST2	lead	Lead shot large	lead shot		M
2375	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
2582	WTST2	lead	Lead shot	lead shot		M
2788	WTST2	lead	Lead shot screen	lead shot		M
2988	WTST2	lead	Lead square	square		
1010	WTS	glass	Bead			
1106	WTS	glass	Beads 3			
1288	WTS	glass	Bead			
2976	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	1a?		F
3209	WTST2	glass	Bead	11b11(m)		F
2096	WTST2	glass	Bead broken	w1b16		F
1366	WTST2	glass	Beads 2	111a1, 2 beads, also 1a?		F
1454	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	uni. iron object, dble number, also aqua bead 1a13		F
1460	WTST2	glass	Bead red	11a21		F
1480	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(s)		F
1481	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	1a13		F
1482	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	missing		
1485	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(s)		F
1487	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(s)		F
1499	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(s)		F
1507	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(s)		F
1508	WTST2	glass	Bead black irregular	11a6		F
1639	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a13		F
1641	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a13		F
1642	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a?		F

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1654	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a13		F
1660	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a21		F
1715	WTST2	glass	Bead pink	1a21?		F
1720	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	1a16		F
1748	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(m)		F
1768	WTST2	glass	Bead 1/2 blue	1a13		F
1774	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	1a?		F
1775	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	1a13		F
1843	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(s)		F
1869	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
1910	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a18(m)		F
1955	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a7		F
1965	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(s)		F
1970	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a13		F
1971	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a7		F
1974	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a13		F
1978	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a13		F
1980	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
1981	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a13		F
1982	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a?		F
2002	WTST2	glass	Bead screen	1a21?		F
2006	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	1a13		F
2071	WTST2	glass	Bead	111a1		F
2115	WTST2	glass	Bead green	1a14		F
2132	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(s)		F
2155	WTST2	glass	Bead pink	1a21?		F
2156	WTST2	glass	Bead green	1a14		F
2361	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a13		F
2503	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(s)		F
2518	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(s)		F
2547	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(m)		F
2779	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
2799	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(s)		F
2834	WTST2	glass	Bead green 2 frags	1a14		F

