SWEEPING THE FLOOR:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF A MULTI-ETHNIC SOD HOUSE IN LABRADOR (FkBg-24)

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by

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Abstract

The Labrador landscape is littered with the remnants of sod houses that cannot be readily associated with a specific ethnic group because of the rapid adoption of this method of construction by Labrador Inuit, Europeans and culturally-mixed families. Sod houses occupied by culturally mixed families of Labrador Inuit and Europeans, which are today known as Labrador Métis, have not previously been studied, so a nineteenth-century Labrador Métis sod house (FkBg-24) was excavated and analyzed. The results were compared with contemporary Labrador Inuit and European sites to determine the distinguishing features of early culturally mixed families and to develop an initial archaeological definition that can be used to identify Labrador Métis sod houses.

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1.0 Chapter 1 – Introduction

The southern Labrador coast includes many remains of sod houses identified and recorded over the past 30 years of archaeological work by researchers such as Auger (1989), Kaplan (1983), Rankin (2004) and Stopp (2002). Sod houses are easily visible on the landscape and provide a wealth of information concerning life in Labrador during the last few hundred years. These structures were first introduced to Labrador by the Inuit, yet their suitability to the local environment saw them rapidly adopted and adapted by Europeans. On the surface the Inuit and European sod houses are virtually identical, which complicates research related to the culture history of the Labrador coast. This research is further complicated in southern Labrador during the nineteenth century by the adoption of sod houses by another group, the Labrador Métis.

The Labrador Métis identify themselves as the descendants of mixed marriages between Labrador Inuit women and European men. These ethnically mixed families practiced an economic and resource procurement strategy that was different than both Labrador Inuit and Europeans, but it is unclear how the existence of a possibly hybrid culture would affect sod houses in southern Labrador. Until sod houses occupied by mixed-families are better understood, a methodology to identify the cultural affiliation of these structures cannot be developed. The research presented here is a preliminary step in developing such a methodology.

Through the excavation of an identified nineteenth-century ethnically mixed sod house structure, referred to as FkBg-24, near the mouth of North River, in southern

Labrador (Figures 1 & 2), data has been gathered related to the architecture, lifeways and use of space within the structure. This data has been analyzed and compared to other previously excavated contemporary Inuit and European structures in Labrador to answer the following questions:

(1) *What defines an ethnically mixed family's artifact assemblage in Labrador?*

(2) *What defines an ethnically mixed family's architecture in Labrador?*

(3) *How does an ethnically mixed site compare to contemporary Labrador Inuit and European sites?*

(4) *Are there enough differences between an ethnically mixed site, Labrador Inuit sites and European sites to justify a separate archaeological definition for the Labrador Métis?*

In answering these four questions I explore whether the hybrid nature of an ethnically mixed family is visible within sod houses and if there are enough differences between sod houses to differentiate those occupied by an ethnically mixed family from those occupied by an Inuit or European family. In doing so, I will be evaluating whether the creation of an archaeological definition for Labrador Métis culture would be appropriate for future research, and if so, which characteristics could be used for the creation of such a definition.

Figure 1 - Labrador Coast with Research Area Highlighted

Figure 2 - North River, with FkBg-24 Highlighted

1.1 Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 outlines the previous archaeological and anthropological research related to the Labrador Inuit, the Labrador Métis and the Europeans that settled the Labrador coast. The strengths and weaknesses of the past research from various data sources are discussed.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology that I employed during the excavation and analysis of archaeological data from the Charles Williams site, FkBg-24, in Sandwich

Bay, Labrador. Chapter 3 ends with a description of the architectural features identified at FkBg-24, and what these features suggest about lifeways.

Chapter 4 analyzes the artifact assemblage collected from FkBg-24. The artifacts are divided into functional groups and are described in detail. The spatial distribution of these artifacts is also analyzed. Finally, the faunal assemblage is described and analyzed. These many different sources of information are used to determine the daily lifeways of the former occupants of FkBg-24.

Chapter 5 compares the architecture and artifact assemblage of FkBg-24 to similar data from contemporary Inuit and European sites in Labrador. Where possible, the types, ratios and function of the artifacts, fauna and architecture are analyzed to determine how FkBg-24 compares to contemporary Labrador Inuit and European sites, and what features are unique to each.

Chapter 6 brings the information from previous chapters together to propose an interpretation of the lifeways of FkBg-24 in Sandwich Bay, which has been divided into activities, architecture, and foodways.

Chapter 7 reviews my research questions and suggests possible avenues of future research that could build upon my conclusions.

2.0 Chapter 2 – Context

This thesis tackles a region, population and time period that is poorly documented; the nineteenth-century ethnically mixed families of Sandwich Bay. In order to better understand this region, a context for the period and population must be developed. Four sources of data are available: extant archaeological data, documentary records, historic maps and ethnographic studies. Unfortunately, few of these sources refer specifically to Sandwich Bay, Labrador, but can still be used in a critical fashion. I first summarize the difficulties in applying each data source to Sandwich Bay and then critically evaluate these sources to develop a cultural and historical context for life in Sandwich Bay during the historic era. Generally, the sources discussed focus on the post-contact period in Labrador, but a variety of other time periods are also explored.

2.1 Past Research - The Sources

2.1.1 Archaeological Research in Sandwich Bay

Post-contact archaeological research in Labrador has been concentrated in the north and south of the Labrador coast. Until recently, Sandwich Bay has not been the focus of archaeological research. William Fitzhugh conducted archaeological surveys from Hamilton Inlet to the northern tip of Labrador during the 1970's and 1980's and the results of these surveys encouraged other researchers, such as Jordan (1978), Jurakic (2007), Kaplan (1983), Loring (1992), Schledermann (1971), and Woollett (1999, 2003), to conduct further research in the region. In southern Labrador, some significant sites in the Strait of Belle Isle were excavated in the late 1970s and 1980s, for example Red Bay, which helped to spur on surveys and excavations in that region (Auger 1987, 1989; Tuck 1983).

This early research suggested that Hamilton Inlet was the southern limit of the occupation range of the Labrador Inuit and was fully discussed in the 1980 issue of the journal *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*. Hamilton Inlet was established as the southern limit of occupation based on historic documents, ethnographic data and limited archaeological research in southern Labrador. However, recent research by Auger (1989), Brewster (2005, 2006), Rankin (2004) and Stopp (2002) has proven that the Inuit were living at least as far south as Sandwich Bay, and their movements possibly extended to the Strait of Belle Isle.

Several obstacles have, until recently, prevented study of the Inuit who may have resided south of Hamilton Inlet. For example, from Sandwich Bay south, Europeans adopted a sod dwelling similar to Inuit structures. Because Inuit, European settlers, seasonal fishermen and Labrador Métis all used sod dwellings, and these dwellings have left a virtually identical archaeological signature, it has been difficult for researchers to specifically target any of these cultures. Auger (1989), Stopp (2002) and Rankin (2004, 2005) have identified a large number of sod houses in the region, but have rarely been able to assign ethnic affiliation to these dwellings.

Another obstacle that has limited our understanding of the Inuit in southern Labrador is the lack of nineteenth-century archaeological research conducted in Labrador. The majority of the archaeological research has focussed on the pre- and early-contact periods (eg. Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971). Research has been completed on eighteenth-century European sites, such as Stage Cove, to determine how the relationship between Inuit and Europeans was changing (McAleese 1991), but little archaeological

research has been completed between eighteenth-century and present day Labrador, an important period in Inuit and Labrador Métis settlement history.

2.1.2 Documentary Records

There are few documentary records concerning the history of Sandwich Bay. To the north of Sandwich Bay, Moravian missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company kept detailed records between the eighteenth century and twentieth century, and to the south the Anglican Church and independent merchants did the same. A few records detailing life in Sandwich Bay during the late eighteenth century were kept by George Cartwright, an early trader who operated in southern Labrador (Stopp 2008; Townsend 1911). However, detailed records were not kept again until the late nineteenth century when the Hudson's Bay Company entered the region. There were other merchants active in Sandwich Bay between the two periods, Nobel and Pinsent and Hunt and Henley, but neither group's records managed to survive to the present day. Furthermore, there was no permanent religious institution in the region until late in the nineteenth century so little data can be recovered in church archives. However, many religious leaders travelled through the region sporadically and several collections of pictures dating to the late nineteenth century can be attributed to these individual (Kennedy 1992; Rompkey 1996; Townsend 1911). These pictures, taken by both Grenfell and Curwen, are from all over the southern Labrador region and often detail the daily life of the regions inhabitants. The Curwen pictures specifically show the exterior and interior of structures occupied by ethnically mixed families and seasonal fishermen and include descriptions of the images (Rompkey 1996).

2.1.3 Historic Maps

Detailed maps of Labrador have been produced since the early 1500s. Many use local toponyms that reference the cultures the cartographer encountered (Martijn 1980). Nevertheless, historic maps must be examined critically because it is not always clear if the toponyms are placed correctly or which cultural group they refer to. In Labrador 'The Land of the Eskimos' was often placed on maps, but it is uncertain who is referred to as 'Eskimos.' This term might have been used to refer to the Inuit, Innu or some other cultural group. For example, the 'Country of the Eskimaux', present on both the Quebec north shore and the southern coast of Newfoundland on the 1703 Delisle map, probably refers to another Aboriginal group (Martijn 1980:81). This problem is compounded because early maps were used in the development of later ones without critical editing, and toponyms must be traced back through original maps in an attempt to understand how these areas received their names. Depictions of Aboriginal groups are sometimes drawn on the maps but the images are not detailed enough to indicate the cultural group represented. For example, the Pierre Desceliers map of 1546 clearly depicts people whaling from an open boat off the Labrador coast, but it is unknown whether these whalers are Inuit, Basque or some other group (Martijn 1980:78).

2.1.4 Cultural Anthropology Data Sources

Anthropological and ethnographic research on both Inuit and European communities has been done throughout the coast of Labrador, but Sandwich Bay falls on the periphery again. Zimmerly (1975) and Ben-Dor (1966) conducted anthropological research in northern Labrador during the 1960's. These researchers used documents compiled by Moravian missionaries and the Hubson's Bay Company, alongside

participant observation in northern Labrador to investigate culture patterns north of Hamilton Inlet. In southern Labrador, Kennedy (1988, 1995, 1996) accomplished a similar feat by conducting interviews and consulting other documentary evidence, but only limited research was conducted in Sandwich Bay.

2.2 Culture History

In the following section I provide a culture history of Sandwich Bay by integrating the four data sources in order to provide a context for Labrador Métis development. Data from northern and southern Labrador is compared and, where possible, the concerns related to the use of these different data sources are addressed. Because the Labrador Métis culture developed from the interactions of several different cultures, I examine the different culture groups influencing life in Sandwich Bay including the Labrador Inuit, the French and British.

2.2.1 Inuit in Sandwich Bay

Inuit culture, originally referred to as Thule, first developed in Alaska around 1000 Common Era (C.E.) and rapidly spread across the Canadian high arctic. The Inuit entered Labrador, most likely through Baffin Island, roughly 1400 C.E. and began populating the coast (Kaplan 1983:1). The Inuit were present in Sandwich Bay and southern Labrador as early as the seventeenth century (Brewster 2005:122).

When the Inuit entered Labrador, they continued to practice a maritime focused economy, based primarily on the hunting of whales and seals, developed in the Arctic. However, many of the animal resources in Labrador follow different migratory patterns

and exhibit seasonal fluctuations in population. In order to survive in this environment, the Labrador Inuit adopted a system of transhumance to harvest specific resources in particular places when those resources were at their highest concentration. Even though the Labrador Inuit would often travel long distances to harvest the appropriate resource, they were considered only semi-nomadic since they followed a similar round each year (Kaplan 1983, 1985; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Schledermann 1971; Woollett 1999, 2003). Since the Inuit would return to the same locations every year, they were able to expend more energy and resources at specific locations. For example, they constructed substantial semi-subterranean winter dwellings and fishing weirs at key locales. In southern Labrador there is little evidence that the Inuit continued to hunt whales, but it is evident that they maintained the marine focus with an emphasis on the seal hunt (Kaplan 1983, 1985; Woollett 2003).

Changes to traditional Inuit culture occurred immediately following contact with Europeans, and by the nineteenth century most aspects of traditional Inuit culture had been altered to incorporate European technology. During the sixteenth-century contact period, the Labrador Inuit began adapting European goods and tools to function within Inuit culture. In the beginning these goods were obtained through trading, attacking, stealing and scavenging from Europeans (Barkham 1980; Bratt 1984; LeHuenen 1984; Loewen 1999). During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Labrador Inuit were the dominant party in most of these transactions, and were able to incorporate the European presence and goods into their traditional lifeway (Brewster 2005, 2006; Hawkes 1916; Jordan 1978; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Trudel 1980).

This pattern changed during the eighteenth century with the introduction of the Moravian missions in central Labrador and more aggressive European traders in southern Labrador (Kaplan 1983, 1985; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Schledermann 1971; Woollett 1999, 2003). These new trading partners would no longer tolerate hostile actions on the part of the Inuit to obtain trade goods. Furthermore, European fishermen began to take all of their excess goods back to Europe following the fishing season, while traders chose to remain in the region for the winter months, so scavenging became much more difficult for the Inuit. When raiding and scavenging became more difficult for the Labrador Inuit, they began to trade traditional Inuit goods, such as baleen, whale bone and seal skins, for the desired European goods with the European traders. While the Labrador Inuit were often able to obtain a greater value for their goods than the European traders would have wanted, it was a much more balanced economic relationship (Kaplan 1983, 1985; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Schledermann 1971; Woollett 1999, 2003). The Labrador Inuit sought a wide variety of European goods to incorporate into their culture but the one that had the greatest long term impact was firearms.

Initially, Europeans were reluctant to supply firearms to the Labrador Inuit. The Moravian Missionaries believed that firearms would have a major impact on the traditional Labrador Inuit culture, and the early traders were against trading firearms with the Labrador Inuit since it would be providing weapons to a potential enemy. This began changing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the Labrador Inuit began demanding firearms and ammunition. Soon after acquiring firearms, the Inuit abandoned most forms of traditional hunting technology. The impact of firearms did not

become apparent until the European demand for goods from Labrador slowed. This meant that the traders refused to give the Labrador Inuit the same amount of goods they would normally receive in a trade (Auger 1989; Clermont 1980; Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Loring 1992; Trudel 1980). In the past the limited access to European trade items would not have been a major hindrance for the Inuit, but given their complete reliance on firearms and ammunition, and their desire for other European goods, they accepted the conditions offered by the European traders. With this, the balance of power shifted and the traders began to control economic interactions. As a result, the Labrador Inuit altered their economy to focus on collecting resources that were not traditionally significant, such as furs and cod, but which would allow them to continue trading with Europeans for firearms and ammunition. While these activities were previously conducted by the Labrador Inuit, they normally assumed a marginal role in the yearly rounds. By this time, records indicate that many of the Inuit claimed that they would not be able to hunt without ammunition (Kennedy 1995). While this may have been an attempt by the Labrador Inuit, who were recorded as shrewd negotiators, to obtain a higher value for their goods, Labrador Inuit culture may well have become dependant on firearms. Thus, the new fishing and trapping economy further altered the Labrador Inuit lifeway during the nineteenth century (Auger 1989; Clermont 1980; Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Loring 1992; Townsend 1911; Trudel 1980).

2.2.2 Early French Settlers

The French were active in Labrador between 1713 and 1763, when control of Labrador was ceded to the British (Anderson 1984; Trudel 1977, 1980). Independent traders and seasonal fishermen were the first to enter the region, but the French government quickly realized the potential for profitable trade for goods from northern Labrador, like baleen, whale bone and seal. To maximize this potential the French government began encouraging settlement of southern Labrador with an emphasis on developing and maintaining positive relationships with the local Inuit (Auger 1989; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Tanner 1947; Trudel 1977, 1980).

Nevertheless, there is debate concerning the success of French trade with the Inuit. While many traders, such as Jolliet and Fornel, were very successful and reported friendly interactions with both the Inuit and Innu, the settlers' reports were not as positive (Kaplan 1983; Loring 1992:161-164; Trudel 1977, 1980). The settlers often complained to the French government that the Inuit were violent, untrustworthy and were as likely to attack and raid as they were to trade. A common request to the French government was to establish more forts along the coast and to send more soldiers to prevent Inuit violence. The French settlers may have had poor relationships with the Inuit because they were in direct competition for the same resources. French settlers often established their settlements in good seal hunting locations (Auger 1989:28-30; Kaplan 1985:57-58). Since the major winter focus of the Inuit subsistence economy was the seal hunt, they would have used the same locations that the French were settling. This would have placed French settlers and the Inuit in competition for prime seal hunting locations and

the valuable resources they provided (Auger 1989; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Tanner 1947; Trudel 1977, 1980).

It is also possible that these hostile encounters were greatly exaggerated because French settlers wanted a greater French military presence to regulate the settlements and protect them from raids by English and American fishermen. Despite the supposed increase in hostilities with the Inuit, the French settlers managed to maintain settlements on the coast of southern Labrador up until the 1783 Treaty of Paris. This treaty returned control of coastal Labrador to the British, who promptly outlawed permanent settlement on the coast. French settlers were forced to abandon their settlements and either live in hiding or return to French controlled regions, such as the French Shore of Newfoundland (Auger 1989; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Trudel 1977, 1980).

Multiethnic children have likely been present in Labrador since Europeans began resource procurement in the region during the sixteenth century. Seasonal European settlers would often take Inuit women as temporary wives while in Labrador and would then abandon them when they returned to Europe. When the abandoned women returned to their families, any children resulting from of these relationships would have been adopted into the women's family (Ben-Dor 1966). The degree to which these children were accepted as Inuit is debatable. During the later period, in central and northern Labrador, the Moravians witnessed the emergence of the *Kablunangajuit*, which is the Inuit term for half-white. However, it has been argued that the emergence of the *Kablunangajuit* is the direct result of the Moravian emphasis on the European traits in these children (Ben-Dor 1966; Kennedy 1995:8-9).

2.2.3 English Settlement

Once England gained control of the Labrador coast in 1763, the situation in southern Labrador changed (Kennedy 1995:8). The British were not initially interested in trade relations with the Inuit and were very concerned about hostilities between the British and the Inuit. The British government wanted to maintain the safety of the seasonal fishermen, so they soon outlawed the permanent settlement of Labrador in order to minimize competition for resources, and stop some of the hostile encounters that threatened the seasonal cod fishery (Auger 1989; Brice-Bennett 1981; Cabak and Loring 2000; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Loring 1992; Townsend 1911).

The British also tried to protect the seasonal fishery by allowing Moravian missionaries to develop permanent mission stations in northern Labrador. The Moravians began operating on the Labrador coast in the mid to late eighteenth century, establishing their first mission in Nain in 1771 (Brice-Bennett 1981; Cabak 1991). They were interested in converting the Labrador Inuit to Christianity, while trying to preserve traditional Inuit culture. To accomplish these goals, the Moravians attempted to minimize contact between the Inuit and Europeans in the south by trading European goods, which were in high demand from their northerly mission stations. This method also allowed for the development of an Inuit congregation, but varied in success over time in relation to the availability of local resources and presence of other European merchants in central Labrador. Moravian records indicate that if animal resources were poor, and if there was no other source of European goods, the Inuit gravitated to the mission stations, but if

animals were plentiful or independent traders were in southern Labrador, the number of Inuit who would continue to camp around the missions decreased (Brice-Bennett 1981).

During the late eighteenth century, independent traders began intensifying their activities in southern Labrador. These traders were harvesting resources, such as cod and salmon, and trading with Inuit for other goods. This proved to be a very profitable venture. Soon after independent trade began, hostile encounters between merchant and trade companies, who were in competition for prime cod and salmon fishing locations, increased which led the British government to change its position on year round settlement. For example, reports from Captain George Cartwright that stated the Nobel and Pinsent group were infringing on his fishing and trading stations led directly to the decision to allow Captain Cartwright to establish permanent, year-round stations and habitations to protect his own interests and maintain ownership of specific fishing stations (Anderson 1984; Auger 1989; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Kennedy 1988, 1992, 1995; Tanner 1947; Townsend 1911; Zimmerly 1975).

2.2.4 First Métis

While children of mixed ethnicity were already present in Labrador, the Labrador Métis do not become a visibly distinct culture until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. The decision to allow year round settlement on the Labrador coast may have led to the development of Labrador Métis society.

The various independent traders on the coast would bring trained workers, such as fishers and coopers, from Europe to work a variety of jobs. While working in coastal Labrador these European men would often take Inuit wives. In many cases, once a man's

contract with his merchant was completed, he would remain to establish a homestead with his Inuit wife. The reasons these European men wanted to settle permanently in Labrador is not well recorded, but it has been suggested that the merchants were encouraging these men to stay (Patricia Way, personal communication, 2008). It was more profitable to outfit these settler families on a credit system to harvest local resources than to hire and pay workers to do the same as part of the merchant organization. Also, during times of war, British men sometimes deserted their ship in Labrador to avoid being conscripted into the navy and settled along the coast. These trends led to a rapid increase of the permanent population in southern Labrador (Anderson 1984; Auger 1989; Cabak and Loring 2000; Davis 1981; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Kennedy 1988, 1992, 1995; Townsend 1911).

Following 1763, the European male population in southern Labrador rose rapidly, but few European women have been reported as living on the Labrador coast (Thornton 1977). This shortage of European women resulted in settlers often chose Inuit women for wives (Kennedy 1995:246). The children that resulted from these marriages were raised within a mixed household, and exposed to both European and Inuit culture (Anderson 1984; Kennedy 1988, 1992, 1995). Even though children of mixed backgrounds were born during the French period, it is not until the nineteenth century that modern day Labrador Métis developed as a distinct culture.

Labrador Métis children acquired the skills traditionally associated with the Inuit, which would have been beneficial for survival in coastal Labrador. At the same time, these children also had a European background. Moravian missionaries list individuality,

a sense of hard work, and the participation in a cash economy as their European values. It is sometimes suggested that the early Labrador Métis were fully incorporated into both Inuit and European society and were rarely thought of as a separate unique culture (Ben-Dor 1966:156; Kennedy 1995). However, it is also reported that the Labrador Métis were not fully accepted into either society, but were vital to both because of their unique skills (Kennedy 2005). The Inuit found the Labrador Métis beneficial middle men when trading with Europeans, and the Europeans often hired Labrador Métis to work at their resource procurement locations because they were self-sufficient. As a result, Labrador Métis tended to marry other Labrador Métis instead of European and Inuit spouses, creating a new hybrid culture that reinforced and intensified their differences to both European and Inuit cultures in Labrador.

Today, Labrador Métis identify themselves as the descendants of early mixed marriages between European men and Inuit women because marriages to Inuit women were much more common than marriages to Innu women, who resided further from areas of European settlement.

2.3 Labrador Métis Lifeways

Labrador Métis followed a seasonally based resource procurement schedule, which incorporated elements of both Inuit and European culture. Subsistence resources were procured to supply the household for the year. This included locally available resources, such as wild foods, and wood. While this is similar to the Inuit tradition, Labrador Métis usually limited their transhumance to two, and sometimes three specific resource procurement locations throughout the year.

Procuring resources for personal household use was ongoing throughout the year. Many of the resources sought could be obtained simultaneously. Entire families worked to harvest these resources in order to obtain a large enough surplus so that extra food would not have to be obtained from traders. The major resources were: fish, seal, bird, wild game, berries and wild plants for food; wood, rock and sod for construction; and fuel for heat and cooking. Other resources were sought when needed (Kennedy 1995).

The Labrador Métis also worked to procure resources that were in demand by European traders. This included harvesting fish, furs and seal products, which was undertaken by both nuclear families and by the combined efforts of several families, depending on the season and the resources sought (Kennedy 1995:89). These resources were bartered for supplies that were not locally available, such as musket balls, ceramics and smoking pipes (Kaplan 1985; Kennedy 1995).

During the nineteenth century, trade became much more important for survival. Because of a preference for European foods, like tea and bread, local residents sought food items, as well as hunting and fishing gear, and other household items from traders. In Labrador, trade was conducted on a barter system, with the use of coinage being rare. Local residents often made arrangements to obtain goods on a credit basis, which would force them to deliver most of their harvested resources to the same merchant each year (Kennedy 1995). If the value of the resources given to the trader was greater than the credit given the year prior, the trader was supposed to pay cash to make up the difference, but this rarely occurred. In good seasons both residents and traders would break even, but whenever there was a poor season the local residents would accumulate debt. If the

season was poor and residents were not able to harvest enough resources to pay off the debt, then the trader would often extend credit for the next year. This would begin a cycle of debt that was very difficult for residents to emerge from as they were obligated to return to the same trader ever year to pay off the debt. This cycle was even more difficult to break if the resident fished from a location or with a trader's gear. This would lower the value of the fish obtained, and made it nearly impossible to become debt free (Kennedy 1995:97).

During the nineteenth century, traders generally controlled the Labrador coast but local residents did have one method to help alleviate the problem of access to goods - trade with American fishermen operating on the coast of Labrador. The Americans had arrangements allowing them to fish in Labrador, but they were forbidden to develop settlements or to trade with local residents (Kennedy 1995:97-98). Court documents indicate that American fishermen simply ignored this regulation and traded with local residents for goods that would help supplement the profits of the fishing trip (Kennedy 1995:97-98). These American fishermen would either barter with food or items that were in high demand on the Labrador coast, such as gunpowder or domestic items, but there is evidence that they would also pay in cash, allowing residents to pay off some of their debt with local traders. It is argued that this process was vital for the local residents of coastal Labrador and allowed them to regain some measure of control and independence from the traders (Kennedy 1995:97-98).

2.3.1 Salmon Fishery

Preparation for the salmon fishery sometimes began as early as March, but usually not until May or June. Salmon were caught in the mouths of rivers during spawning season, using hemp gill-style nets placed just below the water perpendicular to the shore. At company locations a series of nets were situated to create a pound, which was very effective but required more nets and manpower (Kennedy 1995:104).

Salmon would be split along the spine, thoroughly cleaned and placed in barrels of salt and pickled for preservation. The preserved salmon would be shipped out of Labrador each fall (Kennedy 1995:104).

Although salting was the primary preservation method until the 1920s, attempts were made at freezing and canning salmon prior to shipping. It is reported that canning began in the 1860s, but this practice did not last and completely disappeared by 1917 (Kennedy 1995:104-105).

2.3.2 Cod Fishery

The cod fishery began mid-July and was normally practiced around the outer islands. Participation in the cod fishery would normally require the family to move to a summer habitation site for easier access to the cod during the short season. The degree to which local residents relied on the cod fishery is unknown but some cod was probably harvested by each family (Anderson 1984; Kennedy 1995:106). There were two major methods of harvesting cod. The first was through the use of a hand line with a baited hook or a lead jigger. This method requires the lowest investment of resources and would normally be practiced by individual fishermen. The second method made use of movable

cod seines and stationary cod traps. Cod seines and traps, which were rented from local traders, would be placed in the water, perpendicular to land, and allow for large catches of cod. Because of the labour intensive nature of this fishing method and the further labour required to process the large quantity of fish, the use of seines and traps would require several families to come together (Kennedy 1995:106-107).

Cod were processed by removing the head, splitting and cleaning the fish before stacking and heavily salting the cod to preserve them. Once the salting process was complete, the cod were dried in the sun. This required constant supervision to ensure that the cod were not exposed to moisture or intense heat. The processing of cod was normally left to the women and children while the men continued to fish (Kennedy 1995:107).

2.3.3 Sealing

There are five species of seal that frequent the coast of Labrador: harp, harbour, bearded, grey, and ringed. The most common seal is harp and it was harvested twice a year, during spring and fall, when it migrated up and down the coast of Labrador (Kaplan 1985). Seals were hunted in two ways. Firearms or harpoons were used to hunt individual seals. This method was conducted by individual hunters acting independently from other families or traders. The second method required nets and was more intensive. Gill nets were set up across channels or among islands to ensnare the seals, but stopper nets were also used. Like gill nets, stopper nets are set up across channels, but this required two nets. When a large pod of seals entered the channel the nets were raised, entrapping the seals, and making them easier to harvest (Kennedy 1995:108-109).

Seals were harvested for three main purposes: skins, oil and meat. Seals were first skinned and the fat was rendered. The skins were either processed locally to provide material for local clothing, like seal skin boots, or were shipped to Europe to be processed there. The rendered fat produced high quality oil that was vital to both residents of Labrador and Europe for lamps. The meat was used to feed dogs, but it was also used as a food source (Kennedy 1995).

2.3.4 Trapping

Trapping was conducted in the winter when snow made access to the interior easier. This activity was usually conducted by individuals or by small family units. Each person or family would have a specific trapping route that they would protect and maintain. Most trap lines would be accessible during the winter and the trapper would travel between a series of shelters, or tilts, checking the traps as he passed them. During the day the trapper would gather trapped animals and reset the traps. In the evening he would spend time processing the furs and preparing for the next day. Once the trapper gathered as many furs as he could effectively transport, he returned to the family's winter home to prepare for a second hunting trip. Depending on the season, these trapping trips would last weeks or months, but most times the trapper would have enough time to conduct two trips between fall and spring. While the trapper was in the interior, the rest of the family would remain at the winter house location and the wife would take care of the children (Kennedy 1995:141-144).

2.3.5 Other

There are several activities that occurred throughout the year that were economically insignificant yet vital for survival. The first was wood cutting. Wood was

required as fuel for cooking and heat, and for the construction and repair of winter and summer dwellings. Local inhabitants chose spruce, fir, juniper and birch. It is debated how the wood was used in construction. According to one source, the Inuit did not use a saw pit to cut logs but used whole logs instead (Kennedy 1995), whereas Europeans are believed to have primarily used hewn logs in construction (Anderson 1984; Kennedy 1995; Tanner 1947).

