Illuminating Inuit Life at Double Mer Point: The Excavation of an 18th-century Communal Winter House

By

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the excavation of an 18th-century Inuit winter sod house located at Double Mer Point (GbBo-2) in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador. Hamilton Inlet has long been considered a vital region for understanding the Labrador Inuit and their relationships with Europeans in the 18th century, yet archaeological investigation has been limited. Merchants from Quebec established trading posts in Hamilton Inlet in the 18th century, providing a regular local source of goods for Inuit living in the region. As operations grew at these posts, more Europeans came to work and settle in the area, creating a unique interaction sphere with great potential for economic benefit to both parties, as well as very real challenges. The complete excavation of a small communal house in a larger settlement and examination of the material culture within provides an opportunity to examine the role of communal houses in this time of dramatic change.

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List of Abbreviations

CEW: Coarse Earthenware

CSW: Coarse Stoneware

HBC: Hudson's Bay Company

NISP: Number of Identified Specimens

PC: Privy Council (Great Britain) Judicial Committee. 1927. *In the matter of the boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula, between the Dominion of Canada of the one part and the colony of Newfoundland of the other part....* 12 volumes. See Bibliography for complete reference for each document.

TGEW: Tin Glazed Earthenware

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the lives of Inuit living in south-central Labrador during a time of great change. By the end of the 18th century, Inuit had been living in Hamilton Inlet for approximately 200 years (Kaplan 1983:420), taking advantage of the abundant resources the large bay had to offer. Through these years, the presence of Europeans on the Labrador coast had been gradually increasing, and with the arrival of Basque, Dutch, French and English fishers, explorers, traders, and ultimately, settlers, Inuit found themselves increasingly influenced by the new lifeways and materials that accompanied the Europeans.

For many years, Hamilton Inlet was thought to be the southernmost region where Inuit lived year-round (Jordan 1977, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Taylor 1974a), although recent research, particularly in Sandwich Bay, has shown otherwise (Brewster 2006; W. Fitzhugh 2009; Murphy 2012; Rankin 2013a, 2014b; Rankin *et al*. 2012; Stopp 2002). Archaeological research in Hamilton Inlet has focused primarily on the section known as the Narrows, where Groswater Bay constricts and connects to Lake Melville (Fig. 1.1). Inuit winter sod houses were identified at seven sites in five different locations (Fitzhugh 1972; Kaplan 1983), with two more possible Inuit sites recently identified (Brake and Davies 2015). The Double Mer Point site (GbBo-2) is located about 6 km northeast of the town of Rigolet, Nunatsiavut on the Narrows. The site is situated near the

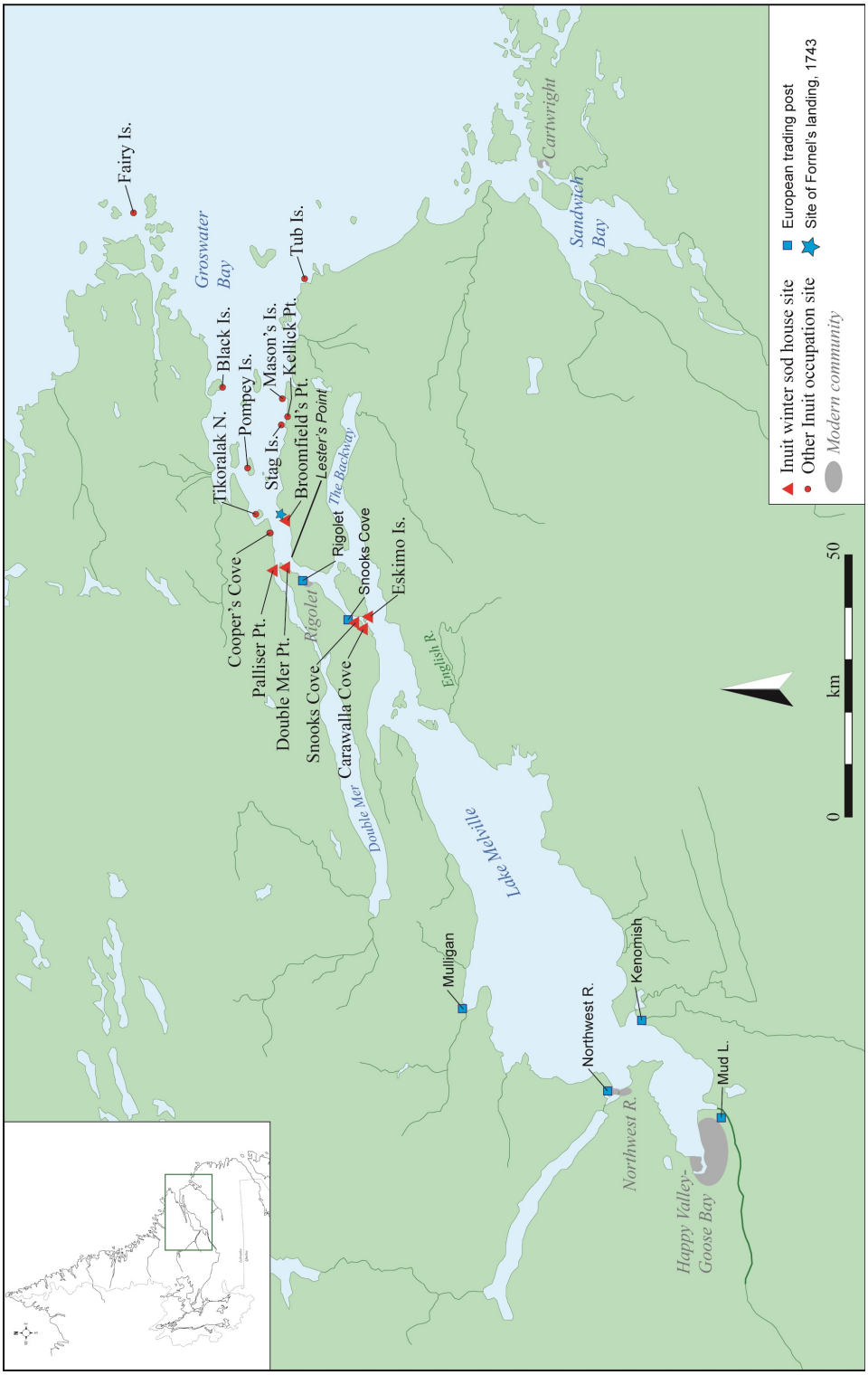

Figure 1.1: Hamilton Inlet, showing locations mentioned in the text.

end of Double Mer Point, which separates Groswater Bay and Lake Melville from Double Mer. Three winter sod houses are the primary component of the site. Previous research was limited to test pits, which were used to estimate an occupation period in the second half of the 18th century. Through the complete excavation of one of the sod houses, this project examines the nature of Inuit communal houses in southern Labrador and, in addition to clarifying the chronology of Inuit settlements in the Narrows, explores how the Inuit in this area were interacting with the growing population of European traders, explorers and settlers on the Labrador coast in general, and Hamilton Inlet in particular.

The community of Rigolet has requested that the excavation of the Double Mer Point site be carried out. As an Inuit community and part of the Nunatsiavut government, community members are interested in knowing more about how and why their ancestors may have chosen to live in this area. The Rigolet community also plans to incorporate the Double Mer Point site into their growing tourism industry. There is already a boardwalk along the coast, running for approximately 5 km to the northeast of the town. The community would like to extend this boardwalk out to Double Mer Point, and provide historical interpretation of the site for the public, both incoming tourists and local residents. Excavating the site will provide the first step in this process.

1.2 Research Outline and Objectives

The excavation of House 2 at Double Mer Point was conducted with several objectives in mind.

First, an accurate date for the occupation of Double Mer Point is required in order

to put the site in the appropriate context to discuss the other research questions. During the 1960s and 1970s limited excavations of Inuit winter houses in the Narrows were used to create a broad picture of Inuit life and how it changed over time in Hamilton Inlet (Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Researchers have recently returned to the Narrows, and begun to refine this chronology through the complete excavations of Inuit winter houses at Snooks Cove (Brandy 2013a, 2013b; Pritchard n.d.). Jordan (1974, 1978) suggested that the residents of Eskimo Island abandoned the island (Eskimo Island 1 site) for the more defensible Double Mer Point site from about 1760 to 1800, returning to Eskimo Island (Eskimo Island 2 site) for a few years (c. 1800-1840) before leaving again to reside at Snooks Cove, near a newly-established trading post on the mainland, in the later 19th century. However, Pritchard's (n.d.) recent investigation of the Snooks Cove site shows that the site was occupied from the late-18th until the mid-20th centuries, making it contemporaneous with Eskimo Island 2. Since the occupation of Snooks Cove and Eskimo Island 2 has been shown to differ from Jordan's original proposal, our understanding of the Inuit chronology in Hamilton Inlet needs to be reevaluated (Rankin 2013b). This project seeks to continue that refinement. With more complete knowledge of when Inuit winter house sites were occupied, it will be possible to build a better picture of Inuit life in Hamilton Inlet.

One aspect of Inuit life in particular has received much attention over the years. During the 18th century, Inuit winter house architecture changed from single-family dwellings to multi-family structures known as Communal Houses, consisting of large semi-subterranean structures where several nuclear families would live together.

Typically, the families would be the married sons of the household head, with their wives and children, although other variations also occurred (Taylor 1974a:74). Various theories have been proposed for the adoption of these types of houses. Suggested reasons range from economic, featuring the rise of entrepreneurial middleman traders (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980) or environmental, where climactic conditions emphasized the need for cooperative hunting (Schledermann 1976a, 1976b; Woollett 1999, 2007), to internal cultural responses based on European challenges to Inuit identity (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Whitridge 2008). The Communal House was common in northern and central Labrador during the 18th century, where trade networks developed to bring baleen, sea mammal oil and similar products south and European goods such as iron, glass, ceramics and cloth north (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). However, Rankin and her students have begun exploring communal houses in southern Labrador at Sandwich Bay, and are finding that this structure may have begun there in the 17th century, prior to its development further north (Murphy 2012; Rankin 2013b). This raises more questions about the nature and use of communal houses. Since they appear to have developed in southern Labrador before major trade with Europeans was established, perhaps the structure was an adaptation for family groups as they travelled to the southern frontier of the typical Inuit range. Or maybe communal houses were a response to newly available resources as a result of raiding European camps (Brewster 2006:38). The complete excavation of additional communal houses in southern Labrador will shed light on these questions and provide data for comparisons throughout the Inuit range (Rankin 2013b).

Inuit, however, were not the only people present in southern Labrador, or even

Hamilton Inlet, during the 18th century. Europeans had been aware of the abundant resources in Labrador for many years. Beginning in the early 16th century with Basque whalers and fishers, Europeans began visiting southern Labrador in the Strait of Belle Isle as part of a seasonal migratory fishing operation (Auger 1991:8-14; Loewen and Delmas 2012; Tuck and Grenier 1981). By the 18th century, year-round settlement from Quebec expanded into the Strait of Belle Isle and southern Labrador (Crompton 2014). In 1763 the French ceded their lands in Labrador to the British, who slowly developed permanent settlements in the south and promoted the Moravian missions in north (Kaplan 2012:25). By the 19th century, the Hudson's Bay Company was established in Labrador and permanent European settlement was well underway. These new institutions drastically altered the Inuit way of life through the introduction of novel goods and technologies, economic strategies, and social relationships. While 18th-century Hamilton Inlet may have been a comparative refuge between the Moravian missions of the north and livyers in the south, it was not free from European influence. Traders from Quebec established themselves in Lake Melville in the middle of the century while British explorers and planters began to arrive not long after. Inuit living in the Narrows had to decide how to interact with these newcomers, and what ramifications that may bring. This project will address some of these challenges.

1.3 Theoretical Background: Culture Contact Studies

I will approach this project through the conceptual framework of culture contact studies. Rather than the dualistic approach of domination and subordination, where arti-

fact assemblages are interpreted to indicate the amount of assimilation to European lifestyles in a unidirectional flow of change, culture contact studies in recent years have begun to embrace the complexities and entanglements involved in the interactions between indigenous peoples and European explorers and colonizers around the world (Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot *et al*. 1998; Martindale 2009; Silliman 2005, 2009; Stahl 2002). Labrador in particular has a long history of "contact," as Europeans used the fishing grounds of the North Atlantic in increasingly extensive and permanent ways over the course of several hundred years. Inuit material culture reflects this contact and growing interaction with Europeans.

The line between "culture contact" and "colonialism" is blurred, and one could argue that viewing the Inuit/European relationship should be done through the lens of colonialism rather than culture contact studies. Silliman (2005) points out that the term "culture contact" suggests a short-term encounter that downplays the severity of the colonizers' power and privileges predefined stereotypes at the expense of complex cultural problems. He suggests that "colonialism" is a process by which a nation-state exerts control over people and territories outside its geographical boundaries. Colonialism also includes the concept of the local peoples reacting to this control in various ways, which could include resistance or acquiescence, and always includes reassessing their cultural identities and modifying them in complex ways. However, Silliman (2005:60) does allow that "culture contact" can include moments of first (and sometimes additional) contact and exchange that have profound influence on later interactions, and that places where "culture contact" takes place can later experience "colonialism." This situation seems to

apply to Labrador. Although "colonialism" seems like an appropriate interpretation of the situation during the late 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, as missions, trading posts and permanent European settlement took place, during the 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries, contact between the cultures was brief, however formative, and the Inuit largely maintained their own traditional identities while choosing how to incorporate newly available and desirable goods. There is not a moment in time where one can definitively say the relationship changed from one of contact into one of colonialism. In Labrador in particular, the gradation varied by location and happened at different points in time. Hamilton Inlet, with no missions and relatively few traders and settlers, falls in the later end of this spectrum, particularly compared to communities further north where the Moravian missions were established in the late 18th century, and the coastline on the Strait of Belle Isle, where fishers and settlers were present as early as the 16th century.

All cultural identities change over time, and are the result of deliberate choices about how to incorporate new ideas, technology and materials into current worldviews and practices. Silliman (2009:226) argues that change and continuity are two aspects of the same phenomenon. "For social agents, communities or households to move forward, they must change *and* remain the same" (emphasis in original). Incorporating European objects into indigenous cultural practices should not represent acquiescence and submission, but rather "additions and actions set within social remembering and forgetting" (*ibid.*). These decisions are mediated through the individual's view of the past, as well as where that person wants the future to head (Martindale 2009; Silliman 2005). Recognizing culture contact as a complex entanglement makes room for "concepts of variability,

autonomy, resilience, resistance, and perseverance" (Martindale 2009:61).

In order to begin to understand the complex entanglements of culture contact and colonialism, Lightfoot (2005) proposes an approach that considers dimensions of domination, demography, and time. He lays out five areas where it is possible to see, archaeologically and historically, aspects of both the colonizer and the colonized, and how the power available to each side manifests itself. These include enculturation programs, relocation programs, interethnic unions, demographic parameters of colonial and native populations, and the chronology of the colonial encounters. Each of these areas has its place in the history of Inuit-European relations in Labrador, and the differences between what is observed in Hamilton Inlet and other areas of the Labrador coast are telling.

The results of this cultural entanglement can be seen in the material culture left in the archaeological record. Lightfoot *et al.* (1998:201-202) indicate that it is through daily practices that people organize and make sense of their lives. Active decisions about what new tools, materials and ideas to incorporate take place in everyday contexts. In this, people still have agency and manipulate their own culture to maintain their desired identity (Martindale 2009; Silliman 2005). Since daily routines, especially in a household, are what generate the material culture remains studied by archaeologists, the study of these artifacts and their distribution in and around the house, as well as the house structure itself, will be instrumental in the understanding of how the Inuit were organizing their daily lives and negotiating their place in the changing cultural environment. These practices should be considered in light of the complexities noted above, as people redefine and reconfigure their daily lives in response to changes in social order. Simple

counts and percentages of European and Inuit objects in the archaeological assemblage will only be the first step in understanding how the Inuit responded. Consideration must also be given to how the items were being used, and what possible changes they may imply. After all, people are "culturally produced and culturally producing, historically contingent social agents dealing with complex situations" (Silliman 2005:66).

1.4 Thesis Overview

The remaining chapters of this thesis are organized to provide the background information and excavation results necessary to address the research goals for this project. Chapter 2 provides an overview of Inuit and Europeans in Labrador. The first section outlines Inuit history on the Labrador coast in general, and looks at previous research in Hamilton Inlet in more detail. The second section provides an overview of the European presence in Labrador from the early 16th to the 19th century. Finally, research on Inuit Communal Houses is presented. Chapter 3 is a more in-depth look at the European presence in Hamilton Inlet in particular, from some of the earliest maps made of the coast, through early 18th-century French explorers and traders, late 18th-century British settlers, and the Hudson's Bay Company arrival in the first half of the 19th century. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the Double Mer Point site, its environment, and the excavation of House 2. The architecture of the house will be discussed in this chapter. Chapter 5 covers the results of the excavation of House 2. The first section describes the artifacts that were recovered, followed by a discussion of their distribution and the dates of occupation indicated by the assemblage and radiocarbon dates. The second section reviews the faunal

assemblage, including archaeoentemological findings. Chapter 6 provides a review and discussion of several other Inuit sites in Labrador from the 18th century, in an effort to compare Double Mer Point House 2 to other regions. Finally, Chapter 7 will draw the various areas of research together in order to address the research objectives, as well as suggest areas of future research.

Chapter 2: Labrador Inuit History and Research

2.1 Thule/Inuit History in Labrador

2.1.1 Thule/Inuit in Labrador Overview

The Labrador Inuit are the direct descendants of a people known archaeologically as the Thule. The Thule culture was first identified by Therkel Mathiassen during the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-24, a scientific venture from Copenhagen (Mathiassen 1927; Maxwell 1985). Mathiassen identified differences between the material culture of modern Inuit groups and the recovered archaeological materials in the Central Arctic, naming the archaeological culture "Thule" after a 17th-century word for the furthest north (Maxwell 1985:247). Mathiassen proposed that the Thule culture originated in Alaska, and was ancestral to at least some of the modern Inuit groups (Mathiassen 1927:184; Maxwell 1985:249), a theory which would be upheld through later research.

Although which Alaskan group or groups (Birnirk and/or Punuk) were the ancestors of the Thule is not completely agreed upon (Maxwell 1985:252; McGhee 2009a:161), there is no reason to doubt the western Arctic origins of the Thule culture. Earlier researchers believed the Birnirk from northern Alaska were the ancestors of the Thule, based on harpoon head evolution (Maxwell 1985:252). Further work has revealed that the Punuk, from western Alaska and the Bering Strait may be more likely. The Punuk were better positioned to access Siberian metals, also hunted whales and walrus, and their harpoon heads also have evolutionary ties to later Thule forms (Maxwell 1985:252;

McGhee 2009a:161). Ultimately, if the Punuk passed through Birnirk territory, components of both cultures are likely present in Thule lifeways (Maxwell 1985:253).

The timing of the Thule expansion across the Canadian Arctic has been the subject of debate, which seems to have been largely resolved in recent years. Based on Mathiassen's (1927:7) original assessment of site location in relation to isostatic uplift, many archaeologists supported the proposal that the Thule migration eastward began around 1000 CE. However, improvements in the understanding of the problems associated with radiocarbon dating techniques in the Arctic have led to a reevaluation of the evidence (McGhee 2009a, 2009b), and it is now accepted that the Thule began their expansion during the 13th century (Friesen and Arnold 2008; McGhee 2009a, 2009b; Ramsden and Rankin 2013; Rankin 2009).

Archaeological and documentary evidence suggest that the Thule made their way east across the Arctic to western Greenland very quickly (Friesen and Arnold 2008; McGhee 2009a; Morrison 2000). The first references to the presence of native people made by the Norse Greenlandic settlements were in the 1260s (McGhee 2009a:161). Ruin Island on the west coast of Greenland is the earliest Thule site east of Amundsen Gulf, dating to the late 13th or early 14th century. Harpoon heads recovered there, the styles of which are commonly used for comparative dating of Thule sites, are nearly identical to those found in Alaska from the same time period (*ibid*., 160). Additionally, fragments of pottery likely made in Alaska were also recovered, suggesting a rapid journey, as the pottery is fragile and would have to have been carefully curated to survive the trip (*ibid*.).

Reasons for the Thule migration are not completely understood. Initial theories

suggested that the Thule were following the bowhead whales central to their economy as the Medieval Warm Period opened up more ice-free corridors through the Canadian archipelago and the whales extended their range accordingly (Friesen and Arnold 2008:535; Maxwell 1985:251). As the chronology of Thule sites in the Arctic is refined, this hypothesis has been questioned, and alternatives are becoming more popular.

McGhee (2009a, 2009b) has recently suggested that the Thule expansion may have been a directed quest for metal. Thule ancestors in western Alaska were using metal from Siberia (McGhee 2009a:161; Ramsden and Rankin 2013:303), and grew to depend on it. Hearing of new sources of metal from the Cape York meteorite and the Norse settlements in Greenland through possible Dorset contacts to the east (Maxwell (1985:261) reports Late Dorset sites with meteoric iron blades) may have been an incentive to move that direction. The earliest identified Thule site in the eastern Arctic, Ruin Island, has the highest amount of meteoric and Norse iron of any other eastern Arctic site or later Thule phases (McGhee 2009a:161). Additional incentive for migration may have come in the form of population pressures from northeastern Siberia (Maxwell 1985:252-53).

