CHANGING RELATIONS

GENDER, WORK AND VALUE AMONG THE INUIT IN 18TH CENTURY LABRADOR

By

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A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 2014
St. John's, Newfoundland

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore the activities and agency of Inuit women during the dramatic cultural, economic and social changes that occurred in 18th century Labrador. During this period, the Inuit adopted large, rectangular communal houses, which were capable of accommodating several families. The cause of this change in household architecture is multifaceted and as a result the gender arrangements among 18th century Inuit underwent a similar shift. By carefully reviewing Inuit ethnographic analogies, the accounts of the 18th century Moravian Missionaries and archaeological remains of four communal houses from strategic sites across Labrador, I aim to identify the different ways each house was being used based on site-specific factors such as location, local environment and the distribution of gendered artifacts. This theory-driven research incorporates the Inuit perception of selfhood, which can be considered a flexible and ongoing process through the value of labour, in order to determine the changes in men and women's activities at Ikkusik (IdCr-02), Eskimo Island-1 (GaBp-01), Adlavik (GgBq-01) and Huntingdon Island-5 (FkBg-03). In particular, this research contributes to ongoing investigations into the nature of 18th century Inuit settlements in southern Labrador by examining the economic priorities of regionally disparate households.

Acknowledgements

Completing this research is due in no small part to the support of the faculty, students and staff in the Department of Archaeology at Memorial University, who have provided me with generous assistance and encouragement throughout my studies. First, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Lisa Rankin, whose continued mentorship and enthusiasm has been my primary source of motivation at Memorial. Lisa has provided me with the opportunity to travel, learn and research in multiple settings, and has been an exceedingly supportive and innovative supervisor. I could not have asked for a better introduction to Labrador and Inuit archaeology.

The distribution maps in this thesis are thanks to the skilful work of Dr. Peter Ramsden. I truly appreciate his creativity, insight and patience with my endless e-mails. I am also grateful to Lori Temple from The Rooms, St. John's provincial museum, for her assistance with the collections from Ikkusik and Eskimo Island-1.

I had the opportunity to travel to the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History in Washington D.C., and am most grateful to Dr. Bill Fitzhugh and Dr. Stephen Loring for their assistance with the collections from Adlavik, and for graciously welcoming me to the city and into their homes.

This research could not have been completed without the financial support of Memorial University, the Provincial Archaeology Office of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Community-University Research Alliance (CURA), the Northern Scientific Training Program, and the Institute for Social and Economic Research, who provided the means necessary to conduct my research within St. John's and abroad.

My fellow graduate students have been central to my positive experience at Memorial University, and I count many of them among my closest friends. I want to thank my cohort for their continued friendship and passion for the discipline, which helped to keep me focussed and afloat during my years at Memorial. Special thanks to Kyle, Chandra, Adrian and Brittany who made my last year in St. John's especially memorable. I would also like to thank Amelia Fay, Amanda Crompton, Robyn Fleming and Catherine Jalbert for their endless advice and guidance in the last two years.

Thank you to the field crews in Labrador: Robyn Fleming, Kyle Crotty, Chandra Young-Boyle, Jake Loftus, Katy D'Agostino, Brett Nuttal, Andrew Collins, Tyrone Hamilton, Paulina Dobrota, Noah Schek, Corey Hutchings, and artist Paul Morin, who helped to make the work seem effortless and the summers so enjoyable. Furthermore, the laboratory crew in Cartwright, Labrador consisting of Chelsea Morris and Kellie Clark, have been remarkably helpful and joyful visitors. I would like to extend my thanks to the welcoming community of Cartwright, Labrador, for their support and interest, and for making me feel immediately at home. I would also like to extend my thanks to the Clausnitzer family for their hospitality during my visit to Andover. Thank you to the administrative staff at the Department of Archaeology, Annette Sullivan and Karen Woosley, for their cheerful help with finalizing my paperwork.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends from home, Julian and Yvonne Davies, John and Kelly Davies, Adel Yassa, Megan, Catherine and Katie, who have always encouraged me to follow my passion, and have been steadfastly supportive and present despite the different time zones.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Outline and Objectives

The overarching objective of my research is to bring the work and contributions of Inuit women to the forefront of current investigations into the nature of 18th century communal houses in Labrador. While I seek to compare regionally dispersed Inuit groups along coastal Labrador, ultimately I aim to contribute to our understanding of the Inuit presence in southern Labrador, which has undergone much archaeological, ethnographic and genealogical research in recent years (Beaudoin 2008; Brewster 2005, 2006; Kelvin 2011; Murphy 2011; Rankin 2010a, 2010b; Rankin and Crompton 2013; Rankin et al. 2012; Stopp 2002). By comparing the quantities and household placement of select gender associated artifacts from communal houses in northern, central and southern Labrador I aim to shed light on the household activities of Inuit women in order to determine whether the houses were being used in similar or different ways in these regions.

My primary research objective is to investigate what differences occur in the distribution of gendered artifacts in northern, central and southern Labrador during the 'communal house phase' of the 18th century. The aim of this particular question is to determine whether men and women were engaging in different activities depending on their geographical location. These questions will be addressed in two ways. First, through the systematic study of previously excavated collections, I will examine the presence and absence ratios of women's artifacts from each site. The types and counts of women's artifacts will represent their presence as well as their activities within each site. These

counts will then be assessed alongside the total number and types of men's artifacts recovered from the houses in each region. This will illuminate whether there are regional differences in the numbers and types of women's artifacts, and help to assess whether these changes were limited to women's goods or occurred in male toolkits as well. The similarities or changes between male and female toolkits may reflect changing activities that were performed in different regions during the 18th century. Second, I will consider the European and Inuit materials that were being used in the production of gendered artifacts, as any differences in manufacture and consumption may indicate the degree to which men and women had access to foreign resources. Third, I attempt to examine the spatial distribution of gendered artifacts within each household through the reconstruction of field notes, which will provide the provenience for each artifact. Distribution maps are then examined in order to determine whether the micro-social, also known as personal or small-scale, activities within the household changed depending on geographical location. The secondary research objective is to determine whether this data can provide insight into the socio-economic relationships among kin and different regional groups during this time. Despite the impression that the Labrador Inuit inhabited isolated communities across a vast expanse of arctic and sub arctic wilderness, it is believed that there was considerable communication between Inuit groups in Labrador along the coast (Kaplan 1983). By addressing the possible differences in the number of trade goods from each site, I examine whether distance from the point of entry of European goods had any effect on women's access to, and use of, highly valuable European materials. In particular, women's access to European goods may have been affected by the relationships between Inuit groups, or may have affected the relationships themselves.

My final research objective is to assess the nature of Inuit women's involvement in the development of a formalized trade with Europeans. Throughout my research I have become increasingly interested in the work of women, who may have had more than one role to play in the dramatic cultural, economic and social changes that occurred in the 18th century. Whether it be through the preparing of skins or the production of oil that were traded directly with Europeans, or the famous skill of negotiation exhibited through historical figures such as Mikak, women were not silent figures working in the background while men were instigating cultural change. I therefore incorporate first hand Inuit analogies with the meticulous missionary accounts and various European reports in an attempt to balance our current understanding of female Inuit practice and identity in 18th century Labrador.

These research questions will be investigated through the spatial analysis of select artifacts from four prominent 18th century sites from southern, central and northern Labrador. These sites have all been previously excavated, and all artifacts have been cleaned and catalogued. Three of the collections are housed in St. John's, Newfoundland. Additionally, I have examined the collections from the Adlavik site, which are housed at the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C. The selected artifacts are interpreted through the theoretical lens of gender and identity theory, in order to examine how they have been associated with the lives of 18th century Inuit women.

1.2 Present Day Context: CURA and archaeology in southern Labrador

"Understanding the Past to Build the Future" is a 5 year multi-disciplinary project through the Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) that primarily seeks to investigate the history of Inuit occupation in southern Labrador. Several cultural groups

have called southern Labrador home, including Maritime Archaic, Dorset, Inuit, and more recently a variety of European groups including Basque, French and English migrants. The Inuit-Métis, who draw their history from the unions of British men and Inuit women, have partnered with Memorial University researchers to document their poorly understood history in greater detail.

The past 50 years of archaeological investigation into the Inuit occupation of Labrador has been largely concentrated north of Hamilton Inlet, for which there are several intersecting lines of ethnographic and historical records. Although biased and perhaps perfunctory, the archival records of the Moravian missionaries have provided detailed information on Inuit settlement and subsistence from communities near their mission stations in northern Labrador. Unfortunately, such comprehensive accounts did not detail the activities of Inuit groups in southern Labrador. Our limited understanding of the Inuit occupation in this region is due in part to the lack of previous archaeological investigation in the area as well the sparse accounts of European fishers and whalers who recorded little about their encounters with local populations. However, recent archaeological investigations in southern Labrador have led to an entirely new understanding of Inuit expansion and habitation, which can now be more readily compared to other Labrador Inuit settlement areas.

1.3 Previous Work: 18th Century Communal House Phase

Much of the archaeological research undertaken by the CURA project has been centered on the communal houses of the 18th century: multiple-family dwellings that appear to have rapidly emerged, and just as quickly disappeared, all along the coast of Labrador. The reasons for the rapid shift in architecture and social organization are likely

multi-faceted and are discussed in detail in chapter 3; however, most explanations are limited to external environmental or socio-economic responses. For example, Schledermann (1976) suggested that the house form served to assure mutual assistance in the form of sharing resources during a period of climactic uncertainty; however this argument has been weakened by environmental reconstructions that suggest the 18th century was a period of relative climatic stability (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Alternatively, Jordan (1978) and Taylor (1976) have contended that the communal house developed in response to European contact and the resulting trade networks. While these aspects were certainly significant to life and subsistence in 18th century Labrador, it has been contended that these factors lead to a generic, Euro-centric narrative that does not take the internal dynamics of the household into account (Whitridge 2008). Whitridge (2008) argues that in order to move beyond the understanding of Inuit dwellings as 'a static form subjected to convulsive contact-era transformations', the long-term flexible trajectory of Inuit dwellings must be addressed. Within the narrow time frame of the early contact period, the Inuit household form was incredibly diverse from the Western Arctic to the far reaches of Greenland, demonstrating that Inuit groups did not react similarly to all instances of European contact. A significant aspect to understanding the diversity of Inuit dwellings is to consider the subtle relationships that occur within the household: a space within which men, women, elders and children cooperated and negotiated their activities (Whitridge 2008). More and more, the centrality of women's work within the household is poised to illuminate the internal household dynamics that shaped the household itself.

Much work and research has been undertaken to interpret the agency of Inuit women in pre-contact (Hennebury 1999; LeBlanc 2009) and 19th century Labrador contexts (Cabak 1991); however, investigation into the practices of Inuit women of the 18th century remains largely undeveloped. Negrijn (2011) has examined the Inuit consumption of Euro-Canadian goods in the 18th to 20th centuries through a gendered lens; however, the comparisons are geographically limited to Nachvak Fjord in northern Labrador. This research will therefore engage gender and identity theory in conjunction with 18th century Inuit ethnography in order to account for the selection of these artifacts as having been primarily used by women, and the analysis of their spatial distribution in and around the geographically disparate communal houses.

1.4 Site Selection

Though similar in style, there appear to be regional differences between communal houses that suggest that they may have served different purposes. Recent excavations in southern Labrador reveal a more substantial Inuit presence south of Groswater Bay and will help researchers to re-consider the extent of Inuit settlement in the region (Murphy 2011; Rankin 2011). To date, the communal houses excavated in southern Labrador are among the largest houses but appear to have been occupied briefly and contained minimal artifact assemblages, despite being largely considered the point of entry for trade of European goods (Kaplan 1983; Murphy 2011; Rankin 2013). This stands in contrast to Inuit communal houses in northern Labrador, which were often re-occupied and contain substantial artifact assemblages (Rankin 2009a). I will examine the collections of four houses from four previously excavated sites across Labrador: Huntingdon Island-5 in Sandwich Bay, Adlavik near Makkovik, Eskimo Island-1 near Hamilton Inlet, and

Ikkusik in Saglek Bay [Figure 1.1]. These sites were chosen as the excavations were largely complete, important artifacts were commonly provenienced, and they are considered to be strategically positioned sites along the Labrador coast.

Figure 1.1 Research area and site locations within Labrador (Modified from Google Earth 2013).

The comprehensive research at these sites that has been undertaken by various researchers over several decades provides a suitable arena for a detailed examination of women's roles.

Ultimately, my research will investigate the degree of variability between these three regions, in order to determine whether or not the communal house functioned in a similar fashion along northern, central and southern Labrador.

1.5 Thesis Organization

The research objectives of my thesis and of the CURA project require the comprehensive application of my chosen theoretical framework, which is detailed in Chapter 2, Gender and Identity Theory. In this chapter, the use of both historical and ethnographic accounts is explored in order to examine Inuit artifacts and materials, as well as how they become engendered through repetitive use. Gender and identity theory provides a sound structure for the exploration of the cultural and historical background of 18th century Labrador outlined in Chapter 3. The introduction of communal houses and the archaeologically visible increase in social division segues into a detailed exploration of each site's history, environment, excavation and artifact results in Chapter 4. Finally, the comparative houses are summarized and discussed in Chapter 5, which addresses the research questions from this chapter.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Gender and Identity Theory

Inuit women's artifacts are examined here through the theoretical lens of gender and identity theory. The issues of gender in archaeology stem from the rise of the feminist critique, which has allowed for an ongoing examination of the inherent male bias in the history of archaeological thought and practice. The primary objective of gender and identity theory in its archaeological application is to envision women as present and active agents in the past, and as equal and integral builders of society. Without the careful examination of the contextual nature of gender and identity, our interpretations run the risk of belittling women's involvement in the past by assuming that gender is a fixed identity or a category that can be applied to all women (Engelstad 2007; Johnson 2010: 135). Rather, the feminist critique considers gender as a performative process and a relation, and stresses the notion that identity is socially constructed and can be actively created through one's particular agency (Johnson 2010). Feminist archaeologists argue that the transformative exercise of the feminist standpoint inevitably leads to other dimensions of performative identity, such as archaeologies of masculinity, childhood, race and queer identities. As this chapter outlines, the application of gender and identity theory is integral to understanding the interplay between dwellings, female activities and agency during the dynamic changes of 18th century Labrador.

2.1.1 Androcentric Bias in the Theoretical Domain

In order to comprehend the application of the feminist standpoint in this particular study, the history of feminist thought in archaeology must first be examined. Including women in our understanding of the past was influenced by the second wave of feminism

during the 1960s, but it was not until the late 1980s that "gender, as a cultural construct, increasingly became recognized as part of the dynamic of past societies and thus as a subject of analysis" (Sorensen 2000: 19). The lack of study of the roles and contributions of women in the past has been attributed by many feminist scholars to an androcentric bias, which has led to a concentration on male-dominated activities and institutions (Moore & Scott 1997), and is then "taken up, deployed, circulated and defended from the position of the male subject" (Conkey 2007: 304). Many female scholars consider the representation of women's theoretical contributions as problematic, as they are typically limited to gender-based theory. Consequently, female theorists have difficulty in breaking into the realm of the male figureheads in anthropological theory, as studies have shown female authors are systematically excluded from the discussion (Conkey 2007). This bias often bleeds into the interpretation of the archaeological record by defaulting agency to men, which upholds them as the primary instigators of cultural change (Moore & Scott 1997). Innovations in technology are frequently attributed to men's tools, techniques and activities, and women's contributions are regarded as cultural residue (Sorensen 2000). As Conkey and Gero (1997: 424) indicate, "traditional assumptions and values really do look profoundly different when viewed from a woman-centered perspective". However, women are often seen as either passive recipients of social change, or they suffer a form of 'pseudo-inclusion', whereby "women are included briefly for form's sake, but are then marginalized or dismissed without forming an integral part of the analysis" (Moore & Scott 1997: 3). This notion does a disservice to our interpretations of the past, as it limits the agency of women, and gives an asymmetrical view of history. It is particularly damaging to Inuit studies, as men and women were considered equally important

members of the community, and worked in tandem towards shared tasks and goals, creating cultural traditions in cooperation with each other (Cabak 1991). The equal consideration of Inuit labour and daily activities should ultimately help to re-write a male-dominant understanding of the social and economic changes among 18th century Labrador Inuit.

2.1.2 Feminist Inquiry in Archaeology

The Feminist inquiry has four basic tenets, all of which will be addressed directly through my study of Inuit women's artifacts, agency and activities in 18th century Labrador. First and foremost, the feminist critique recognizes that 'politics and the substantive products of knowledge are essentially inseparable' (Conkey and Gero 1997: 427). By recognizing the historic and ongoing male perspective of the past, feminist archaeologists can work towards carefully re-writing an inclusive interpretative narrative. In Labrador, this sentiment rings true due to the imbalanced focus on male activities, particularly the emphasis on male figureheads as the instigators of cultural change in the 18th century (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Taylor 1974, 1976). The second tenet of feminist enquiry is the recognition that in scientific practice, essentialism is inappropriate (Conkey and Gero 1997:427). By separating the researcher from the object of scientific inquiry, researchers only serve to perpetuate the myth that data is neutral and miraculously speaks for itself. The practice of reflexivity, while still considered a radical and sometimes unnecessary addition to scientific inquiry, helps to situate the reader in regards to any unintended bias present in the research. For my research, reflexivity is an ongoing practice through the discussion of

my own personal research focus as well as any bias in the ethnographic, historical and archaeological record.

The third and fourth tenets of gender theory work towards 're-gendering theory' by being more responsive to context, and urging scholars to reconfigure archaeology collectively, rather than leaving it to be contained and compartmentalized (Conkey 2007). A significant aspect of this practice is to foster alternative views, such as the unique knowledge offered by an indigenous perspective (Johnson 2010). A potential benefit of incorporating indigenous accounts is that the results are left open and relevant to elements of the community that it serves. The emphasis on small-scale household dynamics and women's issues may be more relevant than larger scale impersonal investigations to invested students and communities, as the CURA project seeks to incorporate its results into the school curricula of Labrador.

2.1.3 Inuit Division of Labour and Community Value

Early ethnographic accounts report of a strict division of labour between Inuit men and women and a natural order that appears unchallenged by most members of the community (Jenness 1922; Mathiassen 1928; Rasmussen 1921). Labour is famously divided by the hard/soft material taboo present among many Inuit groups in the arctic. For example, men would manufacture and repair tools from hard materials such as stone, bone, ivory, antler and wood while women's tasks centered on soft materials such as skin and sinew (McGhee 1996). Gender roles are typically defined by this division of labour; however, tasks, activities and subsequent roles were often flexible among the Inuit, particularly during periods of stress (Cabak 1991; Gullason 1999). For example, certain Inuit accounts demonstrate that men could pick up a needle and sew or repair clothing if

the woman of the house was otherwise occupied (Eber 1971). While rare, Inuit women were known to occasionally hunt and fish with or without men; a practice which became more prominent during the 20th century in the form of breathing-hole sealing and shooting small game (Gullason 1999) [Figure 2.1].

Figure 2.1 Drawing of Inuit women gathering Dulse (Eber 1971:41*)*

Non-indigenous ethnographic accounts must also be understood within their own interpretive framework, which inherently associates assigned tasks with communal worth. Many early ethnographers have assumed that because men hunt, they are given higher societal value due to their association with subsistence, clothing and fuel (Jenness 1922; Rasmussen 1927). As such, Giffen (1930) attributes the act of female infanticide to the finite assumption that as a non-hunter, a female is considered an 'unproductive consumer' in Inuit society (Giffen 1930: 2). This postulation has been re-considered through the paradigm of embodied archaeology, in which the dichotomies between self/other and

mind/body are challenged, and material culture is treated as a tool to continually forge and re-forge the self (Hodder and Hutson 2003). The malleability of personhood is difficult to identify in the archaeological record; however, it may be explored in gender studies of the High Arctic, which fortunately have ample support in historical and ethnographic records. Despite the inherent difficulty in projecting these biased accounts to the past, many of them detail what Haraway would refer to as "the self-creating process called human labor" (Haraway 1991:10, as cited in Hodder and Hutson 2003). For example, in the arctic an individual's character was judged by the quality of their work, and status was often afforded based on the merit of their productivity and social contributions (Guemple 1986:27). The assumption of male dominance and female submission is turned on its head, as status is connected to what Guemple would call '… [a] gender-neutral cultural formation of personness' (ibid:27). According to Guemple, this formation is manifested in the High Arctic through the division of labor, which ensures that men and women enact independent social roles in their own spheres of activity (1986:19). Though often divided for practical reasons, gender was not a category of self-worth, or an implicit influence on agency or status. Hodder and Hutson (2003) focus on the statement that the body is not natural, but a historical category formed through discourse, and can therefore be treated as fluid and constantly in a state of becoming. This is relevant in the arctic as gender roles were in fact much more fluid than previously realized, and in several ethnographic cases, men were reported to share in women's duties and vice versa (Cabak 1991; Eber 1971).

2.1.4 Fixed and Fluid Identities

Among the Inuit, access to new tools and prized materials was often dependent on an individual's constantly shifting status within the community (Guemple 1986). As praise for an individual was generally expressed in terms of productivity and work performance, the material culture may be regarded as a manifestation of this sense of self-worth, capable of both reflecting agency and of re-forging the agent multiple times. The relationship between the agent and materials available to them is therefore wholly reliant on productivity, which may have been measurable in the activities of the day, the season, or overall lifetime. Hodder and Hutson (2003) point out that embodied archaeology rests on the previous work of phenomenology and feminist critiques, which have drawn attention to the importance of the body and lived experience. The feminist critique has identified an androcentric bias in previous accounts of Inuit archaeology, and has allowed for the identification of a more fluid state of being in arctic gender studies (Engelstad 2007). It may be argued that without these contributions, arctic archaeology would have been limited to strict divisions labour and a static sense of self, as the arctic tool kit was previously considered to be highly dichotomous, and status was relegated according to limited gender assumptions (Cabak 1991). Post-processualists such as Hodder and Hutson (2003) encourage researchers to emphasize the transformative relationship between the agent and material culture, and to explore the changing embodiment of the agent through time. With these considerations in mind, it may be possible to identify an Inuit sense of self as a fluid product of lived experience in the world.

The notion of a fixed identity is highly problematic in the interpretation of the archaeological record, as it imposes a set of modern assumptions about gender roles on

the behaviour and practices of past cultures. By identifying the social construction of gender roles, archaeologists can move beyond limited assumptions of feminine nature and women's activities. The universal, biological differences between the sexes may influence the reasoning behind these assumptions, such as the seemingly natural links between childbirth, limited mobility and a restriction to the private domain. However, this notion denies the distinction between sex and gender, the latter of which is truly a social construct, constituted through political, social, cultural and symbolic means (Engelstad 2007), and reinforced by repetition of dress, language and habits (Gilchrist 1999: 82). It cannot be presumed that the dualism of the private/ public domain can be understood in all cultures, or in all patterns of gender (Cabak 1991). In Labrador, childcare is considered an important responsibility for Inuit women (Cabak 1991; Hennebury 1999; Taylor 1974); however, notions of immobility and restriction to the private domain are defied through such innovations as the *amauti*, which allows for extraordinary freedom of movement even while caring for infants (Cabak1991: 10) [Figure 2.2]. The division of labour must be identified, rather than assumed, through the comparative analysis of the archaeological and ethnographic records.