Plants were also gathered throughout the year for food and as medicinal cures. Blueberries, partridge berries and bake apples are recorded as the primary food plant and are found in large numbers throughout Labrador. Medicinal plants, which were gathered as they became available, include spruce, juniper, and roots (Kennedy 1995; Tanner 1947).

The final major activity was hunting. Hunting was conducted throughout the year on an opportunistic basis. If food was scarce, or if there was a period of time where there were no other activities being conducted, people would also go out in search of game. The importance of hunting for food is not well documented but the faunal collections suggest that it was very significant. Unfortunately, this information was not recorded by religious officials, travelers and local traders who made visits to settler families in Labrador. Visitors would have been treated as important guests in the home, and would have been served prestige food items, like canned meat, purchased from traders. Most of the meals recorded are of this nature, but the high cost of these foods makes it unlikely that the consumption of canned meat was normal in everyday life. It is more likely that

local animals were more important to daily subsistence (Kennedy 1995:108-110; Sterns 1884).

There are many species of animals in southern Labrador that would have been hunted for food. These include caribou, rabbits and birds (with a specific focus on the ptarmigan), but it is likely that local inhabitants would target any animal that was needed. Hunting was normally conducted with firearms, and during the nineteenth century this took the form of muskets that fired both musket balls for larger game and lead shot for smaller mammals and bird (Kennedy 1995:110).

2.3.6 Focus of Sandwich Bay

While all of these activities were pursued on the coast of Labrador, regional variations in the environment would encourage local specialization. For example, Kennedy (1995) reports that in the Strait of Belle Isle, there was an intensified focus on activities that occur in the outer islands, like cod fishing and seal hunting, but there is less of a focus on interior activities, like trapping and salmon fishing. In Sandwich Bay, the focus was on interior resources and salmon fishing. There are many river systems in Sandwich Bay, such as Eagle River, Paradise River and North River, which act as natural highways into the interior and are major salmon fishing locations. This led to a focus on trapping and salmon fishing, and a decreased reliance on cod fishing and seal hunting. Anderson (1984) proposed that salmon fishing was so lucrative that river mouth locations became year round habitation sites and outer island settlements, and the associated activities that took place there, were unnecessary. While this is a compelling argument, it

is more likely that local inhabitants still occupied the outer island sites but for shorter periods of the year (Tanner 1947; Zimmerly 1975).

2.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined research in Labrador relevant to interpreting activities that occurred at FkBg-24. While southern and northern Labrador had been studied for a long time, the Labrador Métis of Sandwich Bay have been underrepresented.

Ethnically mixed families can be connected to the Inuit, French and British cultures in the post-contact period, but the emergence of the Labrador Métis as a distinct cultural group can only be positively traced back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Labrador Métis lifeway was focussed on a series of seasonal rounds used to harvest resources for personal consumption and for trade with local merchants.

3.0 Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1 Site History

The site of FkBg-24 (Snack Cove 18) was initially recorded by Dr. Lisa Rankin during the summer of 2001 (Rankin 2002). The site consisted of a rectangular sod structure and a 3m by 1m pit a few meters to the northwest of the structure (Figure 3 & 4). Two test pits were placed on the site during that season, Test Pit 1 to the south of the structure and Test Pit 2 in what has since been designated Feature 1. No further study was possible that year. During the following year, Dr. Rankin returned to the site and dug two additional test pits, Test Pit A in the center of the west wall and Test Pit B to the northeast of the structure (Figure 5). Upon analysis, the artifacts recovered from these test pits indicated that this was likely a habitation site occupied during the nineteenth century. No cultural affiliation for the site was noted. The artifacts were all of European origin, but the presence of European goods was not enough to determine the cultural affiliation of sod house's inhabitants. The rapid adoption and adaptation of European goods into traditional Inuit and Labrador Métis lifeways and the proliferation of mixed families in southern Labrador resulted in Inuit sites having a large quantity and variety of European goods (Cabak and Loring 2000). Therefore Dr. Rankin was unable to determine if the house had been occupied by European, Inuit or Labrador Métis residents.

Figure 3 - North View of Structure

Figure 4 - East View of Structure

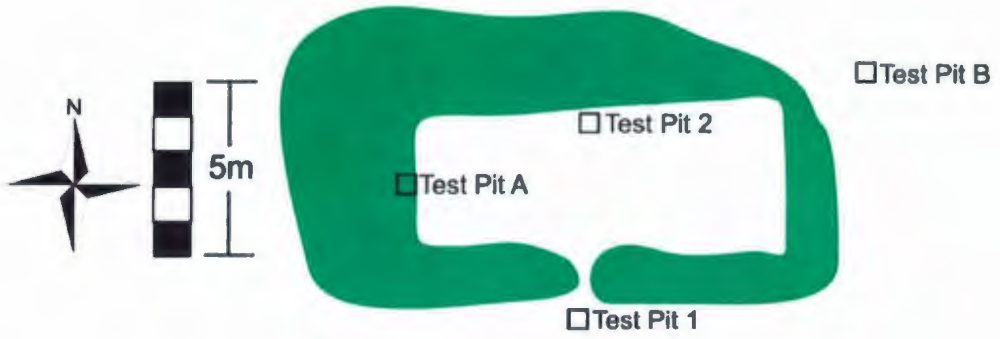


Figure 5 - Locations of Previous Test Pits

Documentary, genealogical and archaeological research was required to determine who might have occupied this site. Fortunately, due to the local interest and importance of genealogies and family history in southern Labrador, some of this work had already been completed by Patricia Way, the foremost genealogists in the region. As indicated in the 1872 Reichel map (Figure 6 & 7), there was only one family living on the north side of North River during this period, in the same location as FkBg-24. The name C. Williams appears on the map near the site location. This is corroborated by the 1863/64 census by Reverend George Hutchinson, which records one house in North River with five male inhabitants (Patricia Way, personal communication, 2008). The genealogical record indicates that C. Williams refers to Charles Williams, a settler from Plymouth, England. Charles Williams is buried in a cemetery at North River, walking distance from the structure. His headstone indicates he died on the 23rd of June, 1879, at the age of 71. How and when Charles Williams came to Labrador is not confirmed, but it has been suggested that during the early to mid nineteenth century he worked for the local trading

company Hunt & Henley (Fitzhugh 2000) or that he may have deserted from a ship for unknown reasons (Davis 1981). However he ended up in Labrador, he appears to have established his home on North River.

Charles Williams married a woman named Mary in 1848. Little is known about Mary, but genealogies suggest that she was a Métis woman of Scottish and Inuit ancestry (Patricia Way, personal communication, 2008). Mary is not mentioned in the 1863/1864 census and may have been dead by this time (Patricia Way, personal communication, 2008). Religious leaders, such as Reverend Hutchinson and Reverend Gordon, often comment that most men had taken up living with local women because of the lack European women in Labrador (Gordon 1972). Charles and Mary had several children together, most of whom established homes for themselves around North River (Patricia Way, personal communication, 2008).

While it is difficult to determine when FkBg-24 was first constructed, it is even more difficult to determine when it was abandoned. Reverend Henry Gordon describes in detail the residents of North River in 1915, and the only occupied structure on that side of the river was owned and occupied by Aunt Nancy Williams, however it is recorded as being further up the river than FkBg-24 (Gordon 1972). Because Reverend Gordon makes no reference to the FkBg-24 structure it is likely that it was abandoned by 1915 (Gordon 1972). The site was most likely abandoned sometime between the death of Charles Williams in 1879 and 1915.

Figure 6 - Reichel (1872) Map with C. Williams and Inset Highlighted

Figure 7 - Reichel Map (1872) Inset with C & J Williams Highlighted at North River

3.2 Site Description

FkBg-24 is a sod structure near the mouth of North River (Figure 8). The sod structure is rectangular with the long axis running east-west. The walls are defined by large mounds measuring between 1m to 3m wide and 1m to 2m high. These mounds enclose an area of 10m by 4m (33ft by 13ft), making the interior of the structure roughly 40m^2 (131 ft^2) in size. There is an obvious gap in the center of the south wall that faces towards the mouth of North River. This gap likely represents the entrance into the structure. A trench surrounds the sod walls. The placement of this structure allows a person to easily observe the mouth of North River, but the site is not easily seen when entering North River by boat.

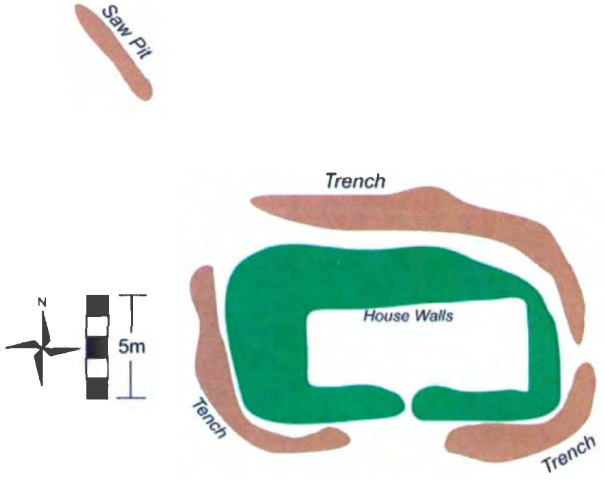


Figure 8 - FkBg-24

FkBg-24 is located in a clearing on the north shore of North River. The clearing is surrounded by a series of terraces to the east, trees to the north and west, and a marsh and brook to the south. A freshwater brook, named 'Little Brook', runs from the interior of the Porcupine Strand region, along the bottom of the terraces, next to the structure and

finally to the beach of North River. The presence of this brook makes the surrounding area very marshy (Figure 9). Most of the vegetation around the clearing is grass, moss and some small alders. The trees around the clearing are all coniferous trees that are found throughout the region. Berries including: blueberries, juniper berries, and bakeapples grow around the clearing. The terrace to the northeast of the structure is covered primarily by sand, with vegetation. The terrace allows for easy observation of both North River and Sandwich Bay. Also, the terrace and Little Brook would allow for easy travel into the interior of the region to harvest resources.

3.3 Excavation

During the summer of 2008, eight weeks were spent excavating FkBg-24. A 40 unit grid was set up inside the house structure with each unit measuring $1m^2$ (Figure 10). Unfortunately, when the grid was set up the majority of the gear had not arrived and we did not have a compass or other method to determine the bearing, so the decision was made to make the long axis grid north, making grid north magnetic east. Throughout this document the grid directions will be made explicit.

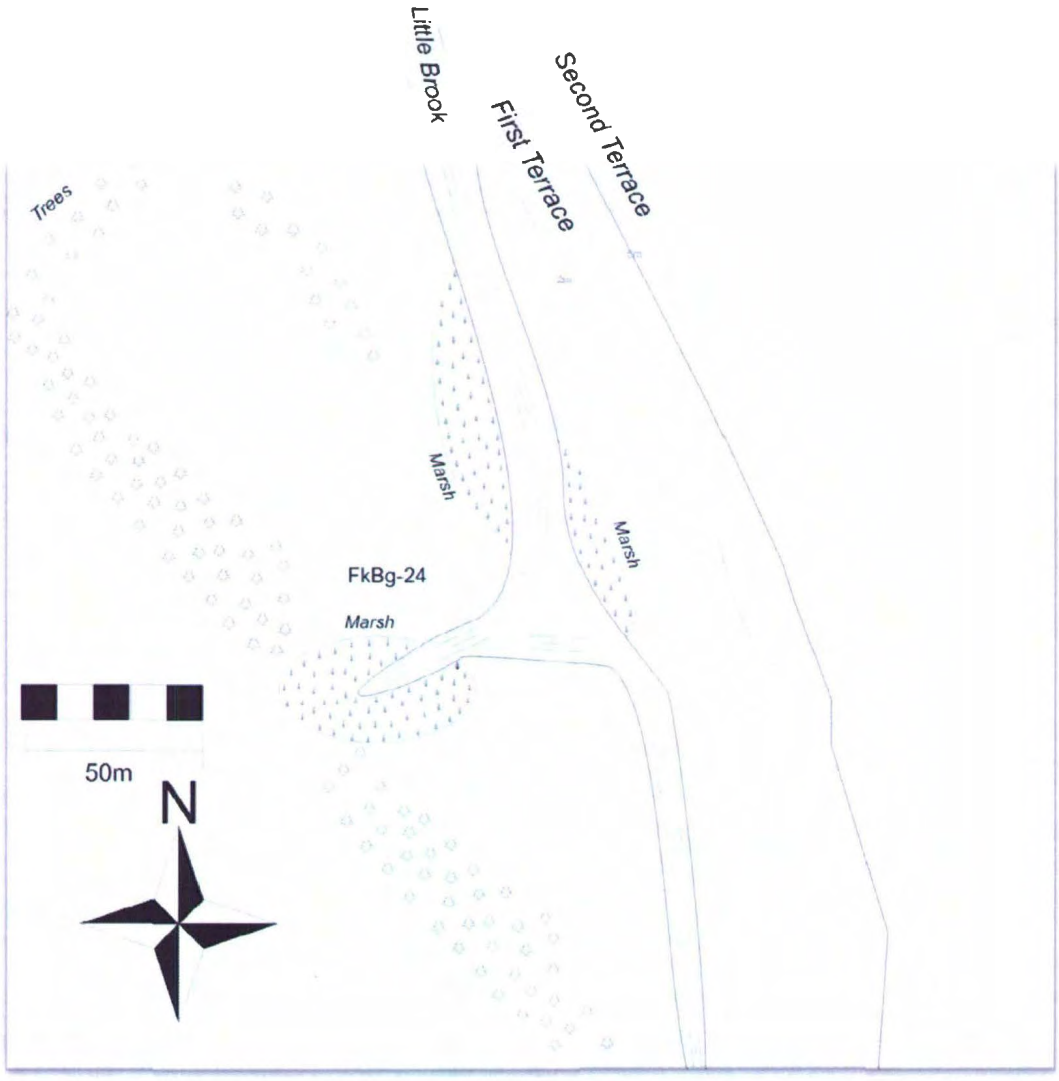


Figure 9 - Areas Surrounding FkBg-24

Figure 10 - West View of Complete Excavation

The southwest corner of the grid was named N5, E5 to allow the grid to be expanded in all directions if time allowed. During excavation, arbitrary 10cm levels were removed from each unit until the sterile layer was reached. The soil removed from the site was screened using a ¼ inch mesh screen. Artifacts were measured in situ from the southwest corner of the unit to obtain a horizontal location, and a depth was obtained through the use of a line level attached to one of two depth datums set up within the structure (Figure 11).

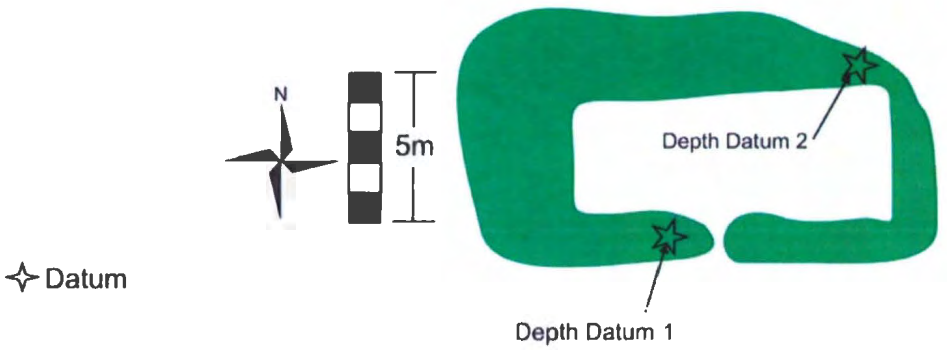


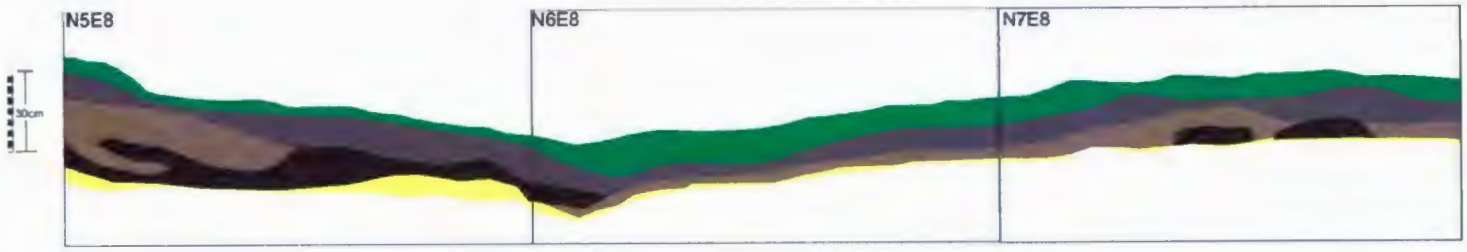
Figure 11 - Fk8g-24 Location of Datums

Initially two trenches along the long and short axes of the structure were excavated. The short axis trench began in front of the entrance to the structure and ended on top of a visible mound of rocks (Feature 1) in the center of the north wall. The long axis trench went from the top of a mound, referred to as Feature 2, in the center of the east end of the structure to the far wall in the west end of the structure. Units were considered complete when the sterile layer, a light brown sandy layer with many small beach pebbles, was visible. There were no artifacts recovered from this layer and a selection of units, first N9, E8, followed by N8, E9 and finally N7, E9, were excavated up to 30cm into the sterile layer to ensure there were no other cultural layers below.

Upon completion of the long axis trench, profiles were drawn for both the east and west walls. These profiles (Figure 12, 13 &14) indicate the primary stratigraphic layers that extended into the rest of the structure. Layer 1 included the sod and roots. Layer 1 was mostly sterile, but sometimes had artifacts near the interface with Layer 2. Layer 2 was a dark grey sandy soil that was found throughout the site. While this layer had some artifacts, but they were predominately iron nails. There was also some heavily

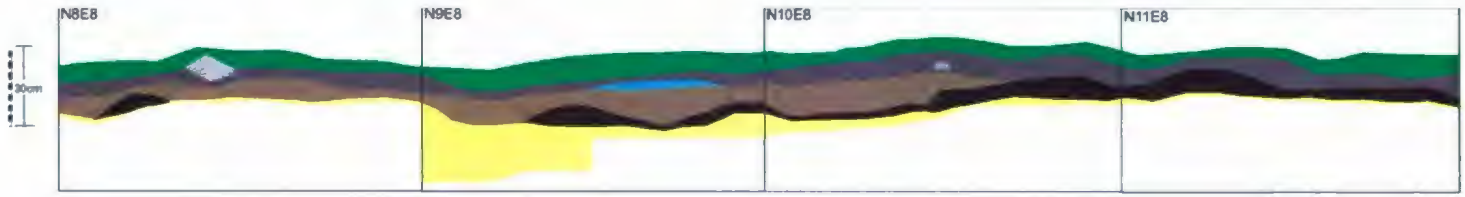
decomposed wood in this layer. Layer 3 was a light yellow sand layer. This layer was found only in the grid south end of the house, starting at unit N10, E8. Small artifacts, such as beads, were recovered in the upper part of this layer and larger artifacts are found near the interface with Layer 4. Layer 4 was a thick black organic layer that was found throughout the structure. Most of the artifacts recovered from FkBg-24 came from this layer, suggesting that Layer 4 was the main occupation layer. Layer 4 went sterile towards the interface with Layer 5, and stopped abruptly with the presence of heavily decomposed wood and iron nails. Layer 5 was sterile and the limit of excavation. It consisted of light brown sand, small beach pebbles and resembled the current beachfront. Layer 6 was dense grey clay found only in the grid North of the structure, past N13, E8. Few artifacts came from this layer. Layer 7 was a thick charcoal lens below Layer 6. Like Layer 6, Layer 7 was only found in the grid north end of the structure, past N13, E8. Artifacts were recovered from this layer, all of which show evidence of burning.

The presence of iron nails, wood and lack of other artifacts suggest that Layer 2 was the roof collapse. The sand found in Layer 3 was aeolian and very similar to the sand found on top of the terrace to the north and east of the structure. The similarities of the sand and the creation of a large sterile mound in the grid south end of the structure, which was originally referred to as Feature 2, suggests that Layer 3 was a layer of sand that has blown into the structure, post-abandonment, from the terrace above. The presence of this layer below the potential roof collapse, suggests that the sand was able to blow into the structure prior to the roof collapsing over the grid south end of the structure.



- Layer 1 - Sod Layer; Grass and roots
- Layer 2 - Dark grey sandy soil layer; Some root and plant material
- Layer 3 - Light brown sandy soil; Fine sand
- Layer 4 - Heavy organic soil; Occupation layer; Thin heavily decomposed wood at interface with Layer 5
- Layer 5 - Light yellow sandy soil; Water worn beach rocks
- Layer 6 - Dark grey layer of dense clay
- Layer 7 - Charcoal or burnt wood
- Rocks
- Wood

Figure 12 - FkBg-24 Profile from Grid West Wall N5E8-N7E8



- Layer 1 - Sod Layer; Grass and roots
- Layer 2 - Dark grey sandy soil layer; Some root and plant material
- Layer 3 - Light brown sandy soil; Fine sand
- Layer 4 - Heavy organic soil; Occupation layer; Thin heavily decomposed wood at interface with Layer 5
- Layer 5 - Light yellow sandy soil; Water worn beach rocks
- Layer 6 - Dark grey layer of dense clay
- Layer 7 - Charcoal or burnt wood
- Rocks
- Wood

Figure 13 - FkBg-24 Profile from Grid West Wall N8E8-N11E8

Figure 14 - FkBg-24 Profile from Grid West Wall N12E8-N14E8

A possible explanation is that the east end of the structure collapsed first and the west end remained standing for a period of time, allowing sand from the upper terrace to enter the structure.

Layer 4 was the occupation layer. The presence of decomposed wood and nails at the bottom of this layer, combined with the paucity of artifacts in Layer 4, suggest that there was a wooden floor to this structure. In one corner of the structure the wood was intact enough to be recorded. It appeared to be logs that were sawn in half, with the cut side placed down. These logs were running along the long axis of the structure. The gap between the heaviest concentration of artifacts and this floor also suggests that there may have been some sort of covering over the wooden floor. This could possibly have been a second wooden floor built higher up, or some other sort of organic covering. Layer 6 was associated with Layer 7. Layer 7 was likely a burning event.

After profiles of the trench were completed, micromorphological soil samples were taken along the north wall of the trench. These samples were collected by forcing a plastic electrical box into the wall and the gently removing the box so that the soil remains inside. A sample was taken from the center of each unit in the occupation layer. These samples were sent to Dr. Richard Josephs, in the Department of Geology and Geological Engineering at the University of North Dakota, to be analyzed for indicators of the functional use of space across the structure.

Upon completion of the two trenches we began excavating the rest of the interior of the structure. The rest of the structure expressed the same stratigraphy exposed in the

trench. Once the interior of the structure was excavated, we placed units on the walls. The grid was expanded into each wall until the excavation passed halfway through the mound. Because of time constraints, only one unit was extended into both sides of the entrance and into each of the other walls. These units contained few artifacts and the ones collected were near the surface. These mounds had a simple stratigraphy of surface, brown soil and sterile sand, and resulted from sod being piled up on the outside of a wooden wall to add insulation. The pits around the structure are also most likely the result of the removal of sods and soil to create the sod mounds.

After excavation was complete on the interior of the structure, we searched for the midden area. There were no obvious mounds of refuse anywhere near the structure, so a series of $50cm^2$ test pits were dug around the structure 1m apart from each other (Figure 15). Midden Test Area 1 (MTA1) was on the east side of the structure and consisted of nine test pits. Midden Test Area 2 (MTA2) was on the south side of the structure, crossed the front of the entrance, and consisted of nine test pits. Midden Test Area 3 (MTA 3) was on the west side of the structure and consisted of six test pits. Midden Test Area 4 (MTA 4) was on the north side of the structure and consisted of nine test pits. The test pits in MTA 1 and 2 were positive with a variety of artifacts. The strongest concentration of artifacts was recorded on both sides of the entrance, with fewer artifacts recorded further away from the entrance. MTA 3 and 4 were sterile. Six test pits were also placed around the pit to the northwest of the structure in an attempt to determine any possible function of this pit. These test pits had a layer of decomposed wood, which was not seen in any of the other test areas, and no artifacts.

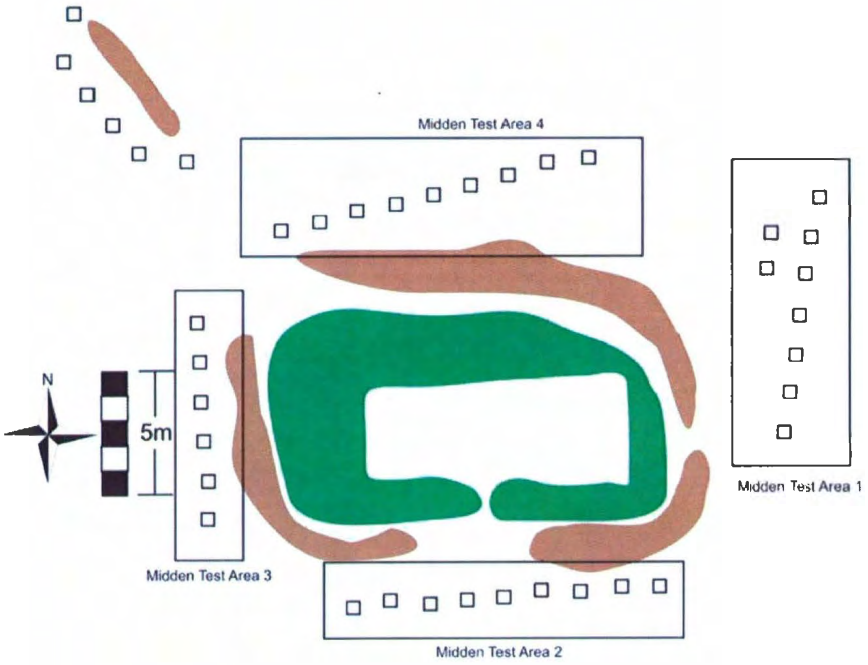


Figure 15 - FkBg-24 Midden Test Areas

When the season was over, the site was backfilled and the sods returned. A sample of the iron nails recovered over the field season was brought back to be further analyzed, but most of them were reburied after they were analyzed and counted. Nails were placed in three plastic bags and buried in the center of the structure. A permanent datum was set up 5m to the west of the structure and was identified by a large iron spike that was embedded into the ground. This datum was used to map in the structure, grid, test pits and surrounding area with a Total Station.

3.3 Architectural Features

Many architectural features located throughout the course of the excavation helped shed light on the layout of the structure and its construction (Figure 16).

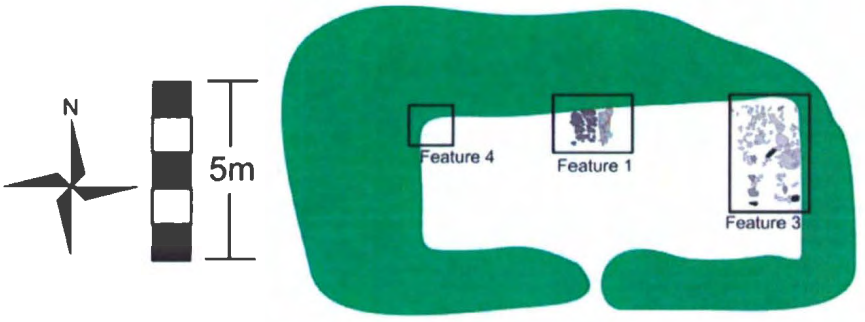


Figure 16 - FkBg-24 Features

Two mounds were evident prior to excavation. The first, referred to as Feature 1, was in the center of the north wall, across from the entrance. Many rocks were visible through the sod prior to excavation. Test pits placed in this feature in 2001 produced historic artifacts and charcoal. The charcoal and rocks suggested that Feature 1 was a hearth feature. Once Feature 1 was completely uncovered, it appeared to be a rock collapse. After the feature was mapped, we removed the rocks and exposed a flat stone platform which measured slightly less than $1m^2$, and a small rock wall on the east side of the platform that reached a height of approximately 30cm (Figure 17). The collapsed rocks could have formed other rock walls around the platform. The presence of charcoal, burned artifacts and part of an iron stove suggests that this is a stove platform with the rock walls built as a heat shield to protect the wooden structure. The lack of burning and discoloration of the rocks does not suggest that this platform represents an open fireplace. These heat shields are present in the pictures of sod structures from the late nineteenth century, though they generally appear to be simple piles of rocks, not platforms and walls

(Rompkey 1996:53, 97). The placement of these features in the center of the structure is also recorded in historic documents (Stopp 2008:66)

Figure 17 - Feature 1

The second mound, called Feature 2, was located in the center of the west wall of the structure. It was quickly realized that Feature 2 was a natural mound of sand that had collected in the west end of the structure prior to collapse. This aeolian sterile sand was the same type as the sand found on top of the terrace. The artifacts associated with this feature were found in the interface with the occupation layer below.

Feature 3 (Figure 18) was identified during the excavation in the northeast corner of the structure. Feature 3 is a series of small rocks located on top of the occupation layer and a layer of charcoal. While the rocks appear in a random scatter, the lack of any other rocks inside the structure suggests that they are associated with human activity. The artifacts associated with Feature 3 include iron barrel hoops, chest strapping, burned ceramics and a large amount of faunal material. The types of artifacts found in this area suggest that this was a storage space for barrels, storage chests, and food (see Chapter 4).

Figure 18 - South View of Feature 3

Feature 4 was located in the northwest corner of the structure is identified by a noticeable dip in the stratigraphy roughly 1.5m^2 and 30cm deep. The artifacts associated with Feature 4 suggest that it is a storage pit. A wide variety of ceramics, beads and pipes were found in this pit and many of the types and designs on the artifacts found in the pit are not found anywhere else within the structure (see Chapter 4). A wooden hinge and strapping was located near the top of the dip where it is level with the occupation layer of the rest of the floor, suggesting that there was a wooden door for this storage space.