After thriving for about 200 years, Classic Thule sites across much of the central and high Arctic were abandoned during the late 15th century (McGhee 2009b). A colder climactic era, known as the Little Ice Age, coincides with this abandonment, but there is no clear link between the cooler climate and a decrease in the sea mammals needed for Thule survival (McGhee 2009b:87). Norse settlements in Greenland, however, were affected. The farming practices of the Norse depended on a moderate climate. The

instability of the Little Ice Age, perhaps in combination with other social trouble, eventually lead to the decline and abandonment of the Greenlandic settlements about 1500 (Seaver 1996). At this time Thule sites begin to appear in the southeast Arctic, particularly Labrador. Western European exploration and exploitation of the northwest Atlantic Ocean is initiated at about the same time (Ramsden and Rankin 2013:303). McGhee (2009b) suggests the growing presence of Europeans and their products was a likely draw to the Inuit, encouraging them to make their way south out of the high Arctic.

Thule pioneers arrived in northern Labrador likely from southern Baffin Island, where they had been in residence since their arrival in the eastern Arctic (Ramsden and Rankin 2013:307). Analysis of radiocarbon dates and diagnostic artifacts indicate this movement south took place in the late 15th century, with the earliest Labrador sites overlapping with the later Baffin Island sites (Fitzhugh 1994:253; Jordan and Kaplan 1980:38; Rankin 2009:19). By the late 16th to mid-17th century, Thule sites are found at least as far south as Sandwich Bay (Brewster 2006; Ramsden and Rankin 2013:305), and the culture has transformed into that of the Labrador Inuit. This rapid advance across the landscape is suggestive of a purposeful movement. By the mid-16th century, Basque whalers were exploiting the abundance of the north Atlantic, with shore stations in southern Labrador at places such as Red Bay, Chateau Bay, and East St. Modeste (Tuck and Grenier 1985). The Basque whaling stations provided a new source for iron and other European materials after the Norse Greenlandic settlements were abandoned and supplies dwindled. Other Europeans, particularly French, interested in seasonal fisheries off the southern Labrador and Newfoundland coasts were not far behind (Crompton 2014).

French accounts from the late 16th century record whalers and fishers heading to Labrador not only for the marine life but also for trade (Stopp 2002:75-76).

Very few Labrador Thule/Inuit sites have been found that could be considered "pre-contact," and those are in the far north. The earliest Thule/Inuit sites in Hamilton Inlet and further south, and possibly as far north as Hopedale, have European materials, usually nails, which could have been scavenged or stolen by enterprising individuals making the trip to the southern Labrador coast (Rankin 2009:20). Even those "pre-contact" sites may have been aware of the presence of Europeans, but unable to access the goods due to the large distance or scarcity of those goods (Rankin 2009:24-25). Any bits of iron that were acquired were likely carefully curated and used until there was little useful left about them, leaving minimal chance for preservation in the archaeological record.

The southern extent of Inuit settlement of the Labrador coast is still not completely resolved. For years archaeologists and historians believed Hamilton Inlet was the southernmost year-round settlement (Jordan 1977; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Taylor 1974a). Historical sources documented Inuit presence further south in the Strait of Belle Isle and the Quebec Lower North Shore, but confirming this through archaeology is just beginning to gain momentum (Auger 1991; Brewster 2006; Rankin 2014b; Rankin *et al*. 2012; Stopp 2002), despite the work of early proponents for southern year-round occupation (Fitzhugh 1972:54; Martijn and Clermont 1980). Extensive excavations in Sandwich Bay by Dr. Lisa Rankin and students have definitively confirmed long-term, year round occupation by Inuit in that region (Brewster 2006;

Murphy 2012; Rankin 2014b), setting the stage for continued research on the southern coast.

As the Inuit became familiarized with Labrador, settlement locations shifted from outer bays and islands, where the tundra-like environment was similar to familiar northern conditions, to protected inner harbours and islands (Kaplan 1983). By the 18th century, and perhaps earlier in some areas (Murphy 2012), Inuit winter settlements transitioned from small, single-family dwellings to larger, multi-family structures known as Communal Houses (Schledermann 1971). These characteristic dwellings have been the subject of much research (see below), and were in use until the early 19th century, when smaller, single-family structures once again became the norm.

2.1.2 Inuit in Hamilton Inlet: Previous Research

In order to provide important context for this study, previous archaeological research of the Inuit in Hamilton Inlet will be reviewed here (see Fig. 1.1 for site locations). Richard Jordan, building on the foundation laid by William Fitzhugh, has provided the most comprehensive interpretation of Inuit life in Hamilton Inlet. New research continues to support much of what he proposed; however, important aspects of his interpretation are also beginning to be revised.

Perhaps the earliest archaeologist to visit Hamilton Inlet was Jorgen Meldgaard. On behalf of the Danish National Museum, he was conducting surveys of the Labrador coast in search of evidence for Viking sites in 1956. Helge Ingstad and Anne Steine came shortly thereafter in the early 1960s conducting similar surveys. They did not publish any

of their research, but Fitzhugh (1972:82) and Kaplan (1983:410) report their visit to Eskimo Island. Neither party conducted excavations, as Inuit history was not the focus of their project.

In 1968 and 1969, William Fitzhugh of the Smithsonian Institution carried out the first extensive survey work in Hamilton Inlet, focusing on the north shore of Groswater Bay, the Narrows between Groswater Bay and Lake Melville, and a few targeted locations at Northwest River, Mulligan and Sebaskachu Bays on the north side of Lake Melville and the head of Grand Lake. The south shore of Lake Melville was also surveyed, although less thoroughly. The results of this work are reported in his 1972 volume, *Environmental Archaeology and Cultural Systems of Hamilton Inlet, Labrador*, and include a thorough interpretation of sites representing nearly 5,000 years of human occupation, as well as evaluating environmental variability and natural resources in order to define settlement-subsistence patterns for the various cultures he identified.

During this survey, Fitzhugh (1972:82-85) reported five Inuit winter house sites in the Narrows, as well as several summer occupation sites on the islands in the bay and other Inuit features such as burial cairns. Inuit sod house ruins on Eskimo Island, already known by people living in the region, were evaluated and divided into three sites (Eskimo Island 1, 2 and 3) based on physical properties and groupings. Test pits were dug at each of the sites to evaluate the state of preservation and artifacts were collected representing traditional Inuit and European materials. Surveys identified the previously unknown site of Double Mer Point. No test pitting was recorded at this site, although several artifacts were recovered. An Inuit component at Snooks Cove was recorded, but the complex

nature of the site and its modern occupation precluded any excavation at the time.

Regarding the Inuit presence in Hamilton Inlet, Fitzhugh (1972:193) concluded that Inuit first arrived around 1500, as cooler environmental conditions extended desirable marine hunting conditions down the Labrador coast, although he adds that desire to trade with Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle may also have been a motivating factor.

Beginning in 1973 and continuing in 1975, Richard Jordan of Bryn Mawr College, in conjunction with the Smithsonian Institution, conducted fieldwork in Hamilton Inlet focusing on the Inuit winter houses in the Narrows. The results of this work were published in a series of articles during the following years (Jordan 1974, 1976, 1977, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980).

Fieldwork in 1973 (Jordan 1974) began with the complete excavation of Eskimo Island 3, House 1, since Fitzhugh's survey suggested this site may be the oldest Inuit site in Hamilton Inlet, and the house structure resembled that of earlier Thule houses from northern locations. In addition, test pits were excavated in nearly every winter house known, including the other three houses at Eskimo Island 3, the three houses at Double Mer Point, two houses at Snooks Cove, and four cabins at Caravalla Cove. The goal for the season was to establish a chronology of occupation among the sites. Jordan returned to the Narrows in 1975 to refine his previous assessments. Large-scale excavations of Eskimo Island 1 House 2 and Eskimo Island 2 House 5 were conducted (Kaplan 1983:413, 415), along with additional test pits at Double Mer Point and Ticoralak Head (Jordan [1975]).

Jordan synthesized the results of his research into a time-line of Inuit occupation

in the Narrows and a generalized overview of Inuit life in central Labrador (Jordan 1976, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Jordan divided the occupation of Hamilton Inlet into four phases named for the type of relationship that existed between Inuit and Europeans during each era. The first phase, Colonization (or Colonization and Raiding Period (Jordan 1976)), covers the period from the initial arrival of Inuit in Hamilton Inlet until 1700, roughly the 17th century (Jordan 1978). This period, represented by the settlement at Eskimo Island 3, consisted of a few Inuit families living in small, single-family sod houses. European objects are present in these houses; however, they consist primarily of nails and other iron pieces that have been modified into tools for Inuit use. Very few unaltered European items were found, suggesting the Inuit of this time were not in extensive trade relationships with Europeans, but rather acquired goods through forays to the Strait of Belle Isle to raid fishing camps (Jordan 1978:176). Faunal assemblages from this period suggest a nearly complete reliance on seals for food, with equal numbers of harp, harbour and ringed seal remains, and almost no caribou remains present.

Jordan's second era, the Intermittent Trading Period, covers the 18th century and is represented by Eskimo Island 1 and Double Mer Point (Jordan 1976:24). This period is characterized by large sod structures, known as communal houses, that housed multiple related families through the winter, and the abundance of formalized trade goods. During this period Inuit were in regular contact with Europeans, primarily the French, and had acquired a wide variety and large number of European materials that were being used in both traditional and new activities. Inuit were involved in long-distance trading networks along the Labrador coast, bringing products such as sea mammal oil, baleen and feathers

south and sending European goods to Inuit populations in the north. This may have been part of the reason for the sudden implementation of communal houses, and will be discussed further below.

Of particular interest in this period is Jordan's interpretation of the relationship between the sites of Eskimo Island 1 and Double Mer Point. The partial excavation of Eskimo Island 1 House 2 revealed human skull fragments and musket balls. Jordan (1978:81) believed this was evidence of a violent attack on the residents by Innu, Amerindians living in the western reaches of Lake Melville and the Labrador interior, backed by the French, as part of the ongoing conflict between the French and English for control of trade. One skull fragment from a different house was filled with beads and placed on the entrance tunnel, perhaps as a warning (Jordan 1976:24, 1977:45, 1978:181). As a result of this attack, Jordan argued that the Inuit moved to Double Mer Point about 1760, in order to take advantage of the defensive position of the point and its panoramic view of Groswater Bay and the Narrows. They continued to reside there until about 1800, at which point they relocated back to Eskimo Island (Eskimo Island 2).

This somewhat fantastic interpretation was supported with relatively little evidence, and needs to be reevaluated. Woollett (2003:255, 262) points out that Jordan's excavation methods and notes left many details of the houses shrouded in uncertainty. The skull fragment containing the beads was recovered from Eskimo Island 2, House 6, where only four test pits were apparently excavated: one each in the entrance tunnel, the house interior, and the midden to the north of the entrance tunnel in 1973 (Jordan 1974:Fig. 2), and a second in the entrance tunnel in 1975 (Jordan [1975]) . The house is

set apart from the other two houses of Eskimo Island 2, and is separated from Eskimo Island 1 by a large midden (Jordan 1974:Fig 2). There was not enough material recovered to tell for certain when the house was occupied and if that coincides more closely with Eskimo Island 1 or 2 (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42; Kaplan 1983:419). In addition, the first archaeologists to visit Eskimo Island in 1956 reported that the burial cairns on the island had been disturbed and looted (Kaplan 1983:410). Without further excavation of House 6, the implications of the human remains will continue to be unknown. With current knowledge, it is more plausible that the remains were disturbed by later visitors to the site (Woollett 2003:264). An alternative explanation for the destruction of the island is disease, specifically smallpox introduced by the Inuk woman Caubvik upon her return from England (Pritchard n.d.; Townsend 1911:260-61). However, Fitzhugh (1972:91) has suggested that the location of this tragedy may have been Big Black Island in eastern Groswater Bay. Renewed studies of the sites at Eskimo Island, including excavations with more stratigraphic control are needed to clarify the Inuit occupation of the sites.

Jordan's third period, the Trading Post Period (or Trapping and European Settlement Period), covers approximately the first three quarters of the 19th century. During this time, Europeans were starting to settle permanently in Hamilton Inlet, bringing diseases and marrying into Inuit families. Fur trade posts became permanent businesses, encouraging Inuit to engage in trapping in order to acquire goods. As a result, communal house living was abandoned for single-family dwellings once more, and the long-distance trade networks of the 18th century largely collapsed. Eskimo Island 2 represents the beginning of this era, while the dispersed settlements at Snooks Cove,

Caravalla Cove, Ticoralak Head and Moliak Cove were thought to be the principle examples (Jordan 1974:85, 1978:181).

Finally, the Modern Period, from 1870 to the present, is described as a continuation of the trends seen in the early 19th century. This period is only briefly discussed in Jordan's 1976 article, and is left out of later articles whose discussion ends with the Trading Post era.

Susan Kaplan's comprehensive 1983 dissertation grew out of research conducted for the Torngat Archaeological Project in 1977 and 1978. The project was a large-scale survey of Inuit archaeological sites in northern Labrador as far south as Hamilton Inlet. Her research focused on Inuit culture-history and how they adapted to the social and environmental conditions in Labrador. She divides Thule/Inuit history in Labrador into three periods, similar to those delineated by Jordan, calling them the Early (15th-17th c.), Middle (18th c.) and Late (19th-20th c.) Periods.

While most of Kaplan's points about Hamilton Inlet are in agreement with Jordan, there are a few differences. First, in her site descriptions, Kaplan allows for more ambiguity in the interpretation of Eskimo Island 2. Her more complete description of the artifacts from House 5 suggest that the house may have been occupied in the second half of the 18th century, with the possibility of early 19th century components as well (Kaplan 1983:415-19). Similarly, the occupation of House 6 is not completely clear, although a padlock like one found on a shipwreck indicates the occupation may include 1770-80 (*ibid*., 419). Jordan's dramatic interpretation of the skull and beads at Eskimo Island 2 House 6 is also tempered. Regarding Double Mer Point, Kaplan agrees with Jordan's

assessment of an 18th-century date, however, she admits that the chronological relationship with the sites at Eskimo Island is unclear (*ibid*., 444), setting the stage for further refinements in the chronology of Inuit occupation in the Narrows.

In the 1990s, James Woollett (1999, 2003, 2007) began a programme of study centred around faunal remains collected from several Labrador Inuit sod house sites, including those recovered by Jordan in Hamilton Inlet. The purpose of the studies was to evaluate competing theories for the rise of the communal house phase based on subsistence data and paleoenvironmental records (see below). While Wollett (2003:265) questioned the simplicity of the site occupations as presented by Jordan, he used the general dates provided to group the houses for his study. Jordan reported very little about the faunal assemblage from his research, so Woollett's study was the first in-depth assessment of Inuit subsistence patterns in Hamilton Inlet.

Woollett (1999:376) grouped the sites by time period and combined the faunal remains from all of the houses in each group in order to look at the changes in subsistence over time. Groups consisted of 1) Eskimo Island 3 – late 16th-early 18th c.; 2) Eskimo Island 1 and Double Mer Point - 18th c.; 3) Eskimo Island 2 – late 18th-mid 19th c.; 4) Snooks Cove – late 19th c. Woollett (2007) observed that, like other Labrador Inuit regions, seals dominated the faunal assemblages, with very few large marine mammals such as whale or walrus, and relatively few land mammals such as caribou. Small numbers of dogs and fur-bearing mammals were also noted, but these were not generally used as a food source. Harp seals, hunted primarily during their fall migration to the south, were the most important seal species, with ringed and harbour seals making up the

bulk of the remaining seals. The minimal presence of bearded seals, which are found out on the floe ice, suggest nearby habitats of the fast ice and polynyas were the primary seal hunting grounds (Woollett 1999:376). Interestingly, Woollett (2007:Table 7, Fig. 5) also observed a fluctuating ratio of ringed to harbour seal remains among the groups. Since ringed seals are hunted at breathing holes through solid ice, and harbour seals are hunted in open water at the edge of fast ice, he used the seals as a proxy for environmental conditions. Higher numbers of ringed seals, as seen at Eskimo Island 3 and 2, indicate more ice, while higher numbers of harbour seals, such as at Eskimo Island 1/Double Mer Point and Snooks Cove, indicate more open water. This observation is corroborated by paleoenvironmental data (Woollett 1999). Woollett therefore suggested that the communal house phase came about as organized groups were required to successfully hunt in the warmer open-water conditions of the 18th century (Woollett 1999:383).

While Woollett used Jordan's basic assessment of the occupation of the various Hamilton Inlet sites, he also points out some of the challenges of working with Jordan's results. For his research, Woollett was concerned about Jordan's field methods, particularly the large excavation units, the lack of stratigraphic control, and the collection methods. Based on the available information, it is difficult or impossible to determine if any of the material recovered may be the result of neighbouring houses using an abandoned house as a trash dump, leading to mixed assemblages. In addition, when looking at Eskimo Island 2 House 5 Woollett recognized that the interior dividing wall noted by Jordan was in fact a late addition to the structure, and may even be a small, younger house built on top of the larger communal house structure. This would help

explain the two possible groups of dates from the house, one from the late 18th century and one from the first half of the 19th century.

In 2009 and 2010, Brian Pritchard and Eliza Brandy, graduate students at Memorial University of Newfoundland, carried out excavations at Snooks Cove at the southern end of the Narrows (Brandy 2013a, Pritchard n.d.). Pritchard's doctoral research focused on the experience of the Inuit at Snooks Cove during an era of rapid cultural changes and interactions with Europeans in Hamilton Inlet, while Brandy's master's research examined Inuit animal use and the possibility of using faunal remains to distinguish Inuit, Métis and settler households in the archaeological record.

Pritchard and Brandy excavated two houses at Snooks Cove, re-designating Jordan's (1974) Houses 1 and 2 as Houses 3 and 4 respectively, due to the identification of other structures at the site (Brandy 2013a:35). House 3 was revealed to be a plank cabin-style structure with an entrance tunnel and raised rear platform, as well as a hearth area paved with stones. The artifact assemblage suggested that it was occupied during the 1860s to about 1940, which local residents were able to corroborate. House 4 had more traditional Inuit architecture, being semi-subterranean, sod and plank construction with a raised rear platform and a long entrance tunnel with a small storage alcove and cold trap. The floor had several areas of paving stones, and a hearth area. House 3 was the earlier occupation, dating from about 1790 to the 1870s. The two houses show significant Inuit organizational trends and artifacts, even into the late 19th century when Europeans were settling the area and various trading posts were competing for business with native populations.

Brandy's (2013a) evaluation of animal use at the site showed a typical Inuit reliance on seal for food, but House 3 differed from the earlier House 4 in the large number of bird remains. While birds are not uncommon in Inuit faunal assemblages, the large quantity of birds and the proportionally lower number of seal remains bespoke changes in the lifestyle of the Inuit at House 3. By comparing this site to other Inuit, Métis and European sites throughout the Labrador coast, Brandy showed the uniqueness of this smaller proportion of seal, suggesting that Inuit at House 3 may have been trading seal at the Hunt & Henley Company post in Snooks Cove or the Hudson's Bay Company post in Rigolet and relying on other resources for subsistence (*ibid*., 117).

Pritchard's interests revolved around Inuit responses to European colonialism in Labrador and the gaps in understanding the trajectory of Inuit and European interactions. Excavations at Snooks Cove addressed both of these areas, and bring to light some of the reasons for the current research. Due to the complexity of the site and ambiguous notions of who occupied the two houses at Snooks Cove, Jordan's research there was limited (Jordan 1974; Pritchard n.d.). The recent rediscovery of the 1872 Reichel map in Moravian archives confirmed that Inuit families occupied the houses, and opened the way for directed archaeological research (Pritchard n.d.). Previously, Jordan (1974, Fig. 7) suggested an occupation for Snooks Cove in the second half of the 19th century, a date that has been used for interpretations of Inuit life in all subsequent research. Excavations revealed the the occupation began as early as the late 18th century and spanned well into the 20th century. This means that Snooks Cove was likely occupied contemporaneously with Eskimo Island 2 during the early 19th century (Pritchard n.d.). As Eskimo Island 2

was abandoned, more Inuit settled in Snooks Cove, Ticoralak Head and Moliak Cove, suggesting that the Inuit population in this region was thriving (Pritchard n.d.) rather than struggling as Jordan (1978:181) proposed. Pritchard's research opens the door for further reconsideration of the culture history of Hamilton Inlet, to which the excavation of Double Mer Point House 2 hopes to contribute.

Since Fitzhugh's survey in 1968, little exploration of the coastlines of Hamilton Inlet has been completed. Beginning in 2012, Jamie Brake and the Nunatsiavut Archaeology Office began surveying the region around Rigolet to confirm known archaeological sites and identify previously unrecorded sites (Brake 2013). In 2012, several late-19th to early-20th century cabin sites were identified around Double Mer, as well as Inuit summer tent rings at several sites on the north shore of Groswater Bay. During a brief trip in 2013, the location of the first church in Hamilton Inlet, at Lester's Point on the south side of the Narrows, was identified (Brake 2014). This was a Methodist Church established in 1887 by Mr. Albert A. Holmes, of Newfoundland (Brake 2014; Young 1931:65). During the summer of 2014, Brake continued to survey in Double Mer, parts of the Backway, and the southern shore of Groswater Bay (Brake and Davies 2015). Cabin locations from the 19th and early 20th centuries were located in Double Mer and the Backway, as well as several more tent ring locations and other Inuit features such as caches and cairns. The most significant finds were two possible Inuit sod houses. The first was found on Palliser Point, on the north side of Double Mer just west of Double Mer Point. A slight depression and a midden were tested, and materials tentatively dating to the late 18th-early 19th century were recovered (Brake and Davies 2015:27). The name

Palliser Point is intriguing, and may suggest historic connections to the famous Inuit woman Mikak and her son Tatuac, whom she renamed Palliser after returning from a voyage to England in 1767 (for more of Mikak's story, see Fay 2013). Mikak and Palliser had connections to Hamilton Inlet, and in the 1780s are reported to have spent much time there. Ultimately, Palliser would settle somewhere in the bay, and his death was recorded in the 1820s by Methodist missionary Thomas Hickson (Brake and Davies 2015:28-29; Young 1931:30-32). The other site, on the south shore of Groswater Bay, has been designated Broomfield's Point. The remains of three potential sod houses were identified, and material culture found in test pits indicates a 19th-century date. While Inuit or European affiliation is not certain at this time, Inuit characteristics are apparent (Brake and Davies 2015:29).