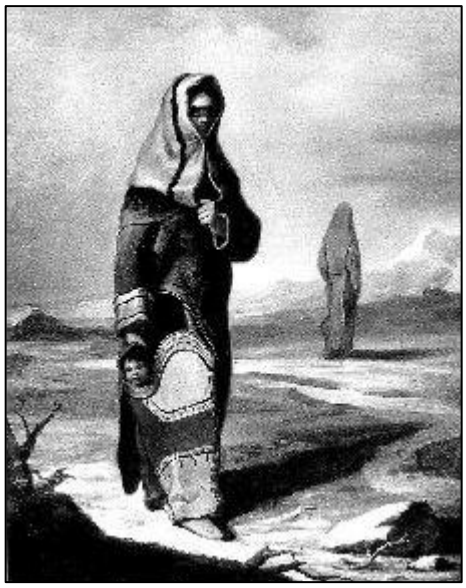

Figure 2.2 Labrador Inuit woman and child (Library and Archives Canada 1768-72).

2.2 Engendering Inuit Artifacts

Artifacts do not inherently embody any particular gender; however an object becomes engendered through repetitive associations and their entanglement with a set of assigned activities. Gender theory clarifies that no one object can embody a female or male aspect, the object can only inform us of a relationship between humanity and material forms (Moore & Scott 1997). That is, gender is not assigned to any particular object; however, they become engendered through our association with objects around us (Lesick 1997). The meaning of the object can be interpreted in a variety of ways. It is possible to determine the association between gender and material within the historical situation, and 'the gendered meaning of objects can therefore be analysed only within their context of action' (Sorensen 2000: 89).

2.2.1 Ethnographic Accounts of Inuit Tool Use

An object becomes gendered through repetitive associations, and the Moravian Missionaries recorded evidence of such associations among the Inuit of 18th century Labrador diligently. The use of ethnographic accounts in conjunction with the archaeological record allows us a glimpse into the engendering process, and can permit the association of some objects with either Inuit men or women.

Early Inuit ethnographers often observed a very strict division of labour in their immersive research. Birket-Smith (1929) remarked, "the first fundamental division within the social life is that which is a result of sex" (Birket-Smith 1929:257). The weighted assumption that sex is the primary division in Inuit culture was carried over into most early ethnographies without reflection on the author's possible bias. Despite the similarity of arctic cultures with regard to customs and language, this assumptive practice has only served to weaken Inuit ethnographic analogies (Boas 1907, as cited in Giffen 1930). LeMoine (2003) provides a firm methodology for evaluating the strengths and weaknesses in the application of Inuit ethnographic analogies to our understanding of past Palaeoeskimo groups. This methodology may be extended to our understanding of Thule/Inuit groups by distinguishing explicit from implicit analogies, which ultimately makes comparisons more transparent and robust. Often, much archaeological discussion is limited to visible similarities in subsistence and technology; however, implicit comparisons are often applied to the social realm such as household organization and gender roles. Nevertheless, the author argues that implications surrounding the social organization of the household and gender roles must be carefully examined through other lines of evidence (LeMoine 2003). While the accounts of the Moravian Missionaries must

be regarded through a reflexive and critical lens, their meticulous accounts supplement the archaeological evidence of Inuit tool use.

2.2.1.1 Moravian Missionary Surveys

Some of the earliest and best-documented accounts of everyday Inuit life come from the Moravian missionaries, who stationed themselves close to northern Labrador Inuit coastal settlements in Nain, Okak and Hopedale in 1771, 1776 and 1782 respectively (Taylor 1974) [Figure 2.3]. Many substantive accounts of the missionaries have been translated and studied in conjunction with Labrador archaeology in order to further our understanding of Inuit-Moravian interaction during the 18th and 19th centuries (Loring and Arendt 2009; Taylor 1974). However, Rollmann (1984) has evaluated the inherent bias present in such texts, and urges scholars to seek out other lines of evidence in the re-construction of past Inuit practices and interactions. In order to appreciate the value of the missionary reports, their history and intentions are examined and assessed in chapter 3.

Prior to the establishment of the first mission stations, missionary Christian Drachard was sent to survey a group of Inuit at Chateau Bay in the Belle Isle area in 1765 (Taylor 1972). The Inuit of the area were questioned as to their employment during the different seasons of the year. They distinguish the work of men to include the hunting of sea and land mammals, as well as fishing and the construction of frames for boats, while the work of women was primarily the sewing of skins for boats, tents and garments, as well as domestic activities (Taylor 1972: 140). Domestic activities included tending to soapstone lamps in order to control the temperature in the winter house, sewing, and cooking (Cabak 1991).

Figure 2.3 Missionary Jens Haven with an Inuit family in Nain, Labrador (James L. Kochan collection).

It is important to note that this method of survey is highly extractive and may have lost some context as the missionaries arrived in Labrador with their own biases and set of assumptions. However, ethnographic accounts such as this have led many scholars to engender certain Inuit artifacts, as their repetitive use seems to associate the object with a set of assigned activities. Men's tools are often associated with the hunt, such as iron blades for harpoons and knives, while women's tools are often associated with domestic activities, such as soapstone bowls, *ulus* and needles for dressing and sewing skins, and beads for decoration (Cabak 1991; Giffen 1930; Maxwell 1985).

2.2.1.2 Inuit Accounts of Shared Tool Use and Activities

The results of Drachard's questionnaire may seem to indicate a rigid division of labour; however, the tasks that were noted are far from disconnected, and indicate a shared purpose in the production and maintenance of everyday items (Cabak 1991). Inuit women in particular shared many responsibilities and tasks with men, as counterparts towards a common goal, often sharing duties and working together (Ackerman 1990; Billson and Mancini 2007; Briggs 1974; Guemple 1986; Gullason 1999). The completion of critical tasks, such as the construction and maintenance of snow houses and boats, tents and clothing, would often require the cooperative work of both men and women (Eber 1971) [Figure 2.4].

Figure 2.4 Inuit women constructing a summer skin tent (Eber 1971: 43).

Women, children and the elderly often participated in hunting activities, acting as 'drivers' for the caribou, directing them into the water, where men would spear them from their kayaks (Taylor 1974: 48). This shared sense of responsibility is reflected in the flexibility of gender roles, as Pitseolak recalls her husband helping her with sewing and cooking when she was particularly busy. She also recalls women rowing in sealskin boats, towing men in their kayaks (Eber 1971: 43). This flexibility, working in tandem with the theory that objects are only engendered through association and repetition, has led to the selection of a few artifacts that are often, but not strictly, within the Inuit woman's domain. These include oil lamps for tending to the fire, *ulus* (plural) for the preparation of skins, soapstone bowls for cooking, needles for sewing and decorative beads. The spatial distribution of these items will be analysed and compared from among different regions in Labrador to determine if women were engaging in different activities during this key period.

2.3 Tools, Artifacts and Materials Associated with Inuit Women

Although an artifact may have been used almost exclusively by an Inuit woman, the production of an artifact was often divided based on whether the material was hard or soft (Hennebury 1999). Due to this division, several objects that are typically associated with women may have been manufactured and repaired by men, including iconic items such as *ulus* and sewing implements [Table 2.1]. Interestingly this reversed gender association can work both ways, as certain objects associated with men and hunting, such as boats, are linked to women due to the need to constantly provide and repair skin covers (Eber 1971; Gullason 1999). Typically female object may therefore be associated with a male, depending on the use stage at which the object is recovered (Gullason 1999).

Table 2.1 Differences in manufacture and use of Inuit women's artifacts, based on Hennebury's (1999:39-40) investigations into the gendered division of Inuit materials.

OBJECT	MANUFACTURE	USE
Ulu	M	F
Soapstone Vessel	M	F
Beads/ Ornaments	Unknown	F
Sewing Implements	F	F

Tools for both Inuit men and women of Labrador were chiefly made of the same materials. It is difficult to pinpoint 'traditional' materials of Inuit groups in Labrador, especially considering the immense range and flexibility of technology and material culture across the Canadian Arctic. Researchers often consider natural materials such as slate, soapstone, wood, bone and antler as traditional Inuit materials; however the use of meteoritic iron has been well known among arctic groups for centuries previous to the European colonization of North American (Ramsden 2010). Prior to the widely conceived moment of European contact, Inuit groups were also utilizing European iron that derived from Norse colonies in Greenland (Ramsden 2010). As such, the use of both traditional and European materials must be carefully parsed out of the ethnographical and archaeological evidence presented.

2.3.1 Ulu, Women's Knife

The *ulu* is often referred to in the archaeological and ethnographical literature as the 'woman's knife' as it is habitually associated with women's activities, such as preparing skins and cutting meat during both the cooking process and consumption (Cabak 1991). While good preservation at an archaeological site can yield wooden bowls and fragments of spoons, the *ulu* is one of the best-preserved tools used as evidence of

both women's presence and their activities related to food preparation (Cabak 1991). The *ulu* can come in a variety of sizes and materials. Its shape is typically lenticular with a handle attached to the straight end. Based on Henshaw's investigations into *ulu* usage, *ulus* that were of a small to medium size were used for sewing and skin preparation, while toy and amulet *ulus* were generally much smaller and non-functional (Henshaw 1989 as cited in Gullason 1999). *Ulus* blades were usually made from slate or nephrite and the handles from bone, wood or antler. Although the *ulu* was typically used by women, it was often the men who would manufacture *ulus* as they are typically made of hard materials (Gullason 1999). In Labrador during the 18th century iron *ulus* were abundant in southern Labrador. European items such as knives and nails were often re-fashioned into traditional Inuit items by cold-hammering into harpoon, knife and *ulu* blades (Boas 1964 as cited in Gullason 1999). It is around this period that the Labrador *ulu* slightly changed shape from a broad lenticular form made from slate to a t-shaped iron form with tanged handles (Boas 1964 as cited in Gullason 1999).

2.3.2 Soapstone Vessels

Soapstone is considered a central asset to Inuit groups in the Canadian Arctic. Previous to the Thule arrival in the Eastern Arctic, the Dorset were using soapstone lamps for well over 2000 years, and it has been suggested that the Thule may have learned to manipulate the materials from their Palaeoeskimo contemporaries (Meldgaard 1962:5). However, Thule lamps bear no likeness to their Dorset counterparts. The use of a crescent lamp to heat and light the house has its origins in the material culture of Alaskan Inuit groups, such as the Birnirk, who appear to have used a shallow pottery saucer (Ford 1959:202). The soapstone lamp is considered to be a crucial element of the Inuit

household across the Canadian Arctic and Greenland, and was particularly important to the maternal head of the family. Although many families may occupy one winter house, each maternal head had to have her own lamp, which was either curated as an heirloom down the maternal line or placed in the woman's grave (Hough 1898). The lamp functioned as a source of heat and light, often placed upon its support while a cooking pot was suspended above the lamp. The lamp also functioned as a source of comfort, which is made evident in its continued use in the 19th century once many Inuit families had moved into mission-provided wooden houses with wood burning stoves (Cabak 1991). The comfort of the lamp in this case may be in part due to the maintenance of an important cultural tradition. The cooking pot was often made of soapstone and was rectangular in shape. In the pot, meat could be boiled by placing hot stones in the water above the fire of the lamp (McGhee 1984b). The lamp was a fixture in the household; however, when groups were travelling it was the responsibility of the owner to maintain and care for the lamp. The position of the lamp within the communal household often demarcates a work area for a woman or her own family unit. Whitridge has skillfully argued that the protruding position of the lamp within the communal household reflects the social importance of women's work at a time of skewed gender demographics (Whitridge 1999).

Although soapstone vessels were of paramount importance to Inuit life, Inuit began to rely heavily on iron, and traded for iron pots and kettles as early as the 1740s in Chateau Bay (Brice-Bennett 1981). By the 19th century women began using large ceramic bowls, which may be in part due to the new food items available through European trade

(Cabak 1991). Barring a few regional variations, Inuit men typically worked with hard materials, such as metal, bone and wood while women worked with soft material, such as animal skins (Giffen 1930:33). However, no surveys have conducted of the gendered division of hard and soft materials in Labrador. The gradual abandonment of soapstone vessels likely affected women's work within the household, although it is not known whether they would have made or repaired broken vessels (Cabak 1991).

2.3.3 Needles and Sewing Implements

The arctic climate requires the near-constant preparation and maintenance of warm clothing, typically prepared from seal and caribou skins. The preparation of skins is a time-consuming process that begins with the scraping of fat and tissue from the hide, which is then scraped repeatedly in order to make it supple. The hide can then be cut and sewn into various clothing items such as parkas, pants, boots and mitts with the use of small bone and metal needles. The needles are carved, polished, drilled and easily broken (McGhee 1984b). It is perhaps for this reason that metal needles were among the trade items from Europeans. Certainly, less time spent preparing the needles meant that more hides could be prepared from hunted animals. Needles were often held in bone needle cases, which were an integral part of an Inuit woman's tool kit. Although women were the primary needle users, it is unknown whether they were manufactured by women (Gullason 1999). It would appear to me that women would have been the manufacturers of needles, based on the ethnographic accounts of the intensive labour required to maintain the skins for clothing, tents and boats (Eber 1971). Early ethnographers could not decide on which activity consumed most of an Inuit woman's time: tending to the soapstone lamp or sewing (Cabak 1991). If Inuit women were required to spend up to 15

hours per day sewing, it stands to reason that the fragile bird bones were fashioned into needles by the women. However, some sewing-related items, such as awls and needle cases, appear to have been manufactured by men (Gullason 1999).

2.3.4 Glass Trade Beads and Soapstone Beads

Glass trade beads were among the most prestigious trade items in 18th century Labrador. While glass beads were very rare in 17th century sites, they appear to have been in high demand by the 18th century (Cabak 1991). Depending on site age and location, glass trade beads appear either in vast, almost uncountable numbers, or are strangely absent from certain communal houses, replaced instead by soapstone beads and pendants. Beads are not typically found in midden contexts but within the household, demonstrating the high value of such items, which were not quickly thrown away (Cabak 1991). Trade beads were used for both designs on clothes and in jewellery (Cabak 1991). It is clear that clothing was often an indicator of social status in Labrador, and glass trade beads that were retrieved from trade with Europeans would have been sewn into clothing in order to display wealth at first glance. During her voyage to England, Mikak received new clothing from the Princess Dowager of Wales, including a white *amauti* embroidered with gold stars and a Golden Medal of the King. The portrait of Mikak during her visit to England showcases her long beaded earrings, hanging from brass ear pieces and framing her face in a long length of expensive colour (Stopp 2009).

2.3.5. Men's and Non-Gendered Artifacts

I have placed a particular emphasis on the presence of artifacts generally used by women. My analysis also compares the artifacts and materials used by other members of the community, including non-gendered and men's artifacts. Artifacts that are associated

with men's activities tend to be centered on hunting technologies, such as harpoon pieces, men's knives, arrows and various blades (Gullason 1999; Hennebury 1999; McGhee 1984a, 1996; Taylor 1974). I also considered the taboo of hard/soft materials for artifacts associated with tool manufacture, such as wedges, bow drills and adzes, which were often made of wood, bone, antler and nephrite and chiefly used by men (Cabak 1991; McGhee 1996; Gullason 1999; Hennebury 1999). Some artifacts that were recovered during the manufacturing process, such as worked nails, were likely worked by men and have been included in men's assemblages where applicable. However, many artifacts cannot be relegated to male or female use unless there is sufficient ethnographic evidence to support their association with gendered tasks. Objects such as whetstones, unworked objects, and fish hooks may have been used by both genders and have therefore been relegated to the non-gendered category. This category encompasses the remainder of each site's assemblage under a large umbrella, and allows for my material analysis to extend beyond what I have designated as strictly women's or men's artifacts.

2.4 Conclusion

Feminist thought in an archaeological setting can often be easily disregarded as simple emphasis on women's past activities and associated artifacts; however, it has opened the door to a host of inclusive archaeologies, including the performative nature of gender, queer and masculine identities. Unless the basic tenets of feminist enquiry are entrenched in our theoretical and practical interpretations of the past, archaeologists run the risk of perpetuating the androcentric narratives that are so commonly held today. The application of gender and identity theory in my research goes beyond my focus on women's materials and artifacts, such as soapstone lamps, *ulus*, sewing implements and

glass trade beads, although these are central to my understanding of women's activities. By incorporating indigenous accounts of labour and identity, practicing reflexivity and examining multiple lines of evidence, I aim to actively work towards a balanced and inclusive narrative. In doing so, my research will contribute to our understanding of the people, events and micro-social interactions that helped to shape 18th century Labrador.

Chapter 3: Cultural and Historical Background

3.1 Thule/ Inuit Cultural Background

3.1.1 Thule Origins and Migration

The first connections between the Inuit populations of Greenland and the Canadian Arctic were drawn by the Fifth Thule Expedition, led by Therkel Mathiassen from 1921-1924 (Mathiassen 1927). In this establishing volume, Mathiassen set out to examine the origin of arctic Inuit populations through the comparative analysis of the archaeological and ethnographic records, and devised a list of technological and cultural characteristics that is still in use today (Mathiassen 1927; Maxwell 1985; McGhee 1984a). Mathiassen hypothesized that the Thule originated in northern Alaska and employed a similar technology to the earlier Alaskan Birnirk culture, which developed in Alaska from 500-900 A.D (Ford 1959; Schledermann 1971). Further inquiry has specified that the Thule emerged as an eastern extension of the Birnirk, who lived in semi-subterranean houses and used transportation technology such as large skin boats called *umiaks,* hunting boats such as kayaks and dog sleds (Schledermann 1971). Although the Birnirk did not hunt bowhead whales (*Balaena mysticetus*), the Classic Thule phase centralized their economy and technology around whaling (Mathiassen 1927; Friesen and Arnold 2008); however, many artifacts relating to Thule subsistence include tools and materials for a seal-hunting economy by kayak or on the sea ice, such as seal-hunting harpoon heads, ice picks, wound pins and drag-line handles (Maxwell 1985; McGhee 1984a). The Thule culture has since been identified throughout the arctic from its western origins, across the Bering Strait to northern Alaska, peppered across the vast Canadian

Arctic Archipelago and into the far eastern reaches of Labrador and Greenland (Collins 1937; Ford 1959; Grønnow 2009; McCartney 1979 as cited in Ramsden 2010).

The timing and origin of the Thule migration has been somewhat contested, primarily due to absolute radiocarbon dating problems that are unique to arctic archaeological sites. Often, radiocarbon samples in arctic contexts are limited to sea mammal bones and driftwood, both of which carry their own distinctive dating difficulties. Dates derived from sea mammal bones are subject to the marine reservoir effect, in which ancient carbon has been incorporated into living tissue and bone, resulting in skewed dates that are often too old and unreliable (Friesen and Arnold 2008; McGhee 2000; Park 2000). Dating difficulties reach Thule sites in Labrador, as the lack of chronometric dates leaves recent estimates to rely on dates from neighbouring areas and those from later European historical artifacts (Rankin 2009a: 17). Many Thule groups would have exploited marine resources during their migration, though accompanying coastal sites have undoubtedly been lost to erosion and have led to an imprecise perception of early Thule settlement patterns (Friesen and Arnold 2008). However, recent research by Friesen and Arnold (2008) indicates that reliable dates may be obtained from unmodified terrestrial mammal bones in conjunction with early diagnostic tools, and has led to a more precise understanding of the rapid migration and re-organization of early Thule migrants.

The speed and scale of the Thule population movement has been argued by Friesen and Arnold (2008) to be a remarkably rapid and widespread undertaking, beginning in the 13th century and spanning 200 years or less. Similar to their Birnirk

predecessors, Thule transportation technology included dog sleds and *umiaks,* which would have expedited their eastward migration (McGhee 2009). Alaskan Thule groups may have been motivated to migrate east due to factors that both pushed initial groups from the Western Thule homeland and pulled them towards promising eastern settlements and resources. Mathiassen (1927) suggested that the unexploited whale populations in the Eastern Arctic may have been a motivating pull, particularly in the face of the rising demographic stresses of diverse Alaskan groups sharing prized resources (Arnold and McCullough 1990; Stevenson 1997). McGhee (2009) proposes that a significant motivator to move east in the 12th and 13th centuries was drawn from the knowledge of meteoritic iron from Cape York in Northwest Greenland. Several factors shaped the rate of settlement in the Eastern Arctic, including the presence of metal, variable subsistence resources and the dispersed settlements of Dorset and European groups (Friesen and Arnold 2008). In Labrador, the presence of metal from European traders in the south may have been one of the biggest motivating factors in Inuit expansion (Ramsden and Rankin 2013). Certainly, the Labrador Inuit used similar transportation technology to their Thule ancestors in order to swiftly expand into, and settle Labrador (Kaplan 1985). However, at different points in time, the presence of various groups in southern and central Labrador greatly influenced Inuit settlement patterns all along the coast. In the late-15th to early-16th century when Thule/Inuit groups were first arriving in Labrador, Recent Indian groups occupied the south and Dorset Palaeo-Eskimo groups were possibly residing in the north (Fitzhugh 1977; Loring 1992). While Inuit groups swiftly migrated southward at the beginning of the 16th century, southern Labrador was occupied by the settlements of various European traders, whalers and missionaries (Kaplan 1985; McGhee 1996).

The transition from Thule to Inuit cultures is archaeologically difficult to ascertain; however, the transition is regarded as a reaction and adaptation to the climatic and social changes from the 15th to the 19th centuries (Rankin 2009a). However, this transition is virtually indistinguishable in the archaeological record. Additionally, it has been noted by several arctic researchers that distinguishing Thule from their Inuit counterparts based on European contact is perhaps outmoded, as Thule groups were frequently trading with Norse settlers in Greenland by the 13th century (Fitzhugh 1985; McGhee 1984a; Ramsden 2010). Instead, it is important to regard all of the social agendas and ecological variables present in changing economic strategies in order to move beyond simplistic models of cultural change (Kaplan and Woollett 2000).

3.1.2 Thule/ Inuit Settlement of Labrador

Despite the difficulties in dating early Thule sites in Labrador, it is confidently presumed that these groups travelled from neighbouring regions such as southern Baffin Island and Ungava Bay in the late 15th to early 16th centuries (Kaplan 1985) based on a great similarity of artifacts, including their sea-faring technology, such as kayaks and *umiaks*, and their bone and antler tool industry (Bird 1945; Taylor 1964; Rankin 2009b; Schledermann 1971). The shift of Inuit settlement from the Arctic Islands to the Southeastern Arctic coincides with the abandonment of Norse colonies in Greenland (Friesen and Arnold 2008; Ramsden and Rankin 2013). It is entirely plausible that in seeking new sources of European material, Inuit groups travelled south in order to capitalize on the new opportunities present in the burgeoning European whaling and fishing operations in the northeast Atlantic (Ramsden 2010; Rankin 2009a).

It has been argued that the colonization of Labrador, much like the eastward migration of Thule populations from Alaska, has been purposefully directed towards the acquisition of European materials; particularly iron (Ramsden and Rankin 2013). However, certain Thule groups near southern Baffin Island were in regular contact with Norse colonies in Greenland and were able to achieve a trade system for European materials prior to the European settlement of Labrador (McGhee 2009). Therefore, the separation between pre-modern and modern European colonization appears to have been only briefly interrupted, and the archaeological story of Inuit culture change in Labrador does not necessarily need to be defined by culture contact (Ramsden 2010; Whitridge 2008). It is difficult to determine the exact motivator for the Thule/ Inuit colonization of Labrador without dependable absolute dating; however, it is clear that within a few years of settlement, the Labrador Inuit were able to acquire European materials through varying strategies, such as raiding, scavenging and trading.