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2851	WTST2	glass	Bead red	111a1		F
2883	WTST2	glass	Bead blue and white swirl	w111b366 (Venetian)		F
2946	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
2959	WTST2	glass	Bead blue	1a?		F
2961	WTST2	glass	Bead red w/ blk interior	111a1		F
2983	WTST2	glass	Bead 1/2 painted purple	? redwood trans.		F
2985	WTST2	glass	Bead red w/ blk interior	111a1		F
2997	WTST2	glass	Bead red w/ blk interior	111a1		F
2999	WTST2	glass	Bead white 1/2	1a5(m)		F
3012	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
3134	WTST2	glass	Bead	111a1		F
3146	WTST2	glass	Bead NE Quad	111a1		F
3204	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(2)		F
3205	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(m)		F
3226	WTST2	glass	Bead SE corner	111a1		F
3241	WTST2	glass	Bead	1a5(s)		F
3293	WTST2	glass	Bead	111a1		F
3298	WTST2	glass	Bead SE Quad screen	w1b16		F
3305	WTST2	glass	Bead white	1a5(s)		F
3474	WTST2	glass	Bead screen	1a5(s)		F
995	WTS	pipe	Pipe stem			
1004	WTS	pipe	Pipe			
1199	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem		s4, black inner core	I
1296	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1319	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
1320	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1321	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
1323	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
1335	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1342	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
1350	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1436	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		s4, part of bowl w/spur	I
1437	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1442	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1452	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
1453	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
1455	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		s	I
1456	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1464	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4, mouthpiece	I
1466	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s5	I
1468	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1476	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl fragment decorated		b, decorated	I
1483	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1488	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1492	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1493	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1496	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1497	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag screen		s4	I
1505	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1506	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1517	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		b	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1522	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem mouthpiece frag		s4	I
1529	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1636	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		b	I
1640	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1643	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag	dble number, also pale green body sherd	b	I
1649	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1651	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1656	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1657	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1658	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1661	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		b	I
1662	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1664	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag	rew, not pipe		I
1665	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		b	I
1666	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s5	I
1667	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag decorated		b, decorated	I
1668	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem mouthpiece frag		s4, frag mouthpiece	I
1669	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		s4, bowl frags	I
1670	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1671	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1672	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s5	I
1675	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1683	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		s4, "I" and "F" on spur	I
1690	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1696	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1697	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1701	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frags		s4	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1704	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1705	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1714	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		b	I
1718	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1728	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		s4, part of bowl w/spur	I
1734	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		s4, bowl frags	I
1736	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		s4, "I" and "F" on spur	I
1741	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		b	I
1749	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag orange clay		s4	I
1750	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1770	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag screen		s4	I
1772	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		b	I
1773	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		b	I
1778	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl "...ITTON" makers mark screen		b, ...u?tton incluse	I
1781	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
1784	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
1785	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
1787	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s5	I
1789	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag screen		b	I
1850	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1857	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
1861	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
1865	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
1866	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1873	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1874	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1875	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1877	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1878	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1879	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1880	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1881	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1883	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1884	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s5	I
1885	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1890	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
1894	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem and bowl frag		s4, frag mouthpiece, bowl frag	I
1897	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1902	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1911	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b, decorated	I
1920	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1929	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		s4, bowl frags	I
1931	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frags 2		b, "I" and "F" on spur	I
1933	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1936	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1939	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1940	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		s4	I
1962	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
1968	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		p	I
1969	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1979	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
1999	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		b	I
2003	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		b, decorated	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2005	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags screen		b, decorated	I
2049	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
2054	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2055	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s	I
2073	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
2075	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2084	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
2095	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
2118	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
2120	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
2121	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2125	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		b	I
2127	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2130	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2131	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		s	I
2134	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2135	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2136	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2144	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		s4	I
2147	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		b	I
2148	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2149	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2167	WTST2	pipe	Pipestem frag		s4	I
2173	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag mouthpiece		s4	I
2175	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags		s5	I
2176	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frags screen		s4	I
2187	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2292	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2312	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag mouthpiece		s4, mouthpiece	I
2313	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2325	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2326	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2339	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2345	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s	I
2356	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag SW Quad		s5	I
2363	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
2389	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2395	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s5	I
2541	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2555	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2556	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2557	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4, mouthpiece	I
2605	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag black end		s5	I
2606	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2607	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag screen		s4	I
2812	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frags 2 pieces		b	I
2822	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
2853	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frags		b	I
2967	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
2974	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4, black inner core	I
3213	WTST2	pipe	Pipe frag		s4, earthenware	I
3314	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag "T"		b, decorated, "T(D?)" incluse mark	I
3479	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
3481	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3482	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
3487	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3488	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
3489	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3490	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3491	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3492	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3493	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		b, spur frag "I" and "F"	I
3494	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3495	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3496	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3497	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3498	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3499	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s	I
3500	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s	I
3501	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3502	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3503	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3505	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
3506	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
3507	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag		b	I
3508	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
3509	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag		s4	I
3510	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3511	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3512	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3513	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3514	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s	I
3515	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3516	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3517	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3518	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3519	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3520	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3521	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3522	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3523	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3524	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I

Appendix 2: West Trench, Kongu Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Feature	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
3525	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3526	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3527	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3528	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3529	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3530	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3531	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s	I
3532	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s5	I
3533	WTST2	pipe	Pipe stem frag screen		s4	I
3539	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I
3540	WTST2	pipe	Pipe bowl frag screen		b	I

Appendix 3: House 1, Komaktorvik Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2084	ceramic	sherd		H, slipware, brn banded, trailed greek key motif, lip sherd	
2085	ceramic	sherd		orange banded body sherd, bowl	I
2103	ceramic	sherd	rew	hollow base sherds	I
2104	ceramic	sherd	rew	hollow, base sherds	I
2105	ceramic	sherd	rew	hollow, base sherds	I
2106	ceramic	sherd	rew	hollow, base sherds	I
2107	ceramic	sherd	rew	hollow base sherds	I
2112	ceramic	sherd	rew	base sherds, bowl	I
2113	ceramic	sherd		cup, green banded, hand painted, lip sherd	I
2115	ceramic	sherds	REW, white glaze, one side	body sherd	
F0213	copper	ornament	copper amulet, human form		I
2078	glass	dark glasses lens	dark glasses lens, metal residue on edges		M
2082	glass	sherd	violet transparent, body sherd		
2083	glass	sherd	stippled glass, press molded, 1830 onward		I
2092	glass	sherd	clear base, small bottle		
2111	glass	sherd	stippled glass, press molded, 1830 onward		I
2114	glass	sherd	green glass body sherd		
F0301	glass	cornaline d'aippo bead	111a1		F
2109	iron	frag	nail frag		
2312	iron	container	frags		
2322	iron	nail	nail		
2323	iron	nail	nail		
2324	iron	drill bit	iron drill bit		M
2325	iron	nail	nail		
A0101	iron	wire nail	iron nail, modified		
A0206	iron	forged nail	spike/nail frag		
C0101	iron	halved blade	knife blade, hafted, 3 rivets		M
F0202	iron	nail	iron nail frag		
F0212	iron	nail	nail frag		