2.2 Inuit Communal Houses

Inuit sod houses have been the focus of most archaeological research due to their visibility and easy identification on the landscape. Other types of dwellings, such as tents and snow houses, leave little or no trace by comparison. Sod houses were the primary winter dwelling, taking advantage of the insulating properties of the earth and snow, and were generally located near ice-free areas for winter hunting (Kaplan 1985). Architecturally, they were constructed with a whalebone and/or timber framework, depending on available materials, covered with skins, then with sods. They typically have an entrance tunnel with a step-up into the house, trapping the cold air in the lower tunnel and providing additional insulation. Raised sleeping platforms ran along one or more

walls, with lampstands and cooking stations along the edge of the platform. The interiors were lit and heated with soapstone lamps that burned sea mammal fats; these lamps were also used to cook food in soapstone vessels suspended above them. Benches were covered with plant material, such as moss or tree boughs, then hides and furs to make them more comfortable. Additional twigs and moss on the paved stone floors may have prevented materials freezing to the floor and allowed for occasional cleaning.

Large multifamily sod houses, known as communal houses, are unique to 18th-century Labrador and western Greenland (Kaplan 1983:348). The reasons for their use, when earlier and later time periods, as well as other areas of the Arctic, had only single-family dwellings, has been explored from multiple angles (Brewster 2006; Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Murphy 2012; Rankin 2009; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1971, 1976a, 1976b; Whitridge 2008; Woollett 1999, 2007) and is not yet completely understood. Through the complete excavation of a communal house, this research hopes to add to the discussion.

2.2.1 Inuit Winter House Chronology

The early sod houses of the Thule pioneers are small rounded to rectangular structures, generally with one sleeping platform on the wall opposite the entrance tunnel (Kaplan 1985:49). Some houses had small alcoves, or multiple houses sharing one entrance tunnel (Schledermann 1971:36). These structures likely housed one family, and several are usually found together in settlements on islands of the outer coast (Kaplan 1983). This settlement structure was used until the late 17th century in northern and central

Labrador (Jordan 1978:174; Schledermann 1971:34). Material culture in these early houses comprises primarily Inuit-made objects of stone, whalebone and wood, with small amounts of European materials, typically nails and other iron fragments worked into Inuit forms.

In the early 18th century (and as early as the mid-17th century in southern Labrador (Murphy 2012; Rankin 2014b:46)) much larger sod houses appear. These were identified by Bird (1945) near Hopedale, and the term "communal house," originally used to describe similar Inuit structures in Greenland, was applied by Schledermann (1971). These larger houses are characterized by their rectangular shape, long entrance tunnel, multiple sleeping platforms and multiple lampstands (Kaplan 1985:59). Communal houses typically have an abundance of European materials indicating direct and extensive trading relationships, along with traditional Inuit artifacts. Communal houses are typically located in protected bays and harbours, where access to a variety of marine and terrestrial resources is possible (Kaplan 1983), and often in groups of two or more houses. Moravian records from northern Labrador indicate that communal houses would host on average 20 individuals, with some of the larger ones housing up to 40 people (Taylor 1974a:73). Residents were typically an extended family consisting of a head man and his wife, his married sons and their families (*ibid.*, 74).

The earliest big houses in Sandwich Bay are slightly different from their counterparts further north and later in time. While the size, architecture and arrangement may be comparable, the distribution of artifacts within these houses suggests that the families in them were not living in a communal fashion (Rankin 2014b:46-48). Various

types of materials were restricted to limited areas of the house, suggesting that control of those items was maintained by one family, rather than sharing it among all the inhabitants. This may be a phenomenon of the southern Inuit; however, further research is needed (*ibid*.).

Over the course of the 19th century, Inuit and Inuit-Métis families once again began living in single-family homes (Kaplan 1983:371). By this time, European influence on family structure and housing was strong. Among the Moravian missions, sod houses were considered unsanitary, and polygynous relationships ungodly (Brice-Bennett 1981:103; Pritchard n.d.; Whitridge 2008). Near Hudson's Bay Company posts, fur trapping was encouraged, which required dispersed winter houses in order to effectively trap enough to earn a living on company credit (L. Fitzhugh 2009:36-37; Kaplan 1983:183-84). European settlers, accustomed to nuclear dwellings, encouraged their Inuit spouses to live independently as well. Houses during this period took on characteristics of European structures, transitioning to cabins and plank houses. Identification of the inhabitants' ethnicity at 19th-century house sites is complicated, and archaeologists are just beginning to tackle methods of distinguishing between Inuit, European, and Inuit-Métis structures through architecture, food remains and material culture (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin *et al*. 2010; Brandy 2013a, 2013b; Rankin n.d.).

2.2.2 Theories on the Adoption of Communal Houses

Theories for the reasons behind the adoption of communal houses can be divided into two broad categories, environmental and socioeconomic. Early ideas were relatively

straightforward, focusing on one aspect at a time. Realistically, however, a combination of proposals is likely to represent the true situation, as complex relationships between people and their environment are further studied and understood.

Environmental reasons for the communal house form were first proposed by Schledermann (1971, 1976a, 1976b), then revised by Woollett (1999, 2007). Schledermann (1976a:39) pointed to difficult climactic conditions during the Little Ice Age (1550-1850), suggesting that with increased ice cover during the coldest periods, whale hunting would be considerably limited. Seals, available even in these difficult times, became the primary food source. However, seals were typically shared only at the household level (unlike whales, which were divided among the entire community), so households with less successful hunters would suffer more. By combining households, the meat and fat could be dispersed further into the community (Schledermann 1976b:35). Woollett (1999, 2003, 2007) countered this argument, looking more closely at paleoenvironmental records in conjunction with faunal evidence from several sites in Labrador. He showed that the 18th century was actually a time of stable climatic conditions and moderate temperatures, leading to more open water (Woollett 1999:383). Since open-water sealing was done in cooperative fashion from boats (Woollett 1999:376), communal houses allowed easier organization and cooperation of hunting parties within communities (Woollett 2003:641).

One of the primary theories for the rise of the communal house is an economic model championed by Jordan (1977, 1978). During the 18th century, trade developed between Inuit, providing whale and seal products, and Europeans, bringing iron and other

trade goods. As individual head men of families gained leadership, skill, prestige and wealth by managing the supply of sea mammal products, negotiations with foreigners, and the redistribution of the acquired goods, they attracted followers and were able to support larger households (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). In turn, the larger household provided labour to aid in the logistics of managing the trade (Rankin 2009:32).

Adding members to the household may have been a means to share the trade goods with more members of the community, if the traditional extent of sharing such materials was limited to the household level (Jordan 1978:184). However, Richling (1993) proposes an alternative. Inuit cultural traditions of sharing and reciprocity may dictate that resources be shared throughout extensive kin networks. When a given resource, in this case European material goods, is rare, methods often develop to limit the sharing networks in order to avoid over-extending the resource (Richling 1993:74). The communal house, suggests Richling, is just such a mechanism, limiting the sharing to within the larger household.

Realistically, the reasons behind the use of communal houses as a physical and social structure are likely complex, blending various environmental, economic and social aspects. A good example is that provided by Kaplan and Woollett (2000). In this approach, environmental factors allow for groups of Inuit to acquire a surplus of resources. With less danger of food shortages, communities can invest in the resources needed to mount large trading expeditions, exchanging excess manpower and sea mammal products for European goods, which bring further prestige and wealth. In addition to a network of supporters, communal houses may also have been part of a show

of identity and solidarity in the face Europeans bent on changing social and spiritual practices (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:357).

Chapter 3: Europeans in Labrador and Hamilton Inlet

3.1 Europeans in Labrador: Historical Overview

One cannot discuss the Inuit presence in Labrador without also discussing the Europeans. The histories of both groups are intertwined from their earliest arrivals. In this chapter, an overview of the European presence in Labrador will be provided in order to understand the context of Double Mer Point. The first part of the chapter will address Labrador as a whole, while the second section will examine Hamilton Inlet in more detail. This discussion will cover the period between about 1500 and 1900 CE, with particular attention paid to the 18th century. While the Norse may have visited Labrador (Markland) to access wood resources as early as 1000 CE (Zimmerly 1975:41-42), archaeological evidence is lacking, and Thule/Inuit are unlikely to have come into contact with them there (Rankin 2009:15).

3.1.1 Basque and Dutch Whaling Enterprises, 16th-17th Century

European history in Labrador begins about 1498, when John Cabot explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence and reported back to England the abundance of cod and other resources (Tuck and Grenier 1981; Zimmerly 1975:43). Basque fishers and whalers were among the first to begin working the southern Labrador coastline, fishing for cod as early as 1535 and hunting whales by 1543 (Loewen and Delmas 2012:223). Whale oil was a valuable commodity, used primarily in the textile industry and, to a lesser extent, for

lighting, soap making, pharmaceuticals and other industries (Loewen and Delmas 2012:217). Basque ships left Europe during May and June and they stayed in Labrador as late as the ice would allow, usually December or January (Tuck and Grenier 1981). Materials to construct shore-based rendering stations, such as red clay roof tiles, nails and construction tools, as well as cooper's equipment and *chaloupas*, the small boats used in the whale hunt, were brought from Europe and cached on site when crews left during the off-season (Kaplan 1983:160). The whaling industry was incredibly lucrative, and provided whale oil and baleen for insatiable European markets until 1578, when England banned the importation of Basque whale oil in a bid for control of the Strait of Belle Isle (Loewen and Delmas 2012:224-25). Basque whaling sites have been documented at 13 locations in the Strait, including East St. Modeste (Semadet), Red Bay (Butus), and Chateau Bay (Xateau), among others (Loewen and Delmas 2012; Tuck and Grenier 1981). Basque presence in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Strait of Belle Isle continued until the mid-18th century, albeit in less archaeologically noticeable ways. Whaling was dramatically reduced, and cod fishing became the primary industry (Loewen and Delmas 2012). Shore stations became much more ephemeral when the large ovens for processing whale blubber were no longer needed.

Dutch interests gained the upper hand in the European whaling industry, with primary hunting grounds near Spitsbergen (Kaplan 1983:160). Forays into the north Atlantic brought them to the Labrador coast in the 17th century. During seasonal trips to the Davis Strait sporadic trade with Inuit groups would take place (L. Fitzhugh 2009:24; Kaplan 1983:162-65). These encounters continued into the 18th century, when Dutch

documents show trade with Inuit was encouraged, albeit cautiously due to the dangerous nature of the Inuit (Kaplan 1983). This floating trade brought small, though profitable, amounts of seal skins, ivory and sea mammal oil to Europe as a fringe benefit of the whaling industry.

3.1.2 French Fishing and Settlement, pre-1763

During the 16th and 17th centuries, French interests were also drawn to Labrador's coasts, where a seasonal fishery was established (Crompton 2014; Trudel 1978). While the fishery in Newfoundland flourished, that in Labrador was hampered by Inuit raids (Trudel 1978). Inuit in southern Labrador were well aware of the seasonality of the European fishery, and would often steal supplies that had been cached for the winter after the fishermen left. Structures would even be burned so as to expose the iron nails, one of the most popular commodities found at Inuit archaeological sites (Kaplan 1983). Summertime raids were also common and typically violent, leading to deaths in both camps, and a reputation that was difficult to overcome and often justified (L. Fitzhugh 2009:25; Kaplan 1983:167; Martijn 2009; Trudel 1978).

In 1713 the tumultuous relationship between England and France resolved itself temporarily in the Treaty of Utrecht. At this time, France gave up Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and the Acadian peninsula to England, retaining Labrador, Cape Breton Island, and limited fishing rights off Newfoundland. Consequently, French exploration of southern Labrador began in earnest, leading to a system of concessions to guide the settlement and exploitation process (Crompton 2014; Trudel 1978). The king of France

granted concessions of land to individuals in perpetuity, in exchange for a small annual fee and a few obligations to the crown regarding resources and development. In return, the consessionaire was given exclusive rights to the seal fishery, the use of fishing grounds, and privilege of trading with native people, as well as competitive rights to the cod fishery (Crompton 2014; Trudel 1978:104). Concessions varied in size as the population grew. The Signeur de Courtemanche, for example, in 1704 was granted land from the river Kegaska (west of Mingan) to Hamilton Inlet (PC No 1417; Zimmerly 1975:44), while later land grants covered only four or five French leagues of coastline, and were of limited duration (Crompton 2014).

Prior to the Treaty of Utrecht, few French fishermen overwintered on the Labrador coast. The new policy of concessions encouraged year-round settlement and the development of shore-based fisheries and trading operations. Seal oil was particularly lucrative, and southern Labrador is a prime location to take advantage of the massive harp seal migration in the late fall and early spring (Martijn 2009:66-67). Preparations for the fishery were extensive, beginning three months before the arrival of the seals. The work afterwards was also considerable, as the fat had to be rendered and the skins cleaned and tanned in order to be shipped to Quebec when waters were once again navigable (Trudel 1978). Trade with Inuit was also encouraged, as a means of acquiring even more sea mammal oil for relatively little effort (Zimmerly 1975:46-47), though encounters were sporadic and their economic benefit marginal (Trudel 1978:107).

The majority of French operations took place in southern Labrador, particularly in the Strait of Belle Isle and to the west into Quebec. A few entrepreneurs made their way

further north as far as the Bay des Esquimaux (Groswater Bay), and will be discussed below. This southern concentration of Europeans had important impacts on the Inuit. It effectively created one entry point for European goods into the Inuit market, setting the stage for the extensive coastal trading networks that define 18th-century Inuit commerce and social relationships (Kaplan 1985). The often violent nature of the interactions between the groups may have affected population dynamics among the Inuit, leaving more women in the north searching for spouses as large numbers of men were killed in the southern forays (Whitridge 2008). It likely also lead to the relocation of Inuit settlements, some to get away from the European presence as colonizers took over more territory in the south (Kaplan 1983:167-68; Trudel 1978), while other Inuit may have moved to take advantage of the possibilities of wealth and prestige gained through trade (Rollmann 2010:12), or even occasionally to work directly with Europeans at fishing stations (Fitzhugh *et al*. 2011:122).

3.1.3 British Control, 1763 and Beyond

At the end of the Seven Years War, the 1763 Treaty of Paris gave control of Canada, including Labrador, to England. Along with the transfer of power came policy changes and additional interests that changed the landscape of European settlement on the Labrador coast. Sir Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland, first prohibited European year-round settlement in Labrador in order to give seasonal cod fishers equal opportunity to access prime fishing areas, and to avoid the conflicts between settlers and seasonal fishers that had been seen in Newfoundland (Zimmerly 1975:49-50). A secondary benefit

of this policy, Palliser hoped, would be to reduce the conflict between Inuit and Europeans (Kaplan 1983:169; Martijn 2009:81-82). By outlawing the various mistreatments of the Inuit, and establishing an official policy of trade in 1765, Palliser hoped to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the Inuit hunting and trapping skills to bring further economic advantage to the region (*ibid*.).

In 1773, the Crown reversed the ban on year-round settlement in Labrador, although annual re-supply shipments from England were required. The seal and salmon fisheries in Labrador were such that, in order to successfully beat the winter ice and make the journey to and from England, workers could not be present in Labrador during the prime seasons. In addition, considerable complaints had been made by those parties who had previously had land concessions from France and Canada. This reversal allowed those employed primarily by the seal and salmon fishery to overwinter and occupy appropriate-sized areas of rivers and bays (PC No. 274).

During the late 18th and early 19th century many independent trading companies and fishing operations got their start in southern Labrador, where their descendants still reside (L. Fitzhugh 2009). For example, John Slade, the founder of Slade & Company, came to Newfoundland in 1748, where he established a fishing business. By 1775 he was headquartered at Battle Harbour, and the community that grew up around his business was one of the largest in Labrador (L. Fitzhugh 2009:103). Some of his employees included William Blake, Sr. and Jr., John Blake, Samuel Luscombe, and William Phippard (*ibid*.). Another name of note during this time period is Captain George Cartwright, who established a trading post in Sandwich Bay in 1771, opening up the coast north of Cape

Charles to further European exploration and settlement. Cartwright made an effort to promote peaceful and respectful trade with the Inuit, and became friends with several individuals, even convincing a small group to return to England with him in 1770 (Stopp 2008). His journals and papers record his activities and attitude toward life in southern Labrador, providing a detailed look at the life of a trader and trapper during the late 18th century, as well as some insights into the lives of those around him, particularly the Inuit (Stopp 2008; Townsend 2003).

During the late 18th and into the 19th centuries the traders, and their servants and employees, made their way into the interior of Labrador pursuing furs. These men began to take native women, including Inuit, as wives, leading to the creation of the Labrador-Métis population that still dominates much of southern Labrador (Kennedy 2014).

British rule in Labrador also opened areas of northern Labrador to European influence through the work of Jens Haven and the Moravian missions. After successfully creating missions among the Greenland Inuit, Haven was eager to have an opportunity to reach the Labrador Inuit as well. An initial attempt by Johann Christian Erhardt to establish a mission near Hopedale in 1752 ended abruptly when the party was killed by Inuit (Cary 2009; Rollmann 2009a). This incident inspired Haven to pursue the Labrador mission. Further exploratory trips to Labrador were undertaken in 1764 and 1765, during which Haven was able to converse in Inuktitut with Inuit he encountered in southern Labrador and off the north coast of Newfoundland, passing along messages from Gov. Palliser, learning about the areas the Inuit lived, and giving small trinkets as gifts (Lysaght 1971; Martijn 2009:82-83). Based on this information, the Moravian church approached

Palliser and the British Board of Trade to ask for several large tracts of land on which to establish the missions, and over which the Moravians would have a complete monopoly of control, including over trade and settlement (Rollmann 2011). In 1769, an agreement was finally reached between the parties, and the Moravians were given one land grant of 100,000 acres in "Esquimaux Bay" (Hamilton Inlet) (PC No. 434:1321; Rollmann 2009b). The following year, Haven sailed to Labrador and chose a location for the mission, "purchasing" the land from the Inuit and setting up boundary marker stones. The site, located approximately 350 km north of Hamilton Inlet, was named Nain, and construction began in 1771. The discrepancy between the region designated by the official grant and the actual construction location may have been a navigational error by Haven and his crew (Brice Bennet 1981:18).

Unfortunately, Nain was a traditional summer living location, without the typical resources used by Inuit in the winter, so Inuit were not eager to stay at the site year-round. Consequently, the Moravians petitioned the government for further land grants, and were able to establish missions at Okak in 1776, and at Hopedale, near to and named for the original lost mission, in 1782 (Brice-Bennett 1981:19; Rollmann 2009b). Over the 19th and 20th centuries the missions continued to grow, and further locations were established at Hebron (1830), Zoar (1865), Ramah (1871), Makkovik (1896), and Killinek (1904). During the 19th century the missions at Hopedale and Makkovik took responsibility for Hamilton Inlet, occasionally sending ministers or converted Inuit to see to the needs of the Inuit around the Narrows (Rollmann 2010). It wasn't until the modern era that a Moravian church was located in Hamilton Inlet, at Goose Bay in 1943 and North West

River in 1960 (Rollmann 2006).

The goals of the mission were primarily bringing Christianity to the Inuit and settling them around the mission station, while at the same time encouraging select traditional ways of life (Rollmann 2009b). This was at least in part to try to keep the Inuit from travelling to southern Labrador to acquire trade goods, where conflict inevitably ensued and interfered with the English fishery (Martijn 2009; Rollmann 2011). By offering trade goods at the missions, not only would the Inuit have incentive to stay in the north, the mission would have a source of income to help support their work in such a remote location (Brice-Bennett 1981). However, the Moravian policy prohibiting the sale of firearms, powder and ammunition, intended to keep the Inuit hunting techniques as traditional as possible, resulted in people regularly heading south to acquire those items, as well as other materials such as sails and traps (Rollmann 2011, the policy was repealed in 1786). Despite the stated intention of maintaining traditional lifestyles, Moravian missionaries did much to disrupt Inuit ways of life, particularly in the social sphere. Christianization necessarily led to decrying shamanism (Brice-Bennet 1981:22-23; Sabathy-Judd 2009), while efforts to separate the converted from the unconverted Inuit broke up necessary networks and alliances, particularly regarding subsistence patterns and methods of sharing food along established lines (Brice-Bennet 1981:31-32; Kaplan and Woollett 2000:357; Rankin 2009:33).

In 1835, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) arrived on the Labrador coast. The powerful company quickly bought out smaller competitors as it worked to maintain a monopoly on the interior fur trade through the upper reaches of Hamilton Inlet (L.

Fitzhugh 2009:38; Zimmerly 1975:89-91), and put pressure on the lucrative Moravian trade with the Inuit in the north (L. Fitzhugh 2009). Men brought to work for the HBC often took Inuit or Métis wives, continuing the growth of the Labrador-Métis population. After their terms of service with the company, many chose to stay in Labrador, working as independent trappers or opening smaller operations on shares with the HBC (L. Fitzhugh 2009:39; Kennedy 1995). It was also during the 19th century that the "floater" fishery was developed by Newfoundlanders, who came to the Labrador coast during the summer, lived on their boats, and fished for cod (L. Fitzhugh 2009:40; Kennedy 1995).

3.2 Europeans in Hamilton Inlet

The European history of Hamilton Inlet mirrors that of southern Labrador, though on a much smaller scale in terms of population. In order to provide a picture of the Inuit experience in the Narrows, a more detailed look at those who lived and worked in Hamilton Inlet is presented. As above, this section will focus predominantly on the 18th century due to the time period of the Double Mer Point site.