Our understand of original Thule settlement patterns in Labrador is based on the assumption that groups settled in the north and expanded southwards, reaching as far south as Hamilton Inlet by the late 16th or early 17th century (Jordan 1978; Kaplan 1985). Based on limited archival evidence, it was put forward that any Inuit settlements south of Hamilton Inlet were seasonal, with the intention of trading, raiding or stealing from European fishermen (Stopp 2002; Rankin 2009a, 2013; Taylor 1974). However, recent investigations led by Lisa Rankin in Sandwich Bay and Marianne Stopp in St. Michael's Bay has led to a remarkable re-understanding of the southern component of Thule/ Inuit settlement in Labrador (Beaudoin 2008; Brewster 2006; Murphy 2011; Ramsden and

Rankin 2013; Rankin 2004, 2006, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2010a, 2010b, 2013; Rankin et al. 2012; Stopp 2002, 2009). Stopp (2002) has suggested that Inuit groups may have resided in southern Labrador and the Quebec North Shore year-round, based on available archival and archaeological evidence. Further excavations of contemporary sod houses and tent rings at southern sites, such as Snack Cove, Pigeon Cove and Huntingdon Island indicate that Inuit groups were occupying the area over multiple seasons (Rankin 2009b, 2012, 2013; Rankin et al. 2012). Snack Cove-3, a 17th century settlement, and Snack Cove-1, its associated summer component, were used by Inuit groups who likely scavenged or raided nearby European camps (Brewster 2006). House 3 from Huntingdon Island-5 and its associated summer tent rings represent a year-round 18th century occupation in direct contact and trade with Europeans, whose goods were re-fashioned into traditional Inuit tools (Murphy 2011).

One of the major characteristics of Thule/Inuit culture is the remarkable ability to rapidly re-create socio-economic and ideological structures in the face of a changing environmental and social landscape (Friesen and Arnold 2008). Inuit groups were highly responsive to the economic opportunities present in the gradual settlement of Basque, French and British groups. It is clear from both historical documents and archaeological evidence that the establishment of European trading posts, missions and settlements significantly influenced traditional Inuit subsistence and settlement patterns. However, while Labrador Inuit were quick to re-organize their social and economic structure in order to secure economic advantages, they simultaneously suffered profound social

distress due to subsequent social stratification, the undermining of *angekoks* and the re-settlement of certain Inuit groups close to mission stations (Kaplan and Woollett 2000).

3.2 Inuit/ European Interactions

The degree of cultural change evident in early Inuit-European interaction can be re-imagined as a series of mutual cultural transformations, rather than an asymmetrical narrative of expansion and domination (Whitridge 2008). While the social and archaeological story of the Labrador Inuit cannot be defined by their contact with Europeans, the rapid re-organization of Inuit social and, by extension, architectural structures in Labrador may be best understood as an amplification of cultural practices in response to the economic opportunities presented by European trade (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Detailed documentation of Inuit land use and occupancy previous to the late 18th century is scarce, and must be re-constructed based on archaeological evidence, as well as the few records of European fishing and exploration reports (Auger1991; Taylor 1984). The arrival of the Moravian Missionaries in the late 18th century has provided numerous documents detailing Inuit settlement, subsistence and social structures that may be regarded as a valuable but somewhat biased tool for understanding the dynamic changes in Labrador during this period.

3.2.1 Initial Seasonal Fisheries and Trading Posts

The seasonal fisheries that were maintained by the French and Basque in the 15th and 16th centuries left few records of European and Inuit interaction; however, based on exploratory records of Jacques Cartier and Jean-Francois de La Roque de Roberval, it has been generally assumed that the Inuit were not present in southern Labrador in the early 16th century (Gosling 1910: 161). Scant evidence for European contact with Inuit groups

from this period comes from a printed handbill of a kidnapped Inuit woman and child which was printed in Augsburg and Nuremberg in 1566, providing remarkable but somewhat incredible detail on Inuit customs and clothing (Taylor 1984). A handful of English reports reference the presence of Inuit groups as far south as the Strait of Belle Isle and the Northern Peninsula in Newfoundland (Stopp 2002). Additional archival and archaeological research has revealed various degrees of settlement along the Quebec North Shore, which has led Martijn (1980, 2009) to describe the Inuit presence as 'more than transient'. To date, there is little archaeological evidence for sustained Inuit settlements along the Lower North Shore in the 16th and early 17th centuries; however, it is likely that Inuit groups were conducting seasonal forays into the Straits from winter settlements at Hamilton Inlet and Cartwright (Fitzhugh 2009)

The Inuit presence in southern Labrador was initially considered transient by early researchers such as Gosling (1910), who stated that their purpose was to quickly obtain European goods and retreat north, often by raiding. Indeed, Inuit groups were highly connected and news of the European newcomers and their valuable materials would have spread rapidly. By the late 17th century, there appears to have been more formalized trade between French explorers and Inuit groups, based on the encounters of Louis Jolliet on his excursion north along the Labrador coast (Jolliet 1694 as cited in Stopp 2002). Jolliet successfully purchased seal and animal oil in exchange for wooden boats and barrels, iron screws and nails, as well as knives and textiles (Jolliet 1694: 197, 201). However, Jolliet did not believe that the Inuit groups he was encountering had regular trade contacts, and at the time Inuit and European interaction remained for the most part hostile (Champlain

1922-1936:168-169). During this period, Inuit groups continued to scavenge and raid European fishing installations for iron objects which were then re-fashioned into traditional Inuit objects (Kaplan 1985; Ramsden 2010). For example, nails and spikes may have been scavenged or raided from seasonal European whaling and fishing camps, which would have then been cold-hammered into Inuit objects, such as *ulus*, men's knives and harpoon blades (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). This useful practice continued through to the 18th century as more iron, ceramic and glass objects became available through more formalized trade.

By the early 18th century, an expansion in permanent seal and cod fisheries in southern Labrador saw both hostilities and trade with Inuit groups (Trudel 1978:103). Historical evidence suggests that the Inuit were considered temporary visitors in southern Labrador, and it was believed that they returned to their winter homes in northern Labrador following a successful raiding or trading venture (Taylor 1984). The predictable seasonal movements of Inuit groups was noted by Dutch whalers, who were often instructed to wait for the expected southward migration of Inuit groups in order to maximize trade opportunities (Kupp and Hart 1976:13). However; some settlers noted that Inuit groups were wintering in Hamilton Inlet or as far south as Baie D'Haha in Grand Mécatina, indicating that Inuit groups were attempting to winter further south with the multiplying French outposts (Taylor 1984). While some groups continued to travel south strictly for trade, recent archaeological investigations indicate that Inuit groups resided in the area year-round, which include the excavated 18th century winter dwellings in Sandwich Bay (Rankin 2009b, 2013; Rankin et al. 2012). This pattern continued into

the 19th century, as Fitzhugh's (2009) recent excavations from Hare Harbour at Petit Mécatina has revealed a significant Inuit settlement on Quebec's Lower North Shore, whose occupants benefitted from European goods and trade while maintaining traditional Inuit subsistence patterns.

3.2.1.1 Inuit Entrepreneurs

Around the same time that European fishers and traders were capitalizing on the abundant resources available in Labrador, Inuit middlemen rose equally to the occasion. Although many scholars have referred to the emerging class of wealthy Inuit traders in the 18th century as 'big men', the term may be considered slightly outdated. Originally likened to the generic anthropological term for highly influential and generous men, first coined in Polynesia (Sahlins 1963), the term has come under fire lately for its exclusion of women from the trade process (Amelia Fay pers. comm.). While this particular term was useful for early descriptions of the rise of wealthy Inuit traders, some scholars have opted to frame the Inuit entrepreneurial surge to their particular history, which in turn may allow for the inclusion of all players (Amelia Fay pers. comm).

Eighteenth century Inuit entrepreneurs were wealthy individuals who often conducted trade with Europeans and other Inuit groups. It has been argued that the organizational efforts required in maintaining an open-water hunt gave rise to household leadership, based on the skill of successful seal and whale hunters, which translated directly into economic capital during trade with Europeans (Woollett 1999). Ultimately, the authority and leadership of these effective captains may have transferred to their leadership roles outside of the hunt, which may have also been achieved by successful shamans (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Ethnographically, Inuit entrepreneurs were

documented in the 18th century as the influential heads of households who occupied the emblematic communal houses with their multiple wives and partners, often their brothers or sons (Taylor 1974). The communal house was large enough to accommodate these extended families, indicated structurally by the presence of multiple lampstands and alcoves, which were often led by the head of the household (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Taylor 1974).

3.2.1.2 The Roles of Inuit Women in Trade

While much emphasis is placed on the roles and activities of male Inuit entrepreneurs, ethnographic and archaeological evidence suggests that women may have also played a valuable role in the development of trade in 18th century Labrador. Women often initiated negotiations, and were sometimes considered to be more astute at trading than their male counterparts (Kleivan 1966). Mikak was one such historical figure, an Inuit woman who was famed for her composure and negotiation skills and who ultimately aided in the peaceful settlement and subsequent relations with the Moravian Missionaries in northern Labrador (Stopp 2009). Amelia Fay (2011a, 2011b) has examined Mikak's archaeological footprint at length during her excavations at Black Island, which have revealed a considerable amount of European goods in Mikak's Inuit-style home. Mikak's contribution to the changing economic and political landscape in Labrador has been extensively documented through her relationship with various Moravians and members of both the British government and society (Stopp 2009). In particular, Mikak's successful voyage to England and subsequent relationship with the missionary Jens Haven led to the successful foundation of the first mission in Nain. Due to her fluency in the English language, Mikak facilitated meetings and negotiations between missionaries and her

family, including her famous first husband, Tuglavina (Stopp 2009). However, Mikak remained unbaptized until just before her death in 1795, despite her efforts to maintain a positive relationship with the Moravians. Mikak's social status both among the Inuit and the Moravians fluctuated greatly, reflecting what Stopp refers to as 'the fluidity of social roles and agency that the Inuit were able to exercise despite strong pressures by Europeans' (Stopp 2009:60). The accounts of Mikak's travels, negotiations and changing relationships with the Moravians and her subsequent flexible social status provide an indicator as to the effects of Inuit women on the process of trade at this time.

Mikak is one historical example among numerous unnamed women who may have had a direct connection to the burgeoning trade between Inuit groups and Europeans. As major occupants and caretakers of the communal house, Inuit women were directly and indirectly affected by the trade process. Based on the surveys conducted by the Moravian missionaries in 1765, it can be confidently presumed that mostly men participated in open-water sealing and whaling in support of trade with Europeans; however, women played a valuable role in the processing of both skins and oil that were traded for European items (Taylor 1972).

While little documentation exists for the activities of Inuit women in the 18th century, the presence of the *ulu*, which was used chiefly for the processing of game and the preparation of skins, may gauge women's direct involvement in skin and oil production. We may also infer that due to the well-documented taboo of soft (female) and hard (male) materials, women were the beginning and end in the production line of caribou and seal skins in Labrador (McGhee 1996). However, women could also exercise

their agency in both the products and practice of trade, as is evident in Mikak's trading voyages south to Chateau Bay in 1782 to purchase a boat, firearms and traps with her second husband Pualo (Stopp 2008).

3.2.2 Established Trade Network on the Labrador Coast

By the 18th century, the Inuit economy appears to have shifted its focus towards open-water whaling and directed trade with Europeans, which coincides with the characteristic emergence of communal sod houses (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1985; Ramsden 2010; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1976; Taylor 1974). Specific whaling rituals were observed by the Moravian missionaries at Okak and Hopedale in the late 18th century, including the taboo of mixing land and sea products and ritual activities conducted over equipment prior to the hunt (Taylor 1984:129). Remarkably, many ritual whaling activities held in Labrador bear similarities to the whale cult from the Western Arctic, strengthening their historic and ancestral connection (ibid: 130). While whale remains are uncommon in archaeological contexts from 18th century Labrador, whales were ideologically important: shamanistic rituals were highly focused on whales, which were not essential for survival, but for economic growth and social cohesion (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). While it is clear that the Inuit economy had begun to reflect an increase in trade with Europeans, the path to formalized trade was far from linear.

Initial attempts to formalize trade were met with limited success after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. While the treaty limited the sale of alcohol and urged amicable trade relations, the years of aggressive encounters between Inuit and French fisheries had resulted in a fearful trading environment (Trudel 1981:336). While some individuals were able to maintain direct and formalized trade with Europeans, hostile encounters were

historically documented well after British trade policies were implemented after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which effectively saw the French yield their fisheries on the coast of Labrador (Kaplan 1983; Trudel 1981). While the transition from French to British trade practices with Inuit groups were initially antagonistic, negotiations between Newfoundland Governor Hugh Palliser and Greenland Missionaries paved the way for European expansion and the settlement of Labrador (Taylor 1972:135, 1984). By the late 18th century, British fishing and fur trading posts developed in southern Labrador, supplying Inuit groups in the area with European food and trade goods, which had been previously established as the point of entry for European goods (Fitzhugh 1985). In the meantime, European migrants were encouraged to settle and marry Inuit women, establishing a population of 'Settlers', the ancestors of the current Inuit-Métis population in Labrador (Kennedy 1985; Taylor 1984). Archaeologically, the abundant iron nail and spike artifacts from previous periods are supplemented by formalized trade items, such as axe heads, muskets, cuff links, buttons and most notably, an enormous increase in glass beads (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Ramsden 2010).

3.2.3 Effects of European Settlement and Moravian Mission Stations

Following an unsuccessful attempt to found a mission at Makkovik in 1752, the Moravians were rejuvenated by the successful negotiations initiated by Hugh Palliser, the governor of Newfoundland, who aided the missionaries in becoming some of the first Europeans to settle north of Hamilton Inlet in the mid-18th century (Stopp 2009; Taylor 1984). While permanent settlement was banned in favour of maintaining the seasonal nature of fisheries, by the late 18th century Moravian missionaries began establishing mission stations in northern Labrador (Auger 1991; Kaplan 1983). The first mission was

established in Nain in 1771, followed by missions in Okak in 1775 and Hopedale in 1782. The primary interest of the Moravians was to convert as many Inuit to Christianity as possible; however, the Inuit were initially interested in the trade opportunities that the new settlements provided (Taylor 1984). The missions remained self-sufficient through regular trade with interested Inuit groups, and largely reduced the need to travel further south for trade with Europeans (Cabak 1991; Taylor 1984).

By the 19th century the ban on settlements in Labrador was lifted and the relationship between Inuit traders and the British changed dramatically. Inuit settlements appear to have been concentrated around European trading posts and the communal houses were soon abandoned. The large iconic multi-family structures were replaced by single-family houses, often built in the European style and requiring wood-burning stoves, partly due to the increasing population of 'Settlers': families of mixed Inuit and European heritage (Kleivan 1966). Settler populations were open to Inuit lifestyles, archaeologically represented by European style architecture and features, but artifact distributions that represent an Inuit use of the household, typically produced by the women and children who lived within (Beaudoin 2008).

Mission stations were a strange addition to the landscape: welcoming areas to the converted, while simultaneously isolating converts from their unbaptized kin (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). While Inuit groups enjoyed a surplus of European materials, the Moravian missionaries unsettled Inuit ideology by undermining the work of *angekoks* (sing. *angekok*), also known as shamans, who were considered spiritual mediators (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). The missionaries also actively worked to suppress what they

considered heathen practices, including dancing, drumming and singing (Kennedy 1985:267). While the ultimate goal of the missionaries was to convert as many Inuit to Christianity as possible, it has been noted that many Inuit were only nominally Moravian, and held on to basic elements of Inuit culture while exploiting the economic opportunities presented by the mission trading posts (Kennedy 1985). Indeed, the Moravians themselves were hesitant to baptize any Inuit who could recite the Lord's Prayer, preferring to judge their faith by their works (Jenness 1965: 14). While it cannot be denied that the Moravians had a profound effect on Inuit settlement patterns and social life, the Moravian goals to increase sedentism and prevent southward migration fell short. The missionaries soon found that in order for the mission stations to remain self-sufficient, certain Inuit practices needed to be maintained, chiefly the adherence to seasonal subsistence patterns (Kennedy 1985). In this way, it is possible to view the Inuit-Moravian relationship as a system of informed compromise, instead of a Christian system that was forcefully imposed on an unsuspecting and vulnerable people.

During the 19th century missions were established in Hebron, Zoar, Ramah and Makkovik, with the furthest north mission established in Killinek in 1904 (Taylor 1984). The basic trade pattern of European goods entering from the south and travelling north in exchange for Inuit goods was soon disrupted by both the growth in trade at the mission stations and the increasing presence of Newfoundland cod fisherman in northern Labrador (Taylor 1984). The intensification of missions and fishing stations along the Labrador coast brought novel trade goods, but also introduced diseases that led to a significant decline in Inuit populations (Taylor 1984). By 1926, the Moravians

transferred their trade operations to the Hudson's Bay Company, who significantly altered and controlled the Inuit economy well into the 20th century (Kleivan 1966: 129).

The effects of the Moravian missions can be observed in the present-day Inuit communities along the Labrador coast. It is clear that although the mission stations influenced Inuit settlement patterns and disrupted several aspects of traditional Inuit religious and social life, many Inuit groups acted according to their own interests, particularly in order to acquire European goods (Stopp 2009). By examining the cultural exchange between both groups we are able to move beyond simplistic notions of European dominance and Native American submission (Whitridge 2008). However, the extensive documents kept by the Moravians remain an invaluable window on Inuit life during a critical period of interaction and change (Stopp 2009; Taylor 1984). While most of the documents were written in German, English translations and summaries of these manuscripts are a useful ethnographical supplement to archaeological evidence. These documents should be regarded critically due to the intrinsic bias of missionary surveys, in addition to the loss of some context in translation (Rollmann 1984).

3.2.4 The Southern Component of Trade

Despite the recent discoveries of communal houses and the emerging understanding of Inuit settlement in southern Labrador during the 18th century, historical documents provide evidence of southern Inuit and European encounters that span the duration of European contact in Labrador (Stopp 2002). While it is clear that Inuit and European groups were in southern Labrador by the 16th century, European documents describe these early encounters as sporadic and often violent, and the extent and motive

of Inuit settlement in southern Labrador during this early period is yet unknown. However, the arrival of the Inuit in southern Labrador was congruent with the seasonal European fisheries, which provided ample opportunities to acquire European goods (Rankin et al. 2012). Stopp (2002) has provided documentary evidence to support the year-round Inuit occupation of southern Labrador and the Quebec Lower North Shore from the mid-1500s to the 1700s, during which multiple resource-based activities took place. The arrival of the Moravian missionaries in the 18th century drew many Inuit groups north for trade; however, many chose to remain south, including Inuit middlemen who chose to capitalize on the burgeoning European trade in southern Labrador (Kennedy 1995; Rollmann 2011).

At times, Inuit groups from Nain were employed by merchants in order to supplement the low European working population in Sandwich Bay (Anderson 1984: 37). Far from a land devoid of Inuit presence, southern Labrador was bustling with economic activity in the 18th and 19th centuries, as the influx of European goods and trade endeavours were extended by the Inuit who congruently settled and traded with them. Ultimately, the success of Inuit economic activity in southern Labrador led to the development of several confirmed communal houses in the region, with a particular concentration in Sandwich Bay (Rankin et al. 2012).

3.3 Research Context: Communal Houses and Household Organization

The emergence of communal houses in 18th century Labrador has previously been considered through either an environmental or economic lens. As was previously stated, communal houses first emerged in the 17th century along the Labrador coast and were

occupied by several families, typically lead by the head of the house with economic, trade and/or shamanistic assets. Previously, Schledermann (1971) has attributed their emergence to an adaptive Inuit response to environmental cooling and altered resource distribution; however, evidence to support a significant change in climate at this time has been found lacking (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Woollett 2003). Jordan (1978) Kaplan (1985) and Taylor (1974) have advocated the notion that the increase in conflict and competition among Inuit groups was a response to economic changes; however, Richling criticises the assumption that European goods were considered private property and were not traditionally circulated among kin. Richling (1993) suggests that communal houses were a manifestation of heightened communalism and reflect a customary means to deal with the scarcity of European goods. Gulløv (1982, 1997) has likened the development of the communal house form to a similar architectural and European trade trajectory that occurred almost simultaneously in East Greenland. Based on the emerging class of wealthy Inuit entrepreneurs around whom the house was centered, Whitridge (2008) argues that this household structure may be considered more corporate than communal. Whole families were known to travel and reside in southern Labrador; however it has been argued that it was largely men travelling south, trading and not always returning (Kleivan 1966). Consequently, the houses may have been populated chiefly by women, who remain visible through the structural focus on lampstands (Whitridge 2008:302).

While Inuit men were likely killed in dangerous trading endeavours, archaeological research in southern Labrador disputes the fact that largely male groups were traveling south. Instead, it is clear that whole families were residing in southern

Labrador year-round, based largely on the presence of women and children's items in the area (Rankin 2009a, 2013; Rankin et al. 2012; Stopp 2002).

All latter authors agree that communal houses reflect a traditional response to a period of scarcity: it is only the question of what is scarce that appears to change. It has been soundly argued that the architecture is designed to facilitate the sharing of resources during a period of economic and social stress, which can maximize trade opportunities while building wealth and alliances (Dawson 2002; Kaplan and Woollett 2000). However, this perspective narrows the focus of the instigation of social change to economic and environmental factors. Instead, the household may be considered as the extension of the goal-oriented action of male and female Inuit agents (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Whitridge argues that in order to move beyond the generic narrative of socioeconomic hierarchies and environmental adaptations, researchers must explore the micro-social relations within the household in order to fully examine the architectural re-configuration (Whitridge 2008). Undoubtedly, the rapid re-organization of Inuit household architecture can be considered as a response to socio-economic successes and stress, made capable by the generalized, flexible Inuit economic structure (Kaplan and Woollett 2000)

3.3.1 Thule and Inuit House Forms

The Thule house form, much like the majority of their technology, has its origins in the semi-subterranean rectangular house forms of the Birnirk culture in Alaska (Ford 1959). The Birnirk house consisted primarily of driftwood logs, log floors, rear sleeping platforms and a cold-trap entrance tunnel. However, due to the relative scarcity of driftwood in the Canadian Arctic, Thule dwellings typically consist of round or sub-

rectangular semi-subterranean winter sod houses with a stone slab or gravel floor (McGhee 1984b; Rankin 2009a). The winter house generally consists of a sea-facing sunken passage, raised flagstone floor, lamp stands, paved alcoves and sleeping platforms (Rankin 2009a). Whale mandibles and maxilla typically support a sod roof, and multiple crescent soapstone lamps supply heat and light for this well-insulated house (McGhee 1984b).

With the arrival of the warm summer months, spanning from April until October, Inuit groups occupied the *tupiq*, the summer tent: a conical framework of poles covered in seal or caribou skin (Hill et al. 1765; Taylor 1969). Tents held fewer occupants than the substantial communal house; however, tents were often clustered together and likely consisted of the extended family, indicating that the social stratification of the winter months may have extended year round (McGhee 1984b; Taylor 1984). Depending on several variables, including geographic location, resource availability and environmental conditions, the architecture and internal dynamics of the house change accordingly over time (Whitridge 2008).