An overall picture of the structure can be pieced together from the stratigraphy and features found during the excavation. The structure was made primarily of wood fastened with wrought nails. There was a wooden floor and walls, most likely made from split logs. The roof had a wooden substructure and may have been covered with either sods, or birch bark, both are recorded as having been used (Stopp 2008:66). The poor state of preservation of the majority of the wooden structure does not allow speculation on the specific construction techniques used. Sod mounds were piled on the outside of the structure to provide extra stability and insulation. These sods were cut immediately around the outside of the walls, creating trenches. The entrance was placed in the center of the south wall, which faced out towards the mouth of North River. The presence of window glass suggests that there were also windows in the structure.

Based on the excavation, the structure had a single, open room (10m by 4m or 33 ft by 13ft) with roughly 40m^2 (131 ft^2) of floor space. The iron cooking stove was placed in the center of the north wall on a rock platform to help prevent fires. A chimney was most likely present. There was no evidence to suggest how this chimney was made, but

the two recorded possibilities are iron stove pipes or old barrels placed on top of the roof to direct smoke out of the structure (Kennedy 1995). There was a storage space below the floor in the northwest corner accessed by a trap door, and a second storage space in the northeast corner for barrels and storage chests.

It is unclear where the occupants slept in the structure. The records and pictures suggest two possibilities. First, they may have slept on the floor near the stove (Cabak 1991). Second, there may have been sleeping shelves built into the walls, which would have also functioned as seating space (Rompkey 1996). It is presently unclear which style of sleeping arrangement was used for this structure.

The primary midden areas were in front of the entrance and on the east side of the structure. A pit, approximately one meter deep, located to the north of the structure, containing a large amount of decomposing wood, was most likely the remains of a saw pit. Local residents report that saw pits were common place and consisted of a pit roughly 3m long with wooden structure built above them. Saw pits were used by two people to cut log and would have been important for the construction of this wooden structure.

Micromorpholigical data helped to confirm many of the observations made throughout the excavation (Appendix C). The micromorphology confirmed the aeolian nature of the sand in Layer 3, the dark organic soil of Layer 4 was consistent with an wooden occupation floor, and a heavy concentration of charcoal in the east end of the structure supports the presence of a burning event.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter described the site FkBg-24. It outlines the genealogical records, maps and historic documents used to identify the sod structure as the probable house occupied by Charles Williams during the mid to late nineteenth century.

The second section outlined the methodology used to excavate FkBg-24 and discusses of some of the conclusions based on the excavation.

The third section discussed the features identified during the excavation and described their use within the structure.

4.0 Chapter 4 - Artifact Description

Chapter 4 addresses the artifacts recovered from FkBg-24. The artifacts have been divided into classes and will be discussed in turn. The chapter describes the artifacts and their distribution in relation to functional divisions of space. While many different activities can be related to the assemblage, construction and domestic activities are dominant (Appendix A). When discussing artifact distribution, the maps and descriptions are related to grid directions and not magnetic directions. Figure 19 shows the position of the grid within the structure.

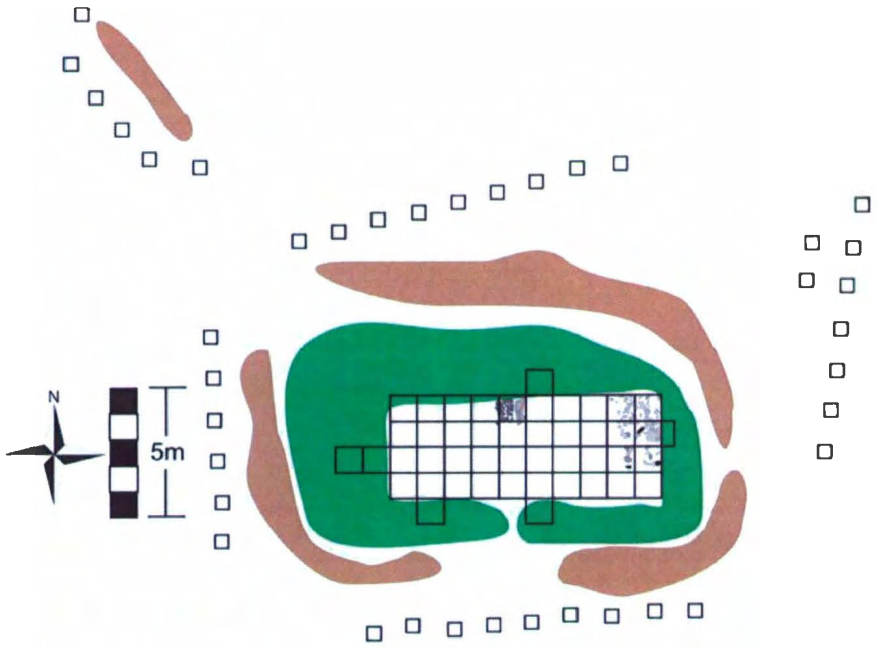


Figure 19 - Position of Grid within Structure

4.1 Hunting/Fishing/Trapping

4.1.1 Firearms

Evidence for firearms at FkBg-24 comes from four sources; trigger guards, percussion caps, gunflints and lead projectiles. A total of three trigger guards were recovered, two made of iron and one made of copper. There are no noticeable marks or engravings on any of the trigger guards.

The 16 percussion caps recovered were made from copper. Copper percussion cap production began after 1816 to replace gunflints (Miller et al. 2000:14). Four percussion caps were recovered in the west half of the structure, and 12 in the east half. Eight of the percussion caps found in the east half of the structure were found clustered around N11-12, E8-9, while the other four were randomly spread throughout that half of the structure.

4.1.2 Gunflints and Flint (N=42)

Of the 42 pieces of flint recovered from FkBg-24, 12 were gunflints (Figure 20). All of the gunflints were British blade style gunflints, which were the most common type during the nineteenth century (Witthoft 1966:34). All but one was black, grey and translucent. The exception was white, grey and opaque, which is evidence of being heat treated (Amanda Crompton, personal communication, 2008). The gunflints were all distributed in a cluster at N11-13, E7-9, suggesting that they may have been stored next to the entrance. All of the flints show evidence of use, and many on more than one side. This suggests that there was limited access to new flints, so older ones were used as much as possible.

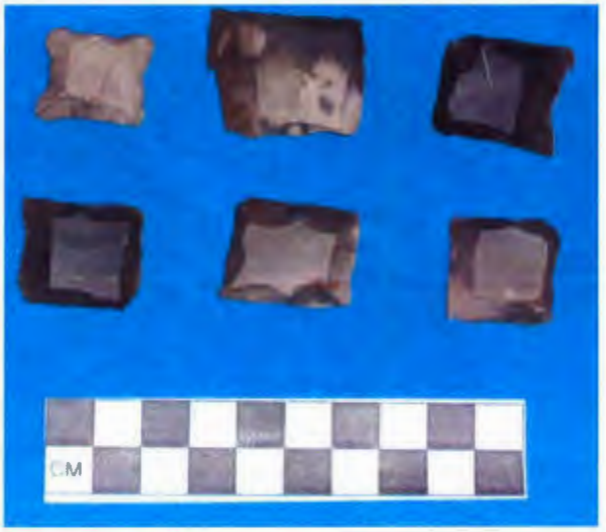


Figure 20 - Sample of Gunflints recovered

Flint nodules and flint flakes were also recovered during the excavation. The flint nodules recovered are black, grey and translucent in colour, resembling the gunflints. The cortex found on the flint is white and chalky. The eight large nodules recovered show evidence of knapping. Seven primary flakes and 14 secondary flakes were recovered. Two distinct distribution clusters of flint nodules are observed in the structure, one in the east end and the other in the west end. The flint nodules may be ballast flint salvaged by the occupants of the structure. Ballast flint would have been a good flint source for the production of strike-a-lights and gunflints. The presence of primary and secondary flakes suggests that flint knapping was conducted within the structure, but it is impossible to tell if the flint knapping was to produce strike-a-lights or repair the edges of the gunflints.

4.1.3 Lead Projectiles (N=379)

Three hundred and seventy nine lead projectiles were recovered throughout the structure. Their diameter was measured to the closest millimetre and then converted to inches to conform to the standard method of describing lead projectiles (Table 1). The categories of lead projectiles described by Hamilton (1976:33) and Auger (1989:186) were used to be consistent with other sites from southern Labrador.

Bird shot measures between 0.79" and 0.196" in diameter and makes up the largest portion of the assemblage (67%), the majority measuring 0.196" in diameter. Buck shot measures between 0.236" and 0.314" in diameter and makes up 30% of the assemblage, with the majority measuring 0.314" in diameter (Auger 1989:186; Hamilton 1976:33).

Musket balls measure over 0.551" in diameter and are typically used for hunting large game. Musket balls form a small portion of the assemblage (3%), but only one projectile is needed for each shot fired. Musket balls were recovered in a variety of diameters, and can be associated with different types of guns (Table 1) (Auger 1989:188; Hamilton 1976:33). Diameters of 0.551" and 0.590" are associated with English trade guns; diameters of 0.629" and 0.669" with French guns, and diameters of 0.708" and 0.748" with English guns (Auger 1989:188; Hamilton 1976:33). The presence of percussion caps and gunflints imply that a minimum of two firearms were present within the structure, but the calibre of the musket balls present at FkBg-24 suggest that there are between three and five different calibre guns on site.

Table 1 - Lead Projectiles from FkBg-24

<table>
<tr><th>Diameter (mm)</th><th>Diameter (inch)</th><th>Number</th><th>%</th><th colspan="2">Type</th></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>.079</td><td>1</td><td><1</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="4">Bird Shot
N=254
67%</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td>.118</td><td>40</td><td>11</td></tr>
<tr><td>4</td><td>.157</td><td>47</td><td>12</td></tr>
<tr><td>5</td><td>.196</td><td>166</td><td>44</td></tr>
<tr><td>6</td><td>.236</td><td>7</td><td>2</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="3">Buck Shot
N=112
30%</td></tr>
<tr><td>7</td><td>.275</td><td>81</td><td>21</td></tr>
<tr><td>8</td><td>.314</td><td>24</td><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td>14</td><td>.551</td><td>2</td><td>1</td><td rowspan="2">English Trade Gun
N=4
1%</td><td rowspan="5">Musket Balls
N=12
3%</td></tr>
<tr><td>15</td><td>.590</td><td>2</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>16</td><td>.629</td><td>1</td><td><1</td><td>French Gun
N=1
<1%</td></tr>
<tr><td>18</td><td>.708</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td rowspan="2">English Gun
N=7
2%</td></tr>
<tr><td>19</td><td>.748</td><td>3</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Total</td><td>379</td><td>100</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
</table>

The majority of the lead projectiles were recovered in the east end of the structure (Figure 21), but there is an area of high concentration in the grid east end of structure. This concentration is located at N11-13, E8-9. While this is a large area, it may represent a storage area for the projectiles or a dumping episode.

4.1.4 Trapping

The only artifact recovered directly associated with trapping is a toothless, iron leg trap. It is a pressure activated leg trap with a heavy chain attached. Due to its size, it is most likely associated with trapping small-to medium-sized animals, such as fox. The leg trap was located beneath the collapsed rocks associated with Feature 1, so it was likely stored in this location prior to the abandonment.

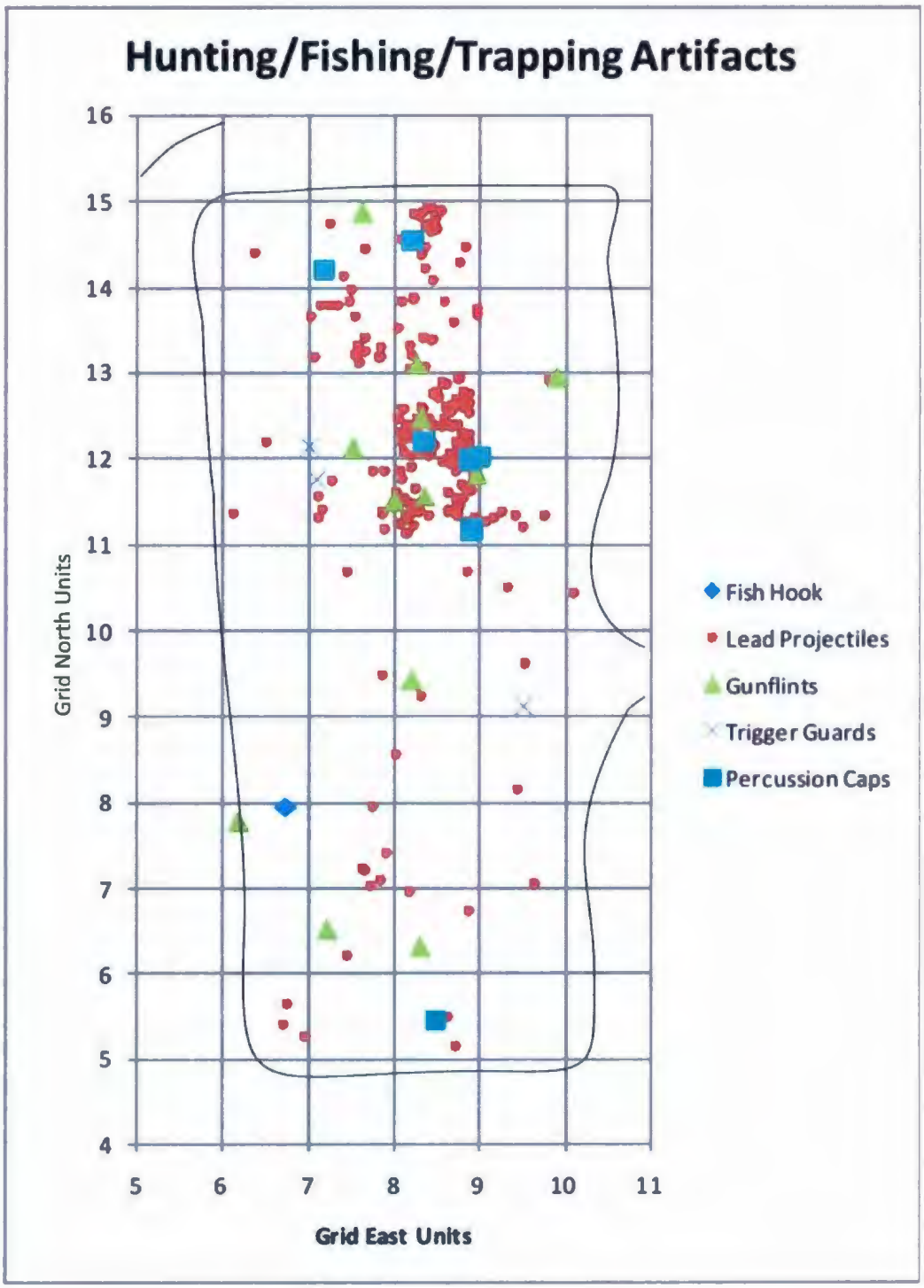


Figure 21 - Hunting/Fishing/Trapping Artifact Distribution With Outline of House Walls

4.1.5 Fishing

Two fishhooks were recovered from the site. They were both barbed, eyeless fishhooks with round shafts. The flat round area and wire are a method to attach the hook to the line (Auger 1989:184). One fishhook was located in N7, E6, and the other was located in N12, E9 (Figure 21).

4.1.6 Summary of Hunting/Fishing/Trapping

The presence of different sizes of gunflints, copper percussion caps, trigger guards and different sized musket balls suggest that there were at least four different firearms in use during the occupation of this structure. The lead shot could be used in any sized firearm, but the musket balls suggest that there was a minimum of three different calibers of firearm, most likely an English trade gun, a French gun and an English gun. The trigger guards, percussion caps, gunflints and lead projectiles all showed a concentration in N11-12, E7-9, located just to the east of the entrance (Figure 21). This location would place the firearms in a position of easy access for opportunistic hunting.

The artifacts indicate that hunting, fishing and trapping were all being practiced by the occupants of the structure. Opportunistic hunting of large and small game was likely pursued constantly. Trapping was usually conducted in the interior of the country during the winters, with most of the equipment being stored in tilts along the trap lines (Budgell 1995:17). The trap recovered on site could represent a new trap that had not been brought out to the trap line or a trap that required repair and was brought back to the site. Little evidence of fishing was recovered. North River is a major salmon and trout local, but the equipment may have been stored closer to the water. In addition, cod fishing, would normally be conducted in the outer islands. A second explanation for the

lack of trapping and fishing equipment is that equipment was costly and was often rented from the merchants and not returned to the settlements (Kennedy 1995:101).

4.2 Domestic Artifacts

4.2.1 Ceramics

A total of 768 ceramic sherds were recovered from FkBg-24. The majority of these sherds, 51%, are from hollowware vessel forms, while only 7% are from flatware vessel forms (Table 2). On initial examination this suggests that there were a much larger number of hollowware vessels than flatware vessels used within the structure, but the use of sherd analysis is imprecise (Sussman 2000:103).

Table 2 - Ceramic Sherds from FkBg-24

Form	Number	%
Flatware	51	7
Hollowware	393	51
Unidentified	324	42
Total	768	100

A minimum vessel count of 82 was determined by examining vessel form and design. When studying periods before the nineteenth century, using ware types was the primary method used to separate different vessels from one another (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:105). When dealing with nineteenth-century ceramics, this method is called into question because the three major ware types; creamware, pearlware and whiteware, are difficult to distinguish from one another (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:129). Furthermore, ceramics were advertised and sold based on their design, rather than their ware type (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:105). Table 3 presents the numbers

and percentages of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware, but the types are more useful when combined as Cream-Coloured (CC) wares. Besides CC ware the three other ware types found are stoneware, yellowware and Rockingham ware, however, none of these other ware types are found in large numbers.

Table 3 - Ware Types from FkBg-24

Ware Type	Number	%
Stoneware	4	5
Creamware	1	1
Pearlware	14	17
Whiteware	59	72
Yellowware	2	2
Rockinghamware	2	2
Total	82	99

Vessel form and design are much more useful for determining a vessel count and to analyze the collection. A total of 82 separate vessels were identified, and the majority, 87%, are hollowware, while flatware consists of 13% (Table 4).

Table 4 - Vessel Forms from FkBg-24

Vessel Form	Number	%
Hollowware	71	87
Flatware	11	13
Total	82	100

A further refinement of the hollowware vessel forms is visible in Table 5. The largest hollowware functional groups are mugs and bowls. A mug is identified as a tall, straight-bodied hollowware vessel, while a bowl is identified as a shorter hollowware vessel that has a curved body. The third group, which is between the two, is the cup. I

have identified a cup as either a short straight-bodied hollowware vessel, or a curved-bodied hollowware vessel with a small diameter at the top. It is likely that cups can be separated into two separate categories, but the FkBg-24 collection lacks the numbers to either confirm or deny this possibility. These three categories; mugs, bowls and cups, comprise the largest proportion of the hollowware vessels and likely represent most of the hollowware used daily.

Table 5 - Hollowware Vessel Forms from FkBg-24

Vessel Form	Number	%
Basin	1	1
Bowl	22	33
Chamber Pot	2	3
Creamer	1	1
Cup	3	4
Mug	22	33
Mug/Cup	3	4
Ointment Jar	3	4
Serving Dish	1	1
Unidentified	9	13
Total	67	97

There are five other hollowware vessel forms present in the assemblage. The first is a large handpainted basin, which was likely used for cleaning and washing. The second includes two chamber pots, both roughly of the same size. One has a blue transfer print design while the other is undecorated. The third is a black transfer print creamer. The fourth includes three blue transfer printed ointment jars. These ointment jars have instructions for use printed on them, but the pots are so fragmentary it is impossible to identify what they contained. The final vessel form is a blue transfer printed serving dish

with a willow pattern design. The small number of these vessels indicates that these forms were limited either by use or availability.

Ten of the flatware vessels from FkBg-24 have been identified as plates, while one vessel remains unidentified (Table 6). The unidentified flatware is an undecorated rim sherd.

Table 6 - Flatware Vessel Forms from FkBg-24

Vessel Form	Number	%
Plate	10	91
Unidentified	1	9
Total	11	100

While there were several different design motifs apparent in the assemblage, only four occurred in significant amounts (Table 7). Annular banding comprises 11% of the assemblage and is present on both mugs and bowls (Figure 22). The predominant colours in the assemblage are blue, green, and black. Undecorated CC ware comprises 18% of the assemblage and is present in both hollowware and flatware vessel forms. According to Miller (1991:5), undecorated CC ware is generally easy and cheap to access. Handpainted ceramics comprise 26% of the assemblage.

Handpainted ceramics are found in all vessel forms and are predominantly floral motifs in green, red, blue and black (Figure 23). Blue, black and green transfer printed designs comprise 26% of the assemblage. While there are some common patterns visible, like the willow pattern, the most common trend in the transfer printed designs is the

presence of words and lettering. None of the vessels with transfer printed words are complete enough to identify the story or directions that they represent.

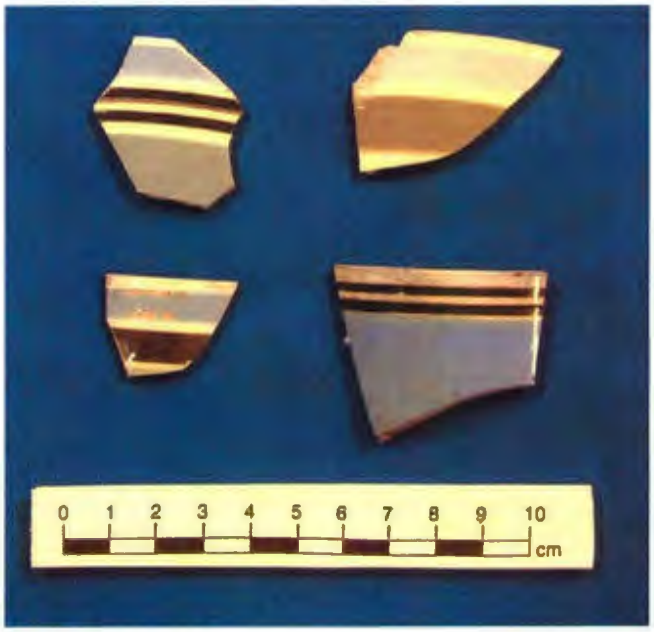


Figure 22 - Examples of Annular Banding

Table 7 - Decoration on Cream-Coloured Ceramics

Design	Number	%
Annular	8	11
Cabling	2	3
Flow Blue	3	4
Handpainted	20	26
Factory Made	3	4
Mocha	2	3
Shell Edge	1	1
Sponge	3	4
Transfer Print	20	26
Undecorated	14	18
Total	76	100

Figure 23 - Examples of Handpainted Hollowware Vessels

In comparing the design and vessel form, some basic trends emerge (Table 8). Hollowware vessels are decorated with all of the designs, but flatware vessels are restricted to three design types. The flatware vessels are undecorated and decorated with handpainted designs, with transfer printing being the most common design on the flatware (Figure 24). This suggests that transfer printed flatware was either sought more often or more available. The lack of any flatware vessels with the same patterns suggests that the vessels were acquired individually and not part of a set. The only transfer printed

design that appears more than once is the willow pattern, which was found on a plate and a serving dish that are likely from the same set (Figure 25).

Table 8 - Vessel Forms for Each Design

Design	Vessel Form	Number
Annular	Hollowware	8
	Flatware	0
Cabling	Hollowware	2
	Flatware	0
Flow Blue	Hollowware	3
	Flatware	0
Handpainted	Hollowware	18
	Flatware	2
Factory Made	Hollowware	3
	Flatware	0
Mocha	Hollowware	2
	Flatware	0
Shell Edge	Hollowware	1
	Flatware	0
Sponge	Hollowware	3
	Flatware	0
Transfer Print	Hollowware	13
	Flatware	7
Undecorated	Hollowware	12
	Flatware	2

Figure 24 - Examples of Transfer Printed Flatware Vessels

Figure 25 - Transfer Printed Hollowware Vessels

Ceramics are often used to refine the occupation period of a site. While the presence of maker's marks and specific limited edition designs are very useful, using

ware type and general designs are not as useful as they might appear. Researchers often use very narrow date ranges for ware types and designs, but their date ranges often differ (Cabak 1991:204). This has created much confusion and disagreement within the archaeological community. Combined with the difficulty in identifying specific CC ware types, this makes the dates obtained from ware type and design suspect. In order to circumvent this issue, I compiled a series of different accepted date ranges for ware types and designs and combined the date ranges to obtain the most inclusive and accurate date range possible.

The three major sources used were Cabak (1991), who had previously used this with a series of other sources, Crompton (2001), who developed a ceramic comparative collection for the Provincial Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador, and Miller et al. (2000), who compiled a series of date ranges for a wide variety of historic artifacts. The results of this compilation are that most of the designs and wares were available from the early to mid nineteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century or are still available today (Table 9). Two exceptions to this are the shell edged and handpainted designs. Shell edged appears to have been unavailable after 1835, and handpainted designs appear to have been uncommon on CC ware types after 1875 (Miller et al. 2000).

Table 9 - Date Ranges for Ceramics from FkBg-24

Design or Ware	Date Range
Annular	1830-1900
Black Transfer Print	1848-Present
Blue Transfer Print	1830-Present
Cabling	1811-Present
Factory Made	1820-Present
Flow Blue	1840-1908
Green Transfer Print	1828-Present
Handpainted	1820-1875
Mocha	1795-1950
Rockingham Ware	1850-1900
Shell Edge	1800-1835
Sponge	1830-1920
Undecorated CC Ware	1762-Present
Yellow Ware	1827-1950

Four vessels have identified maker's marks (Table 10). The first vessel is marked with a printed 'Paul and Virginia' as the name of the black transfer print design, and an impressed 'W.S. & Co., Queen's Ware, Stockton' as the company who produced it (Figure 26). This maker's mark refers to William Smith & Co. who operated between 1825 and 1855 (Godden 1964:583). Two of the vessels are marked with an impressed anchor with 'Davenport' impressed over the top. This likely refers to William Davenport & Co. which operated out of Longport between 1793 and 1887. While William Davenport & Co. operated for a long period of time, it is likely that the vessel recovered from FkBg-24 was produced prior to 1864. After 1864, William Davenport & Co. used predominantly printed marks (Godden 1964:189). On both side of the anchor there are two "4"s. This company often put the last two digits of the year of production on either side of the anchor, hence this piece is possibly from 1844. The final maker's mark in the assemblage is a printed mark with the bottom of a diamond and the words 'Rousillon,

..odwin, Longton', This mark likely refers to John Goodwin, who operated in Longton between 1841 and 1851. The bottom of the diamond is likely part of the registration mark, but unfortunately no numbers are present that could narrow the date range (Godden 1964:281).

Table 10 - Maker's Marks from FkBg-24

Company	Date Range[1]
J. Goodwin, Longton	1841-1851
William Davenport & Co.	1793-1887
William Smith & Co.	1825-1855

Figure 26 - 'Paul & Virginia' Flatware Plate

[1] Godden 1964

Ceramics were generally scattered in the east end of the structure (Figure 27). However, in the west end of the structure there are two concentrations. The first is next to the door and the second is in the southwest corner of the structure. These concentrations could represent storage areas along the walls that collapsed during or post-abandonment.

4.2.2 Clay Tobacco Pipes (N=1260)

One thousand, two hundred and sixty pipe fragments were recovered throughout the structure. Of the 639 pipe stem fragments recovered, a total of 544 could have their bore diameter measured. This measurement was done using a drill bit set in accordance with the Harrington method. Sixty four percent of the pipe stems recovered had a bore diameter of 5/64", while 33% had a bore diameter of 4/64". Pipe stems with a bore diameter of 6/64" made up 3% of the assemblage (Table 11). Harrington (1954) observed the correlation between the bore diameter and approximate date of occupation and Binford (1978) developed this into a formula that uses bore diameters to discern an approximate middle date for the occupation. This formula is restricted to English pipes that date earlier than 1780. Since my assemblage does not meet either of these restrictions, I chose not to attempt to use the formula.