Appendix 3: House 1, Komaktorvik Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
F0217	iron	frag	nail frag		
F0408	iron	piece/frag?	modified iron spike		
F0414	iron	nail	spike point		
F0415	iron	nail	iron nail		
F0420	iron	nail	nail frag		
F0424	iron	object	frag		
F0703	iron	nail	nail frag		
F0905	iron	forged nail	iron nail		
F0908	iron	nail	iron nail		
F0911	iron		nail frag		
F0919	iron	nail	iron nail		
F0920	iron	object	nail frag		
F0927	iron	piece/frag?	nail frag		
F0928	iron	nail	iron nail frags		
F1104	iron	fish hook	lead/iron hook and weight		M
F1110	iron	nail	nail frag		
F1301	iron	frag	iron frag		
F0203	lead	shot	lead shot		M
F0506	lead		lead cylinder		
F0511	lead		frag		
2198		string	red string		N/A
2313		gun cartridge case			M
2314		knife blade	frags		
2315		gun cartridge case			M
2317		gun cartridge case			M
2318		gun cartridge case			M
2320		gun cartridge case			M
2321		gun cartridge case			M

Appendix 4: House 2, Komaktorvik Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2238	brass	gun cartridge case			M
2247	brass	gun catridge case			M
2254	brass	gun cartridge case			M
2259	brass	gun cartridge case			M
2272	brass	gun cartridge case			M
2280	brass	gun cartridge case			M
2289	brass	gun cartridge case			M
2306	brass	gun cartridge case			M
36	ceramic	sherd		plate, marked Gordon pattern, brown TP, England	I
1986	ceramic	sherd		rew body sherd	
1989	ceramic	sherd		rew, body sherd	
1994	ceramic	sherd		flow blue body sherd	
2003	ceramic	sherd		body sherd	
2004	ceramic	sherd		body sherd	
2009	ceramic	sherd		rim	
2013	ceramic	sherd		body sherd	
2017	ceramic	sherd		rew, body sherd	
2018	ceramic	sherd		peralware base sherd, bowl	I
2022	ceramic	sherd		body sherd	
2024	ceramic	sherd		rew body sherd	
2025	ceramic	sherd		red transfer print body sherd, mend 2033, 2048, 2025	
2026	ceramic	sherd		base sherds cup/bowl	I
2027	ceramic	sherd		black basalt body sherd, molded design	
2028	ceramic	sherd		rew, body sherd	
2030	ceramic	sherd		pearlware base sherd, bowl	I
2033	ceramic	sherd		red transfer print body sherd	
2034	ceramic	sherd		green glazed lip sherd, banded, hollow	I
2039	ceramic	sherd		bowl, red hand painted design	I
2043	ceramic	sherd		bowl, red hand painted design	I
2044	ceramic	sherd		rew body sherd	
2048	ceramic	sherd		red transfer print body sherd	
2049	ceramic	sherd		rew, body sherd, mend 2028, 2049	
2050	ceramic	sherd		blue design	
2051	ceramic	sherd		lip sherd, red banded, bowl	I

Appendix 4: House 2, Komaktorvik Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2054	ceramic	sherd		lip sherd, cup	I
2133	ceramic	sherd		rew body sherd	
2134	ceramic	sherd	rim	rew, lip sherd, blue	
2135	ceramic	sherd		Hollow, yellow and white glaze, design, body	
A0801	ceramic	creamware	creamware		
B0103	ceramic	creamware	banded creamware		
B0108	ceramic		creamware with flower print		
C0102	ceramic		4 pieces, 2 creamwar w/print, H, 1 banded pearlware, 1 white stoneware		
2290	copper	button	iron gun cartridge bit	dble number?	I
2305	copper	fragment	frag		
2307	copper	coin	1884 British Half Penny		F
2046	cork/glas s	cork stopper in bottle top glass	glass bottle neck with cork, medicine bottle?		I
1985	glass	sherd	pale green. body sherd		
1995	glass	sherd	glass sherd, pale green		
2005	glass	sherd	press molded glass, 1830 onward, stippled		I
2012	glass	sherd	window glass, slight tint		M
2038	glass	sherd	press molded glass, 1830 onward, stippled		I
2128	glass	bead	1a?		F
2140	glass	sherds	case bottle frags		I
A0101	glass		case bottle frags, base and side		I
C0304	glass		light green body sherd		
2221	iron	nail	iron nail		
2222	iron	nail	iron nail		
2223	iron	triangular file	triangular file		I
2224	iron	modified nail	modified nail		
2225	iron	container frags	frags		F
2226	iron	square nail	square nail		
2227	iron	rectangular container lid	rectangular container lid		F