3.3.1.1 The Interrelation of Gender, Household Form and Inuit Ideology

Houses provide the archaeological setting for a variety of social relationships and allow the researcher to focus on the agencies that shape the household, making women visible and central to our understanding of Inuit society (LeMoine 2008:123). While an Inuit woman's work cannot be limited to the domestic sphere, dwellings are some of the most archaeologically visible structures on the arctic landscape and provide a suitable arena for understanding Inuit gender roles (Cabak 1991).

Whitridge (2008) has examined the significance of the position of the hearth in a long-term architectural history of Inuit dwellings. While the size and shape of Inuit dwellings remained largely uniform until the emergence of communal houses, the hearth began in a centralized position in the early Birnirk period. The Classic Thule period is marked by an increase in whaling crews and the rise of the *qargi*, known as the men's house. Women's work was consequently not the focal economic point of the household, which is architecturally demonstrated in a detached kitchen wing (Whitridge 2008). The hearth, or lamp stand, was eventually re-integrated to a kitchen niche in the Late Classic or Modified Thule period, and was displayed on the inside of the house during a period of declined whaling known as the Modified Thule or Proto-historic period. Finally, the lamp is re-established in a central position in the communal houses of the Eastern Arctic, which denotes a "symbolic and practical promotion of women's spaces" (Whitridge 2008: 301).

Although household composition may change seasonally, the household grouping that is evident in winter dwellings, particularly in communal houses, allows for a focused investigation of the physical space within which social roles are enacted (LeMoine 2008). Ethnographic analogies of household use across the wide breadth of Inuit winter houses provide multiple lines of evidence that aid in re-constructing the interrelated nature of complex, abstract gender roles and dynamic household forms which are often laden with ideological significance (LeMoine 2003).

With the long-term history of Inuit architecture in mind, the adoption of communal houses may be fully appreciated as part of a specific historical trajectory, rather than an out of context phenomenon (Whitridge 2008). The 18th century Inuit

communal house in Labrador varies in size, typically consisting of a rectangular flagstone floor surrounded by raised sleeping platforms, an extended entrance passage with a cold trap and several lamp platforms (Rankin 2009a). Most communal houses have one large room with a common entrance passage and floor, although some are discovered with conjoined rooms (Rankin 2009a). The lamp platforms are of particular interest due to their association with the nuclear family: one lamp stand typically represents the hub of activity for an Inuit woman and her immediate family (LeMoine 2008). Therefore, the number and distribution of lamp stands has implications regarding household organization. Most notably, the distribution of artifacts around various lamp stands may shed light on the hierarchical nature of the household.

3.3.2 Increase in Social Division

The high investment in household architecture suggests that certain wealthy Inuit groups were intensifying kinship ties and moving towards a system of social hierarchy in response to social stress. A similar response is observed in the cultural parallels of Dawson's study of space syntax in Central Inuit snow houses (Dawson 2002). In this ethnographic study, the author demonstrates that the composition of arctic snow houses reflects variations in familial structure and behavioural directives in kinship systems among the Copper, Netsilik and Iglulik Inuit. Dawson argues that social structure intensifies as groups move from west to east as evident in the spatial configurations of scale and social integration. The Iglulik reflect the strongest extended kin ties and diversity of partnerships through their large, spatially complex snow houses which are commonly organized around a shared central space. Dawson applies the principles of space syntax to communal Thule houses and suggests that kinship ties intensified over

time as evident in increasing scale and integration over earlier house forms (Dawson 2002).

Details of Labrador Inuit social organization were not well known until the Moravian missionaries conducted a census in 1776-1777. The census revealed that out of 36 marriages in the Okak region, 13 were polygynous, 7 of which consisted of two wives, and 6 of three wives (Taylor 1974:68). Multiple wives were an explicit goal of Inuit heads of the household, indicated by high reports of wife stealing and marriages to girls as young as 10 years old (Taylor 1984). The average size of the family was five members; however, a household typically consisted of joint or several stem families, including widowed sisters and unmarried children (Taylor 1984). Leadership was well developed at the familial and household level, with both secular and shaman heads of the household in charge of 20 closely related people on average (Taylor 1974:67). Although there are few reports on the nature of social hierarchies within the communal household, some Moravian documents indicate that women suffered an increase in domestic violence and wife stealing (Cabak 1991; Taylor 1984). Inuit women appear to have taken action against the increasing social division during the 18th and 19th centuries, as they were among the first to settle closer to, or within the mission stations in order to improve their social status and standard of living (Cabak 1991).

3.4 Conclusion/ Discussion

In this chapter I have outlined the historical and cultural background of two distinct cultures at their time of contact in Labrador, beginning with the Thule migration

from Alaska to the Inuit settlement of Labrador, with an emphasis on the Communal House Phase. Although the social, economic and architectural transformations of the Labrador Inuit cannot be circumscribed to the age-old narrative of European contact and domination, it is clear that the trade opportunities and settlements of various European groups influenced several aspects of Inuit society during the 18th century. The economic opportunities presented by coastal trade may be understood as mutually beneficial, with European iron, ceramic, glass and other goods being traded for equally valuable Inuit seal and whale products. The increase in economic activity may be considered a factor that led to the adoption of large, multi-family communal houses and the increased settlement of Europeans in Labrador. However, as Whitridge (2008) proposes, the long-term architectural history of the Thule/Inuit must be explored in order to assess the communal house as a distinctively Inuit response to external, internal and environmental pressures. This chapter has placed an emphasis on the position of Inuit women during the 18th century, who are so often regarded as background workers or symbols of status in the form of multiple wives. By examining the subtle internal household dynamics outlined in chapter 2 with the external pressures of European contact, the stage is set to appreciate the central role that Inuit women played within the household and as a part of the larger trade network. By exploring the well-documented part of players such as Mikak, in addition to female roles and responsibilities in the process of trade, Inuit women are re-considered as partners in cultural change.

Chapter 4: Results

The archaeological sites chosen for this study are spread across coastal Labrador. The landscape of this coastline changes from the mountain ranges and fjords of the Torngat Mountains National Park in northern Labrador to the low lying plain and archipelagoes of southern Labrador (Auger 1991). The entire coastline is defined by numerous bays and fjords, which are separated by headlands and support diverse ecosystems. Despite the changes in geography, Inuit cultural patterns appear to be quite similar from north to south, as they inhabited similar house forms, followed similar subsistence practices, and manufactured similar tools. However, the results presented here suggest that there are some intriguing differences in the acquisition and use of European materials from four relatively contemporaneous communal houses located in different regions of Labrador.

Materials chosen for analysis come from sites on different parts of the coast, namely Ikkusik in northern Labrador, Adlavik and Eskimo Island-1 in the central region and Huntingdon Island-5 in the south [Figure 1.1]. The sites are comparable due to the similar house forms and dates, and because each has undergone considerable excavation. One communal house from each site was excavated. The women and men's artifacts from each site have been examined within the context of the region's natural environment, climate, history and the original interpretations of the site's function.

4.1 Laboratory Methodology

The number of artifacts recovered from each of the sites was highly variable. Some collections were quite small, while some contained thousands of artifacts. In an effort to overcome this difference, presence/ absence ratios were used to determine the

extent of gendered and regional differences in the associated artifact assemblages. Artifacts were first divided into three general categories: women's, men's and non-gendered artifacts. Based on the archaeological, ethnographic and historical evidence outlined in chapter 2, women's artifacts include items that were often used in association with everyday tasks, such as the *ulu* (women's knife) for cutting and preparing hides, meat and blubber, soapstone bowls and lamps for cooking and heating the house, various vessels used to store and distribute food, needles for sewing, and organic materials, such as hide, which were fashioned into clothing, tents and boat skins (Ackerman 1990; Billson and Mancini 2007; Brice-Bennett 1981; Briggs 1974; Cabak 1991; Eber 1971; Giffen 1930; Guemple 1986; Gullason 1999; Hennebury 1999; McGhee 1984a, 1996; Taylor 1974; Whitridge 1999). Men's artifacts are mostly related to hunting, manufacturing and transportation activities, including men's knives and blades, various harpoon parts, dog harness pieces and sled runners. Artifacts relating to tool manufacture include drill parts, wedges and adzes, as well as worked metals and bone (Cabak 1991; Gullason 1999; Hennebury 1999; McGhee 1984a, 1996; Taylor 1974).

For each assemblage, the total number of artifacts associated with women's activities was determined, and is first examined as a percentage of the entire house assemblage. The process is repeated for male and non-gendered artifacts in order to determine the total number of gender-associated artifacts, as well as the percentage of gendered artifacts in the total assemblage.

Further comparisons are made between the number of gendered artifacts that are comprised of traditional materials (i.e. bone, antler, slate, and soapstone) against those modified from, or comprised entirely of, European-derived materials (i.e. iron, metals and

ceramics). The results of this comparison are used to determine whether men and women had equal access to European goods. Percentages were then compared between sites to indicate any regional differences in the acquisition and use of these gendered artifacts during the winter months.

4.1.1 Normalizing Divergent Methodologies

In comparing sites that were excavated, catalogued and analyzed between 1970 and 2010, a 40-year discrepancy in methodologies must be addressed. Eskimo Island-1 and Ikkusik were excavated without the use of screens or sifters, and small artifacts such as beads, pendants and small fragments may not be accounted for. Glass beads are a well-recognized trade commodity and may be underrepresented in these assemblages.

Across various regions of the Arctic, Inuit women sewed and decorated clothing in order to communicate cultural identity, display wealth and provide the necessary protection while hunting or travelling (Hall et al. 1994). Eastern Inuit women displayed their own wealth through long beaded earrings, and sewed traded glass beads onto various items of clothing for all members of the household (Amelia Fay, Lisa Rankin pers. comm.). However, to include every glass bead as an individual artifact has the potential to skew the results of the analysis. For example, over 9000 beads were recovered from House 2 at Eskimo Island-1, while fewer than 1000 artifacts were recovered from the remaining houses. Instead, the counts for glass beads can be considered separately as indicators of trade with Europeans, and will only be compared directly to glass bead counts from other sites.

Furthermore, Eskimo Island-1 and Ikkusik were not fully excavated. In order to account for the differences in excavation strategies, the percentages of women's artifacts

in the test units will be explicitly assumed to be equal to those in full excavations. As this is a reflexive analysis of communal house artifacts, the results of these comparisons are subject to change upon further excavation, discovery or analysis.

4.2 Resources of Coastal Labrador

Inuit groups that lived in 18th century Labrador had both the subsistence and transportation technology suited to explore and exploit a wide variety of food resources. Although inland Labrador provides few land mammal species, the marine resources of the Labrador coast are abundant and reliable (Auger 1991; Taylor 1974). Inuit groups took advantage of the migratory seal resources in Labrador, which includes harp (*Phoca groenlandica)* and hooded seal (*Cystophora cristata*), which migrate annually, travelling south during the autumn and north again at springtime. The whelping season was particularly important, providing a reliable source of meat and skins. The ringed seal (*Phoca hispida)*, though small, was considered an important food source because they wintered in the bays and provided reliable sustenance (Schledermann 1971). Harbour (*Phoca vitulina*) and grey seal (*Halichoerus grypus*) are available in the spring and summer (Auger 1991; Taylor 1974).

Inuit groups in coastal northern Labrador also took advantage of the slow southward migration of the bowhead whale (*Balaena mysticetus)* in November (Taylor 1974:25). Walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus)* were useful for their meat and ivory, the latter of which was a valuable trade commodity (Schledermann 1971). Birds provided meat and eggs, including the common eider (*Somateria mollisima)* and the black guillemot (*Cepphus grylle)*. Arctic char (*Salvelingu salpinus*) and occasionally salmon (*Salmo salar)* were available in mid to late summer close to river mouths, and could be dried and

stored for the winter (ibid). Of the few land species, caribou (*Rangifer tarandus arcticus)* was important not only for its meat, but also its skins, which were used for clothing and tents, and their antler that was manufactured into a variety of tools and tool handles (ibid).

Southern Labrador's subarctic climate is influenced by the cold Labrador Current, which results in extreme seasonal temperature variations; however, the permafrost persists in some places and precipitation is high during the summer months, on average 500 millimeters per year (Lopoukhine et al. 1977). Despite the variation in climate zones and biospheres, Inuit settlement patterns, household structures and material culture remain remarkably similar along coastal Labrador.

Abundant food resources throughout coastal Labrador ensured that Inuit groups were able to subsist year round. Ultimately, the seasonal predictability and abundance allowed Inuit to accumulate various skins, oil and blubber for trade with European groups and each other, but regional differences can be expected.

4.3 Ikkusik (IdCr-02) – Northern Labrador

The most northerly site chosen for this study is Ikkusik, which is located on the southeast tip of Rose Island in Saglek Bay and consists of 20 distinct houses [Figure 4.1]. The site appears to have been occupied successively from the 'Early Phase' (AD 1450-1700), through to the Communal House Phase (AD 1700-1850) and into the 'Late Phase' (AD 1850- present) (Schledermann 1972).

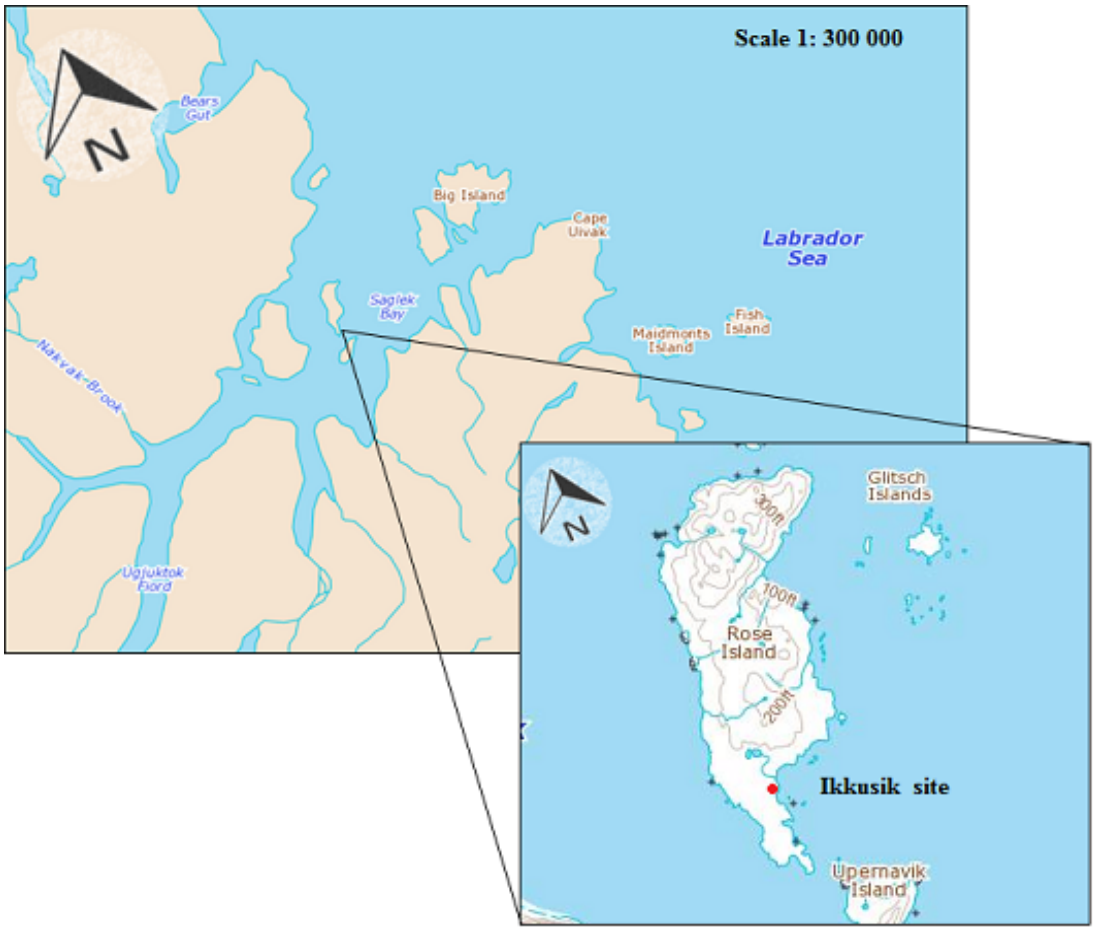

Figure 4.1 Location of Ikkusik site (Modified from the Atlas of Canada 2013).

The collection examined below comes from House 8, the house most fully excavated, which was dated to the mid-18th century. It provides a glimpse into the activities and interests of the individuals that occupied this communal house.

4.3.1 Ikkusik and the Natural Environment in the Northern Region.

Labrador is a zone of transition between the arctic and subarctic climates, and is one of the southernmost reaches of the arctic ecozone. Cold sea water and sea ice are guaranteed by the Labrador current from Baffin Bay as well as the Davis and Hudson

Straits, which has a considerable cooling effect along the coast. Polar air masses ensure long, cold winters. Warm air masses arrive between the spring and the fall due to Labrador's relatively southern latitude. While the modern average temperature varies depending on the prevailing winds, in northern Labrador it typically remains below 0ºC, with the lowest average in Killinek at -6ºC (Taylor 1974). The high degree of seasonal variation supports both a tundra and inland boreal ecological zone along Labrador, which together support a wide range of seasonal migratory species (Woollett 2003).

Saglek Bay is approximately 320 kilometers north of Nain and is located at the easternmost limit of the Canadian Shield (Schledermann 1971). The Inuit of the area would have used two major ecozones during their annual subsistence cycle: the upland zone and deep valleys of the Torngat massif provided inland transportation routes, and the outer bays and islands along the coast secured access to marine resources (Schledermann 1971).

4.3.2 Sites and Survey

During the summer of 1970, Peter Schledermann and his crew located and tested over 56 house ruins in the Saglek Bay area. Three sites were discovered that can be associated with the Communal House Phase including Ikkusik; Tuglavina; and Upernavik. The Ikkusik site consists of several communal houses, which had undergone multiple periods of occupation. This is considered typical of northern communal houses (Schledermann 1971). Although time constraints limited the extent of the excavation at Ikkusik, House 8 is one of the most extensively excavated communal houses in northern Labrador, making it useful for comparison to similar communal houses. Nevertheless there were several problems encountered during the excavation of Ikkusik associated with permafrost, which

did not allow for continuous or complete excavation. This no doubt affected the total number of objects recovered, but this cannot be directly assessed. In order to negate some of the impacts of an incomplete excavation, the current percentages for men's, women's and non-gendered artifacts are assumed to be representative of a full collection; however, these results are subject to change upon further discovery or analysis. Additionally, provenience was not recorded for all the artifacts recovered from House 8, and it was not possible to examine the distribution of gendered artifacts in this house.

4.3.3 Communal House Phase Occupation at House 8

The decision to excavate House 8 was based on a large quantity of whale bone and wood found during testing, which revealed a considerable amount of structural information. During excavation, 896 artifacts were recovered. Schledermann confidently situated House 8 within the communal house phase, based on the design of the house and the presence of formal trade goods, including kaolin pipes, flint and French and English ceramics (Schledermann 1971:90). Schledermann also took great care to separate intrusive materials from upper layers, as younger houses were built directly on top of the older structure (Schledermann 1971:71). House 8 consists of six lamp platforms, three sleeping platforms, a flagstone floor and an entrance passage 10 meters long (Schledermann 1972), indicating that multiple families were residing within this communal house. The distinct communal house architecture, coupled with the results of gendered artifacts from House 8, offers a good example of communal house use in a northern context.

4.3.4 House 8 Artifacts

Of the 896 artifacts uncovered from House 8 during the 1970 field season, 122 artifacts can be explicitly associated with women's activities, accounting for 13.6% of the total assemblage [Table 4.1]. An additional two women's artifacts were manufactured from European material [Table 4.2]. The remaining 122 were made from traditional materials. Artifacts associated with men's activities account for 142 pieces, 13 of which were made from European materials [Table 4.3; Table 4.4]. The remaining 572 artifacts are non-gendered, of which 76 objects were made of European material [Table 4.5]. Overall, the artifact counts suggest a propensity towards traditionally available materials in this northern context, and most of the European-derived material that has been recovered was fashioned into Inuit objects.

4.3.4.1 Women's Artifacts

The Ikkusik catalogue indicates that 24 soapstone pots and 32 soapstone lamps were uncovered. Upon close inspection of the artifacts stored at The Rooms Museum, it was clear that most of these were not full specimens, but soapstone fragments that could be definitively identified as either pots or lamps based on their shape, size, curvature and at times, decoration. Nine soapstone fragments have been identified as possible lamps and four as bowls. Based on my own attempts at re-fitting the soapstone fragments, it appears as though none of them came from the same vessel, and the counts from the catalogue were used in my analysis. The remaining nine pieces of soapstone are considered fragments as they could not be identified to any particular vessel type. All fragments were therefore assumed to be from separate objects and are considered separate artifacts in the final soapstone count. Finally, three beads discovered at Ikkusik were carved from

soapstone. The total number of women's soapstone and steatite artifacts is 81, which accounts for 8.5% of the total assemblage [Table 4.1].

Table 4.1 Ikkusik women's Inuit material artifacts.

WOMEN'S INUIT MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**%(/896)**
Bone Awl	3	0.3
Bone Needle	2	0.2
Bone Pounder	3	0.3
Slate *Ulu*	6	0.7
Soapstone Bead	3	0.3
Soapstone Fragments	9	1.0
Soapstone Lamp	32	3.6
Soapstone Pot	24	2.1
Steatite Bowl	4	0.5
Steatite Lamp (possible)	9	1.0
Wood Awl	3	0.3
Wood Bead	2	0.2
Wood Bowl	15	1.7
Wood Trimmer	6	0.7
Wood *Ulu* Handle	1	0.1
TOTAL	122	13.6

Six slate *ulu* blades were uncovered during excavation [Figure 4.2]. Slate was a typical material for such an object before the introduction of iron. It is particularly interesting that these iconic women's objects were being manufactured with traditional Inuit materials during a time of increased trade and communication with Europeans in southern Labrador; however, it may be that iron was too costly of an item for trade up north.

Figure 4.2 Slate *ulu* from House 8 at Ikkusik.

There are six artifacts in the Ikkusik assemblage manufactured out of bone that can be associated with women's activities. These include two bone needles and three bone awls, which would have been used to sew and mend garments. Three bone pounders would have been used to pound seal blubber in order to prepare it for burning in a lamp.

Wooden objects that may be associated with women's activities include three awls, six wick trimmers, one *ulu* handle, two beads, 10 bowls and 15 containers, accounting for 3.0% of the assemblage [Table 4.1].

Overall, the House 8 assemblage strongly suggests that Inuit women in this northern context were manufacturing traditional Inuit objects using materials that were readily available to them, rather than acquiring them through trade with Europeans. In

combination with the soapstone artifacts, 13.6% of the total assemblage at Ikkusik is comprised of women's artifacts manufactured with traditional Inuit materials.

Out of the 896 artifacts recovered from Ikkusik, two iron objects may be tentatively tied to women's activities. These objects include an iron awl, used for punching holes in hide, and a possible composite *ulu* made of iron, bone and ivory [Table 4.2]. These two objects account for 0.2% of the total assemblage from Ikkusik. While the count is not statistically significant, some information on the minimal acquisition of iron for women's materials in this northern context is relayed.