3.2.1 Early Explorers and Mapmakers

The first definitive appearance of Hamilton Inlet on a map is in 1669, when it is called the "Baye Sauvage" on Sanson's map Amerique Septentrionale 1669 (PC No. 1234:3132). Later, the Amerique Septentrionale 1695 continues to call it the Baye Sauvage, but by 1700 it is called the "Grande Baye des Esquimaux" (*ibid*.). French mapmakers continue to include Hamilton Inlet, with more detail added by Fornel in 1743.

However, after 1763 most maps of the Labrador coast were made by British cartographers who lacked personal experience with the coast, and therefore had only the barest of information about the bay to present. It is not until 1825 that British maps have the level of detail known by the French 90 years earlier (PC No. 1234:3132-33).

Legends of a possible Norse viking death by Indian arrow in Lake Melville aside (Zimmerly 1975:42), the first European known to have visited Hamilton Inlet is Sieur Augustin le Gardeur, or the Signeur de Courtemanche (Zimmerly 1975:44). In 1702 he was granted a large piece of New France, from the Kegaska River to the Kesasaskion (a variation on the Innu name for Hamilton Inlet, Kessassaskiou) (PC No. 1415). In 1704 Courtemanche explored his concession, describing its assets and inhabitants (PC No. 1417). It would appear that there were already a few Frenchmen resident in Hamilton Inlet and trading with the Inuit at this time. It is unknown whether Courtemanche went beyond the Narrows and entered Lake Melville (Zimmerly 1975).

An anonymous memoir on Labrador from 1715 expounds some of the benefits of Hamilton Inlet and the Esquimaux trade in general that need only be developed, but makes no mention of the Inuit or possible French inhabitants of the bay at that time (PC No. 1419; Zimmerly 1975).

3.2.2 Louis Fornel, 1742-1755

Sieur Jean-Louis Fornel is the first documented European to set up posts in Hamilton Inlet. A Frenchman from Quebec, Fornel had leased a sealing post in southern Labrador at Chateau Bay (L. Fitzhugh 2009:26; PC No. 1234; Stopp 2008:14). As early

as 1734 he applied for a concession including the Baye des Esquimaux (PC No. 1234), as Hamilton Inlet was then known; however, lack of funds prevented him exploring the bay and thus delayed consideration of his application (PC No. 1276). In 1742 the concession was granted (Zimmerly 1975) and in July 1743 Fornel set out from Chateau Bay in a chartered schooner to explore Esquimaux Bay. On July 11 the ship finally reached Esquimaux Bay after struggling against contrary winds. Fornel landed at a place about four miles east of Rigolet on the south shore of Groswater Bay (Fig. 1.1), erected two crosses and claimed the land for France, naming it Baye St. Louis (PC No. 1277). Due to time constraints on his charter, Fornel left a man named Jean Pilote, Pilote's son, and several Montagnais (Innu), along with supplies, to explore the bay. Fornel returned south, intending to send another ship to collect those left behind. Once again, weather and time took their toll, and two attempts to send help and supplies to the Pilotes were foiled. The men returned overland to southern Labrador to report on their activities (PC No. 1287).

Over the fall and winter of 1743-44, Pilote travelled to the head of Hamilton Inlet and established a small outpost at or near the site of North West River. He is also attributed with starting at post at Rigolet and one other unknown location, though it is unknown how long these posts were in operation. When he returned to southern Labrador, Pilote brought with him marten furs trapped in Hamilton Inlet, leaving his beaver furs behind to be retrieved later (PC No. 1287). Pilote noted the geography of Hamilton Inlet, then Fornel used that information to create a map of the east-west extent of the water-course (Handcock 2007; PC No. 1234). This map was the basis of the maps used by Jens Haven and the Moravians during their exploratory 1765 journey (Handcock 2007;

Rollmann 2013), and likely other maps that included the Labrador coast, such as Bellin's official French chart of the "Golphe de St. Laurent," published by the Département de la Marine, Paris, in 1753 (PC No. 1234:3132).

Regarding the Inuit in Hamilton Inlet, Fornel's journal says little. The Inuit he met were further south along the coast, but he was able to trade with them for "whale fins," and, though extremely cautiously, made use of their navigational knowledge to get through some complicated sections of coastline (PC No. 1277). The map from the journey indicates one island location in the centre of of Hamilton Inlet just west of a large peninsula as the "ile ou les Esquimaux hyvernent." This is likely Eskimo Island, in the Narrows west of the Back Bay. No indication is made of Inuit living in the area of Double Mer Point. An area near what is now North West River is indicated as the "Habitation des Sauvages." If the habit of distinguishing between Indians and Eskimos was already in use as it was in the 1780s (PC No. 1298), this likely indicates the presence of Montagnais (Innu) in that region.

Fornel died in 1745 (PC No. 1287), and in 1749 the concession was passed on to his widow, Marie-Anne Barbel (PC No. 1284), for an additional 12 years. Her competitors, Cugnet and Estèbe, opposed this change on the grounds that the King would benefit further by making the land part of the Dumaine du Roy and reaping profits from the fur trade for the crown (PC No. 1279, 1287). Cugnet argues that, though the stated intention of the concession was to establish sealing posts, Fornel's true intentions were for the fur trade. This is apparent in Veuve Fornel et Cie's actions in the years following her concession, when boats were sent regularly to North West River to collect furs (Zimmerly

1974:49). Presumably hostilities of the Seven Years War (French and Indian War) ended economic activities in Hamilton Inlet about 1755 (L. Fitzhugh 2009:27; Zimmerly 1974:49).

3.2.3 Quebec Merchants, 1773-1836

By 1784, possibly as early as 1773 (PC No. 1234:3137-38) Quebec merchants return to Hamilton Inlet. The activities of two parties, headed by Jean Beliveau Plante and Pierre Marcoux, are documented due to a court case in which Plante accused his rival Marcoux of selling liquor to the Indians, an illegal activity in Quebec, and trading with the natives without a license (PC No. 1294). Plante and two companions overwintered in Esquimaux Bay in 1784-85, trading at North West River and with the intention of returning again the following winter (PC No. 1291). Marcoux, in his 1789 statement (PC No. 1301), stated that he had acquired his permit for 1784, but when he heard Plante had already left for the bay without a license, decided not to go that year. The following years Marcoux dutifully continued to apply for the annual permits, though due to weather was not able to get to Esquimaux Bay every year. The two traders built their establishments at North West River on opposite shores, and continued to harass each other and compete for trading privileges with natives that came to their posts (PC No. 1298, 1299). By 1788, Marcoux was in a position to expand his operations. In April, he constructed a cabin two leagues away, perhaps at Mulligan, “in order to try to get grease from the Esquimaux” (PC No. 1298). A fishing post at the entrance to the bay (probably Rigolet) was supposed to be built in 1787, but due to the late arrival of supplies it was presumably delayed until

the next year (PC No. 1298; Zimmerly 1975:54).

Since he was accused of selling liquor to Indians, Marcoux took great care to distinguish his activities with the Inuit (Esquimaux) and Innu (Indian) (PC No. 1298). Marcoux traded with the Inuit primarily for seal oil, but also some seal skins and white fox skins, giving them such things as needles, harpoons, blankets and even muskets (PC No. 1292, 1299). Most of the Inuit he interacted with spent their winters "on the island lying in the bay and some eighteen leagues distant from Mr. Marcoux's house" (PC No. 1299:1375), probably Eskimo Island, and their summers out on the islands in shallops and canoes, with a spring fishing season on the beaches. The Inuit at this time did not trap furs extensively, but spent most of their time seal fishing. The Montagnais (Innu), by comparison, spent their time inland, hunting and trapping in the woods and getting salmon out of the Grand (Churchill) River, with occasional forays to the coast to collect eggs or to hunt game seasonally (PC No. 1298, 1299).

Letters and statements reveal some more specifics about Marcoux's interactions with Inuit during 1786 and 1787. After his first winter in Esquimaux Bay in 1785/86, Marcoux brought an Inuit family with him when he returned to Quebec for the summer (PC No. 1301). This family, along with a "canoe and fishing utensils" was exhibited for the people of Quebec, and especially for the Hon. Henry Hope, Lieutenant-Governor at Chateau St. Louis. The Inuit returned as far as the Seal Islands with Marcoux that fall before bad weather prevented the ship from reaching Hamilton Inlet that winter. What happened to the family after this time is not known, though they may have continued to stay with Marcoux through the winter at Seal Islands as Marcoux refers to an Inuit man

who works for him later that spring (PC No. 1292). In Hamilton Inlet during the winter of 1787/88, Marcoux was apparently able to converse with at least one Inuit man named Loocoupiart or Loocoopiart, likely in French, as a newly arrived employee was able to understand and report on the conversation (PC No. 1298). During the spring of 1787, the result of trading with Inuit was 12 white fox skins and 2 3/4 barrels of oil (PC No. 1292).

Marcoux expanded his trading, fishing and furring north of Hamilton Inlet in the 1790s. The Moravians at Hopedale noted in 1788 that Inuit told them about Makko (Marcoux) and the trade he was conducting in Hamilton Inlet. The Inuit's description of Marcoux painted him a French Catholic, and he purportedly was offering "all kinds of goods to carry on a traffic with him" (reprinted in Brice Bennet 1981:38), as well as "religious advantages" without the limitations imposed by Moravian oversight (Davey 1905:249). This worried the Moravians, who were concerned about the spiritual lives of the Inuit at the missions, as well as the economic consequences of having a trade competitor (L. Fitzhugh 2009:252). In 1790 three Europeans from Marcoux's business in Chateau Bay arrived just a little south of Hopedale and built a structure. In 1791, Robert Collingham, a former partner of George Cartwright, planned to set up a salmon station with Marcoux at Kippokak, a few leagues south of Hopedale (Stopp 2008:32). By 1795, men were overwintering at Kippokak, trapping and looking to trade with the Inuit from Hopedale and Avertok (Brice-Bennett 1981:38-39). The post at Kippokak seems to have remained part of the business assets belonging to the successive owners of the Marcoux establishments; in 1836 D.R. Stewart (see below) had three posts – at North West River, Rigolet and Kippokak (PC No. 1234:3142).

In 1799 parties representing the Plante and Marcoux establishments, Jean Baptiste Dumontier and Jean Belliveau of the first part and Jean Baptiste Vachon and Joseph Faucher of the second part, agreed to a four-year deal combining their operations in Hamilton Inlet (PC No. 1302), and then proceeded to hire five employees to serve roles as clerk, blacksmith and gunsmith, cooper, navigator, and seaman at their various posts in Esquimaux Bay (PC No. 1303). This is the first time a post at Kenomish, on the south side of Lake Melville near Mud Lake, is mentioned. Another post called Newberry is also mentioned, but its location is unknown.

By 1815, the rights to the company had been passed to Dame Cecil Dumontier, daughter of Jean Baptiste Dumontier and widow of Michel Falardeau, and Jacob Pozer, her late husband's business partner (PC No. 1234:3140). Widow Dumontier leased her portion to Pozer. In 1823, after the death of Pozer, the estate changed hands three more times, until William Lampson purchased it in 1832. The Hudson's Bay Company by this time was making inroads on the Labrador coast. The Company and Lampson came to an agreement where the parties would not interfere with each others' trade at the King's Post and at the Esquimaux Bay posts (PC No. 1313). However, when Lampson sold the Esquimaux Bay business to Nathaniel Jones in 1834, this agreement was voided (*ibid.*), opening the way for aggressive moves by the HBC to ultimately acquire the posts at Rigolet and Northwest River from David Ramsey Stewart in 1837 (PC No. 1234:3142).

3.2.4 English Explorers and Settlers, 1778-1836

The first English trappers and settlers in Hamilton Inlet were William Phippard

and John Newhook (sometimes called Nooks or Knocks) (Davies 1843; Zimmerly 1975:53). In 1777, a letter from Jeremiah Coghlan to the Governor of Newfoundland establishes the men as Coghlan's employees at sealing and furring stations between Chateau Bay and Sandwich Bay (PC No. 392), working at half shares. Along with John Peaton, John Wrixsom and other employees, the men decided to take several of Coghlan's posts and run them for their own profit, though Phippard and Newhook may not have been the instigators of the incident. That same summer, one Charles Helinss [sic] and crew, also employees of Coghlan, ventured north from Coghlan's established territory to explore a bay "about 20 leagues to the northward of the aforesaid Mealey [sic] Mountains," where no Englishman had previously gone, in search of more profitable furring and fishing (cod and salmon) stations (PC No. 395). While not specifically named, Groswater Bay is approximately 20 leagues north of Partridge Bay, where Helinss was working in 1777, and north of the Mealy Mountains, fitting the description provided (also see Gosling 1910:382). The Governor, in response to Coghlan's complaints about Peaton and Wrixsom, issued an order forbidding Peaton and Wrixsom or their employees from interfering with Coghlan or his crew in the newly discovered bay, and giving sole permission to Coghlan and his employees to develop the new territory beginning in that same winter (*ibid.*).

It appears that Phippard, and perhaps Wrixsom, made amends with Coghlan later that summer, since in the winter of 1777-78, Phippard was sent to Groswater Bay to trap and trade, presumably on behalf of Coghlan (Way 2014:140). Wrixsom perished in the spring of 1778 near Sand Hill Cove after going out on an ice floe in an attempt to retrieve

some gear (*ibid*.). The following spring, after a second winter in Groswater Bay, Phippard returned with a variety of furs, including eight beaver skins and three wolverines to pay off Wrixsom's debt to Cartwright (Townsend 2003:268).

In addition to trapping, Phippard was also learning about the region. His explorations revealed the remains of three French settlements (Townsend 2003:269), generally assumed to be Fornel's posts at North West River, Rigolet, and another unknown location (PC No. 1234:3137). He built up contacts among the native inhabitants, trading with Montagnais (Innu) for furs and receiving a map of the bay drawn on a piece of birch bark from an Inuk (Townsend 2003:269; Way 2014:142). Phippard also discovered the fate of an Inuit woman whom Cartwright had previously brought to England. Phippard found a medal on an island with many dead Inuit, which Cartwright recognized as one he had given to the woman Caubvick. The other Inuit who were taken with her to England died of smallpox on the journey, and Cartwright believed Caubvick carried the disease back to Labrador when she was returned, thus submitting her community to a new outbreak (Stopp 2008:28; Townsend 2003:261; Way 2014:141). Cartwright's account does not give more information concerning the precise location of the island where Phippard found the medal. Fitzhugh (1972:91) suggested it may be Big Black Island in eastern Groswater Bay, where a large historic Inuit summer habitation site has been identified, accompanied by about 20 burial cairns.

In 1780 Phippard and Newhook once again went to Groswater Bay, however, in the spring no ship returned to pick them up. The story of their settlement experience was recounted by Lydia Campbell in 1894 (Campbell 2000; Way 2014; Young 1931). The

men apparently settled on the south shore of Lake Melville near English River. Three years later a ship finally arrived, but the men decided to stay in Hamilton Inlet on their own. Having learned some Inuktitut and gotten to know some of the Inuit in the area, they moved to the Double Mer where there was a small Inuit settlement and took Inuit wives. Several years later, on an overland trip toward Kenomish for supplies, Newhook was killed by his Inuit brother-in-law. Phippard lived out his days at Double Mer, leaving a son from his Inuit wife, Sarah, as one of the first Inuit-Métis in Hamilton Inlet. Their descendants continue to reside in Hamilton Inlet and throughout the province today (Way 2014). Further details about the location of the Inuit community joined by Phippard are not known. At this time, the most likely candidate is the Double Mer Point site. The newly discovered site at Palliser Point (Brake and Davies 2015) does not seem to be a likely candidate since only one house depression is currently identified, although the tentative date of late-18th to early-19th century is appropriate. Presumably, a community would consist of at least two structures. Further exploration at this site and along the shores of the Double Mer may discover other possibilities. The 1872 Reichel map indicates the location of a cabin belonging to J. Blake on the north shore of the Double Mer near the head of the inlet. This may be one of Phippard's descendants through his granddaughter Sarah (Way 2014), and an indication of another place to search for evidence of Phippard's story.

In 1787, Captain George Cartwright himself shows interest in Hamilton Inlet, applying for grant of land there to establish a seal fishery and to trade with the natives that lived in the bay (PC No. 319). His application for a grant including all the islands in

Touktoke Bay (Groswater Bay) and a strip of land up to one half mile above the high water line was considered by special committee in 1788. After Cartwright's success in Sandwich Bay and southern Labrador in the 1770s was brought to ruin by competition from the firm Noble & Pinson (Stopp 2008:25), he wanted to reestablish himself in Labrador, arguing that it was his efforts that established peaceful trade with the Inuit and a successful seal fishery. The committee denied the application, saying that they did not know if the extent of Canadian grants covered all of that territory, and that they were aware of Canadians having overwintered in the bay in 1785 and 1786 (*ibid.*; Stopp 2008:32).

Another early English settler known to history is Ambrose Brooks, the father of Lydia Brooks Campbell. Brooks arrived in Hamilton Inlet around 1800 when he was avoiding the British press gangs during the Napoleonic War (Campbell 2000:11; Stopp 2014:156). Brooks married an orphan Inuk woman whom he named Susan and they settled near Mulligan River while keeping a summer home at Moliak Cove (L. Fitzhugh 2009:322). Susan was born around 1788 and lived with relatives on Eskimo Island (*ibid.*). She ran away, making her way west along the shore of Lake Melville, until she was picked up by two French Canadians working at Mulligan (Baikie 1989; Zimmerly 1975:58-59). The next year, the family reclaimed her and later gave her in marriage to Brooks. The couple had three daughters, starting another line of mixed race descendants that are still present in the region.

Accounts of individual settlers during the early 19th century are sparse, probably maintained as oral history by their families, similar to the stories of Phippard, Newhook

and Brooks. In the 1820s, a series of Protestant ministers and missionaries began to make visits to Hamilton Inlet, and their accounts provide a picture of the population and lifeways of the people living in the region during this time.

In summer 1824 a Wesleyan Methodist minister named Thomas Hickson visited Hamilton Inlet (Laing 2011; Young 1931:19; Zimmerly 1975:60-63). During his stay, Hickson noted the many mixed families that were already formed. In his assessment of the population Hickson did not note any white or Amerindian women (Zimmerly 1975:63), and many of the European men had taken Inuit wives and had children. Several Inuit families, including Palliser, the son of Mikak (Laing 2011:25-26), were still living in relatively traditional ways, with polygamous marriages, traditional clothing, and living in tents during the summer and sod houses in winter (Laing 2011:10-12, 36-37) He preached to the Inuit with the aid of a bilingual Inuit-Métis interpreter (Young 1931:27-28), then returned to Newfoundland to promote the establishment of a mission in the area. The next summer, Richard Knight was sent to Hamilton Inlet to confirm Hickson's report (Laing 2011:19). Knight reiterated many of the same observations and encouraged the foundation of the mission. During the winter of 1826-27, a third Wesleyan minister, George Ellidge, stayed at Snooks Cove with the proposed mission in mind (Davies 1843; Laing 2011; Rollmann 2010:14; Zimmerly 1975:63). However, he did not have a dogsled or other means of travelling around the bay to find the families scattered at their winter trapping quarters, and so became discouraged and opposed the establishment of the mission. Ultimately, no mission was established until 1884, when John Newman arrived at Lester's Point, across the Narrows from Rigolet, and from there ministered to the ship fishery in

the summer and the settlers in Hamilton Inlet during the winter (Rollmann 2010:15; Young 1931:57; Zimmerly 1975:133).

3.2.5 Hudson's Bay Company, 1836-

In 1834 a Hudson's Bay Company representative, Erland Erlandson, was sent on an exploratory mission south from Ungava Bay toward Mingan to find suitable inland post locations to parallel the coastal Moravian mission posts (Zimmerly 1975:87). His Naskapi guides did not understand his intended destination, and took him to North West River instead of Mingan, where Erlandson learned about the Quebec posts and lack of HBC presence. He returned to Fort Chimo to make the recommendation, and two years later, Simon McGillivray, Jr., was sent to Hamilton Inlet to establish a HBC post at North West River (*ibid*.).

The HBC was concerned about protecting its interests in the interior fur trade, and set about the task of gaining control of the trade in Hamilton Inlet. By 1836, D.R. Stewart owned the posts at North West River and Rigolet, and a salmon fishing post at Kenomish (Zimmerly 1975:87). McGillivray had new posts constructed near the existing businesses, paid more money for the furs he bought from the trappers, and generally worked to draw business away from Stewart's operations. The HBC took an aggressive stance, noting that an agreement previously made with Keith and Lampson between 1829 and 1832 regarding non-interference with each others' interests in Hamilton Inlet was voided when Lampson sold the business to Nathaniel Jones (PC No. 1313, 1580). In 1837, Stewart sold his businesses to the HBC (PC No. 1234:3142). Through the following years, the HBC

bought out all the independent traders and smaller companies operating in Hamilton Inlet, such as Thomas Bird at Kenomish (Zimmerly 1975:87), Thomas Groves and William McKenzie (L. Fitzhugh 2009:317), as well as the Hunt Company at Snooks Cove (Kaplan 1983:431-32; Pritchard n.d.).

With the arrival of the HBC came more settlers. Initially, many of them worked for the Company, often coming from Scotland and the Orkney Islands, but after one or two terms of service many decided to stay as independent planters (L. Fitzhugh 2009:317). Trapping continued to be the primary pursuit in the western reaches of Lake Melville and along the rivers that flow into the lake, where many of the HBC employees dispersed (L. Fitzhugh 2009:318; Zimmerly 1975:92-93). At the eastern end of the Inlet, in the Narrows, Double Mer and the Back Bay, predominantly Inuit and Métis families had settled, living in proximity to the coast. Trapping and salmon fishing on the rivers, with summer trips out in the bay for codfish, eggs and berries became a typical seasonal cycle.