Appendix 4: House 2, Komaktorvik Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2228	iron	comb?	comb??		F
2229	iron	cylindrical handle	brass? cylinder		
2230	iron	drill bit	drill bit		M
2232	iron	hoop	iron strapping		
2233	iron	file	file		M
2234	iron	nail	nail		
2235	iron	nail	iron strapping		
2236	iron	nail	nail		
2237	iron	sled runner	sled runner?		M
2239	iron	rectangular container frags	rectangular container frags		F
2241	iron	strap	strap		
2243	iron	square nail	square nail		
2245	iron	round nail	roud nail		
2248	iron	square nail	square nail		
2249	iron	wire nail	wire		
2250	iron	round nail	round nail		
2251	iron	round nail	round nail		
2252	iron	frags	frags		
2253	iron	round nail	round nail		
2255	iron	square nail	square nail		
2256	iron	square nail	square nail		
2260	iron	frag	frags		
2261	iron	round nail	round nail		
2262	iron	round nail	round nail		
2263	iron	round nail	round nail		
2264	iron	round nail	round nail		
2266	iron	round nail	round nails, dble number		
2267	iron	nail	nail		
2268	iron	square nail	square nail		
2271	iron	drilled strap	drilled strap		
2273	iron	nail	round nail		
2274	iron	nail	nail		
2275	iron	fragment	buckle		I
2276	iron	nail	round nail		

Appendix 4: House 2, Komaktorvik Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
2277	iron	nail	round nail		
2278	iron	nail	round nail		
2279	iron	drill bit	drill bit		M
2281	iron	nail	round nail		
2282	iron	nail	round nail		
2283	iron	nail	round nail		
2284	iron	nail	round nail		
2285	iron	nail	round nail		
2286	iron	frags	frags		
2288	iron	nail	round nail		
2291	iron	nail	round nail		
2292	iron	wire	wire		
2293	iron	frag	frag		
2295	iron	container fragments	container frags		F
2296	iron	nail	nail		
2297	iron	nail	nail?		
2298	iron	sled runner	sled runner?		M
2299	iron	nail	round nail		
2300	iron	nail	round nail		
2301	iron	rifle bolt	rifle bolt		M
2304	iron	rifle bolt	rifle bolt		M
2309	iron	nail	nail		
2310	iron	tack	nail		
2311	iron	sled runner	sled runner?		M
2327	iron	hinge?	iron frag		
2328	iron	knife blade	knife blade		M
2329	iron	nail	square nail		
2330	iron	nail	square nail		
2331	iron	nail	square nail		
2332	iron	nail	square nail		
2333	iron	container frags	frags		
2335	iron	strip	strip		
A0403	iron	rim object	iron frag		
B0106	iron	frag	frags, one endblade preform		M

Appendix 4: House 2, Komaktorvik Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	Negrijn	Jurakic	Gender
C0303	iron	nail	iron nail frag		
2287	lead	circular frag	circular disc		
A0103	metal?		3 iron nails, curved		
A0304	metal?		iron frag, strapping		
B0105	metal?	frag	iron strap		
37	pipe	bowl frag	pipe bowl frag, no mark		I
1987	pipe	frag		bowl frag, "i" "F"	I
1996	pipe	stem frag?	stem frag, no mark	s4	I
2132	pipe	stem frag?	pipe stem frag, no mark	s4	I
B0102	pipe	stem frag?	stem		I
2165	wood/iron	knife frags	wood/iron knife		M
2168	wood/iron	knife frags?	wood/iron knife		M
1680		gun cartridge case			
2156		cloth fragments	brown, double layered.		
2163		cloth fragment	brown		
2173		cloth fragment	brown		
2174		cloth fragment	brown, folded into pouch		
2205		cloth fragment	brown		
A0503		nail	iron nail		