Table 4.2 Ikkusik women's European material artifacts

WOMEN'S EUROPEAN MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**%(/896)**
Iron Awl	1	0.1
Iron composite *ulu* (possible)	1	0.1
TOTAL	2	0.2

4.3.4.2 Men's Artifacts

Of men's objects, 129 that have been manufactured from traditionally used Inuit materials were selected based on their association primarily with hunting, fishing and tool manufacture, accounting for 14.4% of the assemblage. Included in the bone artifacts are foreshafts, wedges, knives, scrapers, drill supports, projectile points, harpoon heads and an adze handle. Similar to women's artifacts found within the house, slate is well represented in the men's assemblage, with 26 knives and 17 endblades, in addition to bifaces, blades and a single adze. Wood artifacts include several bows and arrow shafts,

as well as atlatls, knives, and a bow drill. Leather harpoon floats would have been a necessity in the hunt for marine mammals, which, in addition to the composite harpoon artifacts, was likely important for the groups that occupied House 8 [Table 4.3].

Table 4.3 Ikkusik men's Inuit material artifacts.

MEN'S INUIT MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**%(/896)**
Antler Harpoon	2	0.2
Bone Foreshaft	2	0.2
Bone Wedge	21	2.3
Bone Knife	5	0.6
Bone Drill Support	2	0.2
Bone Harpoon	11	1.2
Bone Club	2	0.2
Bone Projectile Point	2	0.2
Bone Adze Handle	1	0.1
Leather Harpoon Floats	2	0.2
Nephrite Adze	1	0.1
Nephrite Drill	4	0.2
Soapstone Adze	1	0.1
Slate Knife	26	2.9
Slate Endblade	17	1.9
Slate Biface	2	0.2
Slate Adze	1	0.1
Slate blade	2	0.2
Wood Arrow shaft	7	0.8
Wood Bow	8	0.9
Wood Harpoon	2	0.2
Wood Bow Drill	1	0.1
Wood Atl-atl	4	0.5
Wood Knife Handle	3	0.3
TOTAL	**129**	**14.4**

There are only slightly more traditionally manufactured men's objects than women's. However, it appears that men may have had slightly better access to European

materials than women. However, the percentage of men's European material artifacts remains low compared to the entire assemblage at just 1.5%. Included in the European material artifacts are two adzes, an iron point, several iron/bone composites, including a paddle, one harpoon head and three knives, as well as a single rifle, accounting for 1.5% of the assemblage [Table 4.4].

Table 4.4 Ikkusik men's European material artifacts.

MEN'S EUROPEAN MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**%(/896)**
Iron Adze	2	0.2
Iron/antler composite harpoon	1	0.1
Iron/bone composite knife	3	0.3
Iron/bone composite paddle	1	0.1
Iron Knife	1	0.1
Iron Harpoon	1	0.1
Iron/ivory composite knife	1	0.1
Iron Point	1	0.1
Iron Preform	1	0.1
Wood Rifle	1	0.1
TOTAL	**13**	**1.5**

4.3.4.3 Beads and Non-Gendered Artifacts.

While a few soapstone beads were found, absolutely no glass trade beads were uncovered at Ikkusik. Due to unfavourable excavation conditions and the lack of screening in Schledermann's excavation methods, it is possible that glass beads went unnoticed. However, the presence of two soapstone beads at Ikkusik demonstrates that some degree of care was taken to ensure that small finds were accounted for [Figure 4.3]. As such, it is reasonable to assume that this particular trade item may not have been a

valuable or desired object at Ikkusik. Alternatively, beads may not have been an available item for trade at Ikkusik, either through direct trade with Moravian missionaries, or through trade with Inuit middlemen. It is possible that beads had not been traded as far north as Ikkusik, as they held such high value for those who acquired them first.

Many artifacts were uncovered that cannot be assigned to either women's or men's activities. Among them are 16 bone handle parts, which would have been hafted onto either *ulus* or men's knives through drilled holes and sinew. Unfortunately, the handles for both men's and women's knives are somewhat similar and made from the same materials. As such, it is a stretch to assign any particular handle to the six slate *ulus* previously mentioned. However, many handles from iron *ulus* in southern Labrador were hafted onto bone handles. It is interesting to observe the tenacity of this traditional practice across the coast of Labrador despite the vast material and social changes that were occurring in the 18th century.

Similarly, objects such as abraders, pendants, weights, and unworked materials cannot be easily assigned to either gender. Although non-gendered artifacts compose the majority of the assemblage from House 8, some conclusions may be drawn from the apparent distinction between the general use of traditional Inuit and European-derived materials. In total, 81 non-gendered artifacts were manufactured from European materials, accounting for 9.0% of the assemblage. By contrast, 549 non-gendered artifacts are comprised of Inuit materials, which suggest a strong preference for the use of traditional materials.

Figure 4.3 Soapstone beads from House 8 at Ikkusik.

4.3.5 Distribution of Gendered Artifacts

It would have been interesting to observe the distribution of gendered artifacts and material types from House 8. While a base map of the house reveals the location of the excavated units, the gendered artifacts that I have selected were not recorded in Schledermann's field notes nor is any provenience provided in subsequent publications. Therefore, it was not possible to examine the household distribution of artifacts at this site.

4.3.6 Discussion

Schledermann's initial interpretation of House 8 at Ikkusik was primarily centered on the distinct architectural features that defined the house within the parameters of the

newly coined Communal House Phase (Schledermann 1971). However, House 8 tells us a lot about gendered behaviour and gender based access to European materials.

Non-gendered artifacts account for the majority of the assemblage from Ikkusik; however, some general conclusions may be drawn from the small differences in the use of European and Inuit materials. Although the European material used in the manufacture of women's objects accounts for 0.2% of the assemblage, the count is similarly low for men's artifacts, which stands at 1.5%. Merely 9.0% of the non-gendered artifacts are manufactured European materials, in comparison to the 61.2% of non-gendered traditionally manufactured artifacts [Table 4.5]. While men may have been acquiring more European materials to create their tools, it is possible that my gender-based typology created this bias. Furthermore, the total count for European materials remains low overall, suggesting that the occupants of House 8 used few European-derived materials.

Table 4.5 Ikkusik total count for men, women and non-gendered artifacts.

CATEGORY	**N**	**%(/896)**
Women's European Material Artifacts	2	0.2
Women's Inuit Material Artifacts	122	13.6
Men's European Material Artifacts	13	1.5
Men's Inuit Material Artifacts	129	14.5
Non-Gendered European Material	81	9.0
Non-Gendered Inuit Material	549	61.2
TOTAL	**896**	**100**

4.4 Adlavik (GgBq-01) – Central Labrador

The Adlavik site is located approximately 23 kilometres southeast of Makkovik within the Adlavik Islands group. Survey and test pitting began in 1999 under the field direction of Stephen Loring from the Smithsonian Museum with the explicit goal of setting up a communal co-operative archaeology program with the nearby J.C. Erhardt School. House 1 was completely excavated. Loring has suggested that the site served as a base camp for Inuit groups who were travelling to collect European materials from abandoned southern European settlements (Loring and Rosenmeier 2000:13). This was suggested because the site assemblage contained relatively few manufactured European commodities in comparison to the large number of iron spikes, nails and scrap. Additionally, many Inuit materials typically associated with European trade, such as baleen, were absent from the site (Loring and Rosenmeier 2005). Alternatively, the absence of baleen may suggest that the site was used on return trips, after the item had already been traded with Europeans.

4.4.1 Central Labrador's Natural Environment

The Adlavik site is located on an unnamed inner island east of Long Tickle Island, spanning one kilometre along the shore [Figure 4.4]. The position of the site under a knoll provides camouflage from a traveller's view but also provides a prominent lookout for the occupants. Loring suggests that this location was a defensive manoeuvre, reflecting a period of distinct unrest between Inuit and European groups (Loring and Rosenmeier 2000).

4.4.2 Sites and Survey

The team conducted a survey along the shore of Long Tickle and in the vicinity of the site; however, Adlavik was the only site discovered. The Adlavik site consists of seven small clusters of sod walled structures. Within the clusters were three to four large sod houses (Loring and Rosenmeier 2003). Initially, the whole site was presumed to span from AD 1400-1900. Field investigations conducted from 1999 to 2003 have narrowed the date range of House 1 from the early to mid-18th century.

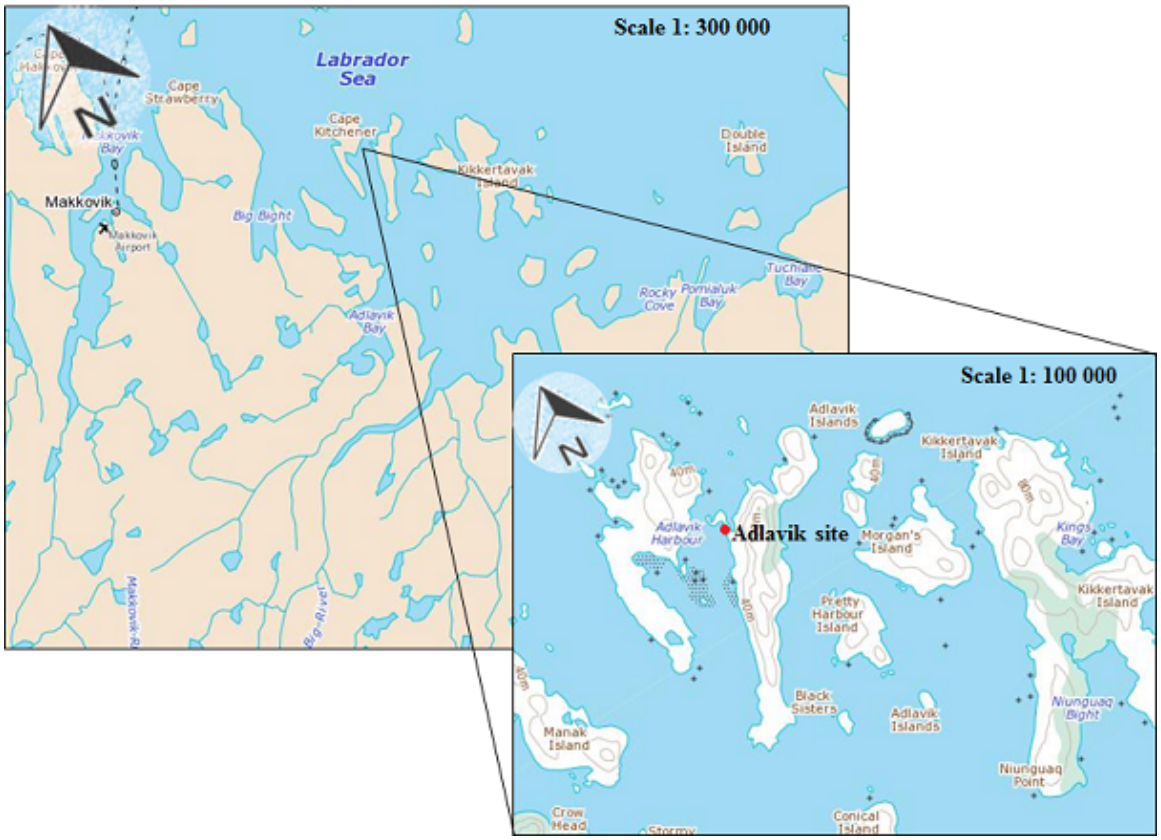

Figure 4.4 Location of Adlavik site (Modified from Atlas of Canada 2013).

The 1999 field season focussed on test pitting three sub-rectangular semi-subterranean structures which appear to be contiguous to each other, while the 2000

season was concentrated on the excavation of House 1 in order to expose the interior of the structure and its associated midden (Loring and Rosenmeier 2000). House 1 is approximately 10 by 15 metres in size with an entrance passage running six metres south towards the shore. It is the largest and earliest house on the island. Larger scale excavations began in 2000, although the southeast corner remained unexcavated until 2003. Houses 1, 2 and 3 share some mutual walls and have mutually aligned entrance passages facing south towards the shore. Test units were placed within or adjacent to the end of the entrance passage in House 1 which revealed an intact floor beneath a thin grass and sod layer (ibid). The floor was well preserved but revealed no refuse other than what was in between the floor stones, indicating that the house may have been abandoned and swept clean. Two lampstands were identified in House 1, and a possible third lampstand may have been located near the centre of the house, indicating that more than one family group was wintering at Adlavik (Loring and Rosenmeier 2003). Although artifacts were scarce on the flagstone floor, the number of seed beads notably increased during the 2001 season from between the floor stones (ibid). Excavations revealed a stone wall separating the house from the depression, which Loring and Rosenmeier have interpreted as a possible alcove. The wall consists of boulders placed on bedrock, which extends out of the house. House 1 is an example of a communal house in central Labrador that was occupied in winter by full families.

The good preservation of both faunal and wood artifacts revealed a mixture of traditional Inuit tools and some European goods; however, the European material was limited for the most part to iron nails, spikes, bolts and scrap with the exception of one

iron pot. The limited whale bone recovered was mostly worked and therefore whales were not likely a subsistence staple.

4.4.3 Communal House Phase Occupation at House 1

In addition to the units excavated within House 1, six units were excavated from the house midden, which revealed three distinct mussel shell layers. Loring has noted that mussel shells were typically harvested when the shore-fast ice breaks in spring, and likely indicate three successive winter occupations (Loring and Rosenmeier 2005). The midden also revealed excellent seal bone preservation with some caribou and polar bear present.

Harpoon and kayak technology were represented among the midden artifacts, which seems to indicate some form of marine mammal hunting. There is no direct evidence to indicate the Inuit at Adlavik were consuming whale products, but the presence of marine mammal hunting technology indicates that whale could have been hunted. If this was the case, the absence of any whale products may suggest that this commodity was traded with Europeans. However, it is more likely that if the Inuit at Adlavik went to the effort to hunt whales, more direct evidence would remain at the site.

The domestic artifacts include soapstone pots, lamps and children's toys, demonstrating that whole families were likely residing at Adlavik. The upper portion of the midden contains European manufactured artifacts, including an iron pot, glass beads, pipes, musket balls and ceramics. Loring notes that there is a change in the type and quantities of European material over the three seasons of occupation at the site, and believes it may indicate some form of interaction with Europeans (Loring and Rosenmeier 2005). The Inuit may have acquired European materials from other Inuit groups, through direct trade with Europeans, scavenging abandoned European sites in

southern Labrador, or perhaps a combination of all three. The contrast of European materials between the upper and lower portion of the midden have led to the suggestion that Adlavik may portray a dramatic moment in the initiation of Inuit-European relations (Loring and Rosenmeier 2005:3).

4.4.4 House 1 Artifacts

While several house remains were present at Adlavik, the excavations at House 1 and its associated midden were the most complete and revealed a significant artifact assemblage with 879 objects. Women's objects are not well represented at this site, with fewer objects manufactured from European materials than from traditional Inuit materials. Men's artifacts are marginally better represented at House 1, while the bulk of the assemblage is comprised of artifacts that are non-specific to any gender. Crucially, 70.6% of the assemblage is made up of European materials, which appears to have accumulated largely in the later occupations of the site, while 24.2% is comprised of Inuit materials.

4.4.4.1 Women's Artifacts

There are only three iron artifacts that can be associated with women's activities, namely two iron *ulus* and a large iron container. It appears as though much of the work centered on cooking and heating the home was still conducted using traditional materials. The soapstone artifacts are numerous. Of the 18 soapstone artifacts, only three are non-diagnostic fragments [Figure 4.5]. Four pots and ten lamps were identified, as well as a miniature pot, which was presumably used by children. In conjunction with the multiple lamp stands within the household, it is likely that an extended family wintered in House 1 at Adlavik.

Bone objects from Adlavik include a bone handle with iron rivets, which may have been attached to an iron *ulu* blade [Figure 4.6]. No wooden artifacts associated with women's activities were uncovered from Adlavik.

In total, the women's artifacts present at House 1 account for 2.3% of the total assemblage, of which a mere 0.3% [Table 4.6] have been manufactured from European materials. Women's Inuit material objects account for 1.8%, representing soapstone vessels, a bone *ulu* handle and hide [Table 4.7].

Table 4.6 Adlavik women's European material artifacts.

WOMEN'S EUROPEAN MATERIAL OBJECTS	**N**	**%(/879)**
Iron Pot	1	0.1
Iron *Ulu* blade	2	0.2
TOTAL	**3**	**0.3**

Table 4.7 Adlavik women's Inuit material artifacts.

WOMEN'S INUIT MATERIAL OBJECTS	**N**	**%(/879)**
Bone *Ulu* handle	1	0.1
Hide	2	0.2
Soapstone Lamp	10	1.1
Soapstone Pot	3	0.3
TOTAL	**16**	**1.8**

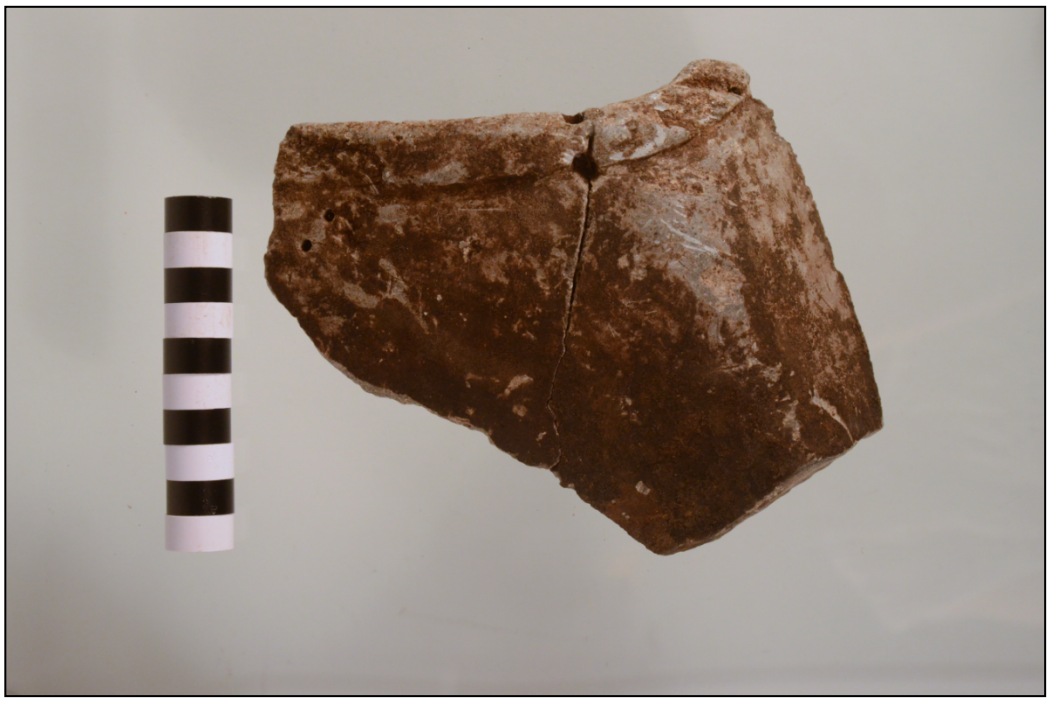

Figure 4.5 Soapstone pot from House 1 at Adlavik.

Figure 4.6 Bone *ulu* handle from House 1 at Adlavik.

4.4.4.2 Men's Artifacts

Men's iron artifacts from House 1 account for 1.8% of the assemblage [Table 4.8], while the remaining bone artifacts account for 1.7% [Table 4.9]. Bone artifacts are centered on hunting and transportation technology, including a bone foreshaft, eight harpoon parts, a knife, projectile point and a wedge. Also included were a bone harness part, a kayak part, and three sled runners [Figure 4.8]. Men's artifacts from House 1 are primarily composed of iron, including nine iron blades, two iron harpoon parts, two projectile points and an iron/bone composite knife [Figure 4.9].

Table 4.8 Adlavik men's European material artifacts.

MEN'S EUROPEAN MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**%(/879)**
Iron Blade	9	1.0
Iron Harpoon Head/ Part	3	0.3
Iron Projectile Point	3	0.3
Iron Composite knife	1	0.1
TOTAL	**16**	**1.8**

Table 4.9 Adlavik men's Inuit material artifacts.

MEN'S INUIT MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**%(/879)**
Bone Foreshaft	1	0.1
Bone Harness Part	1	0.1
Bone Harpoon Head	4	0.5
Bone Harpoon Part	4	0.5
Bone Kayak Part	1	0.1
Bone Knife	1	0.1
Bone Projectile Point	1	0.1
Bone Sled Runner	3	0.3
Bone Wedge	1	0.1
TOTAL	**15**	**1.7**

4.4.4.3 Beads and Non-Gendered Artifacts.

The beads from Adlavik tell an interesting story, as there was a mixture of 59 glass trade beads and six wooden beads [Figure 4.7; 4.8]. Loring and Rosenmeier have suggested that this site may represent a transition period from raiding European camps to trading with them (Loring and Rosenmeier 2005:3). The slight mixture of traditionally manufactured and European beads may represent the tenuous period of transition, which is evident in the desire to use and gradually replace traditional materials with valuable trade objects. Alternatively, it may simply reflect a more random access to European materials by different means, such as indirect trade through other Inuit groups.

The percentage of non-gendered artifacts appears to tell a much clearer story than the gendered artifacts at House 1. The non-gendered artifacts comprising of 616 pieces were of European origin, accounting for 70.1% of the total assemblage. Unworked objects include 382 nails, as well as iron and lead scraps, sheets, weights and strapping. European objects that may have been used by both genders include six kaolin pipes, 64 glass and ceramic sherds, and a hundred various iron objects including fish hooks, hinges and spikes. The remaining 213 non-gendered artifacts were manufactured from traditional materials, including 99 unidentified wood and bone objects, two bone pendants, a scraper and a toggle [Table 4.10].

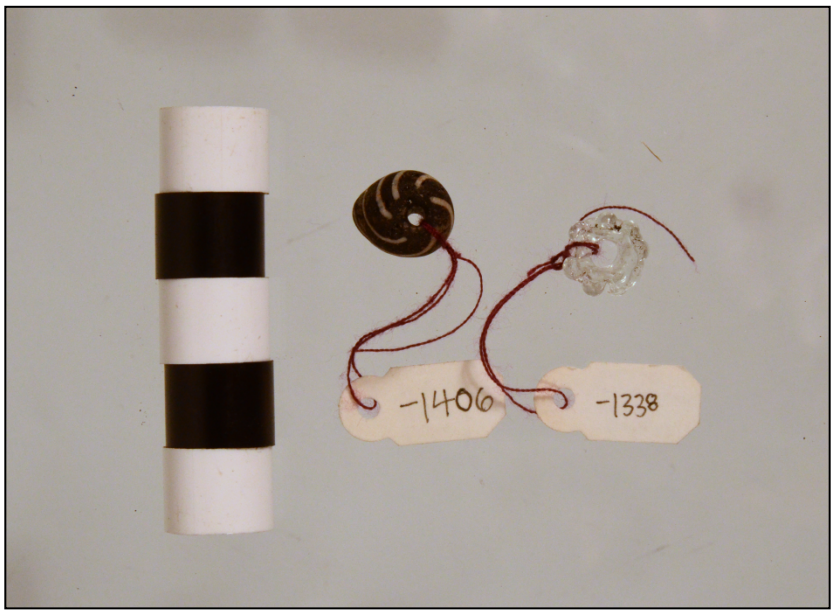

Figure 4.7 Glass beads from House 1 at Adlavik.