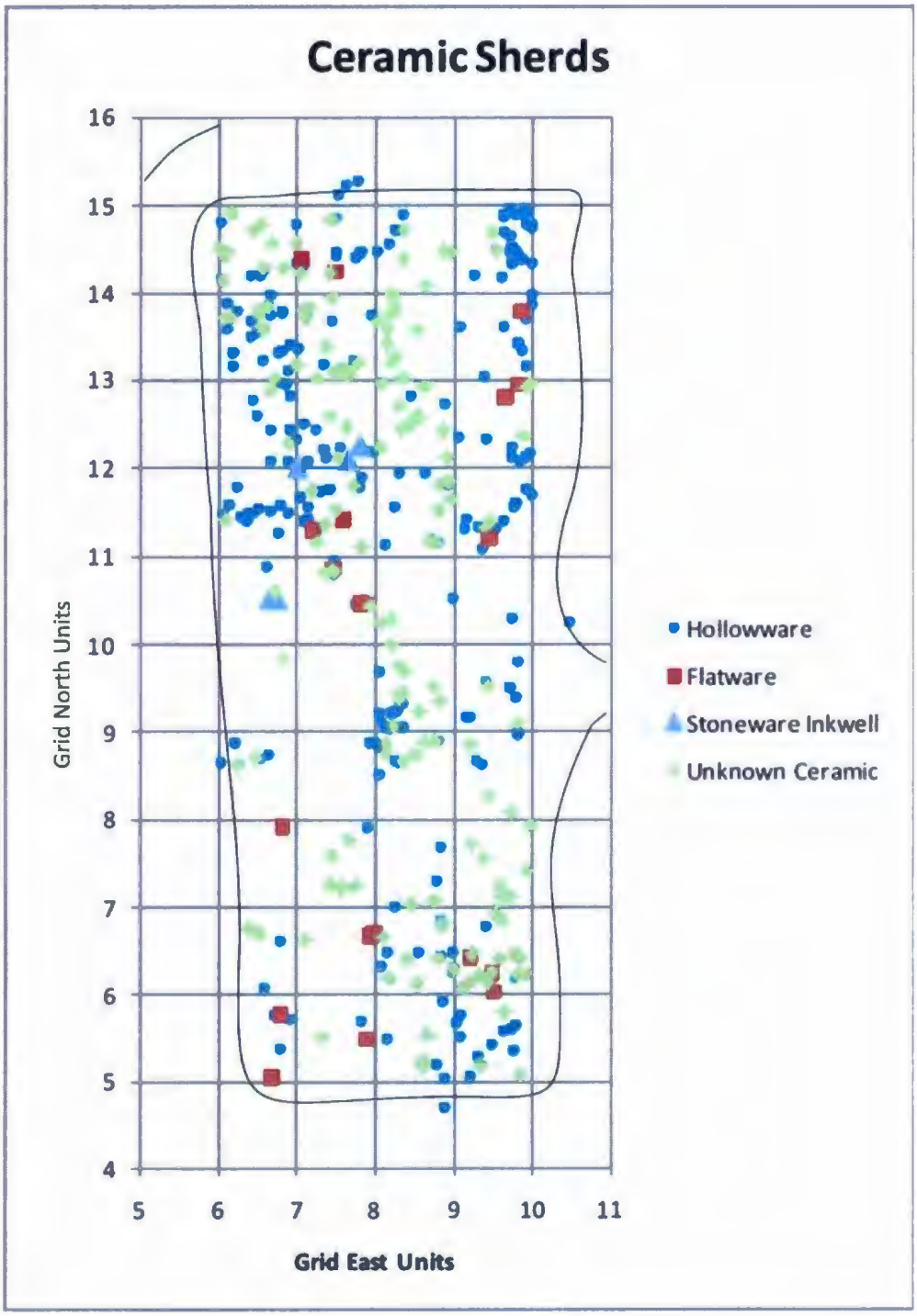


Figure 27 - Ceramic Sherd Distribution with Outline of House Walls

Table 11 - Bore Diameters from FkBg-24

Bore Diameter	Number	%
4	182	33
5	347	64
6	15	3
Total	544	100

While 639 pipe stem fragments were recovered from the site, the actual number of clay pipes is distorted by their fragmentary nature. To obtain a better idea of how many pipes are present in the assemblage, I counted the number of finished mouthpieces (N=92). The finished mouthpieces are tapered at the end, and this cannot be done post-production (Bradley 2000:109).

Another way to obtain information from pipe stems is through the analysis of markings on the stem. These could be decorative designs or maker's names and location of production. During the nineteenth century the presence of impressed manufacturer's names and locations became commonplace. Five pipe stems show these markings. Three pipe stems have the markings 'Glasgow' on one side of the stem, and 'McDougall' on the other, which is traced back to D. McDougall & Co., which operated between 1847 and 1968 (Oswald 1975:205). A second mark found, 'Glasgow' on one side and 'White' on the other, represents William White & Sons, which operated between 1805 and 1955 (Oswald 1975:206). The third mark present on the pipe stem only contains only half of the impressed lettering. One side says '…Large' and the other says 'London..', but there is evidently more that is lost. Unfortunately these markings were unable to be identified. (Table 12). The identified pipe production companies operated for a long time, but the

stamped impression of 'Glasgow' and 'London' indicate they were produced after 1891. After 1891 regulations forced importers to put the city of origin on clay tobacco pipes (Sudbury 2006:35).

Table 12 - Maker's Marks on Pipe Stems

Location	Manufacturer	Number	Date[2]
Glasgow	D. McDougall & Co.	3	1891-1968
Glasgow	William White & Sons	1	1891-1955
...London	...Large	1	?
	Total	5	

A total of 553 pipe bowl fragments were recovered from FkBg-24. These pipe bowls can be separated into different designs (Table 13). While this method gives a breakdown of the design elements among the pipe bowl fragments, it is possible that it may be distorted as many of the different fragments fit together to form single pipe bowls. Also, many of the pipe bowl fragments that fall within the 'Ribbed; Leaves along seams' design would likely fit within a different category if refitted with their other fragments. However, due to the large number of small fragments and difficulty in refitting pipe bowl fragments, I continued with this method, while keeping its weaknesses in mind.

Eight distinct pipe bowl designs are apparent within the assemblage, but none of the designs could be traced to a specific manufacturer. In most cases having initials on a bowl would be beneficial for dating and sourcing the pipes, unfortunately 'TD' initials are

[2] Oswald 1975

Table 13 - Pipe Bowl Designs from FkBg-24

Design	Number	%
Turk's Head	18	3
TD Crest on back of bowl; Ribbed; Thistle; Leaves along seams; Spur	35	6
IB/ID Crest on back of bowl; Similar to TD design	11	2
Thistle; Ribbed; Leaves long seams; Spur	60	11
Ribbed; Leaves along seams	139	25
Ribbed; Vertical lines around outside of the rim of the bowl	4	1
Ribbed; Ribs form a V	2	<1
No Design	284	51
Total	553	99

not as precise. The use of the initials 'TD' became popular in the eighteenth century and is incorporated more as a design aspect than as an indication of the manufacturer of the pipe, thus offering a wider duration of production (Oswald 1975; Walker 1983). The thistle is a traditional Scottish design, and, along with the maker's marks from Glasgow, suggests that some of the pipes may have originated there (Davey 1987).

There are four spurs with maker's marks. Two of these are circular marks present on both sides of the spur and the other two are 'J' on either side of the spur. Unfortunately, I am unable to source these different marks. The two circular marks are too worn and indistinct to match to known marks, and the 'JJ' initials are common during the nineteenth century. Without any further data they are unable to be assigned to a specific maker.

Fifty nine percent of the pipe fragments (N=745) come from the northeast corner of the east end of the structure. The pipe fragments in the west end of the structure are

spread randomly, but none are present around Feature 1 or along the north wall (Figure 28).

4.2.3 Cutlery (N=10)

Two composite forks were recovered from the structure (Figure 29). The iron portion had two prongs and was attached to the handle by having the two bone halves riveted to either side. The bone handle was bevelled and had cross hatching and incised diagonal lines on alternating faces. The forks were found in N13-14, E6. Three iron spoons were also recovered in the west end of the structure.

Five knives were recovered. They all possessed iron blades with bone riveted to the base to create a handle. Three are kitchen knives. The fourth is a small folding knife. The blade is folded in and rusted so it is impossible to determine if it is a regular folding knife or a straight edge razor. While folding knives may have functioned as general purpose knives, the records indicate that they were also used during meals and considered cutlery (Cabak 1991). The fifth knife has a broken blade. The handle is larger and a different form than the kitchen knives, and has the letters 'WI' etched into one side (Figure 30). The knives were scattered randomly throughout the east half of the structure (Figure 31).

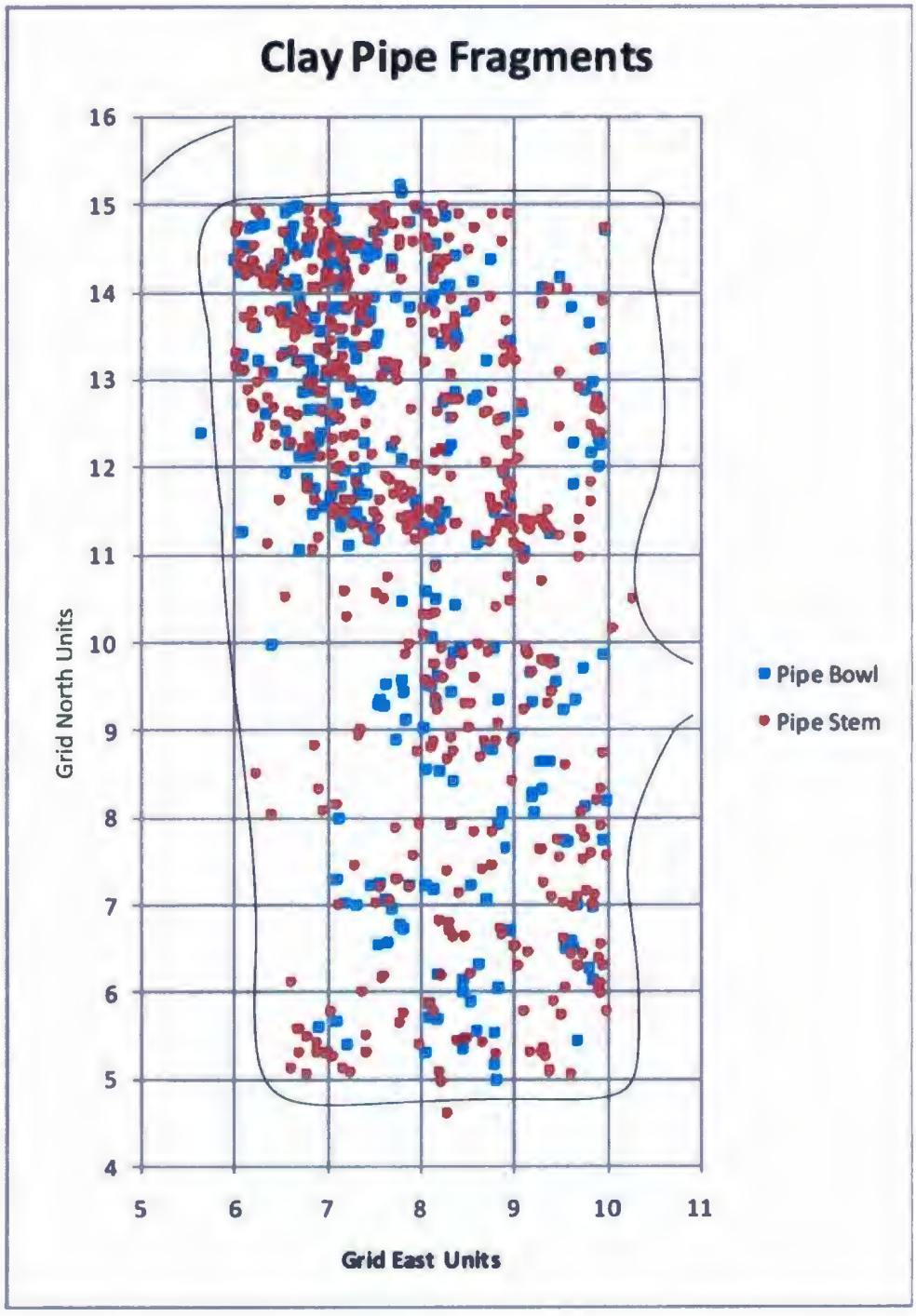


Figure 28 - Clay Pipe Distribution with Outline of House Walls

Figure 29 - Examples of the Cutlery Recovered

Figure 30 - Knife with 'WI' Etched

4.2.4 Glass Vessels (N=5)

Thirty four sherds of glass vessels were identified in the assemblage, and these were reassembled into five distinct glass vessels which remain incomplete. The first vessel is a large square bodied green soda glass bottle. A square mark with an R is on the bottom, but no other numbers or letters are legible. There are panels on all four sides, but none have any noticeable markings. The second vessel is a dark brown translucent bottle. It is round bodied, but only one body sherd and a mouth fragment were recovered, so little else can be determined. The third vessel is a green translucent bottle with a square body that rounds towards the top. There are no designs or markings anywhere on the recovered fragments. The fourth vessel is clear glass with a small square body. There are panels on all four sides. The letters 'VEG..' are visible on one side. There are no other markings on this vessel. The fifth vessel is represented by two small ribbed clear glass fragments. Because of the small fragments of this vessel all that can be said that the vessel is thin bodied.

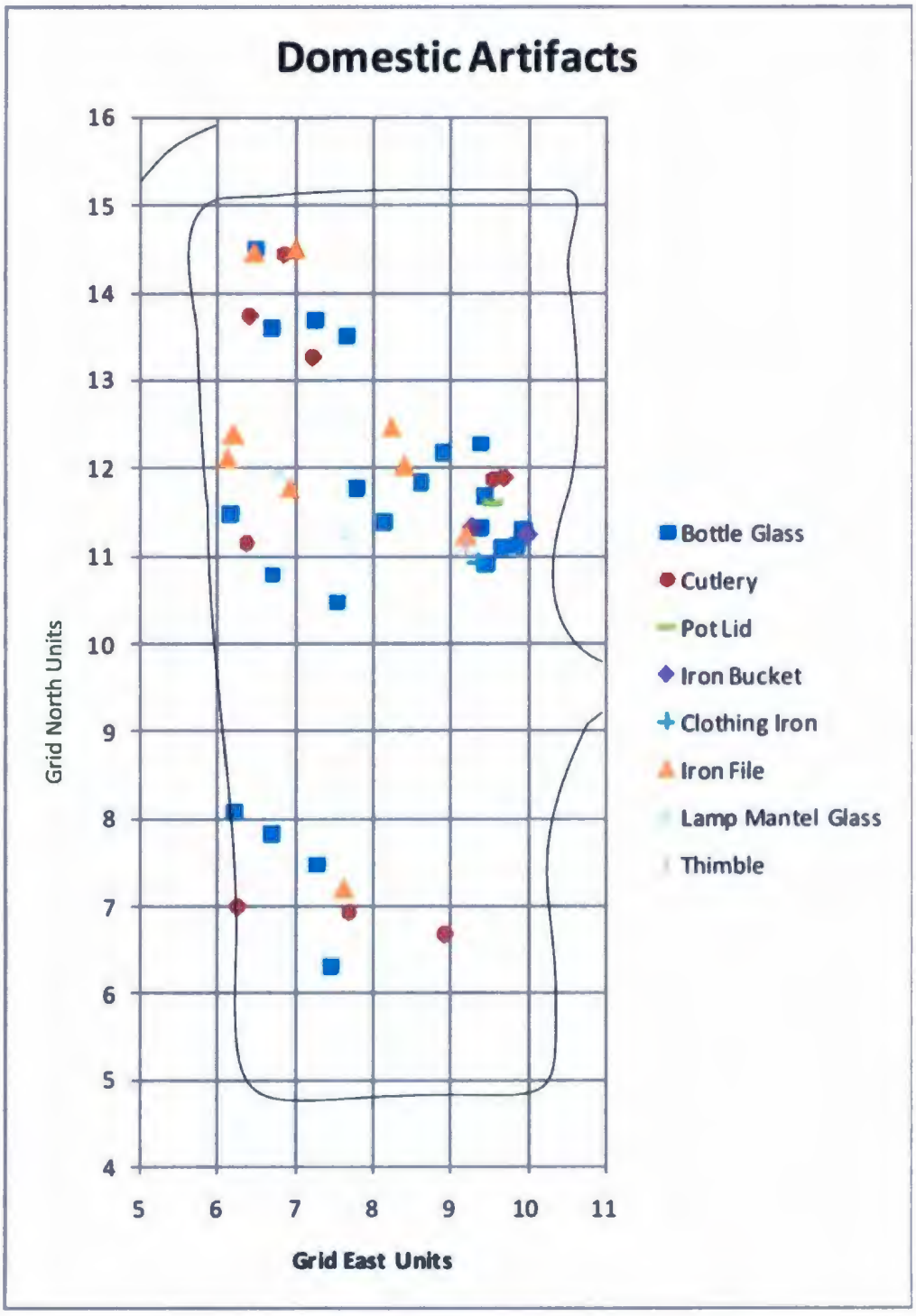


Figure 31 - Domestic Artifact Distribution with Outline of House Walls

4.2.5 Iron Files (N=9)

Nine iron files were recovered with three different styles of cross section (Figure 32): semi-lunar (N=5), triangular (N=3) and concave (N=1). All are different sizes and may make up part of a set. Five of the files have tangs at one of their ends, but the other four are not complete (Ross and Light 2000:22-24, 26).

Figure 32 - Files Recovered; Left to Right Concave, Triangular and Semi-lunar Cross Sections

4.2.6 Miscellaneous

Several miscellaneous domestic artifacts were recovered that do not fit into the above categories. Evidence for an iron cooking pot was recovered in N11, E9. A pot lid was recovered, as well as an iron wire handle. The pot lid has a handle that was wrapped with hemp to allow it to be safely removed from a heat source. The iron wire handle was likely attached to the pot and would allow it to be suspended above a heat source.

Fragments of an iron bucket were recovered from N14, E8-9. These are the base of a bucket and a wire handle. While fragmentary, some of the unidentifiable iron recovered in the area may also be parts of the bucket. A clothing iron was recovered from N10, E9. It is missing the handle, weighs 1822g and has no markings. An iron scale weight was recovered from N11, E7. It is engraved with the number 5¼, but has no units and weighs 1148g. A copper thimble was located in N11, E9. This thimble has a series of circular impressions around the body. Lamp mantel glass, which is identified based on thickness and shape, is represented in the assemblage (N=5). This suggests oil lamps were used as a source of light within the structure. A single whetstone was recovered and is flat with an oval cross section.

4.2.7 Summary of Domestic Assemblage

The wide variety of design patterns on the ceramics is likely related to their availability. The large number of hollowware bowls and mugs suggests that these were the primary, everyday vessel forms used in the house. The flatware vessels are primarily transfer printed and are of higher value (Miller 1991). This suggests the possibility that the flatware plates may not have functioned as everyday tableware. A preference in hollowware over flatware as the predominant vessel form could be related to the type of meals primarily consumed. Otto (1977) studied the relationship between ceramics, status and preferred diet. He concluded that a correlation exists between vessel form and the type of diet consumed; hollowware vessels for liquid-based, communal meals, and flatware vessels for solid-based, individually portioned meals (Otto 1977:103). Furthermore, the flatware vessels, with their varied decorative designs, may have been

used as decorative additions to the household (Deetz 1996:83) or as tableware for special occasions (Otto 1977:103). This may also apply to some of the more decorative hollowware vessels, like the creamer, serving bowl, cups and a transfer printed mug with an intricate story design. Hourglass-shaped mending holes are present in seven ceramics sherds indicating that vessels were being repaired.

Some of the vessels also suggest that at least some of the occupants of the structure were literate. Many of the transfer printed vessels have words and stories incorporated into the designs, which suggests that at least one member of the household was able to read, and the presence of inkwells suggests that someone in the household was also able to write. During the nineteenth century, literacy was common in England, and in Labrador, the Moravian missionaries were very successful in teaching the local residents to read and write, so it is possible that both Charles and Mary were literate.

The similarities between the knives and forks recovered suggest that they may have been purchased as part of a set. If liquid-based meals are primarily consumed, spoons would be the cutlery of choice, but forks and knives would be required when consuming solid-based meals. Glass vessels were also used for storage of liquids, which may have included medicines or beverages. Food preparation was done on an iron stove in an iron pot.

Besides food-related artifacts, a wide variety of general activities are represented in the domestic assemblage. A large amount of tobacco smoking occurred within the

structure as was evident from the 92 separate clay pipes. Various pipe designs were present, which can be traced to Scottish manufacturers.

A set of iron files was also present, which are common among nineteenth-century sites, and used with whetstones for maintenance and repair. A wide variety of other, domestic artifacts were also recovered, but in limited numbers.

The ceramics as a whole suggest a date range between the early-mid nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. This long range could be attributed to either a lengthy period of occupation or to issues relating to availability or retention of ceramics. Clay smoking pipes can also be used to refine the date of occupation for the site. Unlike ceramics, clay pipes were designed to be used for short periods of time and then discarded (Bradley 2000:104). The date range obtained from the pipe analysis suggests the late nineteenth century. This is based on the D. McDougall & Co. and William White & Sons maker's marks. Besides those two marks, no further refinement of the date range is possible. The other maker's marks are unknown and the designs can only be dated to the nineteenth century. It is likely that this date range is near the abandonment of the site.

4.3 Clothing

4.3.1 Buttons (N=54)

Fifty four buttons were recovered from FkBg-24. There are 24 different button forms and designs (Table 14, Figures 33 & 34). The most common buttons are those made from bone with four holes, and porcelain buttons with four holes. There are six

fabric covered iron buttons. Other buttons types appear in small numbers. Of these, eight are cast copper alloy with gold gilding in the design.

South (1964, 1974) developed a date range for certain button styles based on excavations of several sites with distinct occupations (Table 15). Based on South`s work (1964, 1974) some of the buttons from FkBg-24 can be associated with the eighteenth century, while others were not used after 1865. Instead, the buttons suggest a nineteenth-century occupation that may have extended into the twentieth century.

The buttons were distributed in three clusters within the structure. The first is N10-13, E6-10, the second is N14, E6-10 and the third is N4-8, E8-10 (Figure 35). The porcelain buttons appear to cluster in the east end of the structure.

4.3.2 Beads (N=711)

Seven hundred and eleven beads were recovered at FkBg-24 and three bead types dominate the assemblage. The most numerous is glass seed beads (N=677), followed by facetted beads (N=19) and finally unique beads (N=15). The nineteenth century saw a rapid expansion in bead production, so dating and sourcing them is impractical if not impossible (Karklins 1985:114).

Several colours of seed beads (type Ia) were recovered, but blue, which make up 40% of the assemblage, and white, which makes up 34% of the assemblage, are dominant. Other colours are present but make up a minor part of the assemblage (Table 16).

Table 14 - Buttons from FkBg-24

Description	Number	%	Type[3]
Bone button; 4 Holes	10	19	20
Bone button; 4 Holes; Small	1	2	20
Cu alloy dome button	1	2	27
Cu alloy with gold gilt on edge; Some illegible lettering on back; Back of button	1	2	18
Cu alloy with gold gilt; Cast in 2 parts; Leaf design on front	1	2	18
Cu alloy with gold gilt; Cast in 2 parts; Line design in center with leaves and vines around edge	1	2	18
Cu alloy with gold gilt; Flat front	1	2	18
Cu alloy with gold guilt; Cast in 2 pieces; Floral motif on front with lined background	3	6	18
Cu alloy; Biconvex	1	2	
Cu alloy; Cast in 2 pieces; Lion motif with lined background; 'STANDARD COLOUR...' embossed on back	1	2	18
Cu alloy; Cast; Checker board pattern	2	4	7
Cu alloy; Cast; Slight convex surface	1	2	7
Cu alloys with tin plating on front; Flat face with slightly convex back; soldered shank	2	4	7
Cu with gold gilt; Cast dome button; 'SUPERBLY GILT' embossed on back	1	2	18
Fabric covered Iron button	6	11	24
Green glass over a white metal star with a Cu alloy mount	1	2	13
Lead; Wagon wheel design	1	2	
Mother of pearl with 3 holes	2	4	22
Mother of pearl with 4 holes	1	2	22
Porcelain with 4 holes	11	20	23
Porcelain with 4 holes; Printed blue fleur-de-lye	1	2	23
White metal and Cu alloy; Caste; Only front part	1	2	30
White metal with Cu shank; Flat from	1	2	30
White metal; One hole and one punched area; Back of button	1	2	30

[3] South 1964

Figure 33 - Selection of Buttons from FkBg-24; a,c,d,j -Type 18; b,f,g - Type 7; e - Type 24; h - Type 13; i - Type 27; k,l - Type 23; m - Type 22; n - Type 20; o - Type 30

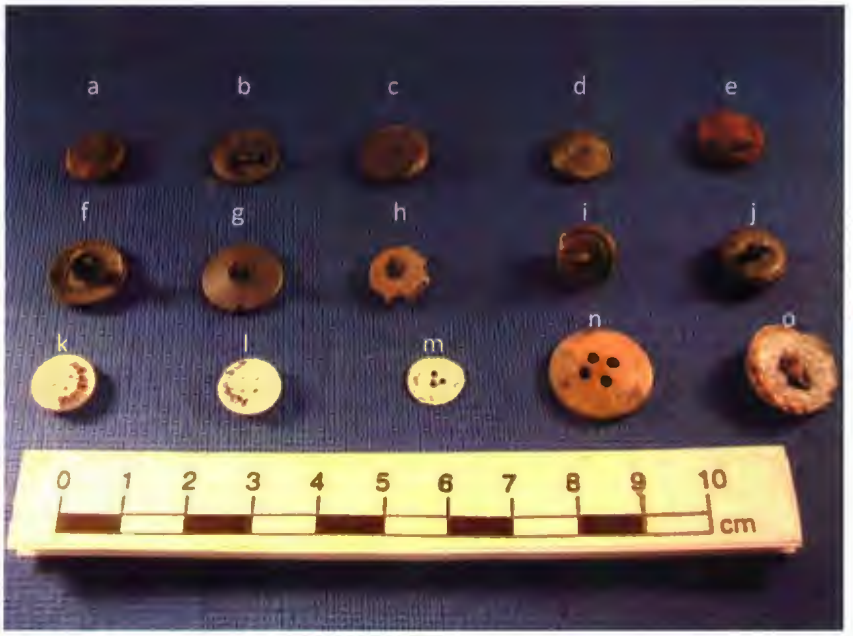


Figure 34 – Reverse of Selection of Buttons from FkBg-24; a,c,d,j -Type 18; b,f,g - Type 7; e - Type 24; h - Type 13; i - Type 27; k,l - Type 23; m - Type 22; n - Type 20; o - Type 30

Table 15 - Button Types and Date Ranges from South (1964 & 1974)

Type	Number	Date Range
7	5	1726-1776
13	1	1726-1776
18	9	1800-1865
20	11	1800-1865
22	3	1800-1865
23	12	1800-1973
24	6	1837-1865
27	1	1837-1865
30	3	1837-1973
Unknown	2	

Table 16 - Seed Bead Colour Frequencies from FkBg-24

Colour	Number	%
Black	2	<1
Blue	268	40
Clear	39	6
Green	24	4
Pink	25	4
Red	24	4
Red Exterior with Brown Interior (Type IIIa)	5	1
Red Exterior with White Interior (Type IIIa)	28	4
White	229	34
White with 4 Blue Lines (Type IIIb)	6	1
Yellow	27	4
Total	677	102

The diameter and height of the seed beads in the collection is consistent, which could relate to the desired use or method of manufacture (Table 17).

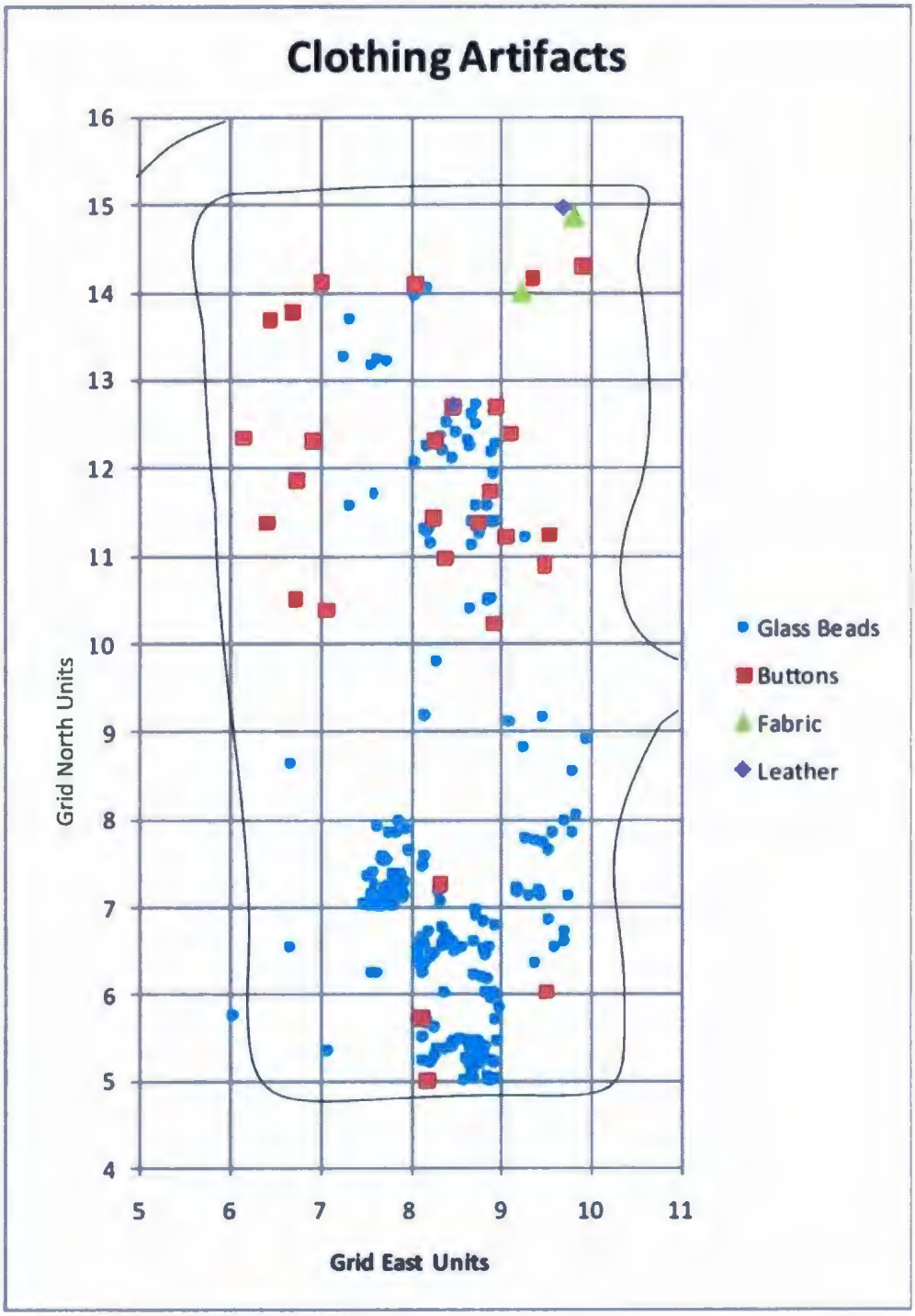


Figure 35 - Clothing Artifact Distribution with Outline of House Walls

Table 17 - Measurements for Seed Beads from FkBg-24

Diameter (mm)	Number	%	Height (mm)	Number	%
1	54	21	1	109	43
2	122	48	2	115	45
3	64	25	3	17	7
4	6	2	4	3	1
5	6	2	5	2	1
6	2	1	6	1	<1
			7	3	1
Total	254	99		254	98

The second major type of beads in the collection are facetted 'Russian' beads (type If) (N=19). These beads are much larger than the seed beads and their surface is shaped into a series of facets. These beads can be used for embroidery and clothing decoration, but they were most common as necklaces and jewellery (Karklins 1985). As seen in Table 18, of the total number of 'Russian' beads recovered, ten of these beads are blue, and five are green. These two colours comprise over ¾ of the total 'Russian' beads found.