Through the 19th century, the HBC consolidated to two locations, Rigolet being the primary post and focusing on salmon, with North West River dedicated to the smaller trapping operation. Visitors and government officials went to Rigolet, and there arranged transport to settlements further up the bay (L. Fitzhugh 2009; Zimmerly 1975). Modernity and civilization continued to creep in, with a Circuit Court for the Labrador Coast established in 1863 (Zimmerly 1975:121), government mail service in 1870 (*ibid.,*125), and a church in 1887.

3.3 Summary

The European experience in Labrador began in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Basque fishers and whalers frequented the southern coast and the Strait of Belle Isle into the mid-17th century. After the collapse of the Basque whaling monopoly, cod fishing remained their primary activity in the Gulf of St. Lawrence into the 18th century. Dutch whaling enterprises focused on the Davis Strait, with a secondary limited floating trade with Inuit along the coast. French interest in Labrador began in the 16th-century fishery, expanding significantly after the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht limited French fishing rights in Newfoundland. Under the signeurial system, large tracts of land were given over to individuals, who were encouraged to develop the various fisheries, particularly seal, and trade with local natives for additional products. French settlement on the southern coast and in the Strait of Belle Isle intensified. During this era, the first Europeans to develop interests in Hamilton Inlet got their start. After an initial grant to Courtemanche in 1702 that was not developed, Louis Fornel established the first trading and furring posts at the western end of Hamilton Inlet in 1743, which were maintained until about 1755.

After the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War), Labrador was ceded to British control in the 1763 Treaty of Paris. Early English policy forbade year-round exploitation of the coast, giving preference to the seasonal fishery, but by the mid 1770s this was reversed, in part due to protests by those Quebec-based businesses that were involved in the seal fishery. English explorers and entrepreneurs began venturing further north of the Straits. One of the most notable early trader and trapper was Captain George

Cartwright, who built a successful business in Sandwich Bay in 1771. Perhaps as early as 1773, but certainly by 1784, Quebec-based merchants were once again set up in Hamilton Inlet. Pierre Marcoux had a thriving trade in several locations, notably North West River at the head of Lake Melville, and Rigolet, at the Narrows between Groswater Bay and Lake Melville. These establishments were maintained by various Quebec parties until the Hudson's Bay Company bought them out in the 1830s.

The Moravian presence was felt beginning in 1771 with the founding of the mission at Nain, followed shortly by additional missions at Okak and Hopedale. At the missions, Inuit were encouraged to adopt Christianity and its moral teachings, while still trying to maintain traditional practices of subsistence. An early goal shared by the Moravians and the English governors was to keep the Inuit in the north, away from the settler population in southern Labrador and the constant conflicts that erupted there between the two populations.

English settlers began to arrive in Hamilton Inlet after 1778, when William Phippard is first recorded as overwintering in the area. Many arrived in the early 19th century, looking for opportunities to escape being pressed into service in the Napoleonic Wars or to start a new life away from Europe. With the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1836, development of the region began to grow quickly, with interests from government and organized religion, as well as the Company, in growing business, maintaining the peace, and providing for the needs of the increasingly sedentary population.

The Inuit experience through this era reflects the European trajectory. Known Inuit

winter and summer houses are restricted to the Narrows and Groswater Bay. Inuit were living on Eskimo Island in the Narrows as early as the 16th century, acquiring European materials through raiding or trading. By the 18th century, communal houses were in use and the volume and variety of European materials suggest extensive trading relationships were underway. In this economy, Inuit exchanged sea mammal oil, seal skins, baleen, feathers, ivory and similar products for goods ranging from knives, harpoons and nails to beads, sails, clothing and jewellery. In Hamilton Inlet, this trade was likely carried on primarily with the French and Quebec merchants after 1743, along with excursions to English merchants on other parts of the Labrador coast. In the 19th century, the incoming trappers and settlers typically took Inuit wives and settled in single-family units around the bay, establishing the mixed families that have lead to much of the modern population of the region.

Double Mer Point is situated in the midst of this change, poised to open a window onto Inuit life in the late 18th century. The excavation of House 2 will be the subject of the next chapters.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Excavation

4.1 Site Description

This portion of the thesis is meant to provide an overview of Hamilton Inlet and the environment around Double Mer Point. Hamilton Inlet is the largest and most complex of the fjord systems on the Labrador coast, so the information presented here is necessarily brief. It will highlight resources typically used by Inuit and those sought by the early European inhabitants of the bay. For more detailed information about the environment and resources throughout the region, see Ames 1977, Fitzhugh 1972, and Woollett 2003.

4.1.1 The Narrows of Hamilton Inlet

Hamilton Inlet is composed of two main bodies of water, Groswater Bay and Lake Melville, connected by a constricted tidal sluice-way known locally as the Narrows. It includes two smaller extensions, Double Mer to the north of the Narrows and the Backway (also called Back Bay) to the south (see Fig. 1.1). In total, Hamilton Inlet is 240 km long, with Lake Melville making up two-thirds of the length. Groswater Bay is about 64 km long and 29 km wide at its mouth, and the Narrows is about 26 km long while only 1.6 km wide (Kaplan 1983:111). There are few protective islands in Groswater Bay; most of the islands are clustered near the northern and southern shores, leaving the middle of the bay largely open. Groswater Bay and the Narrows are subjected to strong tides,

leaving large polynyas (ice-free areas) most years along the southern shore of Groswater Bay and through the Narrows. Tidal flow in the Narrows is usually around 3-5 knots, and in some areas even faster (Ames 1977:279; Woollett 2003:211). Lake Melville is relatively shallow, and fed by several large rivers at its far western end, including the Churchill, Goose and Naskapi. Combined with the fresh water from the many smaller rivers, this influx turns Lake Melville into a stratified estuary, gradually transitioning from largely freshwater in the west to saltwater in the east (Fitzhugh 1972:18). Fast ice typically covers Double Mer, Back Bay and Lake Melville throughout the winter (Ames 1977:279; Woollett 2003).

Hamilton Inlet's extent into the interior traverses a variety of ecosystems. The outer reaches of the bay are rocky with tundra-like vegetation. Further inland, the topography is much more hilly and spruce forests dominate. Areas of barren land, marshes, and stands of birch, poplar and aspen are also present (Ames 1977). The Mealy Mountains line the southern shore of Lake Melville, and may have snow on their peaks year-round. In western Lake Melville, glacial sands are prominent, and several islands are present near the northwestern shore (Fitzhugh 1972:16).

The diverse ecosystems support a large variety of wildlife, including birds, caribou, small mammals, seals, whales, and fish (Ames 1977). Birds such as gulls, terns, murres, eider ducks, and, in season, black ducks and geese are common. Willow and rock ptarmigan are present year round in the forest. Caribou frequent the barren areas, particularly north of Double Mer and in the Mealy Mountains (Ames 1977:Map 107; Woollett 2003:216). Mammals, notably small fur-bearers such as marten, mink, beaver,

and muskrat frequent the wooded areas and along rivers, while red and arctic foxes are found throughout the region and are the only fur-bearer to frequent the barren regions of the coast (Woollett 2003:217). Salmon runs are heaviest around the head of Groswater Bay and the Narrows (Ames 1977:301), giving rise to the salmon industry that was the focus of the HBC and earlier traders at Rigolet. Cod fishing was never a commercial enterprise in Hamilton Inlet, as cod was found primarily in the outer reaches of the bay and only in low numbers in the head of the bay and the Narrows (Ames 1977:301; Zimmerly 1975:69). In the 19th century, Newfoundland-based companies fished the outer bay until the collapse of the cod stocks (L. Fitzhugh 2009:318-19; Woollett 2003:219). Seals are common in Hamilton Inlet with ringed, harbour, harp, bearded and grey seals all present (Woollett 2003:220-25). The variety of sea ice ecosystems, with fast ice, open water and the sina (ice edge) all present in a fairly small area around the Narrows, allows winter hunters to find seals regardless of the severity of the winter and the amount of ice cover (Woollett 2007).

Inuit occupation of Hamilton Inlet was limited to its eastern half. Confirmed Inuit archaeological sites are located in the Narrows and Groswater Bay, with two possible Inuit sites in eastern Lake Melville (Stephen Hull 2014 pers. comm.). However, archaeological surveys of the Backway and the southern shore of Groswater Bay are only beginning to be conducted, along with more detailed work in Double Mer (Brake 2013, 2014; Brake and Davies 2015), so more sites may be identified in the future. Historic Amerindian groups generally made use of the inner reaches of Lake Melville. Inuit and the Innu and their ancestors did not typically get along (L. Fitzhugh 2009:27; Gosling

1910:166; Jordan 1978), which may have contributed to the way the groups exploited Hamilton Inlet. The central location of most Inuit winter house sites in the Narrows afforded the occupants access to the full range of resources of the bay (Kaplan 1983:260). Inuit subsistence was based heavily on seal, with caribou, fish, birds and shellfish providing important supplementary sources of nutrition. Plant foods, particularly berries, are easily found throughout the area. Seal skins were utilized for clothing and coverings for houses and boats, while seal fat was used to fuel soapstone lamps for light, heat and cooking. Wood for structures, boats, komatiks, tools and fuel was readily available.

European traders and settlers depended on some of the same resources, but resource availability led to two distinct economic strategies (Zimmerly 1975). Around Rigolet the focus was on catching and preserving salmon, with trapping maintained as a supplemental income to be earned during the winter. This lead to some families settling near the shore and venturing to the trapping lines for relatively short periods. However, posts in western Lake Melville were dependent on the fur trade, so people who lived and worked there looked to the interior rivers for the variety of mammals to support their lifestyle, spending the majority of their time on the land and only returning to the coast periodically to trade their catch for additional supplies.

4.1.2 Double Mer Point (GbBo-2)

Double Mer Point is located at the end of a narrow peninsula dividing the Narrows and Lake Melville from Double Mer. The Double Mer Point site (GbBo-2) is a historic Inuit settlement located about 6 km northeast of the town of Rigolet, on the Narrows of

Hamilton Inlet nearly at the end of Double Mer Point (Fig. 1.1). The site is situated in a grassy clearing with an expansive view of Groswater Bay and the Narrows, with the tall hills comprising the spine of Double Mer Point rising quickly behind the gently sloping plateau near the shore. The shore in front of the site is unprotected and exposed to waves, particularly from easterly winds coming off Groswater Bay, while the shallow approach to the rocky beach leads to dramatic changes in water levels with the tides. There is a convergence of currents from the Narrows and Double Mer off shore (Fitzhugh 1972:85) which typically stays ice-free most of the year. Combine this with the proximity of Double Mer, a winter fast ice location, and easy access to the outer bay, and Double Mer Point has easy access to all that Hamilton Inlet has to offer.

The houses are located in a clearing at the water's edge, backed by an open spruce, fir and larch forest with a mossy floor (Fig. 4.1). During the time of Jordan's research, the tree line was behind the houses; however, since that time it has encroached onto the back of the site. Several large trees were growing in the rear portion of the houses, while smaller trees have begun to grow in the house depressions. In front of the trees is a mix of tall grasses, small shrubs including Labrador tea and alder, raspberries and a variety of wildflowers.

The site consists of three rectangular sod-walled winter houses (Houses 1-3) that appear to be consistent with the size and shape of the architectural style known as the "Communal House Phase" in Labrador. Jordan identified five tent rings from a warm season occupation to the southwest of the winter houses (Jordan 1974, [1975]), also considered part of the site. The location of one nearby tent ring was confirmed by this

Figure 4.1: Double Mer Point (GbBo-2)

project (Fig. 4.1), but the more distant features were not revisited. The winter houses are in a contiguous row, with the centre house (House 2) being smaller than the outer two and seeming to share sidewalls with its neighbours. House 1, the southernmost, is approximately 8 m wide and 7 m front-to-back with an entrance tunnel 6.5 m long, while House 3, the northernmost and largest at the site, is 9 m wide by 7 m front-to-back with a 7.5 m entrance passage (Rankin 2014a). House 2 is the smallest, at about 6 m wide and 4.5 m front-to-back and with an entrance tunnel 7.5 m long (*ibid.*). Middens are present between and adjacent to the entrance tunnels, and were estimated by Jordan ([1975]) to be 60-80 cm thick. The houses are oriented with entrance tunnels opening toward the shingle beach, located about 25 meters away. Other than the test pits in each of the houses, the

site is minimally disturbed and in good condition.

The Double Mer Point site was discovered in 1968 by William Fitzhugh (Fitzhugh 1972:85), and in 1973 and 1975 Richard Jordan explored the site further (Jordan 1974, [1975], 1978). Jordan excavated 12 test pits in the houses and middens at the winter site and an additional 4 test pits in the potential summer occupation areas. Based on artifacts and architecture from the site, he estimated the houses were occupied by Inuit during the second half of the 18th century (Jordan 1976). In 2013, Dr. Lisa Rankin of Memorial University of Newfoundland returned to Double Mer Point in preparation for a multi-year research project in Hamilton Inlet (Rankin 2013b, 2014a). Under her direction, a small crew confirmed the site location, mapped the site, and excavated three test pits in each house.

4.1.3 House 2, Double Mer Point

As stated above, House 2 is the smaller, middle house of the three winter houses at Double Mer Point. Prior to excavation, the edges of the house depression measured about 6 meters wide and 4.5 meters front-to-back (area=27m^2), with an entrance tunnel 7 meters long (Rankin 2014a). The extent of the structure was defined by the remains of the walls and a significant depression for the interior of the house. Boulders used in the construction of the entrance tunnel walls were apparent at the surface, though the end of the tunnel was somewhat ambiguous due to the only slight depression in that area. Vegetation was present on a gradient from largely grass over the entrance tunnel, to a mix of grass and shrubs over the front of the house to large trees restricting the growth of

ground cover over the rear portions. Two large trees were growing in the wall and northwest corner of the house, which had to be removed by the end of the excavation.

4.2 Field Methods

The excavation of House 2 was undertaken in August and September 2014 with a crew made up primarily of graduate students that varied between three and eight people. The crew was housed in Rigolet, and made a daily commute by boat to the site. In addition to the field work, a lab was set up in Rigolet at the Netloft Museum to begin cleaning and cataloging artifacts as they were excavated, and a local student was hired to assist in this process.

Field methods employed were consistent with Rankin's other excavations in Labrador at Sandwich Bay in order to make comparisons between regions easier (Brewster 2006; Murphy 2012). A datum location was established in 2013 for the complete mapping of the site. This datum was used in 2014 in order to integrate the new excavation with the test pits and grid from the previous year. A total station was used to map 51 1x1m^2 units on a grid system oriented north-south and east-west. In addition, 4 datum points were mapped to be used for measuring the location of artifacts *in situ* and determining excavation levels. Units were identified by the coordinates of their northwest corner, and measurements within the unit were taken from that point.

Of the 51 units mapped, ultimately 47.5 were excavated. Due to lack of visible stratigraphy, excavation was carried out in arbitrary 10 cm levels after removal of the sod. Units were divided into quadrants then excavated using hand trowels. As artifacts were

uncovered, their location in three dimensions was measured. Faunal remains were also collected and their provenience recorded by unit, quadrant and level. Excavated soil was collected in a bucket and screened through 1/4-inch mesh, where any newly revealed artifacts were collected.

Initially two trenches were excavated in order to record the profile of the structure; one on the north-south grid across the house, and another across the house and entrance tunnel in a southeast to northwest line. Due to the orientation of the house, a trench oriented east-west would not have crosscut the house and entrance tunnel in a long enough section, so units connected corner-to-corner down the length of the tunnel and continuing toward the back of the house were chosen and all four sides were profiled. Both walls of the north-south trench were also recorded.

Excavation was carried out until the paved floor or bench surface was reached. Large rocks were left in place and mapped, then those deemed to be structural collapse were removed from the house. The house was then thoroughly mapped and photographed. Due to plans to excavate Houses 1 and 3 in 2015, and time constraints at the end of the season, the floor was not taken up as in Rankin's previous excavations (Brewster 2006; Murphy 2012). The excavation area was then covered with tarps weighted down with rocks for the winter. Presumably after the excavations in 2015 the site will be backfilled.

Soil samples were collected for archaeoentemological and paleoethnobotanical analysis. Samples were taken from the entrance tunnel, the house floor, and the bench areas. The samples for archaeoentemological analysis were sent to Université Laval to be processed and the results will be discussed elsewhere in this paper. The

paleoethnobotanical samples are being stored for future examination.

Samples were also collected for radiocarbon dating. Radiocarbon dating is challenging at Inuit sites. Due to its general scarcity, wood used in archaeological contexts may be from a driftwood source or have been curated, either way having the potential to be significantly older than the site in question (Friesen and Arnold 2008). The marine reservoir effect impacts the carbon composition of sea mammal bone and potentially any other organic material that has been in contact with sea mammal fats (McGhee 2009b), leading to radiocarbon dates that too old compared to the animal's calendrical age. Caribou is used as a food source by the Inuit, so unmodified bones are likely to be due to kills during the occupation of a site (Friesen and Arnold 2008). Caribou's herbivorous diet also likely precludes them from the marine reservoir effect, making them a good candidate for radiocarbon dating (Friesen and Arnold 2008; McGhee 2009b; Ramsden and Rankin 2013). As a result, unmodified caribou bone was selected for radiocarbon dating from this excavation.

4.3 Excavation Results: Architecture

4.3.1 House 2 Description

The excavation of House 2 revealed one roughly rectangular room with a paved floor and raised sleeping platforms along the rear and side walls (Figs. 4.2, 4.3). The entrance tunnel has a large step-up into the house, creating a cold trap. After excavation, the entrance tunnel was just over five meters long and approximately one meter wide, constricting to only 50 cm wide just before the cold-trap. The interior of the house

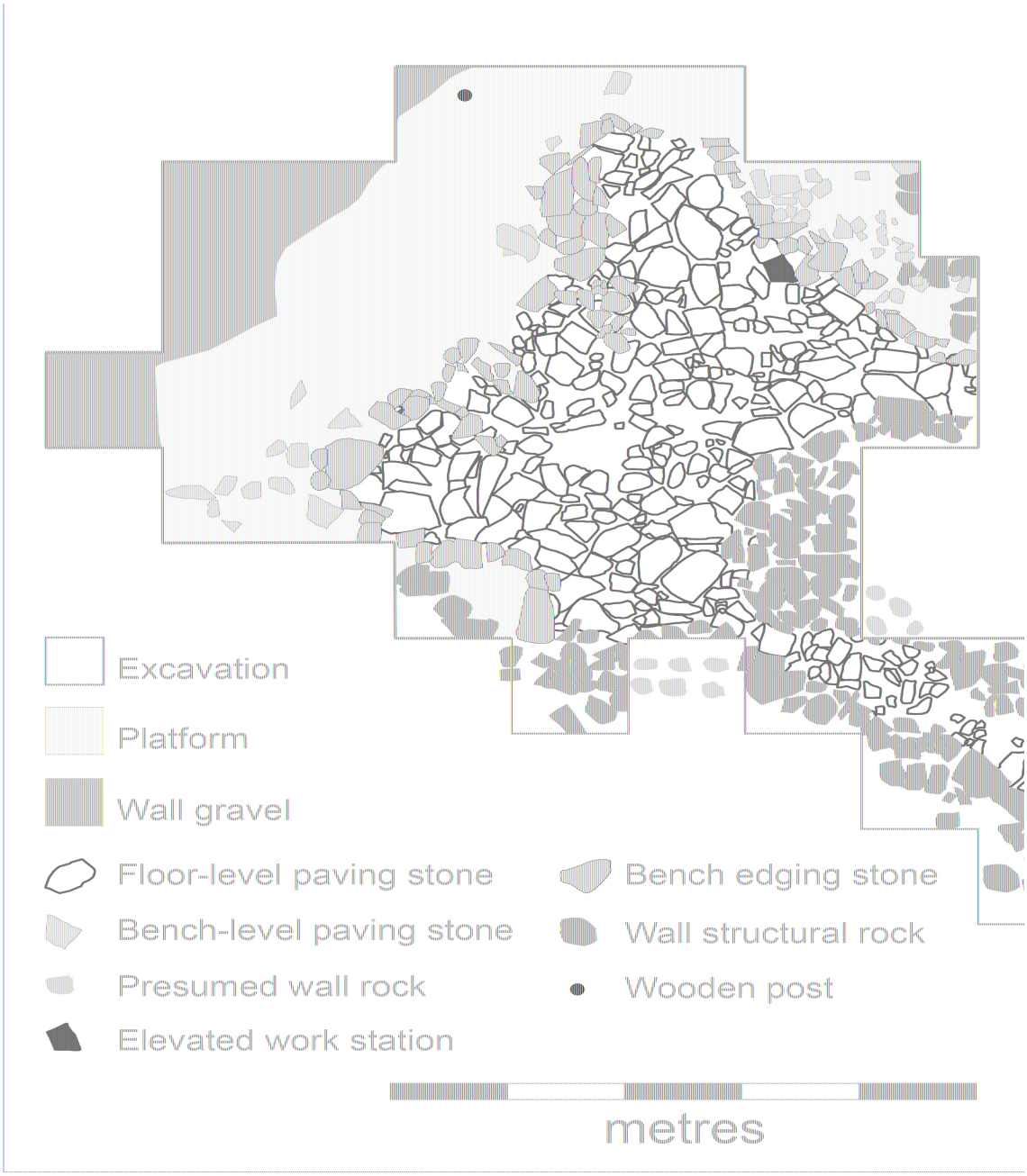

Figure 4.2: House 2 plan view

Figure 4.3: House 2, view southeast

measured 6 m wide and 4.5 m front-to-back. The paved area of the floor is approximately 10.5 m^2; when sleeping platforms are included the interior is about 27 m^2. The walls of the entrance tunnel and front of the house are constructed of large rocks and boulders, while the back wall was dug into the earth and composed of small rocks and cobbles that were slumping down onto the platform. Evidence of timber structural supports was present, with planks or beams laying across most of the units around the perimeter. One

post hole was identified in the northwest corner of the house. There was no evidence of whalebone structural elements; the nearby abundance of timber likely precluded the need for bone as a building material. The composition of the side walls connecting to the neighbouring houses is not completely clear. Large boulders found in the eastern portions of the platforms may be part of the wall structure, in conjunction with wood and sod. In order to preserve Houses 1 and 3 intact, the fullest lateral extent of House 2 was not excavated. This portion will potentially be completed in 2015.