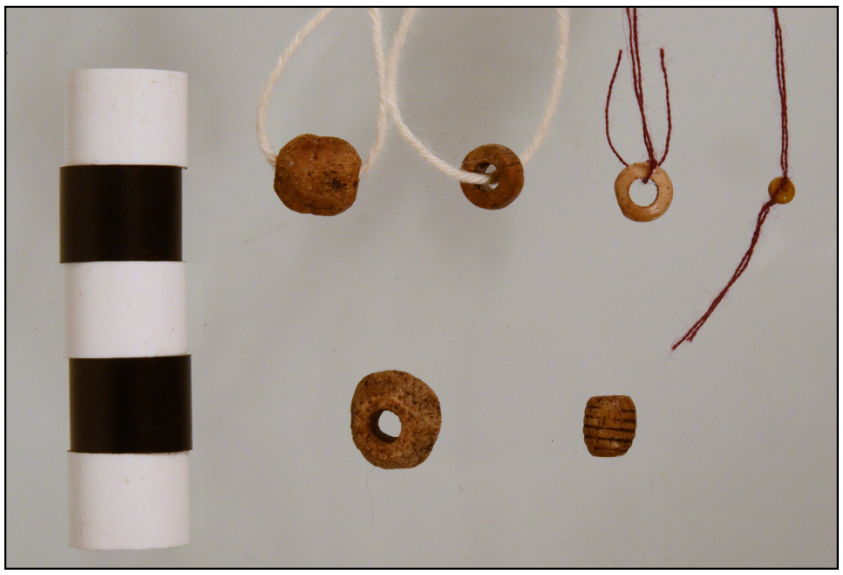

Figure 4.8 Wooden beads from House 1 at Adlavik.

4.4.5 Distribution Map of Gendered Artifacts

Artifacts associated with both men and women's activities in House 1 at Adlavik have been mapped in order to visually demonstrate the provenience of gendered artifacts that were recovered. Artifacts that can be associated with men and women's activities are scattered and mixed throughout the living area, entrance passage and the midden [Figure 4.9]. Men and women's artifacts are equally distributed within the household, although worked bone and wood appears predominantly in the midden. The iron pot, two pieces of hide, an iron *ulu* and a mixture of iron and bone hunting tools were recovered from an alcove in the southwest corner of the house, which may have been a shared work space (Loring and Rosenmeier 2005). Similarly, a mixture of men and women's artifacts was recovered from the central area, near to another possible lamp stand (Loring and Rosenmeier 2005:28). Even with such low numbers of gender related tools, it appears as though men and women's activities were equally represented within the house.

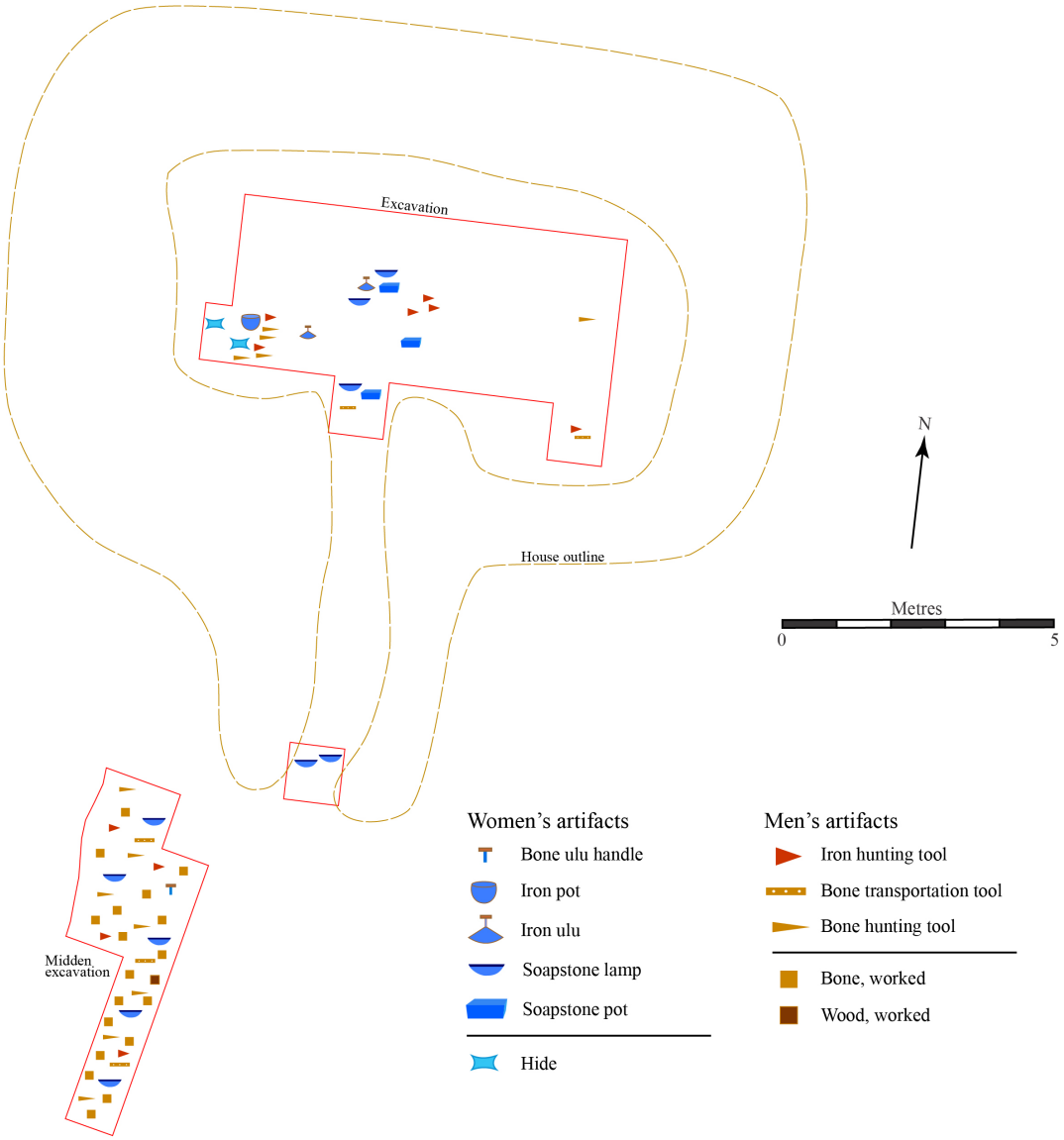

Figure 4.9 Adlavik artifact distribution map.

4.4.6 Discussion

The mixture of Inuit and European-derived artifacts, in conjunction with the high degree of unworked non-gendered artifacts, supports Loring and Rosenmeier's (2003) interpretation of the overall purpose of House 1 was the acquisition of European materials. While day-to-day activities certainly persisted, it may be that gendered artifacts, and perhaps activities, were not the priority within the household if the members were focussed on travelling to obtain European materials [Table 4.10]. The distribution map of gendered artifacts re-enforces the low count for men and women's objects, and demonstrates that most spaces within the household, including the entrance passage and central floor area were shared [Figure 4.9]. Essentially, the assemblage represents both men and women's activities within the household. Based on the large accumulation of seal bones within the midden, the members of the household likely occupied the house for three winters (Loring and Rosenmeier 2003). The abundance of non-gendered European materials represented in the Adlavik assemblage may not necessarily be a reflection of raiding, and could represent a house with substantial access to trade goods. In particular, the glass beads indicate that there may have been a more formalized trade with Europeans, although it is unclear whether any interaction was direct. Instead, the occupants of House 1 may have accumulated European materials through different opportunistic avenues, such as indirect trade with other Inuit groups.

Table 4.10 Adlavik total count for women, men and non-gendered artifacts.

CATEGORY	N	%(/879)
Women's European Material Artifacts	3	0.3
Women's Inuit Material Artifacts	16	1.8
Men's European Material Artifacts	14	1.6
Men's Inuit Material Artifacts	17	1.9
Non-Gendered European Material Artifacts	616	70.1
Non-Gendered Inuit Material Artifacts	213	24.2
TOTAL	**879**	**100**

4.5 Eskimo Island-1 (GaBp-01) – Central Labrador

Eskimo Island is located in the Narrows Region of Hamilton Inlet in central Labrador, which is home to several well-known, Labrador Inuit sites including Eskimo Island-1, -2 and -3, Double Mer Point and Snooks Cove (Brandy 2013; Jordan 1974, 1977; Woollett 2003) [Figure 4.10].

While the known archaeological sites in the region represent several centuries of Inuit settlement in central Labrador, House 2 from Eskimo Island is of particular interest to this study due to its central location and occupation during the 18th century (Woollett 2003:240). Additionally, the region has an extensive ethnohistoric record, which has served to identify several names and locations of both Inuit and European settlements (Taylor 1974). Several converging factors likely led the Inuit to settle in the Hamilton Inlet area. While some Innu groups were located in the nearby interior, Eskimo Island provided a sheltered, defensive settlement that was well removed from Innu territory. This was likely a significant deciding factor as the brief historical record of Innu-Inuit relations provide accounts of outwardly hostile interactions (Gosling 1910; Kleivan

1966). Most importantly, the location of Eskimo Island provided exceptional access to both sea and land-based resources, which offered a stable base for traditional Inuit subsistence patterns while Inuit groups continued to exploit the influx of European resources further south (Brandy 2013). Additionally, the proximity to the mid to late 18th century European trading posts established close to the Narrows area was a strong incentive for Inuit to settle Eskimo Island (Woollett 2003:256).

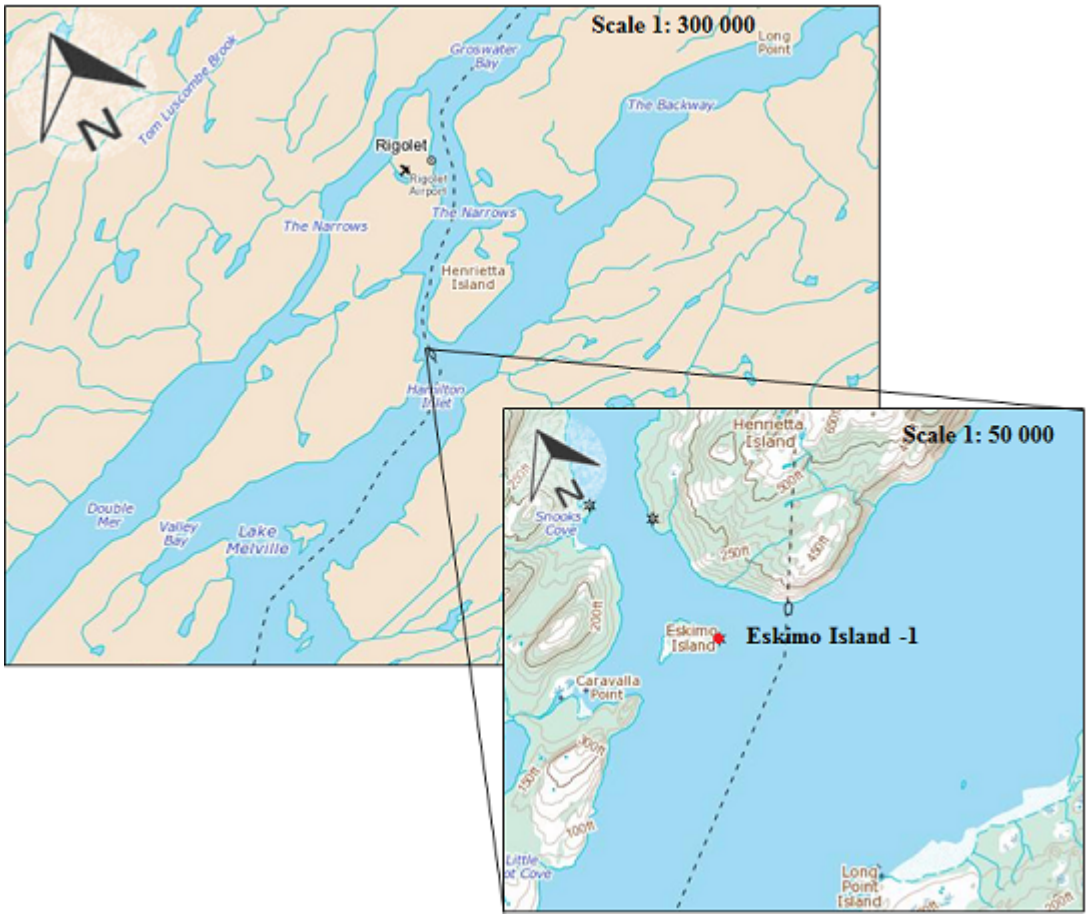

Figure 4.10 Location of Eskimo Island-1 site (Modified from Atlas of Canada 2013).

Based on the artifact assemblage and the abundance of European material, House 2 from Eskimo Island-1 has been dated to the mid-18th century. The house was a hub of

activity while it was occupied, and its central coastal position, coupled with the array and quantity of European goods, suggests that its occupants were amassing these materials for trade to their northern Inuit neighbours (Kaplan 1985).

4.5.1 Central Labrador's Natural Environment

Hamilton Inlet is a fjord system stretching 240 km into the Labrador interior and is framed by a steep, rocky shoreline, including the Benedict and Mealy mountains with a maximum elevation of 1100 meters above sea level (Woollett 2003). The inlet consists of Groswater Bay, a large bay with relatively few islands, and Lake Melville, a tidal lake that extends westward towards Happy Valley-Goose Bay and receives the alluvial sediment of several rivers from the interior (Woollett 2003).

The Inuit who settled in the Eskimo Island area were likely highly influenced by the variety of travel routes and resources that intersect at Eskimo Island. The west end of the Narrows provides quick and easy access to both fresh and salt water, land, open water and fast-ice, all of which provide abundant resources (Woollett 2003). Due to the mixing of various ecological zones in the Hamilton Inlet region, the area is home to a wide diversity of marine, terrestrial and bird species. The Narrows host some of the strongest tidal currents in the fjord, produced by a bottleneck near Henrietta and Eskimo Islands (Woollett 2003). The islands are home to several nearby polynyas due to the mixing of fresh and marine water, which provide open-water access to a large selection of marine species (Brandy 2013; Fitzhugh 1972: 18). The nearby resources include harbour seal (*Phoca vitulina*), which wintered in the ice-free Narrows, while the nearby fast-ice provided suitable birthing grounds for ringed seal *(Phoca hispida)*, both of which were very important for sustained hunting seal hunting throughout the winter. The open water

and sheltered bays attracted additional migratory seabirds and fish species. Finally, the pack ice allowed for easy travel between islands and into the interior by dog sleds, which in turn provided access to caribou herds (Woollett 2003). The favourable natural environment surrounding Eskimo Island-1, as well as transportation routes and proximity to European fishers and settlers further south, and ultimately the late 18th century European trading posts, contributed greatly to the economic success of Inuit inhabitants (Brandy 2013). Prior to the discovery of the communal houses further south, it was assumed that the house remains at Eskimo Island were among the southernmost houses in Labrador from the eighteenth century (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003).

4.5.2 Sites and Survey

Eskimo Island consists of three distinct clusters of houses which were surveyed by William Fitzhugh in the 1960s, and largely excavated by Richard Jordan between 1973 and 1975 (Fitzhugh 1989; Jordan 1974, 1977). The three sites are all located on the southern side of the island, covering an area approximately 170 metres wide and stand between 40 to 50 metres from the shoreline (Woollett 2003).

House 2 was selected for the purposes of this study as it is the largest communal house in the central area, it was almost fully excavated, and important artifacts were provenienced. Overall, Jordan excavated 32 m² of House 2 and 12 m² of the entrance passage, revealing substantial architectural information and thousands of artifacts (Woollett 2003:255). While the excavations were extensive, Jordan did not include screening in his methodology, and many artifacts were not placed in stratigraphic context (Woollett 2003:255). As a result, some smaller artifacts may have been overlooked, and it is possible that there was some artifact mixing between the different phases of occupation

(Woollett 2003). However, Kaplan (1983) has successfully analysed the assemblages and was able to present a clear chronology of the site's occupation.

4.5.3 Communal House Phase Occupation at House 2

Eskimo Island-1 consists of three linear sub-rectangular, semi-subterranean sod houses that sit at the highest point on the island, directly in the middle of the other Eskimo Island sites. All three houses have substantial walls; however, Houses 1 and 3 share walls with House 2, which both may have been disrupted by the construction of House 2. Houses 1 and 3 are smaller and likely occupied around the same time at House 2, but they were not tested (Fitzhugh 1972; Jordan 1972; Kaplan 1983).

House 2 is considered to be the largest in the region with a back wall measuring 10.2 meters and side walls measuring 8.4 meters, with a total internal space of 103.2 square metres (Kaplan 1983:413). The entrance passage of House 2 runs down the slope of the hill towards the shore, providing access to open water (Kaplan 1983:413). Running along the back and side walls were raised sleeping platforms, 20 to 30 centimeters from the floor and covered with compacted peaty soil and tree boughs (Kaplan 1983:413). The remains of a wood roof were deposited on the floor. Most telling were the two layers of floor pavement, which indicate multiple occupations (Woollett 2003:259). Re-occupation is not unusual as this is a prime location for a variety of travel routes, and for hunting in all seasons (Jordan 1974). The paved floor had been dug into a layer of peat, and was covered with 45 centimeters of sediment, though most of the collected cultural materials was found near to the floor and between the pavement stones (Kaplan 1983). Thick deposits of fat in the southeast portion of House 2 may be the by-products of blubber-rendering activities, perhaps suggesting a high degree of marine mammal processing for

trade purposes (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). The congealed sea mammal fat had seeped between the floor stones and into the soil below, and several lampstands were coated in charred fat (Kaplan 1983:413).

4.5.4 House 2 Artifacts

House 2 was not fully excavated but with 44m² uncovered, it remains the most extensively excavated 18th century communal house at Eskimo Island-1. For the purposes of this study, the percentages of gendered artifacts are assumed to be representative of a full collection. Men and women's artifacts are equally represented in the assemblage. Men's objects are primarily composed of European materials, while women's artifacts were manufactured mostly from traditional Inuit materials. Non-gendered European material makes up the bulk of the assemblage at House 2, while objects that were made of Inuit materials are minimal.

4.5.4.1 Women's Artifacts

Ten items made from iron can be associated with women's activities from House 2, which accounts for 1.0% of the total artifacts recovered [Table 4.11]. Of particular interest are five iron *ulus*, which, in combination with the lack of slate artifacts, indicates the women were primarily using iron objects for their day-to-day activities [Figure 4.11]. A single iron awl would have been used to punch holes in hide during the manufacturing process for clothes. Included in the metal objects were three iron bowls and one iron needle.

Figure 4.11 Iron *ulu* from House 2 at Eskimo Island-1.

Table 4.11 Eskimo Island-1 women's European artifacts.

WOMEN'S EUROPEAN MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**% (/983)**
Ulu	5	0.5
Needle	1	0.1
Container/ Bowl	3	0.3
Awl	1	0.1
TOTAL	**10**	**1.0**

While soapstone fragments are abundant in House 2, only one full pot was recovered from the excavation. The remaining 32 fragments were unfortunately unidentifiable based on their size, shape or decoration and I was unable to re-create the minimum number of vessels.

No bone or wood artifacts relating to women's activities were uncovered, suggesting that women may have been relying on European materials for the manufacture of their tools. However, several objects that were fashioned out of hide were uncovered, which would have been worked by women but worn by all members of the community. While the high count of worked hides may skew the final count for women's Inuit material artifacts, they were recovered from the household and were likely in the process of manufacture [Table 4.12]. The presence of worked hides is strongly indicative of women's work, and they account for 3.1% of the total objects recovered.

Table 4.12 Eskimo Island-1 women's Inuit material artifacts.

WOMEN'S INUIT MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**% (/983)**
Soapstone pot	1	0.1
Soapstone fragments	32	3.3
Hide boot	1	0.1
Hide pouch	1	0.1
Woven sleeve	1	0.1
Hide, worked	28	2.8
TOTAL	**64**	**6.5**

4.5.4.2 Men's Artifacts

The men who occupied House 2 were also using a significant amount of iron. Several objects stand out for their direct relations to hunting and fishing, such as lance head blades, arrows, knife blades and harpoon heads. While it is difficult to ascertain the exact use of an item such as unworked nails or an iron wedge in an Inuit context, the gendered taboo of material use would suggest that men often worked with the iron as it

was acquired. In the table below, worked nails, lead and copper are assumed to have been in the process of manufacture by men, but are included in the final count for men's objects [Table 4.13]. Accordingly, unworked iron, such as nails in their original form, is not associated with men or women's specific activities.

Table 4.13 Eskimo Island-1 men's European material artifacts.

MEN 'S EUROPEAN MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**% (/983)**
Axehead	2	0.2
Arrow head	6	0.6
Lead cod jig	3	0.3
Lance head end blade	2	0.2
Blade	8	0.8
Harpoon Head blade	4	0.4
Wedge	1	0.1
Copper, worked	3	0.3
Lead, worked	2	0.2
Nails, worked	34	3.5
TOTAL	**65**	**6.6**

In total, iron objects relating to men's activities account for 5.8% of the artifact assemblage from House 2, which stands in stark contrast to the 1.0% of women's iron artifacts. Other metal artifacts include three lead cod jigs, two drilled lead strips and a single worked copper piece which would have likely been worked by men. In combination with the counts of men's iron artifacts, the total count for European material used for men's artifacts is 6.6%.

Despite the high iron and metal counts, some bone and wood objects can be related to men's activities at House 2 [Table 4.14]. Among them are whale bone kayak

tips, sled runners and a knife handle, as well as a bone dogsled trace. Six bone objects were unidentified; however, they were modified in some way, either by cutting or drilling, which would have typically been undertaken by men. Similarly, ten wood objects have been worked in some way, whether they have been drilled or cut. A single arrow shaft and two nailed wooden objects were also recovered. In total, the traditional materials used for men's objects account for 4.2% of the assemblage from House 2.

Table 4.14 Eskimo Island-1 men's Inuit material artifacts.

MEN'S INUIT MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**% (/983)**
Bone Sled Runner	2	0.2
Bone Dogsled Trace	1	0.1
Whale bone Kayak paddle tip	2	0.2
Whale bone Knife handle	1	0.1
Wood Arrow Shaft	1	0.1
Bone, worked	17	1.7
Wood, Worked	17	1.7
TOTAL	**41**	**4.2**

4.5.4.3 Beads and Non-Gendered Artifacts

The catalogue from Eskimo Island-1 indicates that there are only 16 glass beads from the 18th century occupation of House 2; however, upon inspection of the collection at The Rooms Museum, it appears as though this was a gross misrepresentation. In fact, Jordan and Kaplan (1980:42) reported that over 8,968 glass beads were uncovered from House 2 in a variety of sizes, shapes and colours, all of which are presently housed at The Rooms Museum. This count stands in stark contrast with the lack of beads from Ikkusik, and the relatively small numbers of glass beads in more southern contexts.

The majority of the assemblage from House 2 at Eskimo Island-1 cannot be identified as singular objects that were strictly used by men or women. These include over 500 unworked iron nails, iron handles, and pegs, as well as buttons made of iron, brass and pewter. Kaolin pipe stems and bowls cannot be relegated to either gender due to the ethnographic evidence that both women and men smoked. While four pieces of gunflint were recovered, they may have been used in combination with rifles or used as 'strike-a-lites' for the lamps that women kept within the house (as cited in Hennebury 1999:40). However, in a very general sense, non-gendered European materials such as iron, brass, pewter and kaolin account for 79.3% of the assemblage at House 2, while non-gendered traditional Inuit materials account for 2.3%.