Table 18 - Facetted Bead Colours from FkBg-24

Colour	Number	%
Blue	10	53
Brown	1	5
Clear	1	5
Green	5	26
Yellow	2	11
Total	19	100

Unique beads do not fit into the other two categories (N=15). Seven of these beads are large and most likely from jewellery. Two are clear, long, wound beads (type WIf), two are large circular facetted beads (type WIIi), two are white beads with hand painted

red lines (type IIj) and one is a white bead with red and blue dots (type WIIIb). The other eight resemble the shape of seed beads, but are significantly larger.

The distribution of the beads within the structure is different from that of the other functional categories in the artifact assemblage (Figure 35). The majority of the beads were recovered in the west end of the structure. Of the 711 beads, 625 were recovered in the west end of the structure, and only 83 were found in the east end. Three were from test pits in MTA 2. Beads constitute over half of the total artifacts from the west end of the structure. Along with this, there are four noticeable clusters. The first is N10-13, E7-9, the second is N7-8, E7-8, the second is N4-7, E8-9 and the fourth is N6-9, E9-10. These clusters do not seem to be associated with any specific type of bead but may be the result of clothing storage in these areas. Perhaps, the west end of the structure functioned as the women's activity space. A second possibility is that the structure was divided along public space in the west end of the structure and private space along the east end.

4.3.3 Fabric (N=2)

Two fragmentary pieces of wool fabric were recovered from the south west corner of the structure. Because of their small size and state of preservation, I was unable to discern their use.

4.3.4 Leather (N=5)

Two pieces of leather were recovered from the west end of the structure. One of these pieces is in poor condition, while the other is in good condition and is embellished with iron rivets. Another three pieces of leather were recovered from MTA 1 and 2. The

two pieces recovered from MTA 1 are in good condition and have sewing holes. MTA 2 contained the sole of a shoe, the only identifiable item of clothing.

4.3.5 Summary of Clothing

Clothing and items of personal adornment are represented in the assemblage. The large quantity of buttons and beads would have been used to decorate clothing. The use of European style boots is suggested by a leather shoe sole. Jewellery is also evident as many of the beads recovered are types that are traditionally used in necklaces (Karklins 1985). Overall, it is evident that European style clothing was being used by the occupants of the structure, but the predominance of a large number of embroidery beads suggest they might be decorating their clothing in a manner that is common among the Inuit. The use of embroidered beads is not culturally restricted to Labrador Inuit women, but beads are recorded as a common trade item during the post-contact period (Jordan and Kaplan 1980: 40-43).

Most beads recovered from FkBg-24 are blue and white. Blue beads make up almost half of the beads recovered, with white beads close behind. This may represent the personal preference of the household occupants but another explanation is that blue and white beads were more available from the supplier.

The wide variety of different button designs could indicate that the family possessed a large variety of clothing or that the occupants were obtaining buttons to repair or replace buttons on their clothing. Replacement buttons styles would have been restricted by what the merchants would bring in and could result in a number of different buttons styles used on each article of clothing, which is more likely.

4.4 Storage

4.4.1 Hinges (N=5)

Five hinges were recovered from FkBg-24, four in the east end of the structure near the south wall, and one near Feature 1, in N9, E7. Two discernable shapes for the hinges are apparent. The first is rectangular and the other is triangular. These different shapes could be associated with hinges for use on an iron stove, a storage chest or part of a door. There are no markings that suggest a specific function for any of the hinges, but the location of one hinge above the cellar pit suggests that it was used on a trapdoor.

4.4.2 Strapping (N=13)

13 fragments of iron strapping were recovered from FkBg-24. These pieces are all thin and wide, but there appears to be a wide variation in both the width and thickness (Table 19). These differences may be associated with the different functions of the iron strapping, such as barrel hoops and storage chests. Barrels were generally used for the storage of foodstuffs while storage chests were used for clothing and other articles. Storage chests often functioned as makeshift benches. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the strapping recovered limits my ability to associate them with specific functions.

Table 19 - Length and Width of Iron Strapping from FkBg-24

Width (mm)	Number	%	Thickness (mm)	Number	%
25-29	3	23	2	1	8
30-34	5	38	3	5	38
35-39	2	15	4	3	23
40-44	2	15	5	3	23
45-49	0	0	6	1	8
50-54	1	8	Total	13	100
Total	13	99			

While the dimensions of the strapping are unable to suggest function, the distribution within the structure may be able to do otherwise. A cluster of iron strapping is located in N14, E6 suggesting that it is associated with either the same object or stored together (Figure 36). The other two clusters are located along the south wall at N11-12, E9-10 and N14, E9. The locations of these clusters suggest that storage space was located along the walls.

4.4.3 Padlock

An iron padlock was also recovered from FkBg-24 in N12, E7 (Figure 36). It is a large, heavy iron padlock with a design around the keyhole. It is covered with a layer of corrosion, so any identifiable markings remain hidden. Since a door lock was also recovered, it is unlikely that this padlock was used in the same fashion. The padlock was located near the cluster of iron strapping and may have been used as a lock for a storage chest.

4.4.4 Metal Can

A metal can with a diameter of 105mm was found in N10, E9 (Figure 36). The can is missing a lid and corrosion has removed any identifiable markings. This artifact may be associated with the salmon canning, which began in the 1860s (Anderson 1984), or with canned foodstuffs purchased from the merchant, which became widely available after 1837 (Miller et al. 2000:14).

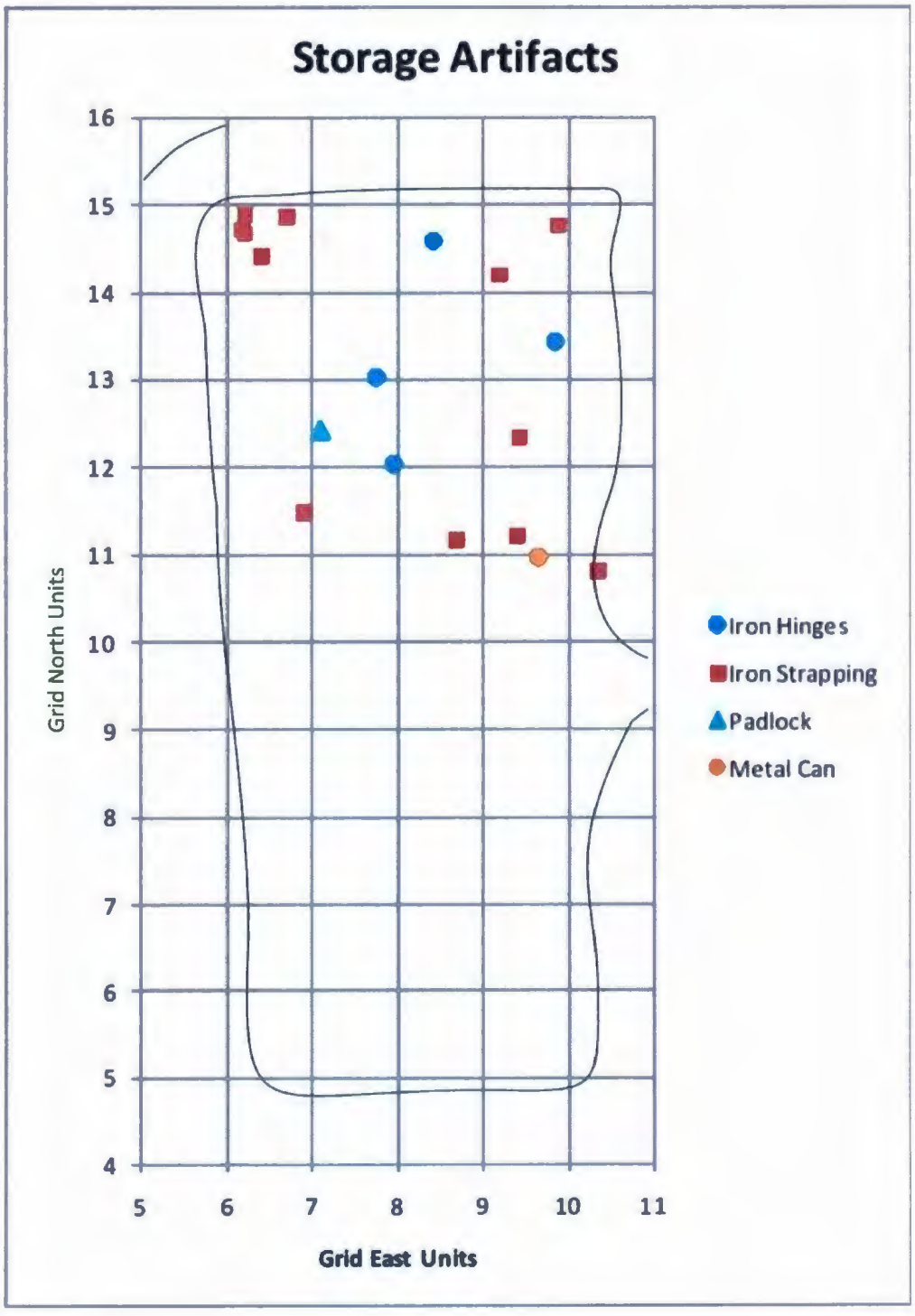


Figure 36 - Storage Artifact Distribution with Outline of House Walls

4.4.5 Summary of Storage

Many of the objects recovered from FkBg-24 were likely stored in storage chests, next to the walls, or in a pit in the northwest corner (Figure 36). These chests may have also functioned as sleeping platforms, seats or work areas. Foodstuffs were likely stored in barrels, which were concentrated in the northeast corner. With further research it may be possible to determine what strapping is related to storage chests and which are related to barrels, which would assist in refining where these two types of storage mediums are located.

4.5 Architectural

4.5.1 Window Glass (N=156)

The window glass recovered from FkBg-24 ranges from 1mm to 4mm in thickness (Table 20). Seventy four percent of the glass is 2mm thick and 22% is 1mm thick. Glass between 3mm and 4mm thick comprises a minor part of the collection. There are two different explanations for the differences in the thickness of the window glass. The first is that there were several different windows made of glass that had different thicknesses, and the second is that the thickness of the window glass they had varied significantly. From the amount of window glass recovered, it is difficult to determine concretely one way or the other.

Table 20 - Thickness of Window Glass from FkBg-24

Thickness (mm)	Number	%
1	35	22
2	116	74
3	4	3
4	1	1
Total	156	100

The majority of the window glass was distributed throughout the east end of the structure with a gap in units N12-14, E8-10. The glass that was found in the west end of the structure is evenly dispersed (Figure 37).

4.5.2 Nails (N=2593)

A total of 2593 iron nails were recovered from FkBg-24. A representative sample was collected and conserved, but the majority were counted, examined for evidence of reworking, and then reburied when the site was backfilled. The majority of the nails were fragmentary, but ten different types were identified (Table 21). The majority of the identified nails were wrought with rose heads. Cut nails were also present. This transition of wrought to cut nails would give a possible date for the site in the early nineteenth century (Noël-Hume 1970:252-254), but the reuse of nails was common so this date could possibly be pushed later into the nineteenth century. There was no evidence of modification on any of the recovered nails, but many of them were bent at a 45° angle. During excavation no patterning in the distribution of the nails was observed that could indicate the function of the specific nail types.

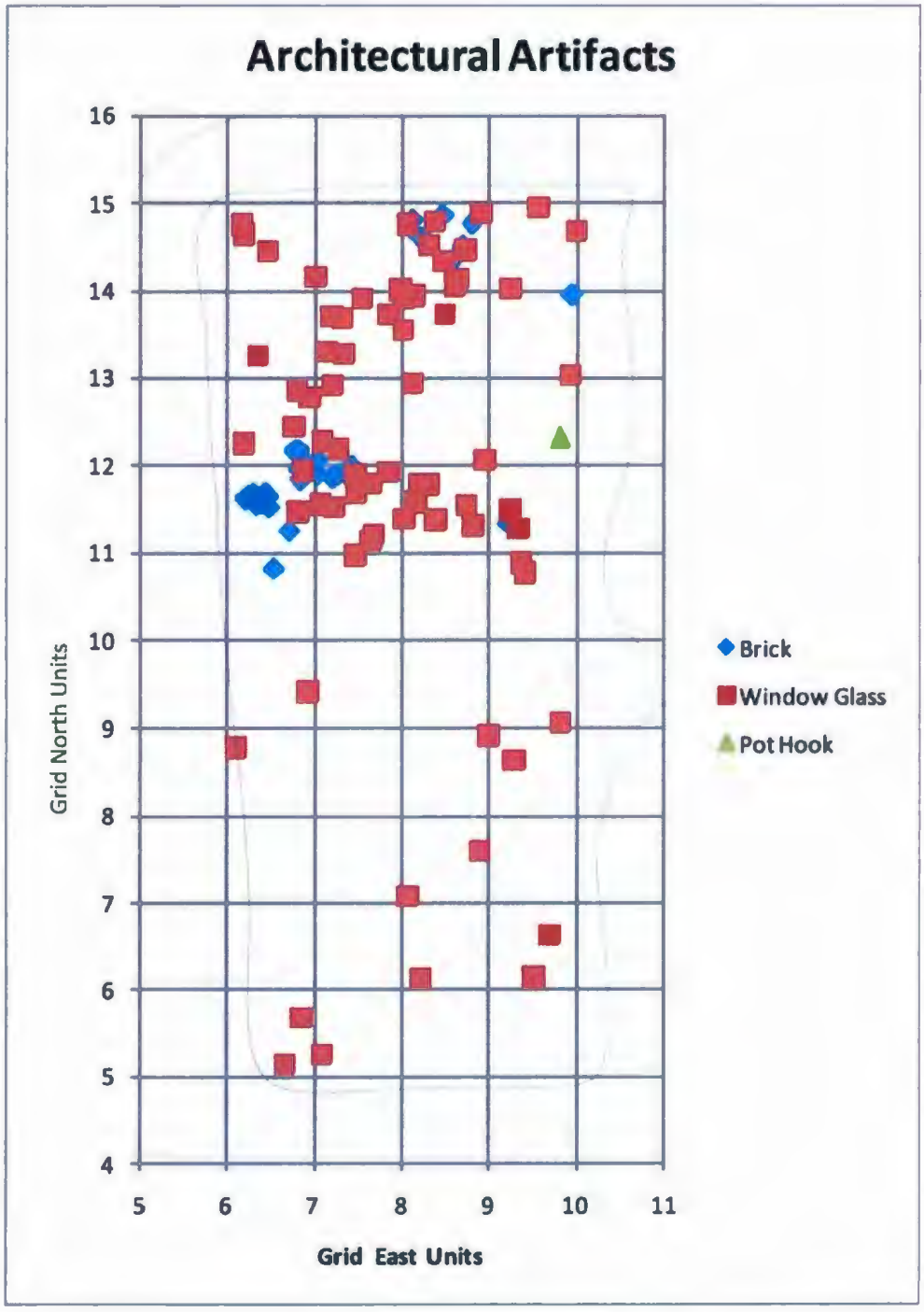


Figure 37 - Architectural Artifact Distribution

Table 21- Iron Nails from FkBg-24

Type	Number	%
Small Square (<1.77in.)	120	5
Small Rectangular (<1.77in.)	94	4
Medium Square (1.77in. to 2.56in.)	136	5
Medium Rectangular (1.77in. to 2.56in.)	197	8
Large Square (>2.56in.)	70	3
Large Rectangular (>2.56in.)	24	1
Square Finishing	88	3
Rectangular Finishing	18	1
Spike	14	1
Cut	13	1
Unknown	1819	70
Total	2593	102

4.5.3 Brick (N=68)

The bricks found in FkBg-24 were located in two clusters (Figure 37). The first is located at N10-12, E6-7, near Feature 1, and the second is at N14, E8. All of the brick are the same red colour and appear to have the same fabric. Because of the fragmentary nature of the brick and the lack of apparent associated features, their function remains unknown. It is likely that the more complete bricks were salvaged.

4.5.4 Other

Several other architectural artifacts were recovered from FkBg-24. The first is part of a door lock recovered from N11E9, near the doorway. It has a rectangular plate with a keyhole. No other markings or engravings are visible on this artifact.

The second artifact is a piece of an iron stove found in Feature 1. It appears to be a fragment of the top of a stove where the stove pipe comes out. Iron stoves were common in Labrador during the nineteenth century, and are often referred to in the documents from the period as a major cause for fires (Townsend 1911).

Finally, five hooked iron rods were recovered from the east end of the structure. While they are corroded and unmarked, some of their shapes resemble objects identified by Auger (1989) as pot hooks.

4.5.5 Summary of Architectural

The artifacts related to the architecture of the house indicate that the structure was constructed primarily of wood and had at least one clear glass window. Brick was used for an undetermined purpose within the structure, a door lock was used and the structure was heated with an iron stove. No useful refinement of the date of occupation could be determined, but the presence of cut nails suggests that it was built or modified during the nineteenth century.

The bent nails are likely the result of nails being used in the construction that were longer than the thickness of the wood. As a result, the protruding ends were hammered down in order not interfere with daily life. This trend, along with the large variety in the nail types, suggests that there was limited selection in the sizes of the iron nails. A second explanation is that the nails were purposefully bent inside of the structure to create hooks to hang objects.

4.6 Other

4.6.1 Coins (N=3)

Three copper coins were recovered from FkBg-24 (Figures 38 & 39). Two are dated 1813 and are labelled as 'Colonies of Essequebo & Demarary Token' and 'Georgius III D.G. Rex' on one side. On the obverse they have an image of George III. The larger coin is in near perfect condition and is 'One Stiver' and the smaller has much more wear

and is 'Half Stiver'. The smaller coin also has a hole punched through it above the portrait. These coins are from what is today British Guiana. The third coin is dated to 1832 and is labelled 'Province of Nova Scotia' and 'Half Penny Token'. The portrait on the obverse side is of George IV, and like the smaller coin from 1813, there is a hole punched above the bust. The position of the holes above the bust suggests that the smaller coins were strung and used as ornaments. The lack of use wear and hole in the larger 1813 coin suggests that it was not circulated prior to deposition and was likely curated for some purpose. The coins were all located in the west end of the structure. The two coins from 1813 were found near each other in N6E8, while the 1832 coin was located in N8E7.

Figure 38 - Coins (Obverse) from FkBg-24

Figure 39 - Coins (Reverse) from FkBg-24

4.6.2 Bakelite Comb

A Bakelite comb was recovered from FkBg-24. Bakelite plastic was not widely used until 1907, which would push the occupation range of the site into the twentieth century (Miller et al 2000:16). One fragment of Bakelite could be intrusive, but a second fragment was recovered independent of the comb. Both pieces were located among the general occupation layer. The comb was located in N11, E8 and the other fragment was located in N13, E7.

4.6.3 Iron Horseshoe

A horseshoe was excavated near the door in N10, E7. While a horseshoe could possibly be used on a horse, the lack of any counterparts or evidence for domesticated horses in the region suggests that the horseshoe may have served another purpose. Since it was found around the doorway, the horseshoe could serve a symbolic purpose, perhaps as a good luck charm (Evans 1977).

4.6.4 Bone Artifacts

Thirty seven pieces of antler were recovered from FkBg-24. All of the antler fragments have been shaped in some manner. Most fragments have been planed on at least one side, and many have three or four sides planed. The fragments often resemble rectangular or wedge-shaped objects, but no identifiable use is apparent. Some of the antler fragments were shaped to fit into a person's hand and often have drilled holes. These pieces are most likely to be used as antler handles for a utensil of some kind. The antler fragments are mostly found in the east end of the structure along the east and south walls.

Whale hunting was not a primary occupation for Labrador inhabitants during the nineteenth century. There are records of some whaling being conducted around Sandwich Bay, but this was mostly by European whalers conducting a seasonal hunt (Kennedy 1995:132-139). The whale bone in the collection has been planed and drilled to form what are most likely runners for a komatik sled (Kevin McAleese, personal communication, 2008). It is unlikely that they actively hunted whales, but most likely scavenged the bones from a carcass found in the region. There are several species of whales that frequent the waters of Sandwich Bay, but the species in the collection was not determined.

4.7 Faunal Material (N=1062)

A total of 181 shell fragments were recovered from FkBg-24. These are mostly from unidentifiable bivalves, and are so fragmentary that an accurate count cannot be determined. Bivalves are available locally in the region, so they were likely being

consumed as a food source, but some of the shell may be intrusive. The terrace above the site is covered with shell fragments that were destroyed by local birds to get at the meat inside. It is possible that some of the shell fragments could have blown down off the terrace or could have been the result of birds dropping them into the site. The shell recovered from FkBg-24 was found in 2 clustered areas. The first was the northeast corner of the structure and the second was the N9-11, E8-9.

The remainder of the identified faunal collection consists of mammal, bird and fish bone. While mammal bone makes up the largest portion of the collection with 31%, both bird and fish bone also make up a significant portion (Table 22). The number of individual specimens recovered suggests that there was a relatively equal distribution of fish, birds, mammals and bivalves, but this is unreliable since many of the bones may be from the same individual which could skew the numbers.

Table 22 - Faunal Collection from FkBg-24

Category	Number	%
Mammal	300	31
Bird	220	23
Fish	199	20
Bivalve	181	19
Unidentified	76	8
Total	976	101

Of the identified mammal bone (N=123), caribou, porpoise/dolphin and seal were the species most represented (Table 23). However, when an MNI is calculated only one or two examples from each species were present. The one exception is seal. Three species of seal were identified: grey, harbour and ringed seal, and at least five other seals

of an unidentified species are present. Therefore, seals make up 39% of the individual animals found at FkBg-24.

Table 23 – Identified Mammal Species from FkBg-24

Species	Number	%	MNI	%
Bear Sp. *(Ursids)*	1	1	1	4
Beaver *(Castor canadensis)*	1	1	1	4
Caribou *(Rangifer tarandus)*	46	37	2	9
Red Fox *(Vulpes vulpes)*	4	3	2	9
Fox Sp.	4	3	1	4
Mink *(Mustela vison)*	1	1	1	4
Moose *(Alces alces)*	6	5	2	9
Porpoise/Dolphin	17	14	1	4
Arctic Hare *(Lepus arcticus)*	3	2	1	4
Grey Seal *(Halichoerus grypus)*	2	2	1	4
Harbour Seal *(Phoca vitulina)*	3	2	1	4
Ringed Seal *(Phoca hispida)*	3	2	2	9
Seal Sp. *(Pinnipeds)*	30	24	5	22
Whale Sp.	2	2	1	4
Wolverine *(Gulo gulo)*	1	1	1	4
Total	124	99	23	98

Because so few individual animals were present at FkBg-24, it is difficult to use the remains to make any concrete assertions concerning seasonality. Since there are only one or two examples of each animal, their remains could be the result of opportunistic hunting. However, certain species were traditionally hunted, be it trapping for furs, food or other resources.

Several of the animals identified are traditionally trapped for furs, including fox, mink and wolverine. All of them were sought by trappers, and wolverine was considered very rare. While they were often trapped during the winter while traveling the trap lines, if they were encountered a hunter would still try to kill the animal (Ames 1977:303).

Bear, caribou, moose, porpoise/dolphin and arctic hare are all traditionally sought as a food source (Ames 1977:212, 295-303). While some of the species, like bear, are easier to hunt in specific seasons they are all present throughout the year and would be hunted if possible. Caribou and moose are considered the preferred food animals, but there are many accounts of opportunistic hunting of other species to ensure an adequate food supply. Because of their large body mass, caribou and moose may have been important sources of food. There are also many examples of porpoise/dolphin being accidently trapped in fishing and sealing nets (Ames 1977:219).

Seals are used for both food and skins. Six different species of seal are found on the Labrador coast and three are represented in the assemblage (Ames 1977:298; Brice-Bennett 1977:99). Grey, harbour and ringed seals are present around Labrador throughout the year, and therefore are not good seasonal indicators. Seal meat was both eaten and fed to dogs, and the skins were used in the production of clothes (Ames 1977:298).

Bird is also represented in the collection from FkBg-24 (Table 24). Six individuals were identified representing five different species. The owl and ptarmigan are present year-round and are often used as important secondary food sources in the fall and winter months (Ames 1977:285). Ducks and gulls are common transitory species that are available between the spring and fall, during which they are important sources of meat and eggs (Ames 1977:287). The presence of duck and gull in the assemblage suggest that the structure was occupied sometime between the spring and fall when these species were in the area.

Table 24 - Identified Bird Species from FkBg-24

Species	Number	%	MNI	%
Duck Sp.	3	10	1	17
Great Horned Owl	2	7	1	17
Owl Sp.	17	57	2	33
Ptarmigan	7	23	1	17
Gull Sp.	1	3	1	17
Total	30	100	6	101

The last major component of the faunal collection is the fish bone. The only identified species of fish is cod (*Gadidae*), but many bones remain unidentified. Cod are traditionally fished during the summer, but are also available during the spring and fall, and are important both as a food source and as an economic staple (Ames 1977:301). The lack of salmon (*Salmonidae*) is significant. North River is recognized as a major salmon river and large amounts of salmon were caught in the nineteenth century up to the present day (Anderson 1984). Two possible explanations for the lack of salmon are taphonomy and economics. Fish bone is small and fragile and does not preserve well in many contexts. The lack of salmon in the collection could be the result of the salmon bone not surviving. If salmon were the major resource harvested at North River, they may not have been eaten, or if so, in limited amounts. The majority of the salmon would have been processed and sold to earn the greatest amount of credit with merchants.

None of the bones were from domesticates, and there is no evidence of animal consumption by dogs. There is evidence of gnawing on some bones, but, based on size, it is likely small rodents. Domesticated animals like horses, cows and pigs were not expected, but evidence of dogs was possible. Dogs were used by Inuit and Europeans to

pull sleds as transportation. The lack of any evidence for dogs, both inside and outside of the structure, suggests that the occupants either did not have any or they were kept away from the structure in an area that was not tested.

The faunal collection is distributed in two clusters, which are not related to species, in the east end of the structure. The first and largest is in the northeast corner with numbers decreasing in relation to distance from the corner. The second concentration is located in N10-11, E9, next to the entrance. These concentrations likely represented storage areas.

4.7.1 Summary of Faunal

The faunal assemblage suggests that mammal, bird, fish and bivalves were all important for subsistence, with seals being the most numerous. Unfortunately, because of the low MNI, and year-round availability of most of the animals represented, no firm seasonal occupation could be determined. While present year round, many of the animals are harvested in specific seasons. The only season that is not adequately represented is the summer. This could suggest that the structure was abandoned during the summer or that summer resources, such as salmon, may be absent from the assemblage because of taphonomic processes or because it had a greater economic value as a trade item and was not consumed by locals. Examples of both four season and three season occupations are recorded in the nineteenth century to the north of Sandwich Bay (Brice-Bennett 1977:179).

4.8 Overall Distribution Patterns

Some distribution patterns are clear when looking at the structure as a whole (Figure 40). First, a significant difference is apparent in the number of artifacts recovered in each end of the structure. Of the total 3762 artifacts recovered inside the structure, 2744 (73%) were recovered in the eastern half and 1018 (27%) from the western half. This difference could be associated with different functional areas within the structure that were not visible in the architecture, or it may be associated with the abandonment. The majority of the artifacts in the west end of the structure, such as the beads, coins, and cutlery, are associated with personal adornment and food consumption and the artifacts in the east end of structure, such as iron strapping, are associated with storage. Most of the artifacts that would not have been used within the structure, such as firearms and the leg trap, were also found in the east end of structure. This suggests the west end of the structure was used for daily activities, while the east end was used for storage. A second possibility is that the house was divided into public space, the west end, and private space, the east end. However, if the abandonment of the structure was related to the collapse of the east end of the structure, the occupants may have returned to scavenge the remaining possessions that were in the west end.