The floor of the house and entrance tunnel is paved with flat flagstones placed closely together. While the 2014 excavation ended at the floor level, Jordan excavated his test pits through the floor, and reported at least two layers of floor stones (Jordan [1975]; Kaplan 1983:441). The gaps in the floor seen in the map are likely his test pits, as the locations correspond with locations indicated on his maps. At least two layers of floor stones were observed in an area of the northeastern corner of the house (see below).

There are raised sleeping platforms around three sides of the house. The largest platform was along the back wall, and it includes three lampstands extending from the edge of the bench, effectively creating four alcoves to serve as work or storage spaces between them. The bench area was filled with pebbles and earth, with a few larger rocks also present. The sleeping platforms were likely padded with hides, feathers, and possibly baleen, as remains of all of these materials were found above the bench surface.

Several areas of the house showed evidence of cooking and processing of animals. In the northeast corner, one section of soil on the floor was a yellow colour, rather than the dark brown to black of the soil in the rest of the house. Additionally, an extra layer of

floor paving stones had been added over some of this yellow soil. This seems to indicate an area used for cooking or processing animals for a rather extended period of time (Murphy 2012:52). The activity that took place here was messy, and the inhabitants of the house tried to clean up the area by adding another floor layer. No lampstands were identified with the northeast bench. One moderately-sized flat-topped rock was embedded among the floor stones near the edge of the bench. It stood up about the same height as the bench edge, and was surrounded by the stained yellow soil. This appears to have been a work station. Additionally, in the southernmost alcove space on the west bench there was an abundance of charcoal mixed into the soil, suggesting intense burning of wood, again perhaps as a cooking area.

Stratigraphically, House 2 was relatively simple. The sod layer graded from the thickly matted grass roots of the eastern end of the excavation to a thin, loosely consolidated leaf and needle litter under the trees at the western end. Below the sod was heavy, moist and slightly oily dark brown to black soil representing the cultural layer. Occasionally a more compact buried sod layer was encountered. These were interpreted as sods used for the construction of the house. A consequence of building with sod is the possibility of introducing foreign materials present in the sod into the house. This seems to have been the case in House 2, as many chipped stone artifacts were recovered from the excavation. Most of the artifacts are debitage from flintknapping, but several tools were also present, representing both Dorset and Groswater Paleoeskimo cultures. It is likely these were inadvertently deposited in the house (Murphy 2012:55), as sods used for construction cut into an earlier ephemeral Paleoeskimo occupation. The midden between

Houses 2 and 3 overlaid the northeastern part of House 2 (see below).

4.3.2 Discussion

Organizationally, House 2 exhibits all the features of a communal house. Kaplan (1983:238) describes the features of the houses typical of the 18th century. The semisubterranean house is roughly rectangular, shorter from front to back and longer from side to side, perpendicular to the entrance tunnel. An entrance tunnel with a cold trap is also typical. Its three sleeping platforms along the sides and back of the house and multiple lampstands projecting from the edge of the platforms are a defining feature of communal houses. While the central floor space was available to anyone for use as needed, each lampstand and associated alcove, along with nearby bench space, would have belonged to a specific family, and hides hung from the ceiling would have helped to define that space (Taylor 1974a:70). Using this as a guide, House 2 appears to have housed four families.

Taylor (1974a) examined the makeup of Inuit households and communities based on reports in Moravian records and archaeology. He observed that within winter households the residents were usually related. The most frequent kin tie between family heads was that of father and sons, while brothers also often cohabitated (*ibid*., 74). Other kinship ties were also seen, but infrequently. At the settlement level it is more difficult to determine the frequency and type of kin relations; Moravian diaries rarely record the various household heads. In two instances, kin ties were determined to link the households in a settlement, one with the houses of two brothers, and another with two

pairs of brothers and their families, linked by marriage (Taylor 1974a:77). Regarding Double Mer Point, it is likely that the families living in House 2 had some type of kinship bond. If House 2 was constructed after Houses 1 and/or 3, it may have been meant to house a newly independent member of one of the original families, or possibly to house a distant family member who moved to Double Mer Point at a later time. Without documentary evidence, determination of the relationships among the various inhabitants of House 2 and Double Mer Point will remain speculation.

House 2 is small for a communal house. Kaplan (1983:238) determined that a typical communal house was quite large, ranging from 42 to 96 m^2. House 2, at 27 m^2, is significantly smaller. Its size is comparable to the smallest single-family house at Eskimo Island 3 (28.8 m^2 (Kaplan 1983:425)), or the later 19th-century sod houses at Ticoralak Head (25 m^2 (Kaplan 1983:433)). There are a few possible explanations for the size of House 2. The house may have been constructed after Houses 1 and 3, fitting in the available space between them. It is also possible that after House 2 was abandoned, Houses 1 and/or 3 were expanded, taking over space previously occupied by House 2. The sidewalls of House 2 were not completely excavated in order to preserve the other houses; however, the width of the side benches indicates that if House 2 was truncated, it was not by a substantial amount.

The middens on either side of the entrance tunnel are rather large. Jordan ([1975]) estimated them to be 60-80 cm deep; no excavation into the midden was carried out in 2013 or 2014 to confirm this observation. In the northeast corner of the house, the midden seems to overlay a portion of the house structure. The normally dark brown to black soil

was mottled with yellowish soil that maintained the same texture and weight as the typical fill. There were large amounts of animal bone, including small decomposing fragments, as well as charred organic materials in this area as well. Artifacts were present throughout the soil column, including eroding out of the surface and sitting just below the surface, whereas no artifacts were found in the sod at other parts of the house. The soil was considerably deeper over this corner of the house, about 50 cm rather than the more typical 20-30 cm over the majority of the structure. Jordan (1974:81) observed at Eskimo Island 3 the middens of House 1 accumulated along the entrance tunnel and on the sloping wall, resulting in a similar build-up of material over the perimeter of the house. While this may be a typical accumulation pattern, particularly if the midden abutted and perhaps built up between Houses 2 and 3, it may also be an indication that House 2 was abandoned prior to Houses 1 and 3. The presence of a highly decorated 19th-century clay pipe at the surface of the excavation, and the presence of pearlware with a delicate blue and brown painted floral motif from a test pit in House 1 (dated 1790-1815 (Noël Hume 1970:129), along with the lack of other definitive 19th-century material in House 2, also support this possibility. Excavation of the other houses at Double Mer Point will help answer this question.

Chapter 5: Results

5.1 Introduction and Artifact Classification

This chapter presents the artifacts, faunal remains, archaeoentemology and radiocarbon data that were collected from Double Mer Point House 2. Due to the presence of the overlying midden discussed above, artifacts from the sod and upper 20 cm of nine excavation units in the northeastern portion of the house have been separated from the rest of the assemblage. Their association with the occupation of the house is unlikely, though there is a considerable amount of overlap in the types of materials recovered from that area and rest of the house. Details of the omitted materials are included in the Appendix.

The artifacts are sorted by material for ease of discussion. The primary categories are metals, glass, ceramics, stone, clay, whale bone and other mammal products, woven materials, and wood. Subdivisions within each category are included where they are helpful for the discussion. Artifacts that were collected by Jordan (1974, [1975]) from his 1973 and 1975 test pits that have been in storage at The Rooms Provincial Museum in St. John's are incorporated into the results, as well as the artifacts recovered from Rankin's 2013 test pits (Rankin 2014a). In total, 2,466 artifacts were recovered from the complete excavation of House 2 in 2014, 156 from Rankin's 2013 test pits, and 25 from Jordan's test pits in the interior of House 2. Of these, 2,301 artifacts were associated with the occupation of House 2 (Table 5.1). The artifacts have been divided into three primary

categories based on their culture of origination: European, Inuit, and Other. When possible, dates of manufacture or popularity of European objects, as well as place of origin will be indicated. Some of the European-made items have been modified by Inuit and will be highlighted in the text.

Table 5.1: Artifacts from House 2 sorted by material type.

Material	**Number**	**%**
Metal	828	37.2
Glass	771	34.6
Stone	328	14.7
Ceramics	84	3.8
Bone/Mammal Products	123	5.5
Clay	84	3.8
Woven Materials	5	0.2
Wood	2	0.1
Total	**2227**	**99.9**

5.2 Artifact Results

5.2.1 Metals

The most frequent material encountered was metal, composing 37.2% of the assemblage. Iron was the most common, followed by smaller amounts of lead, copper and copper alloys, and finally pewter.

5.2.1.1 Iron

Nails and spikes were the most common iron artifacts, totalling 612 items. All of the nails had square shafts, while there was some variation in the heads and tips. No

machine-made nails were identified. Most nails had conical tips, but some had the slightly flattened "spatula" tips. Head styles included rose heads, t-heads, and plain flat oval heads, though the generally poor condition of the nails hindered identification. Many of the nails were bent, most noticeably those with 90 degree angles or with the tips bent into a complete loop. Several were recovered with wood fragments around their shaft. Bent nails are an indication of their previous use. Nails bent at 90 degrees were likely clinched to hold them in place, a method common in construction projects, particularly for boats and houses (Wolfe 2013:96). Slightly curved nails, or those with the tips bent into a "J" shape acquired their form as they were being removed from a piece of wood in order to be reused (Wolfe 2013:83). About half of the nails were incomplete, missing either their heads, tips, or both, while seven showed evidence of having their shafts hammered flat as part of the process of being made into another object (Wolfe 2013:107).

Wolfe (2013:112-114) has suggested that Inuit in southern Labrador during the late 18th century were beginning to use nails more readily in the construction of their houses, and less as raw materials to be modified into other forms and tools. Wolfe (2013:113) observed that despite the Inuit use of nails, historic documentation of nails being offered as a trade commodity was limited. She suggested the nails were still being acquired through scavenging, even after trade was a common method of acquiring other goods. Another possibility is that nails, as an essential commodity for any European venturing into Labrador, were not mentioned specifically in lists of suggested trade materials such as those drawn up by George Cartwright (see Stopp 2008:75, 172, 178-79) because they were already being brought to the region for other reasons.

Hand-wrought nails were the only types of nails available through the 17th and most of the 18th centuries, and were common through the 19th century (Noël Hume 1970:252). Machine-cut nails were introduced in the 1790s, after an American-patented device was invented to cut them (*ibid.*, 253). This broad period for the use of hand-wrought nails means they are not helpful for the dating of the site.

Twelve knives or blade fragments, and two possible hafting elements were collected. The two hafting elements are made of iron and bone. One is rectangular, 2 cm wide and 2.8 cm long, with two iron rivets. The other is about 2 cm square with three rivets. These may be portions of ulus, the semilunar Inuit women's knife, connecting an iron blade to a bone handle. One folding knife or clasp knife was collected (Fig. 5.1). Its unfolded length is 24 cm, and the blade is broad and rounded, with a flat tip. One side of the end of the handle is broken in a way that suggests it may have had a "pistol grip" shape. The handle of the knife has a space where the blade folded into it, protecting it during storage. Similar knives are common to French and English sources in 18th- and

Figure 5.1: Folding knife

early 19th-century contexts (Brain 1979:154; Karklins 1983:112; Stone 1974:265). Two nearly-complete knife blades also appear to be from clasp knives. Both exhibit a flattened knob at the hinge-end of the blade, which functioned as a blade stop when the knife was in use (Stone 1974:265), and one of the blades has a small hole for the hinge to attach. The blade with the hinge hole is lanceolate in shape, 11.6 cm long and 2.2 cm wide, while the other blade is missing its tip, and is 12.2 cm long and 2.3 cm wide. Five other blades and blade fragments were recovered. Two are large, nearly complete lanceolate blades, one is a small lanceolate blade about 4.4 cm long and 0.8 cm wide, one long blade with a rounded tip and one small fragment.

One iron knife handle, consisting of a flat tang with one iron rivet and the base of the blade, was collected. Remains of a wooden grip were present on the handle. One other knife blade, consisting of a curved blade with a round tang protruding from the upper edge of the blade (Fig. 5.2), was recovered. This is the style of a traditional Inuit man's knife reproduced in iron rather than as a composite bone or ivory handle with slate blade (Murphy 2012:24; Schledermann and McCollough 2003:84).

Figure 5.2: Iron man's knife

Iron projectile points for hunting and fishing were discovered. One is a triangular harpoon endblade (Fig. 5.3) with an iron rivet and the residue of a bone foreshaft. Iron endblades replaced traditional Inuit slate endblades in harpoons used for hunting seals and other sea mammals (Matthiassen 1927:32). One iron projectile is a long narrow rod

Figure 5.3: Iron harpoon endblade

tapering to a point with a small barb on one side. This style is similar to Netsilik Eskimo fish spears; however, the House 2 example only has one barb, while the Netsilik examples have three to seven barbs and are made of antler (Taylor 1974b:97). Fish spears were used to catch fish from kayaks in open water (*ibid*.:18), or through holes in the ice (Taylor 1974a:49). Three possible iron arrow heads were also recovered. Two of them have long round tangs and a complex point consisting of a flat triangle followed by a second flat triangle at right angles to the first (Fig. 5.4). This style of arrowhead, described as "double elliptical", was also used by the Netsilik and Copper Eskimo cultures to the west, though the two examples noted by Taylor are made of copper instead of iron (Taylor 1974b:72). The third arrow head is lance-shaped with a short round tang, 10 cm long and 1.5 cm wide (Fig. 5.5). This also has iron equivalents in the Netsilik Eskimo culture (Taylor 1974b:72). Points of this style were presumably used to hunt caribou (Matthiassen

1927:35). Two other probable projectile points consist of roughly triangular points with iron shafts, however, further description was hindered by their condition.

Figure 5.4: Double elliptical iron arrowhead. Photo by P. Ramsden.

Figure 5.5: Iron arrowhead

Several style of fish hooks were collected. There were two double fish hooks, one of which was weighted with lead around the shaft. One single-barbed hook was also weighted with lead. Four other single fish hooks or hook fragments were unweighted. Inuit typically used hooks to jig for fish through the ice or along shorelines (Taylor 1974a:50, 1974b:18). In addition, two large hooks (13 and 17 cm long respectively) that were collected could be gaff hooks used for pulling large seals out of the water.

A variety of iron artifacts were represented by one example each. One half scissor, a tailor's thimble and a needle are related to sewing. The scissor is 17.8 cm long with a closed-loop handle and a long blade. The tip of the blade is cut at an oblique angle rather than tapering to a point, a characteristic of the 18th century (Noël Hume 1970:267-68). In the first half of the century, blades were broad, but they narrowed as the century progressed (*ibid.*). The scissor from House 2 is simple and undecorated, of relatively heavy construction and with proportionately narrow blades. Corrosion on the blade precludes seeing any maker's marks that may be present. The thimble is in the style known as a tailor's thimble or ring-type thimble. This type of thimble is used to press on the needle with the side of one's finger, rather than the top, a technique that is necessary when working with heavier or thicker material (Holmes 1976:106). Tailor's thimbles are usually made of iron or brass to withstand the heavy workload, and are typically undecorated or embellished. Three thimbles from the Netsilik Eskimo culture are reported by Taylor (1974b:154) and are similar in style. Two are made of seal skin and one of bone or antler; all three are rings without caps. The thimble from House 2 is 1 cm tall and 1.8 cm in diameter, with a rolled bottom edge. The needle is 7.5 cm long with a diameter of 4.5 mm, a rectangular eye and a conical tip.

One piece of iron hardware from a small boat rudder mechanism was identified (Fig. 5.6). It is a flange portion of a pintle from a pintle-and-gudgeon mechanism. This type of mechanism was commonly used on chaloupes, the small boats used by various European groups, particularly the French, to prosecute the Labrador cod fishery. Inuit often acquired these boats for their own use, likely through raiding abandoned seasonal

fishing stations where the boats were stored for the winter (Crompton and Rankin n.d.). Boats that were not taken for use may have been scrapped for tools and equipment to repair and operate ones already owned by the Inuit, or for the metal, which could be reworked into useful items. For example, pintle flanges such as this one have been made into ulus (Crompton and Rankin n.d.).

Figure 5.6: Iron pintle flange fragment from a boat rudder mechanism

One iron fork was recovered. The fork (Fig. 5.7) has two round tines and a flat tang with two rivets that held decorative scales in place for the handle. The shaft of the fork is slightly bulbous, the shoulders are rounded, and the tines are flat. Two-tined forks are common in the 17th to early 19th century (Noël Hume 1970:180; Stone 1974:177), while the slightly bulbous shaft was more common in the third quarter of the 18th century than during the first half (Noël Hume 1970:180). A possible iron scale or plate from the handle of a large utensil, perhaps a knife, was also found.

Figure 5.7: Iron fork

The remains of a tin cup or similar vessel were recovered from Jordan's 1975 excavation (Fig. 5.8). Identified by Jordan as an animal trap, the fragment consists of two bent wire supports from the vessel's handle with fragmentary remains of the metal wrapped around them, a portion of the wire support for the rim, and a narrow strip of metal remaining from the body of the vessel connecting the two ends of the handle. At the base of the handle there appears to be a rivet that was used to help hold the handle in place. The fragment is 9 cm long, and the handle protrudes about 5 cm from the body. Due to the length of the handle, the vessel was probably a small cup rather than a larger tankard or other serving vessel, which would have had larger handles. Tin cups in the 18th century were made by pressing iron or steel into thin sheets, dipping the sheets into molten tin, and then soldering it into shape (Coffin 1968:14). The outside edges of vessels, such as at rims and handles, were rolled over a wire for added strength. Tinware was considered a light, bright, clean and inexpensive alternative to other vessel materials such as cast iron, pewter or wood (*ibid*., 12). It was manufactured in Europe haphazardly until the 1700s, and it was not until the 19th century that decorations became popular

(*ibid*., 13). Any potential decoration on the vessel fragment from House 2 has been eroded away. No further information about the possible date of the object could be determined.

Figure 5.8: Tin vessel

Other iron materials included a possible drill bit and chisel, a heavy iron tube that may be a ferrule for a large tool, and a smaller ferrule for a tool or utensil. A spherical iron object approximately three cm in diameter has been tentatively identified as a piece of grape shot. A large fragment of a cast iron pot and an iron pot handle were recovered near each other. Iron barrel strap was frequently encountered, with at least 35 pieces, including one complete hoop about 21 cm in diameter. Unidentified objects and iron fragments number 103 and make up about 4.6% of the assemblage.

5.2.1.2 Lead

Lead projectiles were the most common lead artifact, with nine specimens. One musket ball and eight pieces of small lead shot were recovered. The musket ball was 1.9 cm in diameter. One piece of shot was about 1 cm in diameter and displayed a mould seam from its manufacture. One piece was 7 mm in diameter. These two larger shots are

considered buck shot or swan shot based on their size (Auger 1989:186). The remaining six pieces ranged between 5.2 and 2.6 mm diameter and are considered as bird shot (*ibid*.). One piece of sprue was recovered, possibly from a mould used in the manufacturing process of the larger shot or musket balls. The piece is roughly "T"-shaped with a cylindrical base approximately one cm in diameter. It was formed by the channel used to pour the molten lead into the mould (Faulkner 1986:84; McAleese 1991:48, pl. 4.14). This suggests that at least some of the ammunition was being manufactured on site.

Four lead sheets rolled into tubes were interpreted as net weights. Three of them are 6-7 cm long and 1-2 cm in diameter, while the fourth is 3.5 cm long. Sheets of lead were rolled around ropes that made up the bottom of fishing nets to hold them down in the water (Auger 1989:181). An additional eight lead fragments or sheeting were collected. One unusual piece may have functioned as a ferrule, as it has a rectangular hole and several lengths of lead extending from the ring around the opening. This may not have functioned well due to lead's softness.

5.2.1.3 Copper Alloy

A total of ten items made of copper, brass, or other copper alloys were collected. Two were unidentified fragments of sheet copper or copper alloy, one with one small hole through it and the other with one hole at either end. Several yellow metal buckle fragments and one complete buckle frame, as well as one tin-plated copper alloy button and one brass trigger guard make up the remainder.

The complete buckle frame is 4.9 cm long and 4.2 cm wide, undecorated, and slightly curved (Fig. 5.9). The corners are rounded and slightly narrower than the straight

sides. No attachment hardware is associated with it, however, there are small holes on either side of the centre bars where a hinge-bar would have been located. Five other yellow metal buckle fragments were collected, possibly representing three different buckles. Two partial frames represent buckles approximately 4.5 by 3 cm in size, while the remaining fragment is too incomplete to indicate size. Compared to buckles found at 18th-century Fort Michilimackinac, this may be considered medium-sized, and were perhaps used on some sort of clothing, rather than on shoes or belts, which typically take larger buckles (Stone 1974:25-26).

Figure 5.9: Copper alloy buckle

The button (Fig. 5.10) is composed of a copper alloy and covered with tin-plating on both sides to make it resemble silver (Noël Hume 1970:90). It is a thin flat disc 1.6 cm in diameter with a prominent boss on the back where a wire shank would have been attached. No mould lines are present, and slight circular striations are visible on the back of the button, indicating that the casting debris was removed through a process of turning the button under a cutting tool (South 1964:117; White 2005:64). A four-petaled flower is engraved on the centre of the button, with a border of small leaves around the edge.