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
1	Ceramic	Sherd	
4	Iron	Nail	
5	Glass-white	Bead	
6	Glass--green	Fragment	
7	Ceramic-red	Sherd	
8	Metal	Fragment	
9	Metal	Fragment	
10	Metal	Spike	
11	Metal	Fragment	
12	Red brick	Fragment	
13	White glass	Bead	
14	Ceramic	Sherd	
15	Ceramic	Sherd	
16	Kaolin	Pipe	
17	Kaolin	Pipe	
18	Red brick	Fragment	
19	White glass	Bead	
20	White glass	Bead	
21	Kaolin	Pipe bowl	
22	Ceramic	Sherd	
23	Iron	Nail	
24	Glass	Fragment	
25	Red Brick	Fragment	
26	White glass	Bead	
27	White glass	Bead	
28	Red Brick	Fragment	
29	White glass	Bead	
30	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
31	Metal	Fragment	
33	Ceramic	Sherd	
34	Metal	Nail	
35	Ceramic	Sherd	
37	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
38	Iron	Nail	
39	Metal	Rod	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
40	Metal	Object	
41	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
42	Blue Glass	Bead	
44	Blue Glass	Bead	
45	Ceramic	Sherd	
46	Glass	Sherd	
47	White Glass	Bead	
48	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
49	Metal	Fragment	
50	Glass	Sherd	
51	Glass	Worked	
52	Metal	Fragment	
53	Ceramic	Sherd	
54	Kaolin	Pipe	
55	Kaolin	Pipe	
56	Kaolin	Pipe	
57	White Glass	Bead	
58	Iron	Nail	
59	Ceramic	Creamware	
60	Iron	Wire	
61	Blue Glass	Bead-seed	
62	Ceramic	Sherd	
63	Kaolin	Pipe	
64	Ceramic	Sherd	
66	Iron	Nail	
67	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
68	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
69	Ceramic	Sherd	
70	Metal	Spike	
71		Gunflint	
72	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
73	Glass	Fragment	
75	Metal	Fragment	
76	Kaolin	Fragment	
77	White Glass	Bead	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
79	Ceramic	Sherd	
80	Metal	Nail	
81	Kaolin	Pipe	
82	White Glass	Bead	
83	Metal	Nail	
84	Kaolin	Pipe	
85	Ceramic	Fragment	
86	White Glass	Bead	
88	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
90	White Glass	Bead	
91	Kaolin	Pipe	
94	Lead	Shot	
95	Red	Brick	
96	Ceramic	Sherd	
97	Iron	Fragment	
98	Iron	Nail	
99	Ceramic	Sherd	
100	Ceramic	Sherd	
101	Ceramic	Sherd	
102	Ceramic	Sherd	
103	Ceramic	Sherd	
104	Ceramic	Sherd	
105	Wood	Plug	
106	Ceramic	Sherd	
107	glass	Bead	
108	Iron	Nail?	
109	Iron	Fragment	
110	Iron	Nail	
111	Ceramic	Sherd	
112	Iron	Nail	
113	Kaolin	Pipe	
115	Iron	Nail	
116		Gunflint	
117	Iron	Nail	
118	Red	Brick	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
119	Red	Brick	
120	Green Glass	Frag	
121		Gunflint	
122	Iron	Nail	
123	white glass	Bead	
124	Red	Brick	
125	Iron	Nail	
125	Ceramic	Sherd	
126	White Glass	Bead	
127	Ceramic	Sherd	
128	Ceramic	Sherd	
129	Ceramic	Sherd	
130	Ceramic	Sherd	
131	Glass Green	Bottle	
1315a	flint	gun flint-exhausted	
132	Kaolin	Pipe	
133	Ceramic	Sherd	
134	Iron	Nail	
135	Glass-Green	Sherd	
137	Ceramic	Sherd	
138	Metal	Fragment	
139	Ceramic	Sherd	
140	Metal	Fragments	
141	Ceramic	Sherd	
142	Metal	Chunk	
143	Ceramic	Sherd	
145	Ceramic	Sherd	
146	Ceramic	Sherd	
148	Kaolin	Pipe	
149	Iron	Nail	
150	Ceramic	Sherds	
151	Ceramic	Sherd	
1513a	iron	hinge plate	
1513b	glass	bead	
1513d	iron	3 iron fragments	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
152	Ceramic	Sherd	
153	Ceramic	Sherd	
154	Ceramic	Sherd	
155	Ceramic	Sherd	
156	Ceramic	Sherd	
157	Ceamic	Sherd	
158	Metal	Fragment	
161	Ceramic	Sherd	
163	Iron	Nail	
165	Glass	Green	
166	glass	Bead	
167	Iron	Nail	
168	Iron	Flake	
170	Iron	Nail	
171	Ceramic	Sherd	
172	Metal	Fragments	
173	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
174	Metal	Flake	
175	Iron	Nail	
176	Metal	Flake	
177	Metal	Rod	
179	Glass Clear	Doorknob	
181	Metal	Flake	
182	Metal	Flake	
184	Iron	Nail	
186	Iron	Nail	
187	Red ware	Fragment	
1870i	clear glass	glass sherd	
188	Iron	Fragment	
189	Metal	Flakes	
190	Iron	Nail	
191	Metal	Flake	
192	Metal	Flake	
193	Red brick	Fragment	
194	Metal	Rod	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
195	Iron	Nail	
196	White glass	Bead	
197	Metal	Block	
198	Iron	Nail	
199	Kaolin	Pipe	
200	Kaolin	Pipe	
201	Metal	Thimble	
203	Metal	Flake	
204	Metal	Fragment	
205	Metal	Flake	
206	Iron	Nail	
207	Iron	Nail	
208	Kaolin	Pipe	
210	Metal	Lump	
212	Metal	Fragment	
213	Ceramic	Sherd	
214	Metal	Flake	
215	Metal	Flake	
216	Iron	Nail	
217	Iron	Nail	
218	Kaolin	Pipe	
219	Iron	Nail	
220	Painted porcelain	Sherd	
221	Lead	Shot?	
222	Iron	Nail	
223	Iron	Nail	
224	White Glass	Bead	
225	Metal	Flake	
226	Iron	Nail	
227	Ceramic	Sherd	
228	Porcelain	Sherd	
229	Porcelain	Sherd	
230	Ceramic	Sherd	
231	Porcelain	Sherd	
232	Porcelain	Sherd	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
234	Clear Glass	Bottle	
235	Clear Glass	Bottle	
236	Iron	Nail	
237	Painted ceramic	Sherd	
238	Ceramic	Sherd	
240	Ceramic	Sherd	
241	Iron	13 cm Spike	
242	Painted ceramic	Sherd	
244	Iron	Nail	
245	Ceramic	Sherd	
246	White Glass	Bead	
247	Glass Clear	Bottle? Doorknob?	
248	Iron	Nail	
249	Ceramic	Creamware	
250	Metal	Rect. Object	
251	Iron	Peg	
252	Brick	Chip	