4.5.5 Distribution of Gendered Artifacts

The distribution of both men and women's artifacts from House 2 reveal that much of the space within the household was shared, including the entrance passage and central floor area. Interestingly, women's artifacts in the entrance passage consist primarily of worked hide and soapstone fragments, while many of the more complete tools were found within the household [Figure 4.12]. Men's artifacts in the entrance passage include worked objects, such as iron, copper and whale bone, that are mixed with complete tools, such as bone and iron hunting tools [Figure 4.13]. While 983 artifacts from the House 2 excavation at Eskimo Island-1 have been included in my analysis, less than 200 are represented on the distribution maps. Similar to the distribution maps from Adlavik, the visual representation of gendered artifacts from House 2 emphasizes the low number of gendered artifacts. Once again, the communal house is represented as a shared family space.

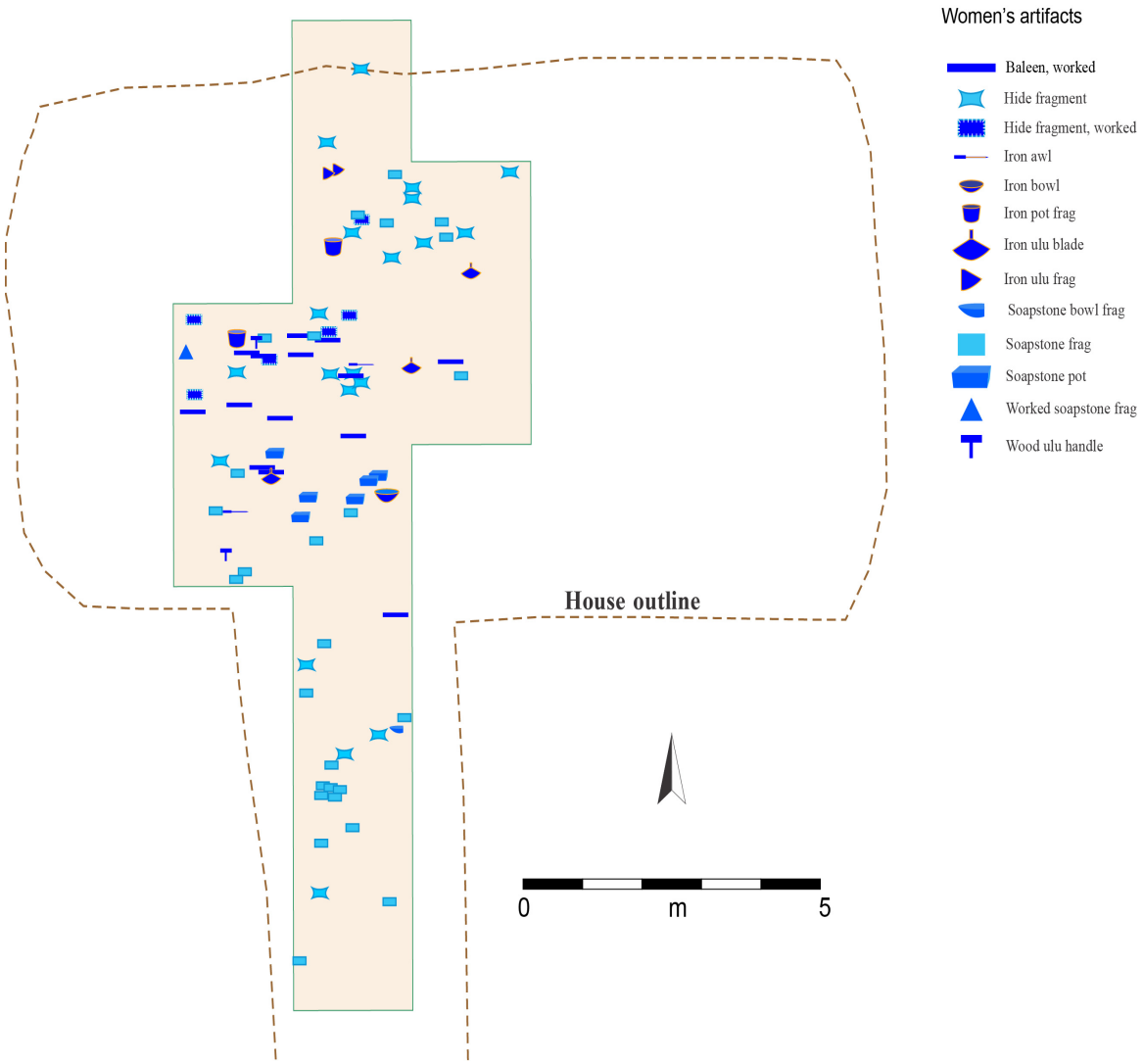

Figure 4.12 Eskimo Island-1 women's artifact distribution map.

Figure 4.13 Eskimo Island-1 men's artifact distribution map.

4.5.6 Discussion

The assemblage from House 2 at Eskimo Island-1 suggests that the occupants had unusually high access to European materials, which corresponds with Kaplan's theory that the region may have been a central hub for trade (Kaplan 1985). Given their

proximity to European fishers and settlers on the south coast, and ultimately the development of trading posts in the region itself, the high representation of European materials is not surprising. The distribution maps for gendered artifacts in House 2 demonstrates a shared space within the household while denoting the low count for men's and women's artifacts, which are more easily compared by percentages. Of the total assemblage, 79.3% consists of non-gender specific artifacts that are comprised of European materials. While some of the compared communal houses in central and southern regions share the high counts of non-gendered European materials, the exceptionally high counts from House 2 suggest that trade-related activity was important at Eskimo Island-1. Men's and women's artifacts respectively account for under 10% of the total assemblage, and women had less access to European materials than men in the household [Table 4.15].

Table 4.15 Eskimo Island-1 total count for men, women and non-gendered artifacts.

CATEGORY	**N**	**% (/983)**
Women's European Material Artifacts	10	1.0
Women's Inuit Material Artifacts	64	6.5
Men's European Material Artifacts	65	6.6
Men's Inuit Material Artifacts	41	4.2
Non-gendered European Material	780	79.3
Non-gendered Inuit Material	23	2.3
TOTAL	**983**	**100**

4.6 Huntingdon Island-5 (FkBg-03) – Southern Labrador

Over 32 possible Inuit sites have been identified within Sandwich Bay, the second largest bay on the Labrador coast (Rankin 2013). Huntingdon Island is the largest island within the mouth of Sandwich Bay and is home to several winter and summer Inuit occupations that persisted over at least two centuries (Brewster 2005; Murphy 2011; Rankin 2009b; Rankin et al. 2012) [Figure 4.14].

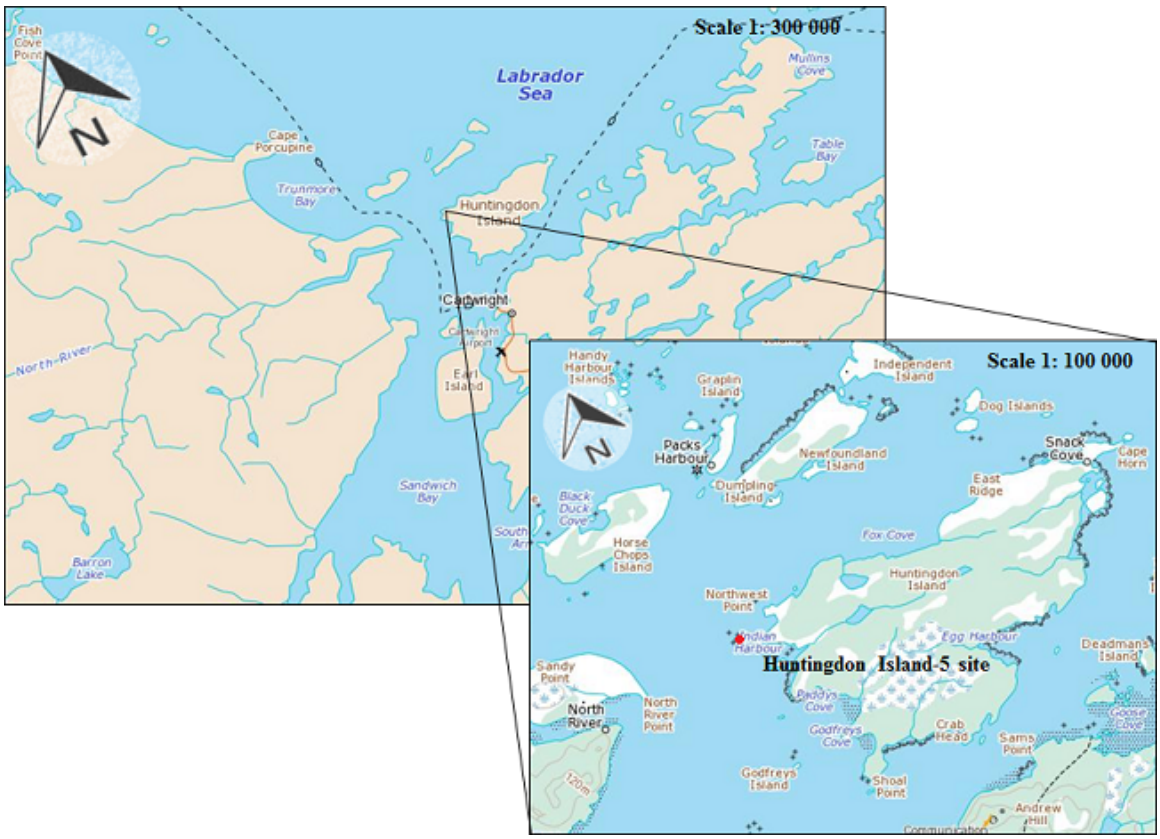

Figure 4.14 Location of Huntingdon Island-5 site (Modified from Atlas of Canada 2013).

It was thought that Groswater Bay was the southern extent of Inuit occupation in Labrador, until recent survey and excavation in Sandwich Bay brought the nature of

southern occupation to light (Jordan 1978; Kaplan 1983; Rankin et al. 2012). To date, 18 Inuit sites have been confirmed (Rankin 2013). Huntingdon Island-5 was identified as Inuit in 2006 and House 3 was excavated during the field season of 2010 (Murphy 2011).

4.6.1 Southern Labrador's Natural Environment

Within the bay, a forested mainland provides timber for burning and building, a new resource that presents its own challenges and opportunities. Kaplan (2012) suggests that the Inuit initially adapted to this unknown environment settling on the familiar outer coast. Later, when economic opportunities pushed Inuit groups towards forested areas, they cut surrounding trees in order to avoid the spiritual dangers of the claustrophobic interior (Kaplan 2012:37). Predictably, most of the survey in the Sandwich Bay area has been conducted on coastal islands; however, a systematic survey of the forested interior might reveal the extent of Inuit wood use and settlement in the area (Rankin 2012). Sandwich Bay is not unique in this regard, as much of Groswater Bay is heavily forested as well, and may also benefit from extensive interior surveys. Meanwhile, the outer coast of Sandwich Bay is comprised of rocky headlands and islands, which is familiar territory with the same basic resources previously known to Inuit groups (Murphy 2011). Sandwich Bay consists of numerous islands close to shore, and Huntingdon Island is the largest (Brewster 2006).

Sandwich Bay is home to several sea mammal species, including whales and several species of seal, including harp, grey, harbour, hooded, and ringed seal (Brewster 2005). Indeed, Sandwich Bay was called *Netshucktoke* to Inuit groups, meaning 'the place where there are many ringed seal' (Rankin 2010a:323). While Inuit groups at the time were primarily interested in sealing for food and trade commodities, several

alternative resources allowed for a plentiful standard of living in the area (Lopoukhine et al. 1977). Approximately 200 migratory bird species travel through the Sandwich Bay area, and nearly 50 species are permanent residents, providing a reliable food source throughout the year. A handful of river systems feed into Sandwich Bay; among them the two primary rivers are Paradise and Eagle River, providing both transportation routes and salmon (Rankin et al. 2012).

The site at Huntingdon Island-5 is located on a western extension of Huntingdon Island itself: Indian Island, which is easily accessible at low tide. The island is comprised of forest tundra with rocky beach terraces and low hills. The ground is covered in lichen, shrubs and moss with occasional spruce trees and fresh water ponds, which support a variety of mammals, particularly migratory caribou (Brewster 2005). Late summer brings huge swathes of blueberries and cloudberries (Rankin 2012).

The easy access to nearby European groups would have made Sandwich Bay a favourable place to settle. Certainly, several key resources, transportation routes and access to nearby European groups were available to Inuit groups residing in the area and may have led its strategic settlement (Murphy 2011; Rankin 2012).

4.6.2 Sites and Survey

Huntingdon Island-5 is one of the southernmost examples of an 18th century communal house settlement, and is strategically positioned near the point of entry for traded European artifacts (Murphy 2011). Huntingdon Island-5 consists of a series of associated summer tent rings and five semi-subterranean sod houses, four of which have been fully excavated. Houses 1 and 2 have been dated to the early to mid-16th century; however, houses 3 and 4 represent an 18th century occupation (Murphy 2011). Prior to

excavation, House 3 appeared rectangular in shape and had high sod walls after being excavated into the ground. The entrance tunnel was visible in a south-eastern extended depression from the south wall.

4.6.3 Communal House Phase Occupation at House 3

Initial excavations of House 3 consisted of two trenches through the centre of the house, in hopes of cross-cutting the floor area, platform walls, and potential entrance passage. Once the trenches were completed, the walls were profiled but ultimately no visible stratigraphy was found, which likely indicates a single or limited occupation of the household. Units were excavated by trowel in arbitrary ten-centimeter intervals, until sterile soil or house floor stones were reached. All sediment was screened through a quarter-inch mesh, and all artifacts were collected, while most were recorded in situ. The house was mapped and photographed in its entirety, and elevations of vertical stones were taken. After mapping, removing the floor stones determined that there was no previous occupation beneath, and any artifacts that may have slipped through the floor stones were collected. In total, 63 one by one meter units were excavated, revealing a total internal space of 60 m^2 (Murphy, 2011).

4.6.4 House 3 Artifacts

House 3 at Huntingdon Island-5 is one of the most comprehensively excavated sites from the communal house phase and 753 artifacts were recovered. While the count for men's and women's artifacts is low, the bulk of the assemblage has been manufactured with European materials. Of European materials, 553 artifacts are represented and cannot be assigned to any specific gender, while 134 are made of Inuit materials. Women's artifacts are minimal, and fewer still were manufactured from

European materials. Men's artifacts on the other hand are largely manufactured from European materials.

4.6.4.1 Women's Artifacts

Despite the high artifact counts, only 13 objects can be definitively tied to women's activities, primarily the *ulus* and soapstone vessels. Five iron *ulu* blades were recovered in the excavation, which is in stark contrast to the complete absence of slate *ulus* within the house [Figure 4.15; Table 4.16]. However with 339 total iron objects (Murphy 2011: 60), the use of iron in the manufacture of women's objects is to be expected.

Figure 4.15 Iron *Ulu* blade from House 3 at Huntingdon Island-5.

Eight soapstone objects were uncovered during the excavation [Figure 4.16]. Two fragments were non-diagnostic; however, four pots were identified, as well as two lamps [Table 4.17].

Figure 4.16 Soapstone pot fragment from House 3, Huntingdon Island-5.

Table 4.16 Huntingdon Island-5 women's European material artifacts.

WOMEN'S EUROPEAN MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	**N**	**% (/753)**
Iron *Ulu* blade	5	0.7
TOTAL	**5**	**0.7**

Table 4.17 Huntingdon Island-5 women's Inuit material artifacts.

WOMEN'S INUIT MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	N	% (/753)
Soapstone Fragment	2	0.3
Soapstone Lamp	2	0.3
Soapstone Pot	4	0.5
TOTAL	**8**	**1.1**

In conjunction with the multiple lampstands, the number of pots and lamps indicate that more than one family had likely wintered at Huntingdon Island at the same time. This assumption is reinforced by the presence of three lampstands within the house (Murphy 2011). The presence of children is implied by the presence of a single lead toy harpoon, further indicating that whole families wintered in House 3.

4.6.4.2 Men's Artifacts

Of European material artifacts, 47 objects can be attributed to men's activities, including four iron knives, one iron endblade, one iron adze blade, an iron sled nose and seven lead projectile points. The count for men's objects from House 3 is overall very low, but relatively higher than the count for women's objects due to the number of objects in the process of manufacture. European materials account for 6.1% of men's objects, the bulk of which include worked iron objects and modified nails [Table 4.18]. While the count for worked iron may skew the final count for men's objects in favour of European materials, these artifacts were in the process of manufacture when they were recovered, which indicates that they may have been actively used by men at the moment they were discarded.

Table 4.18 Huntingdon Island-5 men's European material artifacts.

MEN'S EUROPEAN MATERIAL ARTIFACTS	N	% (/753)
Iron Endblade	1	0.1
Iron Axe blade	1	0.1
Iron Knife	4	0.5
Iron Sled Nose	1	0.1
Lead Projectile	7	0.9
Brass Worked sword hilt	1	0.1
Iron, Worked	29	3.9
Lead, worked	3	0.4
TOTAL	**47**	**6.1**

In comparison to the count for men's European material artifacts, the remaining traditional material artifact count is astonishingly low. Objects are limited to six sled shoe fragments and a single bone seal wound pin, accounting for merely 0.8% of the total assemblage.

4.6.4.3 Beads and Non-Gendered artifacts.

The high number of glass beads, while falling short of the extraordinary numbers recovered at Eskimo Island, stands at a count of 53. The beads primarily consist of blue or white glass of varied sizes [Figure 4.17]. The beads would have been likely worked by women, but sewn onto garments for all members of the community. Blue and white glass trade beads were a highly desired commodity to display wealth for both men and women. It is difficult to determine whether the beads were being worked on at the moment they were discarded, and cannot necessarily be assigned to a specific gender. However, their presence in House 3 indicates that they were a valued item and that the occupants of the household were active in trade at the time of occupation. In combination with the lack of

soapstone, bone or wooden beads, the plentiful glass beads and varied pendants uncovered at Huntingdon Island indicate that this trade commodity was in full use in the area.

Figure 4.17 Glass beads from House 3 at Huntingdon Island-5.

By examining the prevalence of non-gendered objects, European materials were clearly preferred at House 3. While there are 134 Inuit material artifacts, the majority is comprised of practical stone materials, such as mica, quartz and pyrite 'strike-a-lites'. The majority of European objects are unworked nails, which account for 36.8% of the total assemblage and may have been collected for future use or trade with other Inuit groups. However, some practical European objects include iron fish hooks, pewter pendants, kaolin pipes and 81 ceramic fragments which would have been used by both men and women.

4.6.5 Distribution of Gendered Artifacts

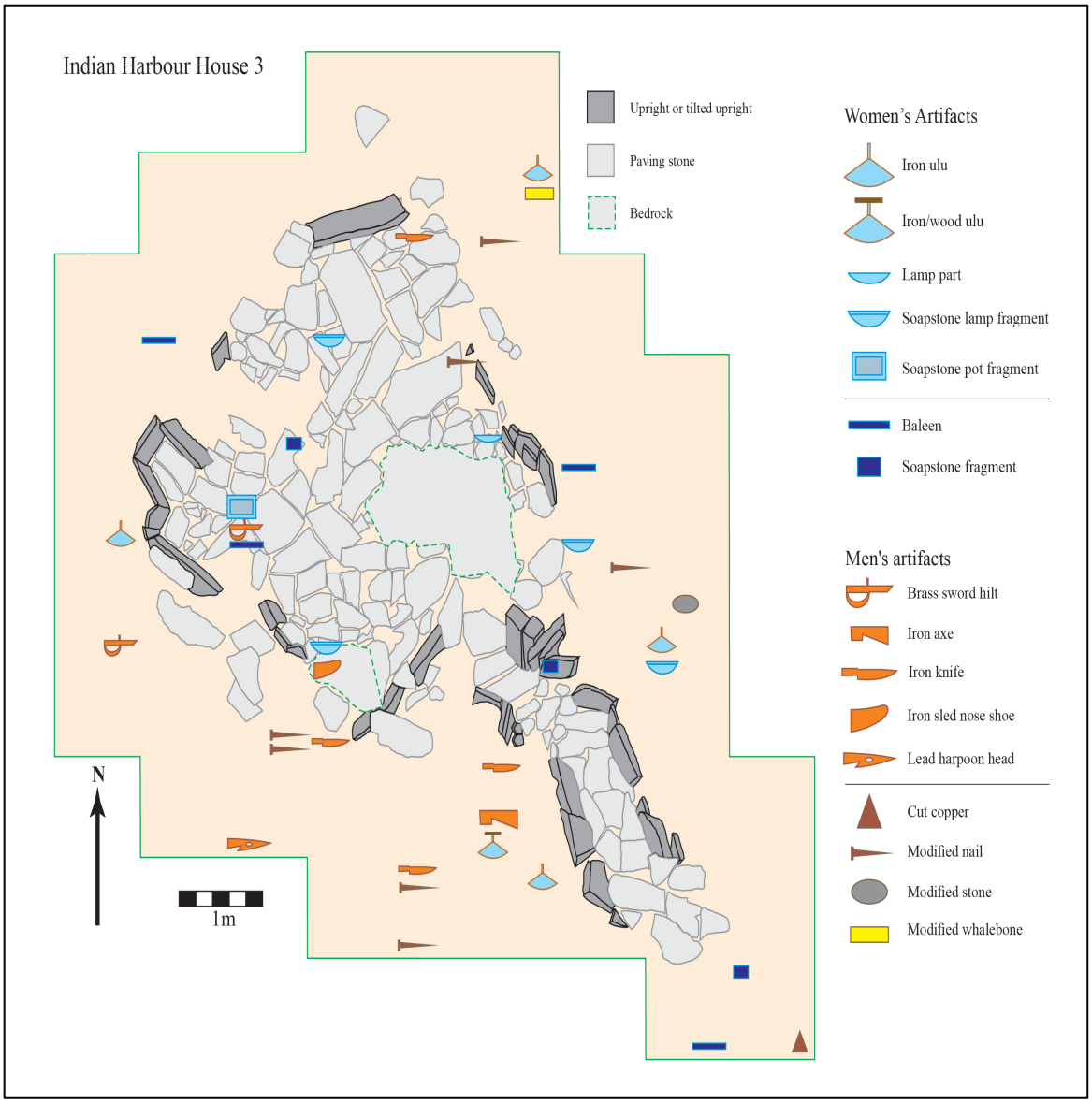

Figure 4.18 Huntingdon Island-5 artifact distribution map.

The distribution of gendered artifacts from House 3 visually represents the low number of gendered artifacts recovered from the site. Despite the initial impression that most of the artifacts are distributed outside of the house, most were in fact recovered from

within the house. The sides of the house were sleeping platforms, from which men and women's artifacts were recovered, including iron *ulus,* soapstone fragments, worked nails and a brass sword hilt. Many artifacts representing both men and women's activities were also recovered from the midden in the southern area of the house, west of the entrance passage. It is therefore likely that men and women shared the floor space and entrance passage of House 3, as gendered activities and tools are well represented at this site.

4.6.6 Discussion

The assemblage from House 3 at Huntingdon Island-5 bears several similarities to the assemblage from House 1 at Adlavik. To begin, House 3 shares the same number of lampstands as the communal house at Adlavik, which may suggest a similar general demographic of men, women and children. 91.2% of the total assemblage is non-specific to any particular gender, with 73.4% comprised of European material [Table 4.19].