Figure 5.10: Tin-plated copper alloy button

Copper alloy buttons were popular in America and Europe during the 18th century due to their durability and ease of decoration. They were generally worn by men on such items of clothing as coats, jackets, breeches and shirts (White 2005:73). Among the Inuit, this trend may not hold true, as the button may have been used as decoration on traditional clothing. This style of button with the wire shank and spun back was common in the second half of the 18th century and is found in contexts ranging from 1750 to 1785 (Noël Hume 1970:90-92; South 1964:117, 130; Stone 1974:53; White 2005:64). Engine-turned engravings became a typical way to decorate the flat surface, especially as the size of the button face increased in later years (Noël Hume 1970:90-92). Very large buttons of two centimeters in diameter or more were in fashion into the early 19th century (White 2005:65); the smaller size of the button from House 2 may indicate an earlier date of manufacture.

One heavy brass trigger guard was collected (Fig. 5.11). The curved portion of the guard was flattened, while the front finial was not bent flat, perhaps due to the presence of

the solid swivel fitting in the angle. No maker's or inspector's marks were found on the trigger guard, but there were several striations and scratches, perhaps resulting from the effort in straightening it. Several characteristics were used to identify this trigger guard as belonging to a British Sea Service musket from the period 1752 through at least 1815 (Gilkerson 1993:182-186). One of the trademarks of sea service arms is the moulded, globe-like front finial of the trigger guard and the simple rounded lower finial; land-use versions had more pointed details. The sea service musket has one screw hole in the lower finial to attach it to the gun stock, and a tab that inserts into the stock on the back of the upper finial instead of a screw. The example from House 2 has had this tab broken off, but a small stub remains. A swivel fitting is attached at the front of the guard on sea service muskets. Earlier sea service muskets had flat brass strapping used to make the trigger guard. By the mid-18th century this was refined into a cast brass piece. Sling swivels were required beginning in 1752 (Gilkerson 1993:184).

Figure 5.11: Brass trigger guard from British Sea Service musket

5.2.1.4 Pewter

Two pewter spoon bowls were collected from House 2. They are in rather poor condition, pitted and showing signs of delaminating around the edges. One spoon bowl is an elongated oval shape, 4.8 cm long and 2.9 cm wide, with no handle. The other is round, 3.7 cm across, and has a short stub remaining from the handle with a small hole drilled through it. No decorations or marks were noted on the spoons. During the early 18th century, long oval bowls were common in England, while round bowls were more likely to be used on the European continent (Wadley 1985:40). By the end of the century specialized cutlery was becoming more popular (Brown 2001:101), so the shape of the bowl may no longer be indicative of country of manufacture or age. Spoon bowls were used by Inuit women to decorate their parkas (Driscoll 1984:41), and these seem to have been used in that manner.

5.2.2 Glass

Glass artifacts consisted primarily of glass beads. Other artifacts include several types of glass vessels as well as flat glass fragments, and one decorative glass inset from a piece of jewellery.

5.2.2.1 Beads

A total of 695 glass beads were recovered from House 2. Most of them were small drawn beads of simple construction known commonly as “seed” beads. Drawn beads of complex construction, wound beads, and one mold-pressed bead were also recovered. The assemblage is presented in Table 5.2 and Figure 5.12. The beads are classified according

to an expanded version of Kidd and Kidd's (1970) taxonomic system (Karklins 1985) that is commonly used in North America. The varieties not in Kidd and Kidd's original listing are marked with an asterisk (*). In the table, diaphaneity is described as opaque (op.), translucent (tsl.) or transparent (tsp.). All three major manufacturing methods are present.

Figure 5.12: Beads from House 2. See Table 5.2 for descriptions.

Table 5.2: Beads from House 2.

Classification	Description	Size (mm)	Number	Date/Attribution	Reference
Ia* Fig. 5.12o	Tubular op. bright green, linear bubbles in glass	L: 4.4 D: 3.0	2	1750-1780	Karklins 1991 Karklins 1981
Ia4 Fig. 5.12n	Tubular op. white with tsp. outer layer	L: 5.0-6.8 D: 3.6-3.9	3	1650-1835	Brain 1979 Karklins 1981
Ia4 (var.)	Tubular op. white with tsp. outer layer	L: 5.1 D: 6.1	1		
IIa48 Fig. 5.12g	Op. dark shadow blue	L: 1.7-2.3 D: 2.1-3.5	11	1715-1781	Stone 1974
IIa* Fig. 5.12h	Op. brite navy (dark blue)	L: 1.4-2.1 D: 2.3-3.2	3		
IIa* Fig. 5.12e	Op. olive green	L: 1.8-2.9 D:2.3-3.7	4	Late 18th/19th c.	Karklins and Adams 2013 Stone 1974
IIa7 Fig. 5.12f	Op. black	L: 2.4 D: 4.1	1	1600-1890 Amsterdam	Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013
IIa9 Fig. 5.12m	Tsp. colourless	L: 3.3-4.3 D: 4.2-4.6	2	18th to 20th c.	Karklins and Adams 2013 Wray 1983
IIa11 Fig. 5.12a	Op. white core, often with tsp. outer layer	L: ~2-4 D: ~2-4	344	1580-1890	Blair *et al.* 2009 Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013
IIa11 (var.)	Op. white core with tsp. outer layer (microbead)	L: 0.8-1.4 D: 0.9-1.6	5		
IIa19	Op. amber yellow, dull patina	L: 2.0 D: 2.1	1 (partial)	Late 18th/19th c.	Karklins and Adams 2013
IIa27 Fig. 5.12l	Tsp. bright green	L: 1.8 D: 3.5	1		
IIa31 Fig. 5.12j	Tsp. turquoise	L:4.3 D: 3.7	1		
IIa40 Fig. 5.12b	Op. turquoise	L: ~2-4 D: ~2-4	145	1600-1836	Brain 1979 Karklins 1981
Iia46 Fig. 5.12i	Op. light blue-grey	L:1.6-2.9 D: 2.4-3.8	14	1699-1890	Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013

IIa55 Fig. 5.12k	Tsp. dark blue	L: 2.0-3.3 D: 2.3-4.0	11	1600-1890 Amsterdam	Brain 1979
IIb* Fig. 5.12w	Tsp. dark blue with 23 thin op. white stripes on exterior	L: 8.7 D: 8.9	1		
IIIa3 Fig. 5.12u	Tubular redwood with tsp. green core	L: 12.1 D: 7.9	1	Late 18th/19th c.	Karklins and Adams 2013 McAleese 1991
IVa5 Fig. 5.12c	Redwood with tsp. green core	L: ~2-4 D: ~2-4	117	1600-1836 Amsterdam	Blair *et al.* 2009 Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013
IVa5 (var.)	Large redwood with ts. green core	L: 4.7-6.1 D: 7.1-8.5	3		
IVa5 (var.)	Redwood with tsp. green core (microbead)	L: 0.9 D: 1.4	1		
IVb* Fig. 5.12d	Redwood exterior with 4 white stripes, tsp. green core	L: 2.2-2.4 D: 2.8-2.9	3	Late 18th/19th c.	Karklins and Adams 2013
IVb* Fig. 5.12v	Op. white exterior with 6 redwood stripes, off-white core	L: 5.6 D: 6	1 (partial)	1670-1760 Netherlands	Brain 1979 Karklins 1991
WI* Fig. 5.12x	Wound tsp. blue barbell	L: 7.6 D: 3.7	1	1870 Venice	Illinois State Museum n.d.
WIb2 Fig. 5.12q	Wound spherical op. white	L: 3.8-5.4 D: 4.1-5.1	4	Late 18th/19th c.	Karklins and Adams 2013
WIb12 Fig. 5.12t	Wound spherical op. brite blue	L: 8.6 D: 8.6	1 (partial)		
WIb14 Fig. 5.12s	Wound spherical op. brite Dutch blue	L: 2.6-2.9 D: 2.7-3.3	2		
WIc1 Fig. 5.12p	Wound barrel-shaped op. white	L: 5.4 D: 3.6	1	1700-1833	Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013
WId* Fig. 5.12d	Wound doughnut tsp. reddish amber	L: 7.8 D: 12	1 (broken)	1700-1833	Brain 1979 Stone 1974
WId* Fig. 5.12cc	Wound doughnut tsp. dark blue	L: 6.8 D: 10.9	1	1700-1833	Brain 1979 Stone 1974
WII* Fig. 5.12r	Wound op. white truncated teardrop	L:7.1 D: 4.4	1	Late 18th/19th c.	Karklins and Adams 2013

WIIc5 Fig. 5.12aa	Wound tsp. amber decahedral doughnut	L: 7.1 D: 9.0	1	1680-1833 Amsterdam	Brain 1979 Smith 2002 Stone 1974
WIIe1 Fig. 5.12z	Wound tsp. colorless with 8 spiral ridges	L: 7.4 D: 9.5	1	1699-1833	Brain 1979
WIIf* Fig. 5.12bb	Wound tsl. dark blue pentagon	L: 33 D: 17	1	1700-1833 Amsterdam	Brain 1979 Stone 1974
MPIII* Fig. 5.12y	Op. white with pink, blue, green spots, vaguely floral	L: 7.8 D: 9.0	1	1770s	McAleese 1991

Most beads were drawn, with fewer wound beads and only one mould-pressed example. A large variety of beads are present, but the collection is dominated by just a few types. Small white beads with a thin transparent outer layer are the most common, with 49.6% of the collection. The next most frequent are small opaque turquoise beads, with 20.7%, followed by the small red beads with transparent green cores, known commonly as “green heart” beads, with 16.8% of the total. Each of the other styles only has a handful of examples and make up a combined 12.9% of the beads. None of the beads are able to indicate a date more precise than a general 18th century occupation, as most of the beads were manufactured for long periods of time between the 17th and 19th centuries. The one possible exception is the transparent blue bar-bell shaped bead (Fig. 5.12x). Only one consulted source described this bead, giving it a date of 1870, when it was in a collection of beads imported into New York from Italy in that year (Illinois State Museum n.d.). The source does not discuss further manufacturing of any of the beads in the collection; there is no indication if this particular bead was made during earlier or later time periods. Therefore it should not be considered diagnostic of the period of

occupation of House 2.

The place of manufacture of most of the beads is unknown. Those attributions that are made are the common bead production areas of Amsterdam, Bohemia, and Venice. Traders from both France and England would have used these production centres (Karklins 1991; Karklins and Adams 2013), so there is no indication of which groups may have been more likely to have a particular type of bead.

5.2.2.2 Bottle and Window Glass

This category includes 31 pieces of glass that can be attributed to bottles, medicine vials, drinking vessels and other curved glass fragments, as well as 43 fragments of flat glass. Ten pieces of heavy, dark green bottle glass include three base fragments with partial push-ups. No pontil marks were present on the recovered fragments. One large fragment includes a large portion of the sidewall, indicating a round bottle with nearly vertical sides and a slight bulge at the base. The even thickness of the wall, combined with the verticality and slight basal sag suggest a mould, perhaps a dip-mould due to the lack of mould seams, was used to form this bottle (Jones 1986:84-86). Estimating from the existing circumference, the base of the bottle was about 10 cm in diameter, and the body of the bottle was at least 10 cm tall. It is consistent with illustrated bottles from the second half of the 18th century (Noël Hume 1970:Figs. 11-13), however, the dip-mould technique was used through much of the 18th and 19th centuries (Jones et al. 1989:26), and dark green English bottles exhibited basal sag from about 1740 to the 1820s (*ibid.*, 84; Jones 1986:86).

At least two medicine bottles are represented by flanged lips of different

diameters. An undecorated stem fragment from a drinking glass was also identified. The flat fragments may be from panes of window glass or from the sides of square, straight-walled vessels such as large medicine vials or case bottles. These fragments are transparent and range in colour through a spectrum from green-tinted to blue-tinted to colourless. Any further attribution of dates or place of manufacture was not possible.

5.2.2.3 Jewellery

One artifact from House 2 is a decorative glass element, likely from a piece of jewellery (Fig. 5.13). It is a small, translucent white glass disc about 1 cm in diameter with a flat face and convex back. It has an engraved and gilded image of Christ on a cross in the centre of the disc and an engraved and gilded border of small linked circles around the edge of the disc. A powdery residue on the reverse of the disc is from a lead-alloy metal (Donna Teasdale, pers. comm.), giving an indication of its setting. Lead itself would be too soft to withstand being worn as jewellery, so pewter or another lead alloy is more likely (Wadley 1985:12). The form of the jewellery is unclear. Similar-looking engraved, gilded fob wax seals have been reported (Melchor 2003), but to have a wax seal engraved with a religious motif is rare. It is more likely to be a setting in a necklace or ring. A rosary ring, or decade ring, with ten knobs around the band to help count the prayers, has a religious setting as its main feature (Oman 1974:56). A crucifix was used in the bezel of decade rings in the 17th and 18th century, although engravings of the letters IHS with a cross above and three nails below were more common in England (*ibid.,* 57). Rings with glass settings were also popular in fur trade settings (Karklins 1983:96-100; Stone 1974:131). Five were collected at the Nottingham House, an early 19th-century

HBC post in what is now northeastern Alberta, including one with a single plain stone in a cast pewter setting (Karklins 1983:99).

Figure 5.13: Gilded glass inset with engraved crucifix image. Photo by P. Ramsden.

The imagery of the piece is worth noting. Protestant groups such as the Moravians and Anglicans did not typically make use of the crucifix in popular iconography; however, it remained popular with Catholics (Oman 1974:54-57). The expense involved in the gilding suggest it was more likely to have been a personal item rather than something that was meant for the fur trade market. While attribution is not definite, one may speculate that this piece originally belonged to a Catholic and that the owner may have been from Quebec or France, where Catholicism was more popular than in Anglican England.

5.2.3 Stone

5.2.3.1 Knapped Stone

Knapped stone debitage and finished tools accounted for 254 artifacts from House 2. Of these 36 are quartz or quartz crystal, 15 are unspecified chert, 2 are jasper, 1 is Cowhead chert, and the remainder are Ramah chert. There are 13 tools identified in the collection: 4 microblades, 4 bifaces, 2 scrapers, 2 endblades, and 1 preform. As discussed above in Chapter 4, the tools are of mixed Dorset and Groswater Paleoeskimo manufacture. The knapped materials are likely found in House 2 due to their presence in the sods used to construct the house, and are not representative of Inuit culture.

5.2.3.2 Soapstone

A total of 15 soapstone artifacts and fragments were recovered. One nearly complete soapstone lamp was located just inside the house and to the north of the entrance tunnel (Fig. 5.14). It is quite large, 74.5 cm long and 27 cm across its widest point, half-moon shaped with no wick stand. There is one small fragment missing from the straight edge, with two holes drilled below the break from a repair attempt. Charred fat was covering much of the interior and exterior of the lamp. Two other possible lamp fragments were also recovered, which refit to represent one object. It is a thick, slightly curved fragment with a flat bottom and charred fat on the concave surface. A rim edge is present, and forms a rounded corner. Several repairs were attempted on this lamp, as evidenced by a total of three drilled holes near or on the broken surfaces. One drill hole on the larger piece has a countersunk groove extending toward the broken edge.

Figure 5.14: Soapstone lamp

Two pieces of a thin-walled, square-bottomed pot were recovered (Fig. 5.15). Its interior depth is 11.3 cm, its side walls are approximately 9 mm thick and the bottom is approximately 6 mm thick. Neither sidewall is complete, so the complete length and width of the pot are unknown. It has three horizontal lines incised around the exterior of the rim and a hole drilled through it near the corner. This is likely due to a method of using the pot where it would have been suspended over a soapstone lamp for cooking (Taylor 1974b:134). There was a residue on the inside of the vessel and the exterior appeared to be charred, supporting the interpretation. A large base fragment from a soapstone pot was recovered from the surface of the northeast bench (Fig. 5.16). The fragment is approximately 15 by 12 cm in size and 1 cm thick. The walls are broken off, but the remaining wall fragment indicates a 90 degree angle between them. A piece of iron is still attached to the base near a broken edge, indicating how the pot was repaired at one time. The iron is bent into a “c” shape, and inserted into a hole drilled into the stone. A second drilled hole is located near the broken sidewall, from another repair. The pot

base is completely charred on the outside from use. One other fragment likely represents a soapstone pot, while the remaining pieces are too small to be diagnostic.

Figure 5.15: Soapstone pot fragment

Figure 5.16: Soapstone pot base with iron repair.

5.2.3.3 Gunflints

A total of 15 gunflints were found in House 2 (Fig. 5.17). They are all gunspall-style flints, with no blade-style flints represented. The heels and sides appear to have been retouched as part of the manufacturing process. A small cache of four gunflints was found

on the bench in the southwest corner of the house. Three of these were unused, while the fourth was only lightly used. The remaining gunflints all exhibit various levels of use. The flints range in colour from light to dark brown to brownish-gray. They range in size from 1.6 to 3.2 cm wide, while the length varies based on use.

Gunspalls were generally thought to have been manufactured prior to the development of blade-style gunflints, thus indicating an earlier date; however, during the late 17th and 18th centuries gunspalls and blade-style gunflints were both manufactured, so the style is not a precise time indicator (Ballin 2012; Durst 2009:21; Kenmotsu 1990:99). Similarly, the colour of the flint was believed to suggest the country of origin, with blonde and honey-coloured flints coming from France and grey or black flints originating in England (Noël Hume 1970:220). This understanding is also being questioned, and the colour of flint is no longer considered a reliable indicator of source (Durst 2009:22).

Figure 5.17: Selection of gun flints

5.2.3.4 Other Stone

Approximately 36 fragments of mica were recovered. Mica is commonly found in Inuit houses, and may have been used as mirrors or in place of windows (Murphy 2012:29). Two small slate fragments may be the remains of traditional tools. Before iron was common, slate was ground into shapes for tools such as knife blades and projectile points (Jordan 1974:83). Two pieces of iron pyrite, which may have been used as strike-a-lights and are common in Inuit and Thule contexts, were also recovered. One irregularly shaped flat piece of stone with striations on it may have functioned as a whetstone. Finally, one relatively large piece of flint was found. The irregular nodule had some cortex remaining on the outside, and may have come from a European ship that used it for ballast on the journey across the Atlantic.

5.2.4 Ceramics

A total of 160 pieces of ceramic were collected from House 2. Six different types of ceramic were identified (Fig. 5.18): tin-glazed earthenware, Normandy stoneware, creamware, Cox-style coarse earthenware, Ligurian-style coarse earthenware and refined earthenware. Additional sherds of two unidentified coarse earthenwares were also recovered.

Figure 5.18: Selection of ceramics. a) creamware b) tin-glazed earthenware c) Normandy stoneware d) Cox-style coarse earthenware e) unidentified coarse earthenware

5.2.4.1 Tin-Glazed Earthenware

Tin-glazed earthenware (TGEW) was the most common ceramic, with 93 pieces. Of these, 66 are tiny glaze fragments with no attached fabric and little interpretive value. The number of glaze fragments is over-representative of the true proportion of TGEW in the assemblage. For these reasons, the glaze fragments have been grouped together and counted as a single artifact in the compilation and interpretation of the material culture. The resulting number of TGEW sherds is 84. TGEW preserved poorly at Double Mer Point; most of the sherds had only small amounts of glaze still attached, and that glaze was heavily crazed.

TGEW is a general term that includes earthenwares covered in an opaque whitish glaze, often called majolica, faience or delft, depending on their country of origin (Miller

and Stone 1970:26). Fragments from House 2 were generally plain white, and a few pieces had blue decoration. No patterns or figures in the decoration could be made out due to the fragmentary nature of the remains. Variations in colour and thickness suggest the presence of at least two vessels. One of the vessels is likely a plate. The sherds are diagnostic of flatware with a blue stripe near the edge. One rim sherd (Fig. 5.18b) representing about 5% of the circumference indicates the vessel had a diameter of about 32 cm, suggestive of a plate rather than a larger platter. This style of TGEW is typically attributed to France and may be either Brittany Blue on White or Normandy Blue on White (Walthall 1991; Waselkov and Walthall 2002). Brittany Blue on White plates have steep sides and seem like shallow bowls in profile (Walthal 1991:88, Fig 7). The plate fragment from House 2 has a more nuanced profile, like that of Normandy Blue on White plates (Walthal 1991:Fig. 7). However, Normandy Blue on White rims often have a more elaborate decoration (Walthal 1991; Waselkov and Walthal 2002). Brittany Blue on White has been given a date of 1750-1765, while Normandy Blue on White had a longer production era spanning 1690-1785 (Walthal 1991). Plain white plates with a blue stripe around the edge have been found at the Fortress of Louisbourg, and the French period at Fort Michilimackinac during the 18th century, as well as other North American sites of the 17th and 18th centuries (Miller and Stone 1970:34; St. John 2011:75). Since the exact style of the plate from House 2 is ambiguous, the broader time of production will be used for this study.

5.2.4.2 Normandy Coarse Stoneware

Normandy coarse stoneware was the second most abundant ceramic with 19 fragments collected. Most of the pieces are dark brown to reddish-brown in colour, with relatively thick walls and deep grooves on the interior from the manufacturing process. One rim sherd (Fig. 5.18c) and one base fragment are of this heavier material, while a second rim and two thin-walled body sherds represent two other vessels, for a minimum vessel count of three. The rim of the heavier material indicates an interior diameter of about 10 cm while the base fragment suggests a diameter of 16 cm. The thinner rim fragment is a more reddish-brown colour and indicates a diameter of 10 cm. No pieces of handles or other diagnostic elements were recovered.