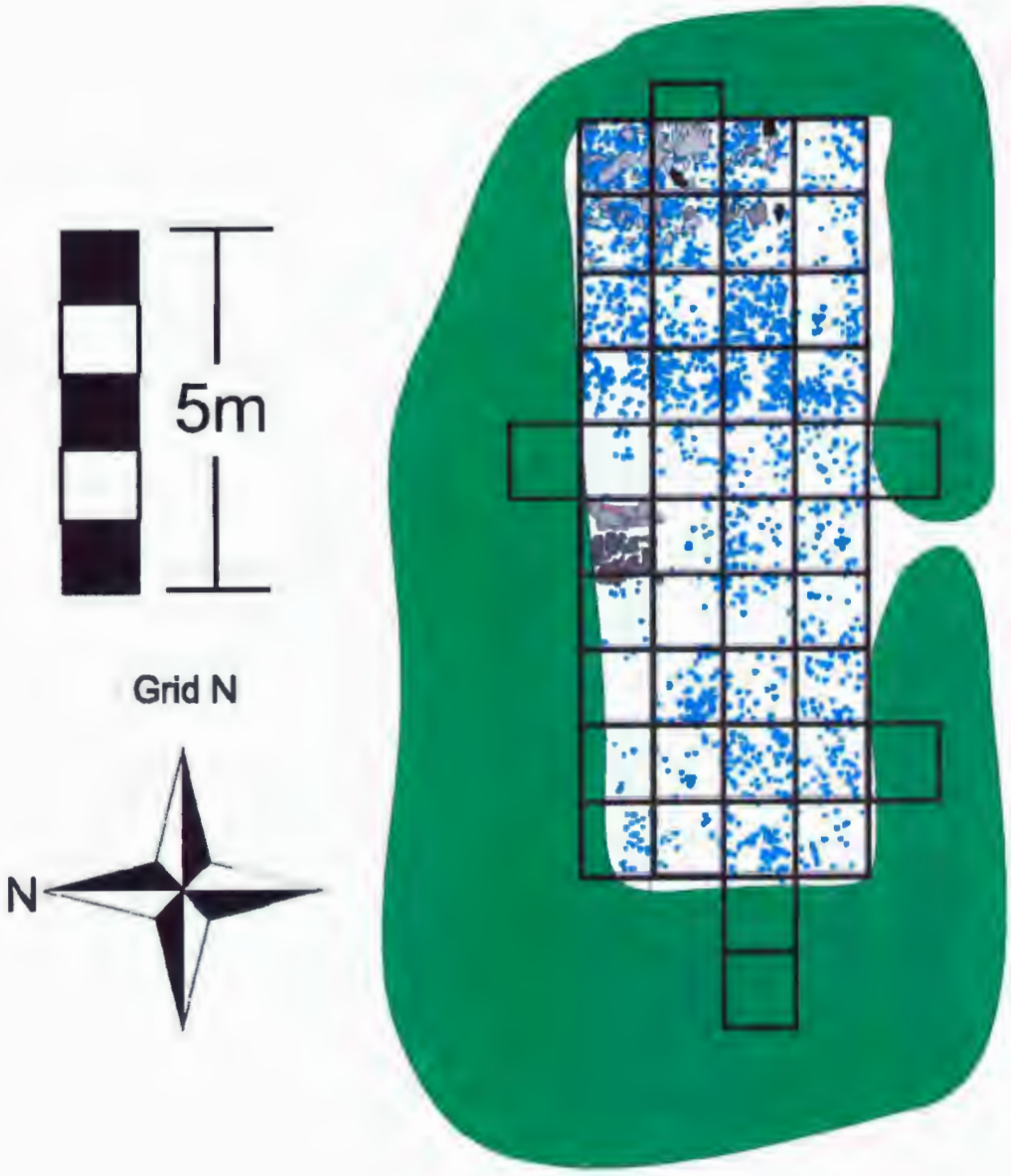


Figure 40 - FkBg-24 Artifact Distribution

A second observation is while artifacts cover most of the floor space, there are some noticeable empty spaces in their distribution. There are two artifact gaps in the east end of the structure. The first is N11-15, E9 and the second is N12-14, E7 (Figure 40). These gaps are possibly related to the presence of large objects occupying these spaces. This is especially relevant for the first gap which runs along the south wall and could represent a bench or bed. In the west half of the structure there are gaps around Feature 1, which could relate to the continued cleaning required to dispose of the ash associated with an iron stove.

A third observation is the distribution of the burnt and melted artifacts within the structure. Burnt artifacts are spread throughout the east end of the structure; however of a total 113 burnt artifacts, 51 were clustered in an area of $2m^2$ in the northeast corner. This is likely the site of a burning event. The rest of the burnt artifacts are spread out from this event or associated with the iron stove in Feature 1. Nineteen of the burnt artifacts were found in MTA 2 with an even spread throughout the test pits. It is unclear if these artifacts were associated with a burning event, which possibly led to the structures abandonment, or are related to the function of these areas.

4.9 Chapter Summary

Chapter 4 describes the artifacts and faunal collection from FkBg-24. Some distinct trends are apparent within the assemblage. The majority of the artifacts are of European origin, but komatik runners, an Inuit artifact, are also present.

The assemblage is domestically varied and there is evidence for the specific selection of some artifact groups, but it is currently unclear if this selection is based on a

cultural preference by the consumer or on an economic based restriction enacted by the local merchants. The resource procurement artifacts indicate that hunting, fishing and trapping were all being pursued.

Many of the artifacts in the assemblage add to the suggested date of occupation (Table 25). The designs and maker's marks for the ceramics suggests the early-mid nineteenth century as the beginning of occupation, and no relevant end date could be discerned. The dates for the clay pipes are towards the end of the nineteenth century, but this is based on two maker's marks. The buttons also suggest a date range between the early nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Other artifacts, such as percussion caps and metal cans, began production in the early nineteenth century, but Bakelite is not produced until the early twentieth century. Many of the artifacts that would have been curated, such as the ceramics and coins, date from the early to mid nineteenth century, while artifacts that were disposable, such as clay pipes, date to the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Throughout the analysis, the structure was originally occupied during the early nineteenth century and abandoned after 1907.

The faunal assemblage suggests there is a focus on mammals, birds and fish, with a slightly more intense focus on seals. Some of the mammals identified were fur bearers, but their presence, within the structure, suggests they might have been eaten as well. The faunal collection indicates that the structure was occupied during the fall, winter and spring. Evidence for a summer occupation is tenuous.

Table 25 - Date Ranges Associated with Artifact Collection

Artifact	Associated Date Range
Buttons	1776-1973
Coins	1813-Present
Copper Percussion Cap	1816-Present
Metal Can	1837-Present
Ceramic Maker's Marks	1841-1855
Ceramic Design	1850-Present
Clay Pipe Maker's Marks	1891-1968
Bakelite Comb	1907-Present

5.0 Chapter 5 – Comparison of Inuit and European Sites

This chapter will compare the architecture, artifacts and fauna from FkBg-24 with similar data from previously excavated Inuit and European sites in Labrador. While many nineteenth-century sod houses have been identified and recorded through intensive surveys of the Labrador coast (Figure 41), most have only received a cursory examination and are described only briefly in the literature (Auger 1989; Kaplan 1983; Stopp 2002). Nevertheless, a broad range of historic sites from Labrador have been examined to date, including: Inuit sites; mission sites; seasonal European outposts; and permanent European settlements that can be compared with FkBg-24.

It has been demonstrated by several researchers that by comparing assemblages and architecture of different contemporaneous groups, specific cultural traits can become visible within similar assemblages (Deetz 1996; MacDonald 2004). It is rare that an ethnic group becomes entirely acculturated after incorporating goods from another culture and this becomes even further complicated during the nineteenth-century by the mass commoditization and standardization of goods. The same goods were available for Inuit, Europeans and ethnically mixed households on the Labrador coast, therefore the presence of these goods tells us little about the culture who purchased and used them. By comparing the use of the goods, along with frequencies and designs, information concerning the meaning and value of the goods within the household can become apparent. The retention in cultural meaning and value is especially common in practices related to food preparation and consumption (Grover 2003:225). By comparing the data

from Inuit sites, European sites and FkBg-24 I am trying to identify traits and practices that are common to each group.

Figure 41 - Nineteenth-Century Sod Houses Identified by Kaplan (1985) and Auger (1989)

5.1 Inuit and European Sites Selected for Comparison

Comparing the diverse sites in Labrador is complicated by the variation in the way that sites were excavated and described. For that reason I have restricted my comparison to sites that have been published in detail. Eleven eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Labrador sites have been chosen (Figure 42); six are Inuit, and five are European.

The six Inuit sites are Kongu (IgCv-7), in Nackvak Fjord (Jurakic 2007), Tuglavina (IdCr-1), in Saglek Bay (Schledermann 1971), Uivak Point (HjCl-9), near Okak (Woollett 2003), HdCk-21, a eighteenth/nineteenth-century Inuit site in Nain (Cabak 1991), Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2), in Hamilton Inlet (Woollett 2003) and Seal Island (FaAw-5), in southern Labrador (Auger 1989). The five European sites are Hoffnungsthal (GgBs-1), a mid eighteenth-century Moravian Mission station (Cary 2004), Stage Cove (FbAw-1), a late eighteenth-century sealing and fishing post (McAleese 1991), Degrat Island (EjAv-5), a late eighteenth-century seasonal fishing site (Auger 1989), Saddle Island (EkCb-1), a nineteenth-century seasonal fishing station (Burke 1991), and Pointe St. Charles (EiBg-138), a nineteenth-century Jersey settler site (Temple 2006).

The European sites available for comparison served several different functions and in themselves are difficult to compare. The primary connection is that these sites are all European and constructed in Labrador at the appropriate period (van Dommelen 2005). Nevertheless, these sites provide the best comparative data currently available.

Figure 42 - Other Sites Examined (Blue dots are Inuit, Green stars are European)

5.1.1 Inuit Sites

The nineteenth century was a period of transition for Labrador Inuit culture. In many remote areas, the Labrador Inuit were practicing a traditional lifestyle and inhabited large communal houses until early in the nineteenth century (Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971). European goods were incorporated into their lifestyle, but they did not have any

major effects on their traditional resource economy (Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971). Beginning early in the nineteenth century, the Labrador Inuit abandoned the large communal house and began inhabiting smaller, single family dwellings (Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971). The location of dwellings shifted away from traditional settlement locales as the Labrador Inuit began living alongside Moravian missionary stations and the Hudson's Bay Company posts, or in single family settlements in outlying regions (Schledermann 1971). The Labrador Inuit became more reliant on European goods, construction techniques and foodways. Fishing and trapping became more important economic activities. All of these shifts led to a more sedentary lifestyle for the Inuit (Cabak 1991; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971; Woollett 2003).

5.1.1.1 Kongu

Kongu (IgCv-7) was an Inuit village in Nackvak Fjord that was occupied during the nineteenth century. Kongu was excavated by Dr. Peter Whitridge in 2004 and 2005 and analysed by Irena Jurakic (Jurakic 2007). Ten Inuit sod structures were recorded here but none were excavated. Instead, excavation focused on two test trenches placed into middens outside the structures. The ceramics and clay pipes recovered from Kongu were then used to reconstruct Inuit/European trade networks and used to explain how the Inuit incorporated European goods into their traditional material culture (Jurakic 2007).

Jurakic (2007) determined that the Labrador Inuit were forging trade networks with the Hudson's Bay Company in northern Labrador, and were selecting European goods that had analogs in traditional Inuit culture. For example, Jurakic demonstrates that hollowware vessel forms replaced traditional soapstone, wooden and baleen vessels

(2007:101). Evidence indicated that hollowware vessel forms were being maintained and repaired in traditional methods, such as drilled mending holes, which were previously used for soapstone vessels (Jurakic 2007). Flatware was only recovered in limited numbers, but what was recovered was highly decorated with transfer print designs (Jurakic 2007:79). Jurakic suggests that the transfer printed flatware vessels may have had different functions or symbolic meanings to the Inuit than the utilitarian hollowware vessels. In an examination of several Labrador Inuit ceramic assemblages Jurakic discovered that hollowware vessels were always the dominant vessel form.

5.1.1.2 Tuglavina

Tuglavina (IdCr-1), located in Saglek Bay, was excavated in 1970 by Peter Schledermann (1971). Schledermann's research goal was to define the early, middle and late phases of the Inuit occupation of Labrador (Schledermann 1971). As part of this research, several Labrador Inuit sod houses representing all three periods were excavated. Tuglavina was excavated as part of a late phase occupation, which dates from 1850 until today and takes the form of a traditional winter settlement (Schledermann 1971:114). However, Schledermann (1971:116) argues that the European desire for fish led the Inuit to inhabit this site in the summer as well as demonstrating the increased importance of European trade to the Inuit.

The excavated structure had walls constructed from stone, whale vertebrae and sod. The roof was constructed from a combination of whale bone and wood, which was covered with sod (Schledermann 1971:116). Evidence indicates that the interior was framed by a series of upright wooden boards. The floor was also covered with wooden

boards (Schledermann 1971:116). There were no observable sleeping platforms, but three sleeping areas were identified by the presence of straw mattresses, whose locations were not indicated (Schledermann 1971:118). The structure measured approximately 5m by 4m, contained a storage alcove in the southwest corner, an iron stove for heat and cooking and was accessed via a long entrance passage. The entrance passage had a sand floor and was approximately 5m in length (Schledermann 1971:117). Another storage area was located on the west side of the entrance passage, and measured 1.5m by 1.8m (Schledermann 1971:116). The floor of this storage area was covered with flagstones. Schledermann notes that there were no noticeable midden areas around any of the structures at the Tuglavina site, which suggests the occupation was short term, or that refuse was disposed in a different manner.

Unfortunately, the artifact assemblage was not described in detail (Schledermann 1971). Overall, the assemblage is comprised of European goods, but there are also several traditional Labrador Inuit items (Schledermann 1971). The Labrador Inuit artifacts consist of a harpoon foreshaft, sled runners, boats, and soapstone lamps and pots. While some of these artifacts were functional, some of them, especially the soapstone vessels, may have been curated or robbed from graves as their forms are associated with earlier phases (Schledermann 1971). The European artifact assemblage represents various domestic activities and includes cast iron cooking pots, files, cutlery and clocks (Schledermann 1971). There is both European and Inuit material culture evidence to suggest that hunting, fishing and trapping were important activities. No faunal evidence was presented.

Ceramic and glass vessels are present, but vessel form and design are not described (Schledermann 1971). Jurakic (2007:80) re-examined the ceramic assemblage from Tuglavina and describes an assemblage comprised primarily of hollowware vessels (83%) with flatware vessels (17%) making up a minor proportion. Transfer printed designs (30%), which are primarily present on the flatware vessels, and annular designs (21%) are the two major design motif. Other designs, such as handpainted, sponge and flow blue, are present in limited numbers (Jurakic 2007:80).

5.1.1.3 Uivak Point

Uivak Point (HjCl-9) was excavated between 1993 and 2000 by James Woollett (Woollett 2003). The site was excavated for the purpose of examining cultural and economic changes to Labrador Inuit society between the late seventeenth century and early nineteenth century. Woollett (2003) examined the faunal collection in detail to determine how Labrador Inuit subsistence economy changed over this period.

Uivak Point is an eighteenth-century Labrador Inuit site located on the peninsula which separates Mugford Bay from Okak Bay. The site contains at least seven sod structures, several middens, caches, and tent features (Woollett 2003:294). Only House 7 was fully excavated and described in enough detail to be used as a comparison.

House 7 was a rectangular structure that measured 11m by 8m and had a cold trap entrance passage approximately 3m long (Woollett 2003:320). The walls were constructed of upright timbers and whale bones that were placed on top of a stone base and then covered by sods. The floor was covered with flagstones and sleeping platforms lined the perimeter (Woollett 2003:320). The entrance passage lacked substantial

construction, but was still obvious (Woollett 2003:320). A midden was located immediately outside the entrance passage (Woollett 2003:321).

Woollett described the artifact assemblage with emphasis on diagnostic and dateable finds. While the majority of the artifacts were European in origin (67%), there were a large number of traditional Inuit artifacts (Woollett 2003:336). The majority of the traditional Inuit artifacts were related to resource procurement, travel and food consumption. The European goods were primarily iron blades, nails and European style clothing and decoration, such as buttons and beads (Woollett 2003:646-652). Ceramic sherds and clay pipe fragments were also recovered. Ceramics show evidence of mending holes and continued use (Woollett 2003:341).

Over 7000 faunal specimens recovered from this site were also analysed (Woollett 2003:559). Various seal species formed 83% of the collection (Woollett 2003:561). This demonstrates an intensive focus on seal procurement. Fox and dog were also present, each forming 6% of the assemblage (Woollett 2003:561). Fox were often hunted in traditional Inuit society for both food and furs, and dogs were used as a mean of transportation (Kaplan 1985). Other land mammals and fish were present in limited numbers. There is also evidence for domestic pig in the assemblage, based on the presence of a pig mandible. Woollett (2003:562) attributes the pig bone to the butchering of a live pig by Europeans on the Labrador coast. The occupants of the structure likely traded for European foodstuffs, but domestic pig was not a major component of their diet.

5.1.1.4 HdCk-21

HdCk-21 is an Inuit settlement located beside the Moravian Mission in Nain, Labrador. Melanie Cabak excavated a series of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century middens from this site to track changes in Labrador Inuit women's roles following settlement at Moravian mission stations. Cabak (1991:90-95) also goes into great detail concerning the house structures occupied by the Inuit.

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Inuit structures built in Nain were modelled after the wooden house structures built by the Moravian missionaries (Cabak 1991:76). The Moravians encouraged the Inuit to construct European style, single family dwellings because they believed immoral activities were occurring in the large communal houses (Cabak 1991:87). The wood used in construction was obtained locally or from wooden cases brought by the Moravians, and sods were used as insulation. The size of the structures varied, but Cabak (1991:88) recorded an approximate size of 8m by 5m being average. The structures generally had a long, narrow porch, reminiscent of the sunken entrance tunnels from traditional sod structures. They also had glass windows. During the nineteenth century, the structures generally consisted of a single room that could be separated into different sleeping areas by a blanket. Multi-room structures became more common towards the twentieth century. Iron stoves and tables were recorded inside the structures, and wooden benches along the walls functioned as sleeping platforms and work areas (Cabak 1991).

The artifacts recovered from HdCk-21 were primarily of European origin. The assemblage is made up of ceramics, glass bottles, cutlery, buttons and beads. There are

more hollowware vessels (65%) than flatware vessels (35%), which Cabak attributes to the continuation of traditional Labrador Inuit foodways (Cabak 1991:128). Cabak (1991:133) describes a meal observed during the nineteenth century in which a family ate from a single pot. Therefore, the incorporation of ceramic hollowware vessels is an adaptation of the former soapstone vessels and a continuation of liquid based meals, such as boiled meats and stews. This is also supported by the presence of more spoons than forks (Cabak 1991:128). The presence of flatware vessels and forks indicate that solid based meals were consumed, but Cabak suggests that these meals were rare and for the benefit of the Moravian missionaries.

Mending holes are recorded in many of the ceramic vessels, and some show evidence of use as oil lamps; practices previously associated with soapstone vessels (Cabak 1991:137). Buttons (N=53) and beads (N=22) suggest that European style clothing was adopted by the Labrador Inuit around Nain, but traditional embellishments, such as bead embroidery, continued (Cabak 1991:149). Overall, the assemblage suggests that there was a continuation of Labrador Inuit traditions adapted to incorporate European goods.

5.1.1.5 Eskimo Island 2

Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) was excavated by Richard Jordan between 1973 and 1975 (Woollett 2003). Jordan excavated several sod houses which were re-assed by Woollett (2003). Eskimo Island 2 had several houses dated to the nineteenth century, but only House 5 was excavated and described in enough detail to be used for comparison with FkBg-24.

House 5 was a rectangular structure that measured 9m by 8m and had an entrance passage at least 8m long (Woollett 2003:262). The walls were constructed of whale bone, wood and sod and contained sleeping platforms along the walls, which were covered with fir boughs and wooden planks (Woollett 2003:264). The floor was covered with flagstones (Woollett 2003:264). There was an interior partition created by a wall, but this may have resulted from occupants altering the size of the structure during a later period of re-occupation (Woollett 2003:265). An extensive midden deposit was mentioned, but no location for this midden was given (Woollett 2003:262).

The artifact assemblage indicates that the structure was primarily inhabited between 1810 and 1860 (Woollett 2003:266). The assemblage is overwhelmingly comprised of European goods, but some traditional Labrador Inuit bone, wood and ivory artifacts remain. European goods have been incorporated into most aspects of daily life and evidence of both hunting and fishing are present (Woollett 2003:266).

Faunal material was collected from several structures at Eskimo Island 2 and Woollett (2003) combines these into one analytical unit. The faunal assemblage is dominated by seal (96%), and dog (2%), followed by fox (1%), as well as a limited number of land mammals, fish and whales (Woollett 2003:511).

5.1.1.6 Seal Island

Seal Island (FaAw-5), on the southern coast of Labrador, was excavated by Réginald Auger in 1986 to determine if southern Labrador was occupied by Inuit in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Auger 1989).

The Seal Island structure was rectangular and measured 12m by 6.5m (Auger 1989:93). There was a sleeping platform at the back of the structure made of stone slabs and crushed shell (Auger 1989: 96). The floor was covered with wooden planks, and there were wooden platforms along the long axis walls. No noticeable entrance passage was recorded, but Auger (1989) suggests one may have been constructed out of snow. The midden was located next to the entrance (Auger 1989:93).

The artifact assemblage from Seal Island was comprised primarily of European goods, but with several traditional Labrador Inuit artifacts. Buckles, bells, buttons and beads suggest that European style clothing was worn by the occupants of the structure, but decorative items, such as buttons (N=14) and beads (N=5), were also used by the Inuit to embellish their clothing (Auger 1989:138-139). European knives and spoons were recorded, as well as a large number of ceramic vessels. The ceramic vessels come from a wide variety of ware types, but the vessel forms and designs are not discussed (Auger 1989). Iron hooks and gunflints were recorded, suggesting that both hunting and fishing were being conducted by the occupants (Auger 1989:180-196). The traditional Labrador Inuit artifacts recovered were related to seal hunting (Auger 1989:207).

The faunal collection from Seal Island is comprised mostly of bird bones (85%) (Auger 1989:304). Auger (1989:302) argues that while there is a significantly larger number of bird remains, birds actually played a minor role in the diet and seal was the important food source. Other animals identified are caribou, moose, fox, beaver and fish (Auger 1989:304). Domesticated pig and cow were recovered, but Auger (1989:303)

suggests they were either purchased from European merchants as a food source or that the domesticate bones were intrusive.

5.1.2 European Sites

Five European sites have been chosen for comparison. These sites are roughly contemporaneous and represent the three major types of European settlement; trading/mission posts, seasonal fishing sites, and permanent settlements. The five sites are Hoffnungsthal (GgBs-1), a mid eighteenth-century Moravian Mission station (Cary 2004), Stage Cove, a late eighteenth-century sealing and fishing post (McAleese 1991), Degrat Island (EjAv-5), a late eighteenth-century seasonal fishing site (Auger 1989), Saddle Island, a nineteenth-century seasonal fishing station (Burke 1991), and Pointe St. Charles (EiBg-138), a nineteenth-century Jersey settler site (Temple 2006).

5.1.2.1 Hoffnungsthal

Hoffnungsthal (GgBs-1), the first Moravian settlement in Labrador, constructed in 1752, was excavated by Henry Cary in 2001 (Cary 2004). Cary (2004) describes the architecture and layout of this early structure, located in Nisbet Harbour, near the community of Makkovik.

Hoffnungsthal consisted of a rectangular structure that measured approximately 7m by 5m (Cary 2004:29). The structure had an extensive foundation constructed of local stone buried in the ground and banked with sand for added support. The main structure was constructed of local logs, with walls at least nine feet high (Cary 2004:29-30). Several glass windows were built into the walls. The roof was covered in tree bark. A single door and stone platform were located to one side of a long axis wall (Cary

2004:33). The supports for three room dividers, constructed of stone and wood, were present. A central stone and brick fireplace was constructed and used for cooking and heating (Cary 2004:30-31). The archaeological and documentary evidence suggests the structure was meant to be inhabited year round but was destroyed within weeks of construction (Cary 2004).

Because the structure was occupied so briefly, the artifact assemblage or faunal collection is limited. From what is available, the Hoffnungsthal artifact assemblage is comprised of a generalized European domestic assemblage and was to be used by the occupants and as trade goods for the Inuit. There are many pipe fragments and lead projectiles, but little other information or description is given (Cary 2004).

5.1.2.2 Stage Cove

Stage Cove (FbAw-1) was excavated in 1986 by Kevin McAleese (McAleese 1991). Stage Cove, a late eighteenth-century sealing and fishing post was operated by George Cartwright was also used as a base to initiate trade with the Inuit and Innu (McAleese 1991).

The site consisted of a rectangular structure that measured approximately 23.8m by 8.6m. It is recorded as being Cartwright's house. A second, smaller structure may have been occupied by Cartwright's servants (McAleese 1991:35). A midden was located between the two structures (McAleese 1991:195). McAleese (1991) concentrated his excavations on the larger structure. The rest of the site was tested but not excavated.

The excavated structure was constructed of wood, but had a sand and gravel foundation (McAleese 1991:121). A single doorway was recorded and there was a wooden wall dividing the interior space (McAleese 1991:121). Brick and stone were found within the structure, which are likely associated with a fireplace and chimney, and the dining room area had a wooden floor (McAleese 1991:123). A cellar or cache pit was also located inside the structure (McAleese 1991:126). This structure was ultimately inhabited year-round (McAleese 1991).

The artifact assemblage from Stage Cove is varied and related to site function. Stage Cove was primarily used as a sealing and fishing post, so there are many artifacts related to hunting, such as gunflints and lead projectiles, and storage, such as barrels and chests (McAleese 1991). Strangely, little archaeological evidence was recovered related to fishing, but this activity may have been occurring at another location. Beads (N=150) and buttons (N=4) were recovered, and likely functioned as trade goods and gifts for the Inuit and Innu (McAleese 1991:55, 58). A wide variety of ceramics, mostly Cream Coloured ware, and architectural artifacts, such as iron nails and window glass, were also recovered, but the method in which they are described makes them difficult to compare to FkBg-24 (McAleese 1991). Some Aboriginal artifacts were recovered, but it is unclear if they are the result of a previous short term occupation, are intrusive to the site, or are the result of trade (McAleese 1991).

An extensive faunal collection was recovered and is described in great detail (McAleese 1991). Bird bones comprise the largest portion of the collection (58%) and are indicative of Cartwright's preferences for hunting and fresh meat (McAleese

1991:226). Records indicate that Cartwright spent a significant amount of time and energy hunting wild birds and he would have consumed the animals he killed (McAleese 1991). A significant proportion of domestic animals (35%) were also recovered with pig, cow, chicken, sheep and goat present (McAleese 1991:226). Local terrestrial animals are not represented in the collection, and only a limited number of seal and fish were recovered (McAleese 1991). Because Stage Cove functioned primarily as a sealing and fishing site, the limited numbers of seal and fish is puzzling. This may indicate that seal and fish were processed elsewhere or that the inhabitants did not consume these products (McAleese 1991). If other food sources were readily available, seal and fish may have been more valuable if sent to Europe.

5.1.2.3 Saddle Island

Saddle Island (EkCb-1) is located in the Strait of Belle Isle in the community of Red Bay. Red Bay was first inhabited during the sixteenth century by Basque whalers, but by the nineteenth century it was primarily occupied by seasonal fishermen from Newfoundland (Burke 1991). Area G on Saddle Island was identified as a structure inhabited by such fishermen. Area G was excavated between 1981 and 1983 by Dr. James Tuck (Tuck 1983). Charles Burke (1991) conducted a detailed examination of the ceramics recovered from Area G in an attempt to learn about trade patterns, length of occupation and food ways associated with the migratory fishery.

Because Burke (1991) was not involved in the excavation of Saddle Island and was not interested in the architecture, the structure itself receives little attention. Burke briefly describes seasonal 'tilts' occupied by these fishermen, but this description is

derived from historic documents and not archaeological data. The 'tilt' described by Burke is a square building constructed of wood and covered with sod. The floors were uncovered, there were few windows and the interior is described as bare. Tuck (1983) briefly describes the architectural data obtained from the excavation and it is likely that Area G is similar to the described 'tilt'.

Burke analysed the ceramics from Area G, but no work was conducted on the rest of the artifact assemblage or faunal collection. Some of the ceramics described by Burke are likely related to the earlier Basque occupation and have been omitted from my analysis. Burke described the ware type, vessel form and designs for the ceramic vessels recovered from Area G. A distinct preference for tableware and teaware was observed, as well as a preference for flatware (26%). The reliance on flatware is related to the consumption of solid based meals of fish (Burke 1991:107).

5.1.2.4 Degrat Island

Degrat Island (EjAv-5), located in the Strait of Belle Isle, was excavated by Réginald Auger in 1984 (Auger 1989). The site consisted of two sod houses, but only House 2 was excavated (Auger 1989). Auger concluded that Degrat Island was a late eighteenth to early nineteenth-century seasonal fishing site with evidence for a seventeenth-century occupation below.

House 2 measured 7m by 5m and was constructed into the bedrock (Auger 1989:85). A stone floor is evident, but no other structural features could be identified and no entrance passage could be located (Auger 1989:85). The walls were constructed of stone and sod, and wood may have also been used (Auger 1989:85).

Due to the temporary nature of the occupation of the Degrat Island site, the artifact assemblage is relatively small (Auger 1989). The assemblage consists primarily of functional ceramics and iron strapping, which Auger associated with barrel hoops. Two iron pyrite balls were recovered, likely used to start fires. Lead fish weights and musket balls were also recovered, suggesting that both fishing and hunting were being conducted by the occupants (Auger 1989:180-196). No evidence for a faunal collection is recorded, but this may be due to the limited occupation range or to a lack of preservation.

5.1.2.5 Pointe St. Charles

Pointe St. Charles (EiBg-138) was excavated by Blair Temple in 2004 (Temple 2006). It was a nineteenth-century Jersey settler site near the community of L'Anse au Clair. The site consisted of a habitation structure that measured 7.5m by 11m (Temple 2006:44). The base of the walls was constructed of stone and mortar, and a wooden structure was built on top of this foundation (Temple 2006:44). The structure was a single, large room, with a pantry attached to the west side (Temple 2006:45). A central cellar pit was identified, along with a stone porch (Temple 2006:44). Year round inhabitants of the structure participated in both the cod fishery and seal hunt (Temple 2006:49).

Limited published information is available concerning the artifact assemblage collected from this site. An extensive domestic assemblage was recovered consisting of over 9000 artifacts, which is constituted primarily of ceramic sherds, clay smoking pipes and iron nails (Temple 2006:46). Temple (2006:46) makes note of the high number of tableware, bowls and especially plates. Gunflints and fishhooks were recovered, both of

which were related to the major economic activities, seal hunting and fishing (Temple 2006).