254	Iron	Nail	
255	Iron	Nail	
257	Iron	Nail	
259	Iron	Object	
260	White Glass	Bead	
261	Iron	Peg	
262	Iron	Object	
263	Ceramic	Sherd	
264	Iron	Nail	
266	Kaolin	Pipe	
269	Iron	Peg	
270	Ceramic	Sherd	
2713a	ceramic	pearlware fragment	
273	Kaolin	Pipe	
274	Green Glass	Fragment	
275	Iron	Object	
276	Iron	Nail	
2769a	glass	white bead	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
2769b	glass	white bead	
2769c	glass	Cornaline d'Aleppo bead	
2769d	glass	Cornaline d'Aleppo bead	
2769e	glass	Cornaline d'Aleppo bead	
2769f	glass	white bead	
2769g	glass	white bead	
2769h	glass	white bead	
279	Kaolin	Pipe	
281	Ceramic	Sherd	
282	Iron	Nail	
283	Green Glass	Vessel fragment	
284	Iron	Nail	
285	Copper? Lead?	Sheet	
286	Copper? Lead?	Sheet	
288	Frag	Green Glass	
289	Clear glass	Glass fragment	
290	Iron	Object	
291	Red clay	Brick or ceramic	
292	Blue Glass	Bead	
294	Iron	Nail	
299	Iron	Nail	
302	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
306	Iron	Spike	
307	Iron	Nail	
308	Iron	Nail	
309	Iron	Nail	
311	Ceramic	Sherd	
313	Iron	Nail	
314	Grey and red	Stoneware	
315	Iron	Nail	
316	Iron	Spike	
317	Iron	Rod	
318	Steatite	Vessel fragment	
319	Iron	Hook	
320	Iron	Nail	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
321	Iron	Nail	
322	Iron	Spear	
323	Iron	Unidentifiable obj	
324	Iron	Nail	
325	White Glass	Bead	
326	Iron	Nail	
327	Iron	Nail	
328	Red brick	Sherd	
329	iron	Nail	
32a	Blue Glass	Bead	
32b	Blue Glass	Bead	
32c	Blue Glass	Bead	
32d	Blue Glass	Bead	
32e	Blue Glass	Bead	
32f	Blue Glass	Bead	
32g	Blue Glass	Bead	
32h	Blue Glass	Bead	
32i	Blue Glass	Bead	
32j	Blue Glass	Bead	
32k	Blue Glass	Bead	
32l	Blue Glass	Bead	
32m	Blue Glass	Bead	
32n	Blue Glass		
330	Iron	Square nail	
331	Iron	Nail	
332	Iron	Nail	
333	Iron	Object	
334	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
335	Red ceramic	Sherd pot	
337	Metal	Fragment	
338	Iron	Nail	
339	Iron	Nail	
342	Red Ceramic	Flake	
343	Kaolin	Pipe	
344	Iron	Nail	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
345	Brick	Frag	
350	Iron	Chisel	
351	Iron	Nail	
352	Rock	Gun flint	
353	Iron	Nail	
354	Iron	Nail	
355	Black Glass	Bead	
359	Green Glass	Bead	
362	Iron	Nail	
363	Iron	Nail	
364	Iron	Nail	
366	Metal	Object	
367	Iron	Nail	
368	Iron	Spike	
369	Iron	Nail (short)	
370	Iron	Nail	
371	Iron	Bent Nail	
373	Ceramic	Sherd	
374	Kaolin	Pipe	
375	Kaolin	Pipe	
376	Ceramic	Sherd	
377	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
378	Metal	Object	
380	Chert	Retouched flake	
381	Ceramic	Sherd	
382	Iron	Object	
383	Ceramic	Sherd	
384	Glass	Fragment	
385	Kaolin	Pipe	
386	Ceramic	Sherd	
388	Iron	Nail	
389	Iron	Nail	
390	Iron	Object	
392	Green Glass	Flake	
393	White Glass	Bead	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
395	Iron	Spike	
396	Blue Glass	Bead	
397	Blue Glass	Bead	
398	Iron	Nail	
400	Kaolin	Pipe	
401	Iron	Spike	
402	Red brick	Flake	
404	Chert	Utilized flake	
405	Iron	Rod	
407	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
408	Copper	Spike	
409	Iron	Object	
411	Iron	Knife Blade	
412	Ceramic	Sherd	
413	Ceramic	Sherd	
414	Ceramic	Sherd	
415	Ceramic - red	Sherd	
416	Ceramic - red	Sherd	
417	Copper	Sherd	
418	Ceramic - red	Sherd	
419	Kaolin	Pipe	
420	Iron	Fragment	
421	Iron	Nail	
423	Ceramic	Sherd	
424	Ceramic	Sherd	
425	Brick red	Sherd	
426	Iron	Nail	
427	Iron	Spike	
428	White Glass	Bead	
429	Iron	Nail?	
430	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
431	White Glass	Bead	
432	Iron	Nail	
433	Iron	Nail	
435	Iron	Nail / peg	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
436	Iron	Peg	
438	Kaolin	Pipe	
439	Ceramic	Sherd	
43a	Ceramic	Sherd	
43b	Ceramic	Sherd	
43c	Ceramic	Sherd	
43d	Ceramic	Sherd	
441	Iron	Object	
442	Iron	Object	
443	Cornaline d'Aleppo	Bead	
444	Copper	Object	
448	Iron	Nail	
449	Iron	Object	
450	Wool	Fabric	
452	Ceramic	Sherd	
453	Metal	Object	
454	Ceramic	Sherd	
455	Ceramic	Sherd	
456	Iron	Nail	
457	Iron	Nail	
459	Glass	Fragment	
460	Ceramic	Sherd	
464	Metal	Utilized flake	
474	Iron	Nail	
475	Kaolin	Pipe	
478	Iron	Nail	
479	Metal	Unidentifiable obj	
480	Ceramic	Sherd	
481	Ceramic	Sherd	
482	Multicolored glass	Sherd	
483	Kaolin	Pipe	
484	Ceramic	Sherd	
485	White Glass	Bead	
486	Ceramic	Sherd	
487	Lead	Shot	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
488	Kaolin?	Fragment	
489	Green Glass	Vessel fragment	
490	Iron	Nail	
491	Metal	Unidentifiable obj	
492	Iron	Nail	
493	Lead	Shot	
494	Kaolin	Pipe	
495	White Glass	Bead	
496	Glass	Bottle	
498	Plate Glass	Sherd	
499	White Glass	Bead	
500	Kaolin	Pipe	
501	Iron	Large rod or nail	
502	Iron	Nail	
504	Iron	Nail	
505	Kaolin	Object	
506	Kaolin	Object	
507	Kaolin	Pipe	
509	Iron	Nail	
510	Copper	Rod	
511	Iron	Object	
512	Iron	Nail	
513	White Glass	Bead	
514	Iron	Sherd	
515	Lead	Shot (4)	
516	Ceramic	Sherd	
517	Ceramic or kaolin	Sherd	
518	Ceramic	Sherd	
519	Iron	Sherd	
521	White Glass	Bead	
523	Iron	Nail	
524	Iron	Nail	
525	Iron	Nail	
527	Glass Green	Bottle frag	
528	Iron	Nail	