Table 4.19 Huntingdon Island-5 total count for women, men and non-gendered artifacts.

CATEGORY	**N**	**%(/753)**
Women's European Material Artifacts	5	0.7
Women's Inuit Material Artifacts	8	1.1
Men's European Material Artifacts	47	6.1
Men's Inuit Material Artifacts	6	0.8
Non-Gendered European Material Artifacts	553	73.4
Non-Gendered Inuit Material Artifacts	134	17.8
TOTAL	**753**	**100**

The high count for trade-related material suggests that the accumulation of European goods may have been a priority of the household; an inclination which may have been shared by the occupants of House 1 at Adlavik. It is more likely that the

occupants of House 3 engaged in direct trade, due to their geographic proximity to more southern European settlements, although some could have also been scavenged. The distribution map of gendered artifacts within House 3 indicates that the household was a shared space for men and women, and visually represents the low count for men and women's artifacts. Of men's artifacts from House 3, 6.1% were comprised of European materials, most of which is due to the high presence of worked iron.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The results from the previous chapter demonstrate sound similarities as well as striking differences between the gendered artifacts from four communal houses. While some broad regional trends may be identified, the consumption of European artifact materials and the distribution of gendered artifacts are better understood as a product of each site's natural, historical and archaeological context. In the following chapter, the occurrence of gendered and non-gendered artifacts in each house will be addressed within the parameters of my theoretical framework and original research objectives. I will then identify any personal and research bias in order to explicitly situate my research, and suggest areas of future research that may benefit from my analysis. Although the distribution of women's artifacts has been paramount in my research, the absence of women's and gendered artifacts is considered to hold equal value in my analysis and discussion.

5.1.1 Summary of Comparative Houses

Beginning in the north, the artifact results from House 8 at Ikkusik revealed a high percentage of gendered artifacts and a strict adherence to Inuit materials. The almost exclusive use of Inuit materials and the high counts for gendered artifacts reveal a striking disparity in the acquisition of European materials in this northern context. While the high counts of gendered artifacts may be due to the prolonged occupation of the household, it may also reflect a desire to maintain a division of gender roles in the face of extensive change in southern Labrador.

The assemblage from House 1 at Adlavik shares many trends with the observed central and southern sites, such as a tendency towards non-gendered European materials, which account for 79.3% of the assemblage. With over 94% of the total artifacts unmodified and outside of my designation for gendered artifacts, the data supports Loring and Rosenmeier's (2003) initial interpretation of the nature of the household, which may have been occupied while its inhabitants deliberately sought to acquire European goods. The lack of visible tent rings suggests that the site may not represent a year-round occupation. When we consider the site's location in central Labrador, it may also be considered a stop-off site for travel or trade with other Inuit groups along a coastal trade route. The European material that has been worked is roughly equally divided between men and women's artifacts, demonstrating an equal distribution of valued goods.

The European materials recovered from House 2 at Eskimo Island have previously been considered the most plentiful from the houses in this sample. Jordan and Kaplan (1980) have interpreted the high presence and varied forms of European materials to suggest Eskimo Island-1 was a key location in a formalized trade network. Certainly the geographical location of Eskimo Island-1 provides plentiful access to year-round resources, allowing for the accumulation of surplus, which was traded with Europeans (Brandy 2013). Both men and women's artifacts respectively account for under 10% of the total assemblage from House 2, although it would appear that men generally had heightened access to European materials. 1% of the assemblage from House 2 comprised women's European material artifacts, while men used European materials for 6.6% of the

assemblage. While women may not have had equal access to iron and other metals, they are clearly visible and their work valued within the household.

House 3 at Huntingdon Island-5 boasts the highest count of non-gendered European materials, including unworked nails, scraps of iron and other metals, including lead and copper. The site's location close to the point of entry for European goods may account for the high frequency of European materials, which were ostensibly used to fashion both men's and women's artifacts, with a slight emphasis on materials that would have been worked by men. However, the purpose of both men and women's artifacts in this southern context is less well-defined than the objects at Ikkusik, which is illustrated by the striking contrast in gendered artifacts. In House 3 from Huntingdon Island-5, gendered artifacts account for 8.7% of the total assemblage, while the gendered artifacts from House 8 at Ikkusik account for 29.8%. In the context of each site's history and interpretation, the absence of gendered artifacts is equally as important as their presence.

The blurred distinction of both gendered artifacts and the use of European materials in southern and central contexts may be indicative of the purpose of the sites, which were ultimately geared towards the acquisition of European materials, rather than perpetuating the day-to-day division of men's and women's activities. Based on the low percentages of gendered artifacts in southern and central Labrador, the gendered spheres of activities appear less defined in regions where trade is the priority for Inuit groups. More generally, the trend towards the acquisition of European materials in central and southern Labrador reflects a new adaptation to a global economy. It is especially interesting to observe the sustained use of the communal house form in different regions,

which bolsters the argument for a distinctly Inuit response during this transformative period (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Whitridge 2008).

5.1.2 Addressing Research and Theoretical Objectives

In the first chapter, I outlined several research objectives that must be addressed within the theoretical framework of gender and identity theory. My primary research objective is to bring the valued activities of 18th century Inuit women to the forefront of our investigations into the cultural dynamics of communal houses. Inuit women's contributions to the development of a formalized trade with Europeans and the subsequent development of communal houses is often implicitly attributed to traditional female roles; however, those roles must be addressed within a thorough understanding of Inuit women's activities, agency and value. As discussed in the second chapter, Inuit women's value was inextricably tied to the value of their work, which was considered integral to the survival and well being of the community. While Inuit women are frequently associated with domestic activities such as cooking, child care and tending to the lamp for light and warmth, the ethnographic literature suggests that their roles were much more diverse and often enmeshed with men's activities. However, for the purpose of my study I have chosen to concentrate on frequently referenced activities that are associated with distinct material culture, such as *ulus* for preparing skins and meat, soapstone vessels for cooking as well as heating the household, and needles and beads which were used to prepare vital clothing items. Additional items were considered in the final count for men and women's artifacts, based on the Inuit taboo of hard and soft worked materials. Soft items such as skins are associated with women's work, and hard

worked materials such as metals, bone and stone are associated with men's work. The frequency and distribution of these iconic items within each household have been examined in chapter 4, and have revealed varied internal social dynamics in the chosen communal houses.

The geographical distance of Ikkusik in Saglek Bay from the point of entry of European goods in southern Labrador appears to have greatly affected the volume of European materials within the household, as they account for merely 10.7% of the assemblage [Table 5.1]. However, invisible processes and relationships may have been at play to account for the low frequency of European materials, including whether the occupants at House 8 willingly participated in the formalized trade network or retrieved European items from Inuit traders. Formalized trade items, such as glass beads, are non-existent in this northern context; however, many European trade items such as kaolin pipes are present, which were used by both women and men. The low overall count for European materials translates directly into the minimal use of European gendered artifacts, which have equally low percentages for both men's and women's objects. While the value of European materials suggests that women may not have had much influence over their own acquisition of valuable materials, the female occupants of House 8 may have been exercising their agency by adhering to traditional Inuit materials and roles within the household. Their direct involvement with trade in the 18th century was likely through the preparation of animal skins and oils that would have been traded for the few European items that were recovered from House 8. The location of the site within Saglek Bay provided a highly familiar and relatively isolated territory for the inhabitants of House 8. With familiar resources on hand, the trend towards Inuit materials may have

been a matter of convenience. Coupled with the enormous distance from the point of entry of European goods, this suggests that the occupants of House 8 were not as enmeshed within the trade network as the Inuit groups living in more southern sites. The European items and materials that did arrive at the house were used and re-used to their fullest capacity, often in the fashion of Inuit items.

The high percentage of women's artifacts is significant relative to the counts from comparable houses in southern and central Labrador, which account for roughly 1% of their total assemblages [Table 5.1]. Men's artifact percentages are similarly high, while European materials at Ikkusik are uncommon compared to other regions. Schledermann's (1971) excavations revealed several work spaces and lampstands, which indicates a large number of women and their immediate families were residing within House 8. Whitridge (2008) has provided historical evidence for prominent male trade expeditions, which would have left several northern communities with a slightly skewed population. If multiple women were occupying House 8 concurrently, there may have been an increase in women's work within the household. As there is also ethnographic evidence for women participating in men's activities, men's work may have been effectively fulfilled by women should the need arise. Although men were well represented in the household, they may not have been heavily involved in direct trade at the time of occupancy.

The use of carved soapstone beads is unique to Ikkusik among the houses in this sample, as many were using wooden beads or were steadily trading in glass beads at the time. As trade beads are among the more formal trade items during the 18th century, their paucity at House 8 is striking. While the excavation techniques that were used at Ikkusik

did not include screening, the crew exercised great care to retrieve smaller items, including the delicate soapstone beads. Among the four chosen sites, Ikkusik has the best evidence for the use of slate *ulus* during the communal house phase. The *ulus* are a bit larger than their iron counterparts in southern Labrador, which may be due to the fragility in use. Surprisingly, few needles appear in the assemblages from each house, despite numerous ethnographic references to laborious sewing among Inuit women. While a distribution map could not be created from the Ikkusik field notes, it is likely that the distribution of artifacts would be similar to other highly gendered Inuit houses, in which women's work was undertaken in a shared space in the interior of the household (Hennebury 1999:154).

The occupants of House 1 from Adlavik did not have access to the same local abundance of natural resources as their more southerly neighbours from Eskimo Island-1. While the Adlavik islands provided necessary access to familiar marine resources, access to terrestrial resources was limited. The location requires more frequent moves for subsistence than Eskimo Island, and the assemblage may represent a different type of settlement pattern, whose occupants had uneven access to European goods. House 1 was occupied for a minimum of three seasons, based on three distinct shell layers in the midden, which may in fact have been part of a seasonal round. Loring and Rosenmeier (2005) have suggested that the location of House 1 was primarily a defensive strategy, as it is not easily visible from the sea, which may indicate that its occupants were not yet fully entrenched in direct trade with Europeans.

Loring and Rosenmeier (2005) have interpreted the occupation at House 1 to represent a transition period from raiding to trading with European groups, based on the gradual increase in European materials throughout the occupation of the site. However, based on Brewster's (2006) excavation and interpretation of a 17th century Inuit settlement at Snack Cove, it is clear that Inuit groups were raiding and scavenging European settlements well before the occupation at Adlavik. Nevertheless, some 18th century Inuit families may have been reluctant to trade openly with Europeans on arrival, and raiding no doubt remained a profitable strategy. A degree of trade is indicated by the appearance of formal trade items, including a number of glass beads among the women's artifacts. Many of the women's artifacts display the melding of Inuit and European materials, including a whale bone *ulu* handle with iron rivets. House 1 shows evidence for hammering iron and casting lead, including several re-molded lead weights, which were attached to the fringe of women's clothes (Hall et al. 1994). While a few women's iron artifacts were uncovered, including an *ulu*, a large container and a composite bone handle, the lack of women's artifacts in particular may be due to several factors. Loring and Rosenmeier's (2000, 2003, 2005) reports from House 1 indicate that two lampstands were uncovered during excavation; however, their final house map denotes a third possible lampstand in the far northwest corner of the house. With only two lampstands confirmed, this may indicate a lower female population relative to other communal houses, which may explain the low percentage of women's artifacts. The counts for men's objects from House 1 are marginally higher than women's artifacts, and the number of non-gendered artifacts account for roughly 95% of the total assemblage [Table 5.1]. While the other three houses that are examined show a similar lack of gendered artifacts, House 1 from

Adlavik shows the lowest numbers of all. Fewer lampstands, coupled with a more mobile settlement strategy, may indicate that there were fewer female family members in House 1 when compared to other houses.

In central Labrador, the occupants from House 2 at Eskimo Island-1 had much more access to European goods, due in no small part to the geographical location of the site within the Narrows and its proximity to the point of entry of European goods. Eskimo Island-1 has been considered a veritable hub of Inuit economic activity, with boundless access to traditional Inuit resources as well as European contacts. This economic surplus allowed for an intensive occupation by a number of families, based on the size of the midden and the number of lamp stands (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). Additionally, the areas of thick oil residues beneath the floor suggests that animal fat was being rendered into oil within the household (ibid:42), which may have been an activity undertaken by the female occupants. Women's work was likely highly valued within the trade network, as some key Inuit trade items were sea mammal oil and skins.

In this central, highly profitable location, women's artifacts account for less than 10% of the total assemblage, of which 1% were manufactured from European materials. The remarkable lack of gendered artifacts is reinforced through the low percentages for men's artifacts, which also account for 10% of the assemblage; however, men had better access to European materials, as those artifacts total 6.6% [Table 5.1]. While the numbers remains low, there may be several reasons for the distinct lack of women's access to European materials. While men's and women's work is equally represented in this central context, gendered artifacts in general are low, as the priority for the occupants in the

household may have been geared towards acquisition and trade, rather than personal use and re-use of European materials. This theory aligns with Townsend's (1976) 'down the line' exchange network model; however, the distinct lack of European materials from Ikkusik negates the theory of a complementary increase of European materials in the north. Certainly, the missing data may lie in my selection of Ikkusik as a comparative site, as well as my selection of gendered and non-gendered artifacts from each catalogue. It is possible, however, that Inuit groups were trading select items to multiple places, and that people were settling into new regions that may have wanted to participate in trade. If certain Inuit groups couldn't enter into a previously settled area, they may have had to experiment with new settlement strategies in order to access European goods.

Multiple lamp stands within House 2 indicate a large population of women within the household, who worked with Inuit materials such as hide and baleen. However, it is difficult to determine the exact use of the nearly 9000 beads recovered from Ikkusik, which may not have been used on site to display wealth through adornment. Instead, these formalized trade items may have been accumulated at House 2 for the specific purpose of trade within the region. The lack of glass beads at Ikkusik indicates that this particular item was of little value to the northern occupants of House 8. Conversely, glass beads may have been regarded as such high value items that they were not as easily lost or discarded. However, trade beads are found in large numbers and varieties within the central and southern region, which may have been the prime trading space for such items. It is possible that women chose to display their wealth through adornment rather than tool manufacture in more profitable regions.

The female occupants of House 2 likely engaged indirectly and directly with the trade process in the central region. While women certainly provided valued support through their day-to-day household activities, the large swathes of seal fat and oil residue from the southeast corner of House 2 provide a possible glimpse into the women's direct involvement with the trade process. The ethnographic and archaeological record provides evidence for women's involvement in the processing of skins, blubber and oil for use within the Inuit household. The collective work experience of the women from House 2 would have likely involved the processing of valuable blubber into oil, which would have been traded directly with Europeans. It is interesting to note that despite this proposed increase in valuable labour, women did not experience a significant increase in European materials within the household; however the five iron *ulus* suggests that Inuit women were able to obtain European materials for some of their most important tools for seal processing.

House 3 from Huntingdon Island-5 is similar in structure to central and northern communal houses. The household shows definite evidence for a single occupation. This settlement may have been focussed on flexible and direct trade with Europeans. There are a large number of Inuit sites in the Sandwich Bay region, and it was a desirable area because it was close to European settlements (Murphy 2011:130). Kennedy (1985) suggests that Inuit groups in the area, like those at Huntingdon Island and Adlavik, may have had more European materials in their artifact assemblages as they had more frequent access to European settlements and goods.

It is interesting to note that among the four chosen houses, House 3 from Huntingdon Island-5 is geographically closest to the point of entry of European goods; however, the percentages for women's artifacts are generally low, and women were not benefiting from the increase of European materials. If several families were in fact occupying the house simultaneously, it is possible that women's work in this southern context was focused and expedient, and that many valued items would have been preserved and carried with the owner. The five iron *ulus* that were recovered indicate that some iconic women's items were abundantly used to process seal, and that women would have had some access to valuable materials for their most important day-to-day activities. Men's access to European materials increased within the household, which is offset by the significant decrease of men's Inuit material artifacts. Overall, House 3 revealed a large influx of non-gendered European materials at 73.3% of the total assemblage, which may have been purposefully obtained for trade to regional neighbours [Table 5.1]. The percentage for both Inuit and European non-gendered artifacts from House 3 is similar to House 1 from Adlavik, which may indicate similar economic priorities and new settlement strategies associated with trade for both households.

Overall, the results of the analysis of gendered artifacts from the four communal houses demonstrate an interesting trend in women's access and use of European materials. In north, House 8 from Ikkusik reveals the lowest counts for women's European material artifacts at 0.2%, which is mirrored at House 1 from Adlavik [Table 5.1]. The highest count for women's European material artifacts is from House 2 at Eskimo Island-1 at 1.0%, which may be due in part to their valued contributions at this

central trade location, perhaps in part due to their direct involvement in the processing of sea mammal oil. The women in House 3 from Huntingdon Island-5 experienced a slight decrease in access to European materials at 0.7%, despite the geographic proximity to the point of entry of European trade goods [Table 5.1]. Most importantly, with the exception of Ikkusik, women's access to European materials does not appear to have increased or decreased based on geographical location, but rather the counts are site specific and may be attributed to several factors. Among them are accessibility to European trading posts, the length of occupation, economic priorities and gender demographics of the household.

Table 5.1 Summary table of comparative data from each examined communal house.

CATEGORY	Ikkusik % (/896)	Adlavik % (/879)	Eskimo Island-1 % (/983)	Huntingdon Island-5 % (/753)
Women's European Material Artifacts	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.7
Women's Inuit Material Artifacts	13.6	1.8	6.5	1.1
Men's European Material Artifacts	1.5	1.6	6.6	6.1
Men's Inuit Material Artifacts	14.5	1.9	4.2	0.8
Non-Gendered European Material Artifacts	9.0	70.1	79.3	73.4
Non-Gendered Inuit Material Artifacts	61.2	24.2	2.3	17.8
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

A parallel trend may be observed in the role of the communal house itself. While the household form appeared and disappeared rather suddenly within the 18th century, it

appears that the objective of the occupants varied based on location, access to resources and trade with Europeans and other Inuit groups. Rather than assuming a shared purpose based on an architectural similarity, the distribution of gendered artifacts, as well as the use of Inuit and European materials within the household, reveals different settlement patterns that are unique to the circumstances of the occupants. The popularity of the communal house form may not necessarily be attributed to the leadership of Inuit middlemen or towards the final goal of European material accumulation, but may be understood as a dwelling that housed a variety of Inuit responses during a transformative period.

5.1.3 Identifying Areas of Research Bias

The trends presented within the natural and archaeological contexts of each site represent a clear distinction between the use of gendered and non-gendered artifacts, which may represent the economic priority of the household. However, several areas of possible research bias must be explicitly addressed in order to provide a better picture of the results within my own interpretive framework. This bias is confronted in an attempt to leave my research open to re-visitation should more archaeological, ethnographic or theoretical information become available.

To begin, the ethnographic evidence on which I base much of my interpretation was retrieved from the surveys of the Moravian missionaries. While their accounts are meticulous, their methods of survey and privileging of information were likely skewed towards male activities and interests. I have addressed the difficulties of relying on the surveys conducted by the Moravian missionaries in Chapter 2, which, in sum, provide

very basic outlines of male and female day to day activities that are typically divided between the hunting and domestic spheres. I then drew on multiple lines of evidence, such as past and recent Inuit accounts and analogies in an attempt to balance the outdated representations of Inuit women in the ethnographic literature. In doing so, I concluded that men and women often enjoyed complementary roles and activities, in which the value of labour became a fluid source of identity at the household level. While I have attempted to balance my new understanding of both male and female activities, my personal bias in retrieving women's accounts may have translated into an incomplete understanding of the sphere of activities and experiences of Inuit men. However, I have attempted to provide equal consideration to the material culture of Inuit men and women in chapter 4 through distribution maps and the percentages of gendered and non-gendered artifacts.

Based on the ethnographic evidence and the reinforced associations between women's activities, the division of labour and a specific set of tools, including *ulus*, soapstone vessels and sewing implements, I compared the distribution of women's artifacts at the regional and household level. However, my selection of artifacts may not represent the different spheres of activities between the chosen houses. Without direct and reliable ethnographic evidence from each household, it is impossible to accurately predict the gamut of women's day-to-day activities. However, by limiting my selection of artifacts I was able to control my comparative data, which allowed me to normalize four distinct sites across coastal Labrador. While this practice has permitted me to draw out

trends and arrive at conclusions based on the chosen houses, it may not accurately represent the experiences of Inuit men and women within the household.

Finally, the results of my artifact counts and percentages for gendered and non-gendered artifacts are based on my own examination of previously excavated sites and artifact catalogues. While I have taken every effort to minimize errors within the parameters of my research, specific details may have been overlooked. Additionally, it is important to consider that my own interpretations of the results are limited to my personal, educational and research experience. While my interpretation is constructed from the data I have chosen to privilege, it is my hope that the information herein may be used to construct multiple narratives by future researchers.

5.2 Suggestions for Future Research

The results of my study have been largely concentrated on the acquisition and use of European material by both Inuit women and men in an attempt to examine the micro-social activities within 18th century communal houses. However, my sample size remains quite small due to a lack of fully excavated houses and limited artifact provenience. As further work is conducted within communal houses in Labrador and elsewhere, more comparative data will become available and a clearer picture may emerge. Based on extensive documentary research, Stopp (2002) has argued that Inuit settlements in southern Labrador in the 18th century were year-round and strategically similar to northern settlements; however, a detailed examination of the material culture within the household may lead to a fuller understanding of individual communal houses.

While the results from my study provide a footing for the regional comparison of 18th century communal house use in Labrador, further investigation into the acquisition and use of both Inuit and European materials from additional northern communal houses will provide stronger comparative data. Based on my results from four comparable communal houses along the Labrador coast, it appears that the distribution of European goods between northern, central and southern Labrador may have been disconnected, rather than reflecting a unified gradient of supply and demand along the coast. Perhaps the most important distinction lies in the difference between the acquisition and use of European materials in southern Labrador, where the highest concentration of European material consists of non-gendered artifacts. It is likely that the Inuit in southern Labrador were especially driven towards acquiring European goods, which is reflected in the results of this study. However, expanding the criteria for gendered artifacts may provide a clearer picture of the small scale, or micro-social activities that were conducted during the 18th century communal house phase.

5.3 Conclusions and Final Remarks

The 18th century communal house phase was a period of immense activity and economic change in Labrador, most of which has been implicitly attributed to the entrepreneurial endeavours of men, either of European or Inuit descent. Previous analyses did not place Inuit women at the visible forefront of this economic and cultural upheaval; however, it is through the valuable work performed by Inuit women that trade networks were maintained and they were able to contribute meaningfully to their own communities' livelihood. Women's work may be considered equal and complementary to

the work of other members of the community, which is demonstrated through the roughly equal distribution of gendered artifacts made from European material in most areas. In northern Labrador the high count of gendered artifacts is juxtaposed by low frequencies of European material. The houses in central and southern Labrador generally exhibit low numbers of gendered artifacts and a high frequency of European material, which were likely set aside for trade with other Inuit groups. The general trend in central and southern Labrador reflects a drive towards acquiring European goods, which may have been circulated within the immediate region, in part due to their proximity to the point of entry of European goods. However, each of the four communal houses exhibit characteristics that are unique to their natural, social and economic surroundings which I have attempted to explore at the micro-social level. Throughout my analysis I have attempted to reflexively identify areas of research bias in order to leave my results open to re-visitation and to encourage multiple future narratives. It is my hope that when more comparative data becomes available, the nature of communal houses will receive a full understanding at both the large and the micro-social scale.

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