5.2 Comparison of FkBg-24 with Features of Labrador Inuit Sites

5.2.1 Architecture

The nineteenth century was a period of transition for the Labrador Inuit, but some architectural traditions were maintained in their structures. First, entrance passages continued to be used in many houses. In a structure built on the surface and heated with an iron stove, an entrance passage with a cold trap would lose much of its effectiveness (Cabak 1991). Therefore, these features were likely retained because of tradition. Auger (1989) suggests that entrance passages may have been replaced by snow passages in some regions, such as Seal Island. Second, sleeping platforms line the walls in most Inuit structures. These features were used for both sleeping and working areas. In the HdCk-21 structures, benches have replaced stone, wood and dirt platforms. Third, the structures consist of one open room, which may have been divided into functional spaces by hanging a blanket. Only the structure at Eskimo Island 2 had any evidence of an interior wall, which appears to be the result of household modifications through later reoccupation of the site (Woollett 2003). Fourth, middens are generally located outside of the entryway. The location of the midden does not appear to change whether an entrance passage is present or absent.

The structure at FkBg-24 resembles nineteenth-century Labrador Inuit structures in some ways (Table 26). First, the structure had only a one room with no structural divisions of space. A blanket may have been used to divide the space, but no evidence of

this was recorded. Second, the midden at FkBg-24 is located outside the entryway. Third, chests built along the walls may have acted as both sleeping and work areas since no separate sleeping area was found at FkBg-24. Furthermore, the limited space within the FkBg-24 structure suggests that sleep space must also have functioned as work space. The biggest difference between nineteenth-century Labrador Inuit structures and FkBg-24 is the entryway. There is no evidence for an entrance passage at FkBg-24, and the distribution of midden material directly outside the entrance suggests that no entrance passage was present.

Table 26 - Comparison of Inuit Site Features and FkBg-24

Site	Estimated Interior Space	Major Material	Entrance Passage	Sleeping Platform	Room Divisions	Midden Location	Cellar/Cache Pit
Kongu, IgCv-7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tuglavina, IdCr-1	$19m^2$	Whale Bone; Stone; Wood; Sod	Yes	No	No	N/A	No
Uivak Point, HjCl-1	$88m^2$	Stone; Whale Bone; Wood; Sod	Yes	Yes	No	Near Entrance	No
HdCk-21	$38m^2$	Wood; Sod	Yes	No	Sometimes	Near Entrance	No
Eskimo Island 2, GaBp-2	$72m^2$	Stone; Wood; Sod	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	No
Seal Island, FaAw-5	$78m^2$	Stone; Wood; Sod	No	Yes	No	Near Entrance	No
FkBg-24	$40m^2$	Wood; Sod	No	No	No	Near Entrance	Yes

The structures described at HdCk-21 greatly resemble the structure at FkBg-24. This is not surprising, since the structures at HdCk-21 were constructed by Labrador Inuit, but strongly influenced by European missionaries. The HdCk-21 structures represent an amalgamation of European materials and design with traditional Labrador Inuit ideas of use of space and function.

5.2.2 Artifacts

Nineteenth-century Labrador Inuit artifact assemblages are relatively consistent between sites. European goods are the predominant artifacts recovered, but traditional Inuit artifacts such as ulus and komatiks are retained. By this time it is evident that European goods had begun influencing traditional Inuit lifeways. Iron stoves, kerosene lamps, cutlery, and files are found on most Inuit sites. Also, evidence for trapping is visible on some sites, indicating that during the nineteenth century the economic focus had begun shifting away from a traditionally marine based subsistence towards a trade economy based on the desires of European traders and merchants and Inuit desire for European goods (Table 27). Even limited quantities of European foods can be found in the faunal assemblages. The European influence is not equal at all Inuit sites. More northern sites in Labrador retain a focus on seal harvesting as seen in the faunal assemblages (Woollett 2003), while further south domesticates, such as cow and pig, increase as the numbers of seal in the assemblages diminish (Auger 1989).

Table 27 - General Artifact Assemblage between Inuit Sites and FkBg-24

Site	Inuit Artifacts	Evidence of Trapping	Evidence of Hunting	Evidence of Fishing	Beads (N)	Buttons (N)
Kongu, IgCv-7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tuglavina, IdCr-1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes
Uivak Point, HjCl-1	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	276	10
HdCk-21	Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A	22	53
Eskimo Island 2, GaBp-2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	>1500	N/A
Seal Island, FbAw-5	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5	14
FkBg-24	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	711	54

European clothing is common on nineteenth-century sites and is recorded as having been worn for daily use, whereas traditional Inuit clothing was worn only on Sundays or other special occasions (Cabak 1991). European clothing is represented by the abundance of buttons, especially white, four hole, porcelain buttons and wooden buttons, which are found on most Inuit sites. Another decorative dress item of European origins were glass beads, especially seed beads that were used for embroidery. Embroidery beads were adopted by post-contact period Inuit women as a status symbol, and the desire for beads continues into the nineteenth century (Cabak 1991; Kaplan 1985). An abundance of beads was recorded at GaBg-2, HjCl-9 and HdCk-21 (Cabak 1991; Woollett 2003).

Evidence indicates particular kinds of ceramics were common at Inuit sites (Table 28). Hollowware vessels are the predominant vessel form and is a continuation of

traditional Labrador Inuit foodways. Traditional Inuit foodways involve the consumption of liquid based meals, such as stews, consumed from bowls, cups/mugs, or pots. These meals were cooked in a pot suspended above a heat source (Cabak 1991; Cabak and Loring 2000). In this situation, the function of flatware vessels would have been limited and would have had no analog in traditional Labrador Inuit traditions. This pattern continues into the nineteenth century on Inuit sites and is represented by the high percentage of hollowware vessels found on Inuit sites. There does appear to be a shift towards consuming European style foods as there are an increasing number of flatware vessels in the Inuit sites (Auger 1989; Cabak 1991).

Table 28 - Ceramic Assemblage Comparison between Inuit Sites and FkBg-24

Site	Hollowware Vessels	Flatware Vessels	Ceramic Design Frequencies
Kongu, IgCv-7 (N=85)	85%	7%	Annular - 34% Transfer Print - 27% Undecorated - 13%
Tuglavina, IdCr-1 (N=71)	83%	17%	Transfer Print - 30% Annular - 21%
Uivak Point, HjCl-1	N/A	N/A	N/A
HdCk-21 (N=333)	65%	35%	Transfer Printed - 41% Annular - 17% Sponge - 14% Hand Painted - 10%
Eskimo Island 2, GaBp-2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Seal Island, FbAw-5	N/A	N/A	N/A
FkBg-24 (N=82)	82%	13%	Hand Painted - 26% Transfer Printed - 26% Undecorated - 18% Annular - 11%

There is little evidence for the purchase of ceramic sets by Inuit, indicating that ceramics were collected as needed and based on what was available from the local merchant or trader. Published ceramic assemblages indicate that Inuit had access to an abundance of handpainted, dipped and sponge motif ceramics as well as a limited number of transfer printed designs (Cabak 1991; Cabak and Loring 2000). This dominance of decorated vessels could represent a conscious desire by the Inuit for fancy motifs or simply indicate that this is what the merchants decided to carry (Miller 1991).

Ceramics recovered from Inuit sites frequently include mending holes (Figure 43). In traditional Inuit culture, soapstone vessels were repaired by drilling holes in the fragments and tightly lashing them together. Among the nineteenth-century Inuit sites, ceramic mending holes are often noted and attributed as an Inuit trait (Cabak 1991; Cabak and Loring 2000; Jurakic 2007; Kaplan 1983). However, mending holes are also associated with ceramics found on European sites and are believed to indicate limited access to new ceramics (Burke 1991: 95). Both explanations seem to be valid; however, from a brief examination of both Inuit and European mending holes available in the local collections, differences are apparent. The mending holes from European sites often appear in limited numbers and are drilled straight through, creating a cylindrical hole. In contrast, mending holes from Inuit sites are more abundant and were drilled halfway through and then flipped over to drill the other side. This creates an hourglass shaped hole (Figure 44). This method of drilling is found in many soapstone vessels and ground slate tools from traditional pre- and post-contact Inuit sites (Beaudoin 2006; Cabak 1991; Jurakic 2007). While not conclusive, this supports the theory that the practice of drilling

mending holes is an extension of the traditional Inuit practice and not the adoption of a European practice related to limited access to new ceramics.

Figure 43 - Sample of Ceramics with Mending Holes

Figure 44 - Hourglass Form of Mending Hole

Comparing the FkBg-24 artifact assemblage with the assemblages from Labrador Inuit sites indicates that they are very similar. FkBg-24 is comprised of mostly European goods, but evidence for a komatik is present. Also, all the noticeable trends visible in the Inuit assemblages, intensive evidence of European clothing from buttons and beads, a reliance of handpainted hollowware vessels and an abundance of hourglass shaped mending holes, are present in the FkBg-24 assemblage. The one major difference is in the faunal assemblage (Table 29). Faunal assemblages from Inuit sites retain a focus on seal in the north, and can include European domesticates, such as cow and pig, in the south. While seal make up the largest single portion of the FkBg-24 assemblage, there is an almost equal division between wild mammals, fish and birds. Fur bearing animals are present but there are no domesticates.

Table 29 - Faunal Assemblage Comparison between Inuit Sites and FkBg-24

Site	Total Mammal (%)	Total Bird (%)	Total Fish (%)	Most Common Species	Domesticates (%)	Seal (%)
Kongu, IgCv-7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tuglavina, IdCr-1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Uivak Point, HjCl-1	95	0	5	Seal – 83% Fox – 6% Dog – 6%	6	83
HdCk-21	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Eskimo Island 2, GaBp-2	99	0	<1	Seal – 96% Dog – 2% Fox – 1%	2	96
Seal Island, FaAw-5	12	85	3	Duck – 83% Seal – 6% Pig – 5%	5	6
FkBg-24	31	23	20	Seal – 30% Caribou – 7% Fox – 7% Moose – 7%	0	30

5.3 Comparison of FkBg-24 with European Sites

5.3.1 Architecture

The architecture at the different eighteenth and nineteenth-century European sites in Labrador is variable. Unfortunately, little architectural information from the Saddle Island fishing station is available, so it will not be discussed in this section.

These structures are from a variety of locales and served a variety of different functions, but some architectural patterns are apparent (Table 30). First, the structures occupied year round all had stone foundations while the rest of the structure and floor were made of wood. The seasonally occupied sites used stone for the floor and walls, along with sods as the major construction materials. The use of wood in the year round occupation sites may be explained in several ways. The location of the structures may have influenced the building material used in construction. The year round structures are situated in areas where wood was readily available, while Degrat Island, the seasonally occupied structure, is located on a small island where wood was difficult to obtain and thus not a viable option for construction. The length of occupation may have also been influenced the choice in construction materials. Permanent occupants would be willing to put the energy, time and resources into maintaining the house construction style from their home country, even if they are not as viable as local customs (Smith 1987). This trend is most visible in the construction practices of the Moravian missionaries who transported prefabricated structures from European which were reconstructed in Labrador (Brice-Bennett 1981). This is contrasted to seasonal inhabitants, who were only present for a limited time and would not have felt the need to construct European style structures. If seasonal inhabitants were more concerned with the function and suitability of the

structure in the local environment, rather than replicating European style structures, they would be more willing to adopt local construction traditions (Firestone 1992).

Table 30 - Architecture Comparison between European Sites and FkBg-24

Site	Estimated Interior Space	Major Material	Entrance Passage	Sleeping Platform	Room Divisions	Midden Location	Cellar/Cache Pit
Hoffnungsthal, GgBs-1	$35m^2$	Stone; Wood	No	No	Yes	N/A	No
Stage Cove, FbAw-1	$205m^2$	Stone; Wood	No	No	Yes	Away from Structure	Yes
Degrat Island, EjAv-5	$35m^2$	Stone; Sod	No	No	No	N/A	No
Saddle Island, EkCb-1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pointe St. Charles, EiBg-138	$82.5m^2$	Stone; Wood	No	No	Yes	N/A	Yes
FkBg-24	$40m^2$	Wood; Sod	No	No	No	Near Entrance	Yes

The presence of structural divisions within the dwelling is another difference between seasonally occupied structures and those occupied year round. Hoffnungsthal, Stage Cove and Pointe St. Charles, which were constructed as year round occupations had room divisions, and Degrat Island, the seasonal site, had none. This may relate to the desire of permanent inhabitants to retain their traditional construction practices, or the desire to delineate personal space (Deetz 1996:150-152; Smith 1987).

Subsurface cellars inside the structure are visible in two of the structures which were occupied year round; Stage Cove and Pointe St. Charles. These features are not seen on Inuit sites because the Inuit used stone caches outside their dwellings for storage.

The presence of interior cellars may be a good indicator of European construction rather than Inuit.

Finally, the location of the midden is different at European settlements than Inuit ones. Unfortunately the location of a midden at a European site is only recorded at Stage Cove site. At Stage Cove, the refuse pit is located to the west of the structure, away from the entrance, and is consistent with other eighteenth and nineteenth century European sites (Deetz 1996:172). South (1977:42) records that during the eighteenth century, Europeans disposed of refuse near the entrance of their dwellings. This practice of refuse disposal changed during the nineteenth century, as Europeans began to regularly dispose of refuse away from their structures (Deetz 1996:172), or in abandoned structures or trenches (South 1977:92).

After observing European structures on the Labrador coast it becomes clear that some of the features present at FkBg-24 are similar to European architecture. The presence of a subsurface storage cellar within the structure and the presence of interior divisions inside structure appear to represent European building traditions of year round occupation. The seasonally occupied structure, Degrat Island, had an open single room construction, so the presence of interior divisions could also be representative of the length of annual occupation among European sites. The final similarity is the use of sod as a structural component on the exterior of the walls at Degrat Island.

5.3.2 Artifacts

A detailed comparison of the artifact assemblages at European sites is difficult because the available literature does not adequately describe the entire assemblages

(Table 31). Nevertheless, I have attempted to use the material which is available to compare to the FkBg-24 assemblage.

The described Hoffnungsthal site assemblage contains a standardized European collection of pipes, musket balls and lead shot (Cary 2004). Because the Moravian Missionaries were shipping their own supplies to Labrador and a portion of these supplies were meant to trade with Inuit, it is likely that the entire assemblage was significantly different from sites further to the south that were reliant on a variety of traders and merchants (Brice-Bennett 1981).

Table 31 - General Artifact Assemblage between European Sites and FkBg-24

Site	Inuit Artifacts	Evidence of Trapping	Evidence of Hunting	Evidence of Fishing	Beads (N)	Buttons (N)
Hoffnungsthal, GgBs-1	No	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stage Cove, FbAw-1	Yes	No	Yes	No	150	4
Stage Cove, EjAv-5	No	No	Yes	Yes	0	0
Saddle Island, EkCb-1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pointe St. Charles, EiBg-138	No	No	Yes	Yes	N/A	N/A
FkBg-24	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	711	54

The nineteenth-century European assemblages all contain general domestic artifacts and it is clear that economic activities were focused on fishing and hunting. Trapping appears to be unrepresented in the European assemblages, as it comprised a minor activity. The major focus of the European economy in Labrador included fishing

in the summer, and sealing and hunting in the fall/winter (Auger 1989; McAleese 1991; Temple 2006). Furthermore, the European sites lack Aboriginal artifacts and tools of either Inuit or Innu.

While most of the European sites record many of the same clothing and decorative artifacts, such as buttons and beads, these appear in smaller numbers at European sites than they do in Inuit sites. The exception to this is Stage Cove (McAleese 1991). At Stage Cove a large number of beads were found but they were likely used used to entice Inuit and Innu into trading relationships with the Europeans (McAleese 1991:60).

The ceramic assemblage from Saddle Island was well described by Burke (1991) and can be used as a guideline for nineteenth-century European ceramic assemblages in Labrador (Table 32). Burke discusses all aspects of the ceramics, while Auger (1989) and McAleese (1991) discuss vessel form. However, Degrat Island and Stage Cove had so few ceramic artifacts that little can be determined and are not included here.

The Saddle Island ceramic assemblage has a predominance of plates (26%), and very few bowls (6%) (Burke 1991:77). Hollowware (51%) and flatware (49%) are relatively equally represented, but the majority of the hollowware vessels are teaware and drinking vessels (Burke 1991:77). This is consistent with a trend in European ceramic consumption towards the increased popularity of plate, cup and saucer sets that began around 1760 (Deetz 1996:85). The change in European ceramic consumption patterns is associated with an increased desire for separate plates for individuals and an increased availability of mass produced ceramics (Deetz 1996:87)

Table 32 - Ceramic Assemblage Comparison between European Sites and FkBg-24

Site	Hollowware Vessels	Flatware Vessels	Ceramic Design Frequencies
Hoffnungsthal, GgBs-1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stage Cove, FbAw-1 (N=4)	75%	25%	N/A
Degrat Island, EjAv-5 (N=4)	75%	25%	N/A
Saddle Island, EkCb-1 (N=328)	51%	49%	Transfer Printed - 32% Undecorated - 27% Sponge/Stamp - 11%
Pointe St. Charles, EiBg-138	N/A	N/A	N/A
FkBg-24 (N=82)	82%	13%	Hand Painted - 26% Transfer Printed - 26% Undecorated - 18% Annular - 11%

Transfer printed designs were popular among European assemblages. Blue transfer prints and blue willow designs were the most visible, followed by undecorated ceramics. There are few handpainted ceramics, and these are restricted to cups (Burke 1991). From these observations, the European ceramic assemblage is significantly different from the both Labrador Inuit and FkBg-24 ceramic assemblages.

While some aspects of the FkBg-24 assemblage resemble the collections from nineteenth-century European assemblages in Labrador, some patterns are not present. For example, the FkBg-24 ceramic assemblage is comprised mostly of handpainted hollowware vessels. There are some transfer printed flatware vessels in the FkBg-24

assemblage, but they are in limited number. Also, FkBg-24 has a much larger number of hollowware vessels, especially bowls, than the Saddle Island assemblage, indicating different focus in food ways or the occupants had a greater desire for hollowware vessels. Stage Cove and Degrat Island have hollowware vessel frequencies of 75%, but the sample size for each site is four and thus difficult to effectively compare to the other, larger samples.

The analyzed faunal collections from nineteenth-century European sites in Labrador (Table 33) indicate that wild duck, domesticated pig, and cow make up the majority of identifiable species. There is little evidence of fur bearing animals, large terrestrial mammals, or fish (McAleese 1991). The faunal assemblage from Stage Cove is consistent with subsistence activities being pursued by Europeans and suggests that there was little focus on local terrestrial resources. FkBg-24 has an added economic focus on seal, as well as local terrestrial animals, such as caribou and fox. The focus on local terrestrial animals indicates that the inhabitants of FkBg-24 had a greater reliance on local resources for subsistence.

The European data related to vessel form and faunal remains must be critically evaluated. In both instances data is available from one site and may not be representative of European sites in Labrador; however, this is the available archaeological data, and until further research is conducted it should still be used.

Table 33 - Faunal Assemblage Comparison between European Sites and FkBg-24

Site	Total Mammal (%)	Total Bird (%)	Total Fish (%)	Most Common Species	Domesticates (%)	Seal (%)
Hoffnungsthal, GgBs-1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stage Cove, FbAw-1	38	58	4	Eider – 22% Pig – 11% Scoter – 11%	35	12
Degrat Island, EjAv-5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Saddle Island, EkCb-1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pointe St. Charles, EiBg-138	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
FkBg-24	31	23	20	Seal – 30% Caribou – 7% Fox – 7% Moose – 7%	0	30

5.4 Chapter Summary

Overall, aspects of both Labrador Inuit and European culture are visible in the artifacts and architecture from FkBg-24. The artifact and faunal assemblage from FkBg-24 is similar to those from nineteenth-century Inuit sites. The abundance of glass beads and a preference for hollowware vessel forms have been identified as common occurrence at Labrador Inuit sites and were readily incorporated into Inuit lifeways (Cabak and Loring 2000; Jurakic 2008; Kaplan 1985). European women also used embroidery beads, but given that there were few European women on the Labrador coast during the nineteenth century, beads occur in limited numbers on most European sites. The high numbers of beads on post-contact Labrador Inuit sites, reflect their use by Inuit women as decorations (Cabak 1991:147; Kaplan 1985).

The ceramic vessel assemblage from FkBg-24 is also reminiscent of those recovered from Labrador Inuit sites. Hollowware soapstone vessels were used in traditional Inuit culture. If flatware vessels had no analogs in traditional Labrador Inuit culture they would have limited use and not be as desirable as hollowware vessels. Also, the relationship between vessel form and diet has been established by Otto (1977) and differences have been observed between Inuit and European sites in Labrador. If the occupants were eating mostly single pot, liquid based, communal meals, which was common among Inuit (Cabak 1991:101; Cabak and Loring 2000:24; Jurakic 2007:101), flatware vessels would not be as functional as bowls and mugs. Conversely, if occupants were eating mostly solid, individually portioned meals, such as fish, which were common among Europeans in Labrador (Burke 1991:107; Cabak and Loring 2000:25), a heavier reliance on flatware vessels would be expected. With either explanation, the predominance of hollowware vessels in the FkBg-24 assemblage is similar to the Inuit sites.

Faunal assemblages recovered from Inuit and European settlements in Labrador during the eighteenth and nineteenth century are quite different. Seal is the primary species recovered at Inuit sites with other species, such as fox and dog, comprising minor components of the assemblages. European sites have a high proportion of bird species, while almost ignoring local terrestrial resources. Seal makes up the largest single species present at FkBg-24, but there is almost an equal division between mammal, bird and fish. The higher percentage of seal at FkBg-24 is similar to Inuit sites, but the reliance on other

species is related to the inhabitants harvesting resources for both consumption and as trade.

The closest analog to the FkBg-24 architecture are the Labrador Inuit structures described by Cabak (1991) from HdCk-21. However, as they were being influenced by Moravian traditions the structures from HdCk-21 are not really traditional Inuit dwellings. Despite the similarities to HdCk-21, FkBg-24 can still not be considered a typical Inuit structure because it does not include sleeping platforms or an entrance passage. Furthermore, it does possess some European architectural features, such as an interior cellar. This suggests that FkBg-24 was constructed with a greater European influence. Nevertheless, some traits at FkBg-24, such as the midden location, the use of sods as insulation and the lack of interior divisions, are Inuit in origin. However, the location of the midden outside the entryway is related to interior maintenance and cleaning and not associated with the construction of the structure. Also, the use of sod as insulation and the lack of interior division both occur at seasonal fishing locations, like Degrat Island, and may represent an architectural difference between year round and seasonal sites.

It appears that FkBg-24 has an artifact and faunal assemblage more closely related to Inuit sites, but an architectural form which is similar to European construction. This dichotomy may be the result of task-based behaviour and may be related to gendered activities. Activities occurring in and around the dwelling, such as food preparation, clothing maintenance and refuse disposal are most likely the tasks of women. At FkBg-24 the women were likely Labrador Métis in origin. However, the structure most resembles European architecture and at FkBg-24 that was most likely constructed by a

European man. It has been recorded by Lightfoot et al. (1998) that in the pluralistic society of nineteenth-century California, culturally mixed families would demonstrate different cultural traits within the household depending on which culture and gender was the main actor in the specific tasks or space. This idea will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

6.0 Chapter 6 – Discussion

This chapter will examine how the artifact assemblage, faunal collection and architecture recorded at FkBg-24 interact to allow for interpretation of the daily life of the former occupants. The artifact assemblage and faunal collection are combined to emphasize activities and foodways, while the architecture is regarded separately to examine features and construction techniques.

6.1 Evaluation of Documentary Evidence and Past Research in Relation to FkBg-24

Archaeological data from FkBg-24 generally supports the documentary evidence and the past research related to Williams family. The presence of this structure in the location where Reichel (1872) place the home of C. Williams on his map, the lack of other contemporary family dwellings in the immediate vicinity suggests that FkBg-24 was likely occupied by Charles Williams and his family, making it an ethnically mixed household. As well, the artifacts suggest that the structure was occupied from the mid to late nineteenth century, which is consistent with the documentary evidence.

The data indicates that the structure was inhabited by an independent family unit for a large portion of the year. This suggests that the occupants of FkBg-24 harvested the local resources as a single family unit, through hunting, fishing and trapping evidence for all three activities were present in the artifact assemblage and faunal collection - and used FkBg-24 as primary habitation site. The location of FkBg-24 close to the mouth of North River would have allowed the occupants to barter with merchants or American fishermen who passed by, harvest seal, fish, hunt land mammals and collect shellfish, as well as travel to the interior for trapping up the North River valley.

Although the documentary evidence suggests that the cod fishery was a major economic activity (Kennedy 1995) there is no evidence to support this at FkBg-24. It is repeatedly stated that the year round inhabitants of the Labrador coast spent a significant portion of the summer in the outer islands harvesting cod in large groups (Kennedy 1995). Cod bone and fish hooks were recovered at the site, but they were likely associated with a hand line fishery for personal consumption, which Anderson (1984) claims was possible outside the mouth of North River. Nevertheless, the migratory species of birds present at FkBg-24 suggest that the site was occupied between the early fall and late spring, suggesting a short period of abandonment during the summer months. Therefore the family may have travelled to outer islands to participate in the cod fishery at this time.

However, Anderson (1984) suggests that the salmon fishery was a much more important economic activity for the occupants of Sandwich Bay. A large number of salmon rivers are present around Sandwich Bay, such as North River, where many salmon spawn every year. Furthermore, large numbers of seasonal fishermen from Newfoundland, Europe and America were present at the outer islands, creating a tremendous amount of competition for optimal cod fishing and processing locations (Anderson 1984). The abundance of salmon and the heavy competition for cod may have made the salmon fishery much more lucrative and reliable for the inhabitants of Sandwich Bay. Nevertheless, neither salmon bone nor harvesting equipment was present at FkBg-24 either. I believe that a different location, likely further up North River, was used for salmon harvesting and processing. The mouth of North River, where FkBg-24 is located,

is perhaps too wide to catch large quantities of salmon. Further up the river may have been a lucrative environment for a single family to harvest and process salmon. The local availability of salmon and the significance of this resource in Sandwich Bay suggest that the occupants of FkBg-24 were much more likely to be engaged in the salmon fishery than the cod fishery.

The occupants of FkBg-24 were focused on trapping their economic activities toward the winter and the salmon fishery in the spring/summer, and this was a different socio-economic tradition than either the eighteenth/nineteenth-century European or the Inuit residents of Labrador. Seasonal European fishermen were focused primarily on the cod fishery and consumed domestic animals and food that they brought with them. Permanent traders had an economy based on trade in furs, fishing and sealing. Their local subsistence was focused on domesticates and bird hunting. The Labrador Inuit were pursuing fur bearing animals to trade for material items and their subsistence economy continued to focus on seal. The different economic focus and greater inclusion of local terrestrial fauna visible at FkBg-24 may therefore represent a pattern indicative of the Labrador Métis.

6.2 Activities

Evidence for clothing maintenance and decoration, food preparation, food storage, and smoking are all present within the artifact assemblage from FkBg-24. These activities were traditionally associated with women of European, Inuit and Labrador Métis cultures, and at FkBg-24 these activities would have been conducted by Mary, the Labrador Métis wife of Charles Williams or his son's wife, also a Labrador Métis woman

(Giffen 1930; Guemple 1986). Nineteenth-century accounts indicate that Inuit women had adapted their traditional activities to incorporate new European goods, like ceramic vessels, European style clothing and decoration, and tending an iron wood stove (Cabak 1991). Furthermore, glass trade beads were adopted as a status symbol among post-contact period Labrador Inuit women (Cabak 1991).

Activities that were traditionally enacted outside of the house, such as house construction and maintenance, hunting and trapping, were primarily associated with men. Fishing may also have been undertaken by women, but with the decline in the importance of sealing and the increase in the economic importance of fish during the nineteenth century, men became the primary fishers (Cabak 1991). While evidence for these activities is present within the structure, they items themselves would have been used inside.

The abundance of domestic artifacts in comparison to the hunting, fishing and trapping assemblage suggests that women's domestic activities were the dominant practices within the structure. Artifacts associated with women's domestic activities were recovered inside the structure and those artifacts associated with men's activities inside of the structure were limited. The activities suggested by the male artifacts would not have been enacted within the structure. The paucity of fishing and trapping artifacts suggests that these items were not generally brought into the structure but were stored and used in other areas. Nevertheless, hunting artifacts, such as gunflints and lead projectiles, are present within the structure. They may have been retained as a means of protection or opportunistic hunting, or have been in a need of repair. The women's artifacts represent

activities that would have been enacted inside, which suggests that the interior of the structure, and the activities conducted within the structure, could be considered to be predominantly women's space and organized as such.

The amount of control that women had in the choice of goods that were brought into the household is debatable. Considering that the nineteenth-century Labrador economy was based on a credit system that relied on hunting, fishing and trapping, which were considered male activities, it is easy to assume that men would be responsible for the purchase and selection of goods. However, Cabak (1991) reports that Labrador Inuit women were considered shrewd bargainers and conducted the majority of the trading with the merchants. This would suggest that Labrador Inuit women would be able to select which goods were brought into the household, and would allow for the retention of Labrador Inuit traditions that are represented in the artifact assemblage (see Foodways).

6.3 Architecture

While the artifact assemblage and faunal collection from FkBg-24 were similar to those recovered from Labrador Inuit sites, European traditions were visible in the architecture. The house structure was approximately 10m by 4m with the long axis oriented east-west. The walls and floor were constructed of wooden logs and iron nails, and sods were piled on the outside of the walls as insulation. An entrance with an iron latch was located in the center of the southern wall, and clear glass windows were also used. The structure was heated by an iron wood stove that was placed on a stone platform in the center of the northern wall. This iron wood stove was also used for food preparation, and fuel for this stove consisted of wooden logs. A subsurface cellar was

located in the northwest corner of the structure and measured approximately 1m^2, and refuse was deposited outside the entryway of the structure.