Appendix 5: Uivak Point Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
529	Iron	Square nail	
530	Iron	Nail	
531	Iron	Nail	
532	Iron	Nail	
534	Copper? Lead?	Sheet	
535	Ceramic	Sherd	
536	Ceramic	Sherd	
544	Iron	Nail	
546	Kaolin	Pipe	
551	Lead	Shot	
554	Glass Green	Bottle	
559	Kaolin	Pipe	
560	Ceramic	Sherd	
561	Plate Glass	Fragment	
565	Copper	Rod	
566	Iron	Nail	
568	Iron	Nail / peg	
570	Iron	Nail (large)	
571	Metal	Object	
574	Ceramic (tiny)	Chips (2)	
575	Kaolin or ceramic	Sherd	
578	Copper	Sheet	
65a	kaolin	pipe stem	
65a	Kaolin	Pipe	
65b	kaolin	pipe stem	
65b	Kaolin	Pipe	

Appendix 6: Oakes Bay Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description
116	glass	sherd
117	glass	sherd
118	ceramic, crear	cup
119	glass	seed bead
120	glass	sherd
136	iron	key
137	iron	nails
138	iron	nail
139	iron	spikes
140	iron	nails
141	iron	nail
142	iron	nails
143	iron	nail
144	copper	perforated sheet
145	iron	fish hook
146	iron	worked nail
147	iron; baleen	unidentified object
148	iron	nail
149	iron	nails
150	iron	worked nail
151	iron	nail
152	iron	rod
153	iron	nail
154	iron	nail
155	iron	nails
156	iron	unidentified object
157	iron	sheet
158	iron	spikes
159	lead	casting waste
160	lead	sheet
161	iron	reworked spike
162	iron	nail
163	iron	reworked nail
164	iron	nails
165	iron	spike