Functional differences in the use of space are visible within the structure. The east end of the structure contains over 2/3rds of the artifacts excavated from the structure. Many of them are related to storage. The majority of the artifacts from the west end of the structure are glass beads. This discrepancy between the amount and types of artifacts in each end of the structure could reflect different activities areas, with the east end of the structure being used primarily for storage and the west end being kept clear to be used as work areas, or personal space. These differences may also be attributed to taphonomic processes and post-depositional factors.

The architectural attributes cannot be directly linked to either Labrador Inuit or European construction traditions. FkBg-24 is lacking some key Inuit house features such as an entrance passage or defined sleeping platforms which were present at most nineteenth-century Inuit sites. FkBg-24 did have architectural features that were only present in the European structures in Labrador; an interior cellar and wood based construction. Cellars were recorded at two sites that were occupied by Europeans throughout the year (McAleese 1991; Temple 2006). Furthermore, the heavy reliance on wood as the primary structural material and the location of the site in an area that allows easy access to several different resource bases could support the argument for FkBg-24 being occupied throughout most of the year, making it similar to European habitation structures.

However, from the evidence from the nineteenth-century Labrador, the location of a midden immediately outside the entryway may be considered an Inuit tradition (Auger 1989; Woollett 2003). Both documentary records from Nain and archaeological evidence from Stage Cove indicate that European middens were located away from the occupation structures (Cabak 1991; McAleese 1991). If the care and maintenance of the interior of the structure is the responsibility of the women, then how the refuse from the interior of the structure is disposed should represent a Labrador Inuit trait.

6.4 Foodways

Based on the faunal collection, the occupants of FkBg-24 had a diet based on wild mammal, bird and fish, along with molluscs. There is no evidence for domesticated animals or imported food in the assemblage. The MNI from the faunal analysis indicates that there is a preference for seal, but a wide variety of different animals were consumed. Many of the animals in the assemblage were considered prime fur bearing animals, and their presence within the structure suggests that they may have been pursued for their meat as well as their furs. The presence of species that were not considered prime food sources, like bear, suggests that opportunistic hunting was being pursued, which may have been the normal routine, or a sign of times of stress. The small number of salmon bones in the assemblage could be an indication that salmon was not consumed within the structure and was perhaps more valuable as a mercantile commodity, but the under representation of salmon bone could also be attributed to taphonomic processes. Cod was poorly represented and the location of the settlement in Sandwich Bay it was unlikely to be an important economic resource. Plants, such as berries and vegetables, likely played

a significant dietary role, but no evidence for this was recovered through excavations. Most species present in the assemblage are available year round, making it difficult to determine the season of occupation for FkBg-24, nevertheless, all seasons but summer are well represented, suggesting that the structure was occupied for most, if not all, of the year.

The preference for a broad based-diet, with an emphasis on seal and lack of domesticates is reminiscent of recorded nineteenth-century Labrador Inuit sites. Domesticates have been recorded in Labrador Inuit faunal collections, but as relatively minor portions of the diet. European sites indicate a preference for birds and domesticates, with a reduced reliance on seal (McAleese 1991).

The emphasis on hollowware vessels is also common to Labrador Inuit sites. It may be a continuation from meal preparation in soapstone vessels and consumption directly from the vessels or wooden bowls (Cabak 1991). The European ceramic assemblages indicate a general preference for plates over bowls, but when drinking- and tea-related ceramics were included, a more equal division of vessel form is obtained (Burke 1991). These trends are demonstrated in Figure 45, and appear to remain constant in the sites examined. The Labrador Inuit sites, Kongu, Tuglavina, HdCk-21, and FkBg-24, all have a significantly larger amount of hollowware vessels than flatware vessels, while the European site of Saddle Island, has a more equal frequency. Stage Cove and Degrat Island both have a higher percentage of hollowware vessels, but the low frequency makes this data questionable. This pattern represents a primary difference between Labrador Inuit and European sites, and indicates that the domestic and subsistence realm

of the occupants of FkBg-24 had more in common with Labrador Inuit sites than European.

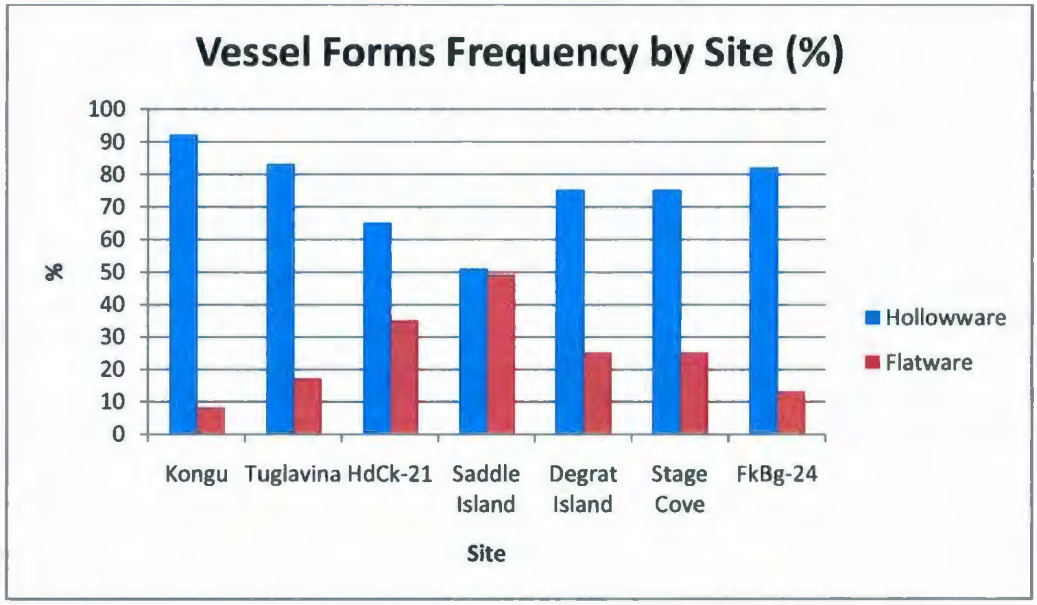


Figure 45 - Vessel Form Frequency by Site (%)

6.5 Overall

The results of the data analysis can be summarized in three primary points. First, the structure at FkBg-24 was constructed in a European fashion. Second, the domestic activities occurring within the structure, primarily foodways, were conducted an Inuit fashion. Finally, life in Labrador required new tasks, such as trapping for mercantile businesses, which were previously not associated with either culture.

Gendered activities, among both Inuit and Europeans, are well studied and how these practices were enacted on a daily basis would have been negotiated. This negotiation can lead to a gendered division of activities, and space, within a household that is observable within the archaeological record. A gendered division of activities and

space could result in the artifact and faunal assemblage resembling Inuit assemblages and the architecture resembling European architecture. This trend was noted in multiethnic households at Fort Ross, California, by Lightfoot et al. (1998). The architecture of the Fort Ross structures resembled the traditional structures built by Alaskan men, while their Native Californian wives enacted their traditional lifeways and use of space within the structure. Lightfoot et al. (1998) related this to a gendered division of space and power, where the Alaskan men were responsible for the construction of the structures, while the Native Californian women were responsible for controlling what went on inside the structure and how it was laid out. It appears that a similar trend is occurring at FkBg-24 where a European man constructed the structure and Labrador Inuit and ethnically mixed women controlled the activities that occurred within the structure and decided what items were required to carry out these activities.

7.0 Chapter 7 – Conclusion

The analysis of the extensive domestic assemblage, faunal collection and architecture from FkBg-24 has resulted in the development of a general understanding of the lifeways of its former occupants. Since the former occupants of FkBg-24 were an ethnically mixed family, the lifeways observed can be interpreted as representative of early Labrador Métis culture. Because of the lack of other excavated known ethnically mixed sites in Labrador, these conclusions can only be supported through the incorporation of historic and ethnographic data and comparisons to known European and Inuit settlements of the time. However, the incorporation of these other data sources has allowed me to answer four research questions.

(1) *What defines an ethnically mixed family's artifact assemblage in Labrador?* A ethnically mixed family's artifact assemblage in Labrador is a varied domestic assemblage that is comprised primarily of European goods, but traditional Inuit goods are also present. The occupants were self-reliant and self-sufficient for much of the year, as shown by mending holes and medicine jars. Evidence for hunting, fishing and trapping are all present as part of both a subsistence and trade economy. A preference for hollowware vessels, associated with continued traditions and foodways, was also present. European style clothing was adopted, but large numbers of glass beads are present, and may be associated with clothing embellishment, a status signifier among post-contact period Inuit women.

(2) *What defines an ethnically mixed family's architecture in Labrador?* An ethnically mixed family's architecture in Labrador is defined by a rectangular structure

constructed primarily of wood and covered with sod for insulation. There is a single room that is heated by an iron stove, which is placed on a small stove platform. A cellar is visible inside the structure, and there is likely an unmarked division of functional space within the structure. Refuse is disposed outside the entryway of the structure and a pit saw is also found near the structure. Overall, the architecture resembles that of contemporary European sites in Labrador because it was constructed in a European fashion that was adapted to the Labrador landscape.

(3) *How does a Labrador Métis site compare to contemporary Labrador Inuit and European sites?* Both the artifact assemblage and the architecture of the Labrador Inuit site constructed around the Moravian mission station at Nain are very similar to FkBg-24. However, the Labrador Inuit sites at Nain were heavily influenced by the Moravian missionaries and can already be considered a multiethnic site. While the architecture, artifact assemblage and faunal collection from FkBg-24 does not fit exactly with either culture, characteristics of both Labrador Inuit and European sites are present. The FkBg-24 architecture bears closer resemblance to European sites in Labrador, while the artifact assemblage and faunal collection bares closer resemblance to Labrador Inuit sites. The Labrador Inuit characteristics are associated with activities occurring inside the structure, and European traits can be associated with the architecture suggesting that there is a gendered division of activities among the occupants of the structure. Labrador Inuit woman likely controlled the goods and domestic activities that occurred within the structure, while the European man is responsible for the construction of the structure, and likely other activities that occur away from the habitation. Therefore, these gender

specific activities that were amalgamated to form a new hybrid culture pattern represented at the ethnically mixed dwelling of FkBg-24.

(4) *Are there enough differences between an ethnically mixed site, Labrador Inuit sites and European sites to justify a separate archaeological definition for the Labrador Métis?* Upon examination of the data obtained from this excavation and comparative literature, enough differences are present between Labrador Inuit, European and an ethnically mixed site to justify further research on the question. While similar to both Labrador Inuit and European sites, FkBg-24 resembles an amalgamation of both cultures into a distinct hybrid pattern. It is presently unclear if this hybrid culture pattern can be extended to all Labrador Métis sites, but until further research is completed to dismiss or support the hypothesis there is merit in the retention of a separate Labrador Métis cultural definition.

While the results of this research are interesting, they must also be regarded critically. FkBg-24 is the only ethnically mixed sod house structure excavated to date, and it is unknown whether the patterns represented at this site are representative of other contemporary Labrador Métis sites or if they are the result of the personal choice of the occupants. The close resemblance between the Inuit sites around the Moravian missionary station at Nain and FkBg-24 suggests that hybrid households are not limited to FkBg-24, or to Labrador Métis culture, but only further excavations can support or dismiss this hypothesis. Other nineteenth-century ethnically mixed sod houses will have to be identified and excavated before researchers can definitively determine the traits that are representative of a Labrador Métis site.

The lack of comparative nineteenth-century archaeological data from either Labrador Inuit or European structures is also a concern. While many sites have been identified, very few have been studied in depth. The majority of what is known about nineteenth-century Labrador is based on historic documents and ethnographic research, and has yet to be supported by archaeological research. This means that our understanding of both nineteenth-century Labrador Inuit and European sites is also vague. Further archaeological research of culturally identifiable sod houses is required to refine the archaeological traits associated with each ethnicity.

The lack of standardization within the published artifact analyses from contemporary archaeological sites must also be considered. The sites examined in this research were excavated at different times and with different research goals in mind. This has affected the ways the material was presented and has restricted what could be done with the data. A beneficial next step would be to re-examine all the existent collections and standardise how the collections are described.

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Appendix A – List of Artifacts Recovered from FkBg-24

Artifact Group	Artifact	Number
Hunting/Fishing/Trapping N= 412 7%	Trigger Guard	3
	Percussion Cap	16
	Gun Flint	12
	Lead Projectiles	379
	Iron Leg Trap	1
	Fishhook	2
Domestic N= 2092 34%	Ceramic Sherd	768
	Clay Tobacco Pipe Fragment	1260
	Fork	2
	Spoon	3
	Knife	5
	Bottle Glass Shard	34
	Iron Cooking Pot	1
	Iron Bucket Fragment	2
	Clothing Iron	1
	Copper Thimble	1
	Lamp Mantel Glass Sherd	5
	File	9
	Whetstone	1
Clothing N= 772 13%	Button	54
	Glass Bead	711
	Fabric	2
	Leather	5
Storage N= 20 <1%	Iron Hinge	5
	Iron Strapping	13
	Padlock	1
	Metal Can	1
Architectural N= 2824 46%	Window Glass	156
	Iron Nail	2593
	Brick	68
	Door Lock	1
	Iron Stove	1
	Pot Hook	5
Other N= 5 <1%	Comb	1
	Horse Shoe	1
	Coin	3
	Total	6125

Appendix B – Ceramic Vessel Description

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Design	Fragments
1	Stoneware	Inkwell		1
2	Stoneware	Inkwell		5
3	Stoneware	Inkwell		2
4	Stoneware	Jug		4
5	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Mug	Annular ware	5
6	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Mug	Annular Ware	2
7	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Mug	Mocha Ware	22
8	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Mug	Mocha Ware	11
9	Pearl ware	Flatware; Plate	Green Transfer Print	2
10	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Blue Transfer Print	4
11	Pearl ware	Flatware; Plate	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	11
12	Pearl ware	Flateware; Plate	Handpainted Blue Monochrome; Plant motif	14
13	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Serving Dish	Blue Transfer Print; Willow Pattern	10
14	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Chamber Pot	Blue Transfer Print	4
15	Pearl ware	Flatware; Plate	Black Transfer Print; 'Paul & Virgina Design'	3
16	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Blue Transfer Print	27
17	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Chamber Pot		1
18	Pearl ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Blue Transfer Print	1
19	Yellow ware	Hollowware; Mug		5
20	Yellow ware	Hollowware		1
21	Yellow ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Rockingham	1
22	Yellow ware	Hollowware	Rockingham	4
23	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Annular ware	5
24	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Machine Cut Grooves	7
25	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Cabling	7
26	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Machine Cut Grooves	2
27	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Machine Cut Grooves	1
28	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Polychrome Sponge ware	11
29	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Annular ware	5
30	White ware	Hollowware; Cup	Flow Blue	5
31	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Annular ware	6
32	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Flow Blue	1
33	White ware	Flatware; Plate	Blue Transfer Print; Willow Pattern	13
34	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Purple Sponge ware	3

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Design	Fragments
35	White ware	Hollowware; Cup		5
36	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Annular ware	9
37	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	3
38	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	10
39	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	9
40	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	6
41	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	6
42	Cream ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Annular ware	2
43	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	3
44	White ware	Hollowware; Mug/Cup	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	3
45	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	5
46	White ware	Flatware; Plate	Black Transfer Print	8
47	White ware	Hollowware	Black Transfer Print	4
48	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Green Transfer Print	2
49	White ware	Hollowware; Cup	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	4
50	White ware	Hollowware; Mug/Cup	Black Transfer Print	7
51	White ware	Hollowware; Basin	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	36
52	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	7
53	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	5
54	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl		4
55	White ware	Hollowware; Mug/Cup	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	2
56	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Blue Transfer Print	8
57	White ware	Hollowware	Annular ware	2
58	White ware	Hollowware; Mug		4
59	White ware	Hollowware; Ointment Jar	Blue Transfer Print	4
60	White ware	Hollowware; Ointment Jar	Blue Transfer Print	2
61	White ware	Hollowware; Ointment Jar	Blue Transfer Print	7
62	White ware	Hollowware; Mug		1

Vessel #	Ware	Form	Design	Fragments
63	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl		1
64	White ware	Flatware		1
65	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl		1
66	White ware	Flatware; Plate		1
67	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl		1
68	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	1
69	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl		3
70	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Handpainted Polychrome; Plant Motif	1
71	White ware	Flatware; Plate	Alphabet Motif	1
72	White ware	Hollowware; Mug		1
73	White ware	Flatware; Plate	Blue Transfer Print	1
74	White ware	Hollowware; Bowl	Blue Sponge ware	1
75	White ware	Flatware; Plate	Black Transfer Print	1
76	White ware	Hollowware; Mug	Cabling	1
77	White ware	Hollowware	Flow Blue	1
78	White ware	Hollowware	Handpainted Polychrome	1
79	White ware	Hollowware	Handpainted Polychrome	1
80	White ware	Hollowware	Blue Transfer Print	1
81	White ware	Hollowware	Hand Painted Polychrome	1
82	White ware	Hollowware	Shell Edged	1

Appendix C - Micromorphology Report

Micromorphological Investigations of the Occupation Surface at Site FkBg-24: A nineteenth Century Métis Sod House Floor, North River, Labrador.

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Introduction

In August 2007, micromorphological samples were collected across the occupation surface at site FkBg-24, a nineteenth century Métis sod house along North River, near the town of Cartwright, Labrador (Beaudoin, 2008). Nine thin sections were prepared from these samples and examined by Dr. Richard L. Josephs, Department of Geology and Geological Engineering, University of North Dakota. Micromorphology uses petrographic (polarized-light) microscopy to study undisturbed soil or sediment in thin section. The thin sections – translucent slices (0.03 mm thick) of the material-in-question – preserve high resolution evidence contained in the sediments that can provide information about natural (geogenic, pedogenic, and climatic) and cultural (anthropogenic) processes that have affected them (Courty et al., 1987; French, 2003; Gebhardt and Langohr, 1999; Goldberg, 1992; Goldberg and Arpin, 1999; Goldberg and Sherwood 1994; Josephs, 2007; Josephs and Spiess, 2004; Sherwood and Goldberg, 2001; Simpson et al., 2005).

Site FkBg-24 consists of a sod house structure with exterior walls measuring one to two meters in thickness. The interior of the structure measured 10 x 4 m with its shorter axis oriented north-south. The entrance to the house, in the center of the east-west (long axis) wall, opened to the south, toward the mouth of North River. The structure appears to have had a wooden floor and glass windows (Beaudoin, 2008).

Over 3000 artifacts were collected during the summer 2007 excavations. These included ceramics, eating utensils, clay pipes, gunflints, inkwells, bone buttons, and numerous faunal remains. Stratigraphic evidence suggests that the east end of the structure collapsed first, possibly the result of a fire, allowing the west end of the structure to fill with windblown sand (Beaudoin, 2008).

Physical Setting

Site FkBg-24 is located within the Grenville Province of the Canadian Shield. The area is underlain by Precambrian-age granodioritic orthogneiss (Wardle et al. 1997). Site FkBg-24 lies within the Paradise River Ecoregion of the Boreal Shield Ecozone of Canada (Environment Canada, 2008). This ecoregion is characterized by rugged and undulating topography. The underlying bedrock is composed mainly of massive Archean

(3.8 to 2.5 Gya) granites, granitic gneiss, and acidic intrusives with minor occurrences of sedimentary rock along the coast.

Pleistocene glaciations sculpted a rolling, morainal plain with numerous small, shallow lakes
(Environment Canada, 2008). This area is further described as "dominantly rockland," meaning that soils here are weakly developed (i.e., Regisols) to nonexistent (Natural Resources Canada, 2008).

The Paradise River Ecoregion has a maritime, mid-boreal climate. Vegetation consists of open, stunted stands of black spruce (*Picea mariana*) and tamarack with lesser amounts of white spruce (*P. glauca*), dwarf birch (*Betula* spp.), willow (*Salix* spp.), ericaceous shrubs (Ericaceae), cottongrass (*Eriophorum* spp.), lichens, and moss (Environment Canada, 2008).

Thin Section Descriptions

A total of nine thin sections were prepared from undisturbed, oriented samples collected from the west-wall profile, spanning the structure's occupation surface, along a south-to-north transect (Beaudoin, in preparation; Josephs and Bettis, 2003). The included mono- and polymineralic grains were consistent with derivation from orthogneissic (metagranitic/ metagranodioritic) rocks. Identifiable minerals included quartz, K-feldspars, plagioclase feldspars, biotite and muscovite micas, amphiboles (e.g., hornblende), pyroxenes (e.g., augite), and opaques (iron-oxide minerals). Many of the polymineralic grains displayed microfoliation, characteristic of metamorphosed granitic rocks. All Munsell color notations refer to the color of the material as viewed in plane-polarized light at 40x magnification. The descriptions of the thin sections follow protocol established by Bullock et al. (1985) and revised by Stoops (2003).

***N5/E8*:** The upper half of this section contains numerous plant residues (humified organic remains) intermixed with subangular to subrounded, highly-weathered, fine to very coarse, sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains (rock fragments).

The lower half of the slide is composed of unoriented, poorly sorted, subangular to subrounded, highly-weathered, fine to very coarse sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains and one polymineralic granule-size grain in a single-spaced fine enaulic related distribution pattern with an intergrain microaggregate microstructure and associated complex packing voids.

***N6/E8*:** This section contains unoriented, moderately to poorly sorted, subangular to subrounded, highly-weathered, fine to very coarse sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains and granule- and pebble-size polymineralic grains interspersed with plant residues and charcoal fragments
(carbonized organic material) in a single-spaced fine enaulic related distribution pattern with an intergrain microaggregate microstructure and complex packing voids throughout.

***N7/E8*:** The majority of this section contains a dense concentration of plant residues. The long axes of the plant residues are oriented north-south, dipping toward the north. Charcoal fragments were also observed in this section together with a small concentration of burned wood midway along the left edge of the section. There are very few (<5%) mineral grains within the organic material.

***N8/E8*:** This section is comprised of unoriented, well-sorted, subangular to subrounded, highly-weathered, fine to very coarse sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains in a single-spaced enaulic related distribution pattern with an intergrain microaggregate microstructure and complex packing voids throughout. Plant residues are scattered throughout the section. Charcoal fragments were also observed.

***N10/E8*:** The upper half of this slide is composed of unoriented, subangular to subrounded, moderately to well-sorted, highly-weathered, fine to very coarse sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains. One pebble-size, polymineralic grain (5.5 mm long axis) is present along the upper edge of the section. The slide exhibits a single-spaced fine enaulic related distribution pattern with intergrain microaggregate microstructure and associated complex packing voids. Within this upper half, there is a conspicuous 3 to 4 mm-thick band of plant residues.

The bottom half of the section contains a high concentration of plant residues and charcoal fragments interspersed with highly-weathered, fine to very coarse sand-size, mono- and polymineralic grains. The long axes of the plant residues are oriented north-south and are approximately horizontal.

***N11/E8*:** The upper half of this section is composed of unoriented, well-sorted, subangular to subrounded, highly-weathered, fine to very coarse sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains and one granule-size polymineralic grain in a single-spaced fine enaulic related distribution pattern with an intergrain microaggregate microstructure and associated complex packing voids with very few (<5%) plant residues.

The lower half of this section contains a high concentration of plant residues and charcoal fragments. An 8 to 16 mm-thick dense lens of organic material, thickening to the north, crosses the upper portion of the lower half of this section Within this dense organic lens, there are numerous, irregular concentrations of micromass material (silt- and clay-size particles) that displays an open porphyric related distribution pattern and a non-porous crumb microstructure. These concentrations of finer material produce a crystallitic (stipple-speckled) birefringence (b-) fabric. They contain very few (<5%) mineral grains.

The lowermost portion of this section contains a fairly uniform mixture of organic material, including charcoal fragments, and mineral grains. There was also one unidentified (t-shaped) bone fragment observed in this area of the slide.

***N12/E8*:** This section is comprised of numerous subangular blocky aggregates (concentrations) of plant residues. One such aggregate in the upper, right-hand corner of the section is a virtually opaque, dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3 to 3/4) to black (5YR

2.5/1) mass measuring roughly 8 mm in diameter. It appears to be a leaf fragment. The radial section of a wood fragment, measuring 2.5 x 1.5 mm, was observed along the bottom edge of the section, near the center. A photomicrograph of the section was used to identify the wood as originating from a coniferous species (Dr. Jeffrey Carmichael, personal communication, 2008). An unidentified, torus-shaped particle - outer diameter 1.1 mm, inner diameter 0.4 mm – was observed in the upper, left-hand corner of the section. Extremely high interference colors displayed by the object indicate that it is calcitic/aragonitic in composition. Its structure and composition suggests a skeletal element from a marine invertebrate. In micromorphological descriptive terminology, such an object is categorized as an inorganic residue of biological origin (Bullock et al., 1985; Stoops, 2003).
The organic material in this section is interspersed with subangular to subrounded, highly-weathered, fine to coarse sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains. Charcoal fragments were also observed in this section.

N13/E8: This section contains three distinct compositional areas from top to bottom. The uppermost portion of the section is composed of: 1) plant residues in various stages of decomposition, 2) charcoal fragments, 3) wood fragments, some appearing burned, 4) subangular to subrounded, highly-weathered, fine to coarse sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains, and 5) irregular concentrations of micromass material (silt- and clay-size particles) displaying an open porphyric related distribution pattern that produces a crystallitic (stipple-speckled) b-fabric in cross-polarized light.

The middle portion of the section is composed of subangular blocky aggregates (concentrations) of predominantly dark reddish brown (5YR 2.5/2) to black (5YR 2.5/1) plant residues. The remains are densely-packed with their long axes roughly horizontally, oriented north-south. In several areas, the organic remains are dense enough to be opaque, thereby producing an undifferentiated b-fabric in cross-polarized light. There are very few (<5%) mineral grains within these organic concentrations.

The lowermost portion of the section is comprised of subangular blocky aggregates (concentrations) of olive yellow (2.5Y 6/6) micromass material (silt- and clay size particles) displaying an open porphyric related distribution pattern that produces a crystallitic (mosaic speckled) b-fabric in cross-polarized light. Plant residues are few (5-15%), and mineral grains are very few (<5%).

N14/E8: The upper half of this section is composed of angular and subangular blocky fragments of burned wood (5YR 5/8 – yellowish red) with interspersed plant residues, charcoal fragments, and mineral grains (very few [<5%]).

The bottom half of this section contains unoriented, poorly sorted, subangular to subrounded, highly-weathered, medium to coarse, sand-size mono- and polymineralic grains, plant residues, and charcoal fragments within irregular aggregates (concentrations) of micromass material (silt- and clay-size particles). These concentrations have a single-spaced porphyric related distribution pattern and display crumb microstructure. Anorthic (alteromorphic) nodules were observed in this lower half of the section. These represent the only pedofeatures identified in any of the nine sections. Anorthic nodules are

inherited soil features that formed in a different location than were they are currently found (Stoops, 2003).

Summary and Conclusions

A total of nine thin sections, horizontally and vertically spanning the occupation surface of site FkBg-24, were examined in this study. All nine thin sections contained a combination of natural and cultural, organic and inorganic, material. The naturally-occurring, or non-anthropogenic, material consisted of organic-rich (peaty) soil and fine sand-size to pebble-size rock and mineral grains. The rock and mineral grains were consistent with derivation from local orthogneissic (metagranodioritic) parent material. The cultural, or anthropogenic, remains consisted of burned wood fragments (coniferous species) associated with dwelling construction, charcoal fragments, and skeletal material - the remains of terrestrial and marine animals acquired for nutritional and commercial (fur trading) reasons. Human trampling would also have introduced organic and inorganic material into the structure. Trampling produces a palimpsest of anthropogenic activities and natural processes.

The occupation layer is described as a dense organic soil that includes a thin, uppermost layer of highly decomposed wood. The occupation surface is buried by sterile layers of eolian sand and an incipient soil (an Orthic Regosol) (Beaudoin, in preparation). The high percentage of medium to coarse sand-size grains comprising the sterile deposits - those particles between 0.25 and 1.00 millimeters in size – combined with the high degree of particle sorting (moderately to well sorted) attest to eolian transport and deposition of the material, most likely by strong, prevailing winds coming off the Labrador Sea (Ahlbrandt 1979; Leigh 2001). The most probable source for the sand is a terrace to the east of the site (Beaudoin, in preparation).

One of the primary characteristics displayed by occupation surfaces at the microscopic level is compaction of the matrix and preferred orientation of its constituents. Organic remains (plant residues) within the occupation layer are compacted and display a preferred, horizontally-elongated (north-south), orientation. The incorporation of the wood fragments within this horizon suggests that the floor was constructed directly on top of the pre-existing, peaty Regosol.
Greater concentrations of burned wood observed in samples collected from the east end of the site support field observations that this area of the house suffered fire damage.

The micromorphological investigation of the occupation surface at site FkBg-24 yielded the following conclusions:

1) The concentration of moderately to well sorted, medium to coarse sand-size grains comprising the sterile, post-occupation layers suggests eolian transport and deposition of this material, its most likely source being a terrace to the east of the site,

2) Compaction and orientation of the organic remains within the occupation layer are consistent with micromorphological evidence indicative of occupation surfaces at other sites,

3) The incorporation of wood fragments within the occupation layer supports the presence of a wood floor constructed directly on top of the pre-existing soil, and

4) The high concentration of burned wood observed in thin sections from the east end of the site suggests that this area of the structure suffered fire damage.

In the case of this study, micromorphology supported interpretations that were based on macroscopic-scale field and laboratory investigations. It did not reveal any new or contradictory evidence. Its most limiting factor was the small sample size, only nine thin sections.

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