Appendix 6: Oakes Bay Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
166	iron	spike	
167	iron	spike	
168	iron	sheet	
169	iron	nail	
170	iron	nail	
171	iron	nail	
172	lead	lead drop	
173	iron	nail	
184	iron	sheet	
190	iron	screw	
191	iron	strap	
192	iron	reworked nail	
193	iron, wood	clasp knife handle	
194	iron	strap	
195	iron	nail	
196	iron	sheet	
197	iron	wire	
199	iron	nail	
200	iron	nail	
201	iron	wedge	
203	glass	bead	
204	glass	seed bead	

Appendix 7: Ivitak Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description
1	glass	bottle
2	iron	square spike
3	iron	square nail
4	iron	round nail
5	iron	nails
7	ceramic	
8	ceramic	
9	ceramic	
10	ceramic	
11	ceramic	
12	ceramic	
15	brass	gun cartridge case
16	brass	gun cartridge case
17	other	pipe stem
19	iron	
20	iron	square nails
21	iron	square nails
22	iron	can botttom
23	iron	ulu blade
24	iron	can
25	iron	nails
26	iron	square nails
27	iron	wire
28	cork	float
29	ceramic	
30	glass	
33	iron	can bottom
34	iron	square nails
35	iron	stove part
36	kaolin	bead
37	kaolin	pipe stem
39	iron	square nail
40	ceramic	
41	glass	
42	iron/wood	nail in wood

Appendix 7: Ivitak Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Cat #	Material	Description	
45	brick		
47	iron	file	
48	iron	hinge	
49	iron	square nail	
50	iron	nail	
51	iron	nail	
52	iron	can rim	
53	iron	barrel stays	
54	wood/iron	pocket knife	
55	wood/iron	pocket knife	
56	wood/iron	pitchfork	
57	wood/iron	handle?	