Stoneware was manufactured in Normandy, France, continuously between the 14th and 20th centuries, peaking in the 17th and 18th, then declining by the mid-19th century (Fajal 2013; St. John 2011:100). Vessels are commonly found at 17th and 18th century French sites in North America (St. John 2013, 2011:100). Normandy CSW was typically formed into jars and bottles that functioned as storage containers for food products such as butter, salted foods, honey and preserves. For that reason it is one of the most common ceramics found at French fishery sites on the North Atlantic coast (St. John 2013:168). The thicker rim sherd, as well as others, have a residue on their interior surface, suggesting they may have continued to be used for storage or as serving vessels by the Inuit at Double Mer Point. None of the fragments exhibit any evidence of burning, so it seems unlikely that they were used as cooking vessels.

5.2.4.3 Creamware

Creamware was represented by 14 fragments. Based on colour, size and form a minimum of three vessels are present. The collection includes bases, foot ring fragments, and small body fragments, but no rims. All of the pieces are plain and lack decoration either in terms of colour or moulded relief elements. One vessel (Fig. 5.18a) has a solid base about 4 cm in diameter and is very pale in colour. It has no handle, and is likely an example of a tea cup in the "common shape," often referred to as a tea bowl (Miller 2011:7). The other two vessels are more yellowish and have foot rings about 10 and 12 cm in diameter, respectively. Tea bowls and tea cups were available in several sizes (Miller 2011), so these may represent larger versions of the same vessel.

Creamware was developed in England by Josiah Wedgwood in the 1750s and perfected by 1762 (Noël Hume 1970:124-25). By 1770 it was a major export product to the British colonies (Miller 1991; Miller and Stone 1970:42-44), finally falling out of production around 1820. Generally, the earlier pieces are of a more yellow colour, while later production was lighter as a result of access to kaolin clay sources beginning in 1775 (Miller 1991:5). The colour difference is most apparent by the 1780s (Brown 1982:5). The combination of dark and pale creamware at the site suggests an occupation in this era of transition in the 1770s to 1790s.

5.2.4.4 Cox-style Coarse Earthenware

Eight fragments of a thin-walled coarse earthenware tentatively identified as Cox-style CEW were collected (Fig. 5.18d). The fabric is orange, with small inclusions of red, grey and white sand, and small amounts of quartz. The exterior is unevenly fired, with

some areas dark brown in colour while others remain orange. One fragment had a thin layer of yellow glaze on the interior that was largely eroded. No bases, rims or other diagnostic elements were recovered.

Cox-style CEW typically takes the form of *marmites*, two-handled pots with rounded bottoms, of various sizes. It was manufactured near the town of Cox in southern France beginning in the 16th century and continuing into the 18th century. From Cox, wares were then sent to Bordeaux, where it entered the Colonial trade networks (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:34-35). Vessels have been found in French and Basque North American contexts until about 1760 (*ibid.*).

5.2.4.5 Ligurian-style Coarse Earthenware

Ligurian-style CEW accounted for five ceramic fragments, consisting of four body sherds and one base fragment. The body is orange, covered by a dark orange-brown glaze on both sides, with one dark stripe on the interior of the vessel. The body fragments suggest the walls may have been lightly ribbed. The vessel appears to be a flat plate or shallow dish based on the shallow angle of the walls at the base.

Originally manufactured near Genoa, Italy, Ligurian-style CEW was extremely popular due to its low price; by the early 18th century it was being deftly copied in southern France, and the two products are nearly indistinguishable (St. John 2011:70-71). Markets in France were flooded with Ligurian-style CEW during the 1760s to 1780s and into the early 19th century (*ibid*., 71). It is frequently found at French sites in the north Atlantic region, and in Quebec is typically dated to the second half of the 18th century. In 1820 its popularity came to an end with the imposition of a 100% tax on the potteries and

the rise of English industrially-made wares (*ibid*.).

5.2.4.6 Refined Earthenware

Two tiny pieces of refined earthenware have been tentatively classified as pearlware. They are thin-walled with glaze on both sides. The glaze may have a blueish cast, and each fragment has a small spot of blue colouring from a decorative pattern. No other information is discernible about the vessel form. Josiah Wedgwood developed a refined earthenware known popularly as pearlware by 1779, and it was in common production until about 1820 (Noël Hume 1970:128-30). A third fragment of refined earthenware does not have any glaze still attached, so further identification is not possible.

5.2.4.7 Other Coarse Earthenwares

Three fragments of unidentified coarse earthenwares were collected. The largest is a reddish-orange porous material with a few large inclusions (Fig. 5.18e). It is slightly curved, with striations on the interior. Three round holes were drilled through it likely by the Inuit, though for what purpose is unknown. The other two small fragments fit together, and are a similar reddish-orange colour with large white and black inclusions. The outside is smoothed, while the inside is striated. No information about the vessel form could be determined for any of the sherds.

5.2.5 Whalebone and other Mammal Products

5.2.5.1 Whalebone

Fifteen whalebone artifacts were collected. The largest whalebone object was a complete mattock blade (Fig. 5.19). It is 39 cm long and 9 cm wide, and basically rectangular in shape. A rectangular hole near the centre is where the handle would have been attached, and notches are cut into both sides for lashing (Schledermann and McCollough 2003:89). The end is battered and uneven from use. Mattocks were used by the Inuit to cut sods for house construction and maintenance (*ibid.*).

Figure 5.19: Whale bone mattock blade. Photo by P. Ramsden.

One identifiable sled shoe was collected (Fig. 5.20). It is approximately 16.5 cm long and 5 cm wide, with one hole drilled through it near one edge. Linear striations are visible on the surface from use on the bottom of a dogsled. The remaining 13 fragments have not been firmly identified. Two of them are roughly rectangular flat slabs of bone. Three small fragments have holes drilled through them. Three other pieces may be handles or portions of tools, such as snow knives.

Figure 5.20: Whale bone sled shoe

5.2.5.2 Hide and leather

A total of 103 hide and leather items were collected from House 2. The majority of the pieces were fragmentary and irregularly-shaped portions, some still had fur attached. Hides were likely used as bench coverings and blankets. They were also hung from the ceiling to divide the sleeping platform into sections for each family. One of the largest pieces of hide has evidence of being sewn. The edge has been gathered into pleats, and there are small holes along that edge from being made into a piece of clothing, perhaps a mitten or footwear. Another thick piece of leather may be part of a sole from a European-style shoe.

5.2.5.3 Other Bone and Antler

One decorative bone scale from a knife or utensil handle was collected. It is 1.5 cm wide and 5.4 cm long, though one end has been broken off (Fig. 5.21). It features an openwork scroll or vine-like decoration, with a backing of another organic material, possibly baleen or horn, showing through. A hole at the complete end indicates it was

attached by a rivet or similar peg. Knife scales with similar designs, but made of brass or yellow metal instead of bone, have been recovered from contexts dating to 1760-1780 at Michilimackinac (Stone 1974:267) and 1802-1806 at Nottingham House (Karklins 1983:130). Two fragments of antler were collected that displayed cut marks. An additional artifact appears to be a bear tooth, though it is badly degraded with tiny roots growing through it. There are two holes drilled through it, and it may have functioned as a pendant (Schledermann and McCullough 2003:99, Pl. 42).

Figure 5.21: Bone utensil scale

5.2.6 Clay

5.2.6.1 Pipes

A total of 50 clay pipe fragments were found in House 2, including 31 pipe stem fragments, 14 bowl fragments and 4 fragments with a combination of bowl and stem elements. One nearly complete Ottoman-style brown clay pipe bowl was also recovered.

Of the 31 pipe stem fragments, 4 are decorated with a rouletted design (Fig. 5.22). The rouletting consists of rings of small triangles and linked circles in different

combinations on each pipe stem. Rouletting is a common method of decoration for Dutch pipe stems, but may also have been used by English manufacturers (Walker 1966).

Figure 5.22: Pipe stem with rouletted decoration. Photo by P. Ramsden.

One of the stems was modified by the carving of a mouthpiece (Fig. 5.23). A smooth, gradually-sloping groove encircles one end of the fragment, reducing the exterior diameter to approximately 6.7 mm. The stem fragment has an original exterior diameter of 10.6 mm, so was likely closer to the bowl than the initial end of the stem and may have been too large for the smoker to comfortably hold. It seems that after the pipe stem broke, the user carved the mouthpiece in order to continue using the pipe in a comfortable fashion. In addition, the bore hole of the reworked end of the pipe stem has been slightly widened and the broken exterior edge was rounded off. A second modified stem fragment has an external diameter of 5.4 mm. It has one uneven line encircling the stem about 3 mm from one broken end, and the other end appears to have had a similar ring around it

where it broke. These rings may also have functioned as mouthpieces, or were scored to facilitate a deliberate break to remove a plugged portion of the stem.

Figure 5.23: Modified pipe stem

Pipe stem bore diameter has been used in the past in order to estimate the age of an assemblage (see Binford 1962; Harrington 1954; Mallios 2005). The relatively small number of pipe stems found at House 2 and the limitations of the method preclude an in-depth analysis using this technique. Of the 33 measurable pipe stems, 7 had bore diameters of 4/64”, 22 were 5/64”, and 4 were 6/64”.

The changes in pipe bowl shape and orientation have been documented and are a more reliable indicator of age (Atkinson and Oswald 1969; Mallios 2005). Using Atkinson and Oswald's (1969, reprinted in Mallios 2005) typology, the age of the pipes from House 2 have been estimated. One undecorated pipe has a large, upright bowl and a flat-bottomed spur (Fig. 5.24). Only a small portion of the bowl rim is present, so the angle of inclination is difficult to determine. This pipe has a date range of 1780-1820. Three other pipe fragments include enough of the spur or foot, stem and bowl to estimate

their form. Two of these are decorated with a moulded stem-and-leaf motif running vertically on the bowl (Fig. 5.25). The third is undecorated, but has poorly moulded initials on the spur: a possible “C” or “J” on the left and a possible “V” or “C” on the right, depending on their orientation (Fig. 5.26, 5.27). Each of these forms also appears to fit the date range of 1780-1820.

Figure 5.24: Undecorated pipe.

Figure 5.25: Pipe fragment with moulded stem and leaf design. Photo by P. Ramsden.

Figure 5.26: Pipe with maker's mark. Photo by P. Ramsden.

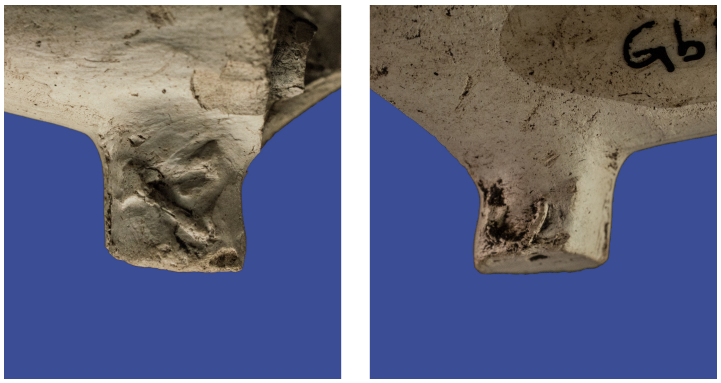

Figure 5.27: Close-up of maker's mark. Photo by P. Ramsden.

The final pipe is a brown clay pipe bowl from an Ottoman-style pipe, or *chibouk* (Fig. 5.28). Ottoman pipes consist of three parts: a mouthpiece, the most expensive part and made of a variety of materials; a stem, typically made of wood and up to four meters long; and a bowl, called a *lüle*, made of moulded clay and decorated with incised or engraved markings (Batchvarov 2014:3-4; Robinson 1985:156-57). The bowl was the least expensive part of the pipe, and has been commonly found on archaeological sites

from the Balkans to Malta (Batchvarov 2014:4). The pipe bowl from House 2 is 4.5 cm long and the exterior of the bowl is 3 cm wide. The interior bowl diameter is 1.7 cm and the diameter of the shank opening is 7.7mm. It is made of brown clay, has a raised ring around the shank and a shallow keel on the bottom that is emphasized by an incised "V" where it meets the round bowl. This style of bowl would typically have tall, vertical sides above the rounded bowl. On this example those walls have been broken off leaving an uneven rim. The pipe is decorated with small rouletted lines around the raised ring of the shank and another ring on the narrow part of the shank. Similar faint lines encircle the bulge of the bowl's rim just below the break. No stamps or maker's marks are present.

Figure 5.28: Ottoman-style clay pipe bowl. Photo by P. Ramsden.

The taxonomy and chronology of these pipes are still not completely clear, as archaeological material from 17th- to 19th-century contexts in Turkey is often considered

"modern" and therefore not studied (Batchvarov 2014:5; Robinson 1985:157). Round-bowl pipes, such as the one from House 2, appear to have been used during the 18th-early 19th centuries (Batchvarov 2014:17). A more specific date is not possible to determine at this time.

Production of this type of pipe was likely centred around Istanbul (Hayes 1980); however, production centers also existed in Varna, Bulgaria (Batchvarov 2014:4), Greece (Robinson 1985:152), and other areas of eastern Europe (Walker 1980). As stated above, *chibouk* pipes have been found at many sites in the eastern Mediterranean and Balkan regions, typically in places that could have been reached by boat. Travellers to the area also picked up the pipes as souvenirs (Batchvarov 2014). Four *chibouk* pipes have been recovered in Newfoundland (Gaulton 2014). They are all from contexts related to French and English military activities during the late 17th century. The *HMS Sapphire*, an English military vessel, was scuttled in Bay Bulls after being attacked by French forces. Two *chibouks* were recovered from the shipwreck (Walker 1980:Pl. 1). One *chibouk* was recovered at Placentia, where the attacking French forces were based, and another at Ferryland, another subject of French attacks and where the *HMS Sapphire* often stayed when not on patrol (Gaulton 2014). Additional pipes have been found at Port Royal, Jamaica, and in other maritime British contexts from the same era. Gaulton (2014) suggests two alternatives for the presence of the *chibouks*. The first is that they were collected by sailors as curiosity pieces while they spent time in the Mediterranean, as the *HMS Sapphire* did. Alternatively, they could have belonged to sailors of Near Eastern origin who were members of the ships' crew.

The *chibouk* from House 2 likely arrived through a similar method approximately 100 years later. The European owner of the pipe may have traded it to the Inuit while visiting the coast as a member of the military or a trading company after acquiring it while in the Mediterranean. Alternatively, the Inuit may have attacked the owner and taken it. An intriguing possibility is for the owner to have decided to work or even settle in Labrador, perhaps in Hamilton Inlet, bringing the pipe with him where it was then traded or discarded. In the late 18th century, many of the English men who were beginning to settle in Labrador were sailors by occupation who came with the seasonal fishery or as employees of entrepreneurs such as Nicholas Darby in Cape Charles (Kennedy 1995:26-28). Many came to avoid being pressed into Naval service (such as Ambrose Brooks, see Stopp 2014; Campbell 2000). The men who had seen Naval service could easily have picked up the *chibouk* in the Mediterranean and kept it in their possession until arriving in Labrador.

5.2.6.2 Roof Tile

Three pieces of red clay roofing tile were collected, two of which refit together. One piece was collected by Jordan in 1973, which refits with two other fragments found in test pits in the midden between Houses 1 and 2. The tile appears similar to those roof tiles found at Basque whaling stations in southern Labrador, such as Red Bay. Roof tiles are commonly found on historic Inuit sites, and have also been recovered from all three sites on Eskimo Island (Kaplan 1983) and Huntingdon Island 5 in Sandwich Bay (Murphy 2012; Rankin 2012). The tiles may have been used as abraders to sharpen metal objects (Murphy 2012:32; Woollett 2003:270).

In addition, 30 small fragments of red clay with a coarse sand temper were collected. These may be pieces of roof tiles or possibly bricks, but any further identification was not possible due to their fragmentary nature.

5.2.7 Other Organic Materials

Two wooden artifacts were recovered. The first is a probably handle for a small blade or utensil (Fig. 5.29). It is approximately 2 cm square in cross-section and 8.5 cm long. The centre has been hollowed out so a tang can be inserted. The function of the other wooden artifact is unknown. It appears to be a sliced cross-section of a tree branch or trunk, approximately oval in shape with a circular hole in the centre. The disc is cut across the centre hole, and about half of it is missing. Similar objects made of cork have been considered net floats (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:43), but that attribution for this item is uncertain.

Figure 5.29: Wooden utensil or tool handle

Two fragments of a thin woven fabric were found in House 2, as well as three small groups of an unknown string or cordage material. Both materials were stained dark brown by the soil, and little could be identified about them. The cordage was made up of thin fibers twisted together in a clockwise direction to form a string. It was unable to be determined if the cordage was woven into a loose fabric.

5.3 Artifact Discussion

5.3.1 Distribution

Artifacts were found throughout House 2, but they were not evenly distributed. Fewer artifacts were recovered from the bench areas in the northwest and northeast portions of the house, while the southern portions of the house and the entrance tunnel had comparatively more artifacts (Fig. 5.30). However, most types of artifacts were found throughout the house; the differences are apparent primarily in the quantity. Within this general observation, more specific trends can also be noted.

Figure 5.30: Distribution of artifacts in House 2

The distribution of Inuit artifacts is shown in Fig. 5.31. Whalebone objects from the interior were clustered on the northern side of the house, with the two other pieces of whalebone found in the south wall of the house and two in the walls of the entrance tunnel. Soapstone also appears to be loosely clustered. Three pieces, including a pot and a lamp fragment, are grouped around the northernmost lamp stand, while another lamp

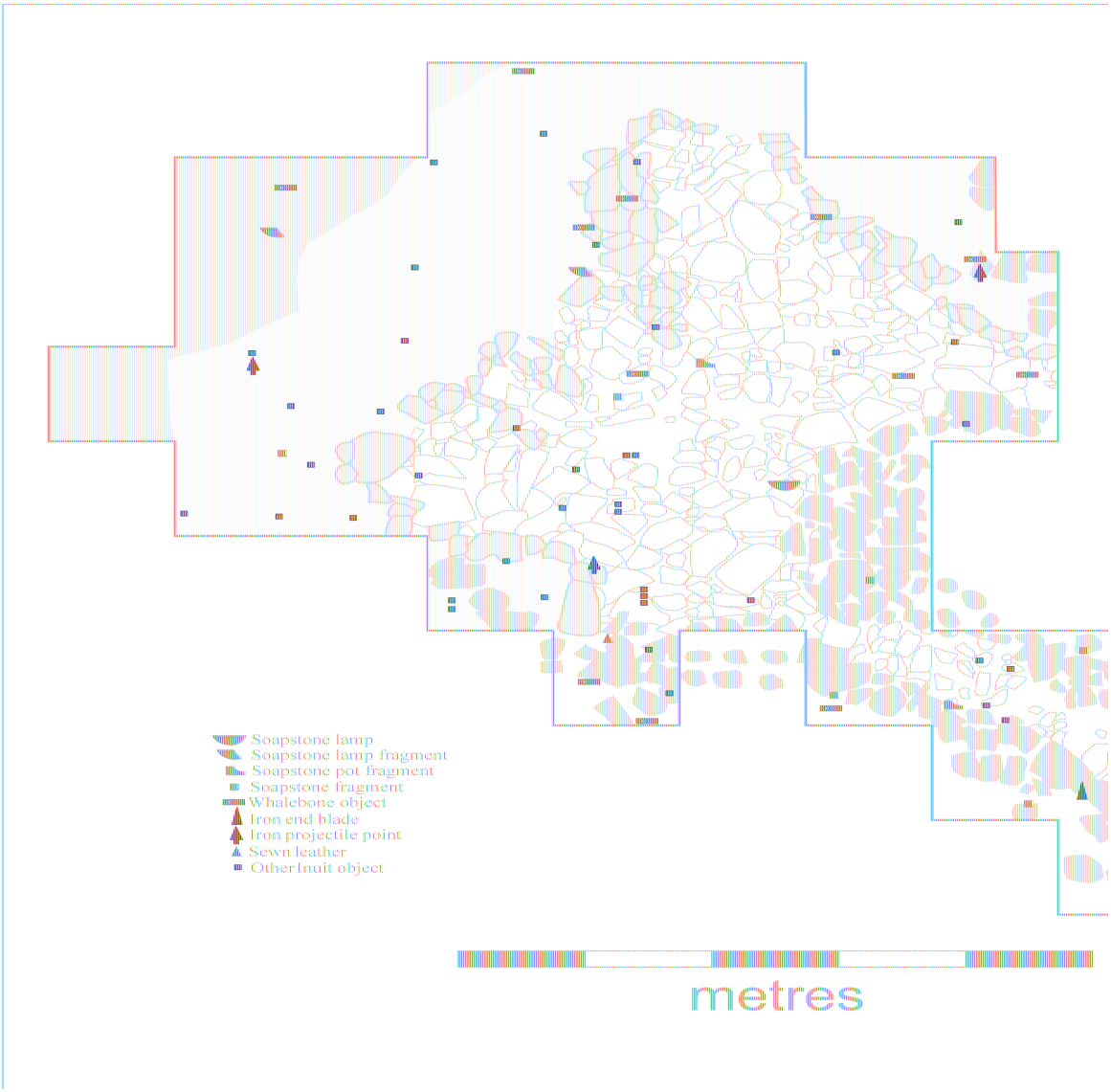

Figure 5.31: Distribution of Inuit artifacts in House 2

fragment that refits was found at the back of the bench behind that lamp stand. Most of the other soapstone fragments were recovered from the entrance tunnel, where they may have been dropped when being removed from the house during cleaning. Only one soapstone fragment was found in the southern bench area, and none on the northeast bench. A group of iron projectile points was clustered near the southern end of the

entrance tunnel. This may have been a place to store them when they were not in use.

Some trends in the ceramic distribution are also apparent (Fig. 5.32). All of the Cox-style CEW was found in the northwest corner of the house, while three of the four pieces of Ligurian-style CEW were recovered from the southwest corner. This may be a reflection of the individual ownership of vessels, as only one vessel of each type can be

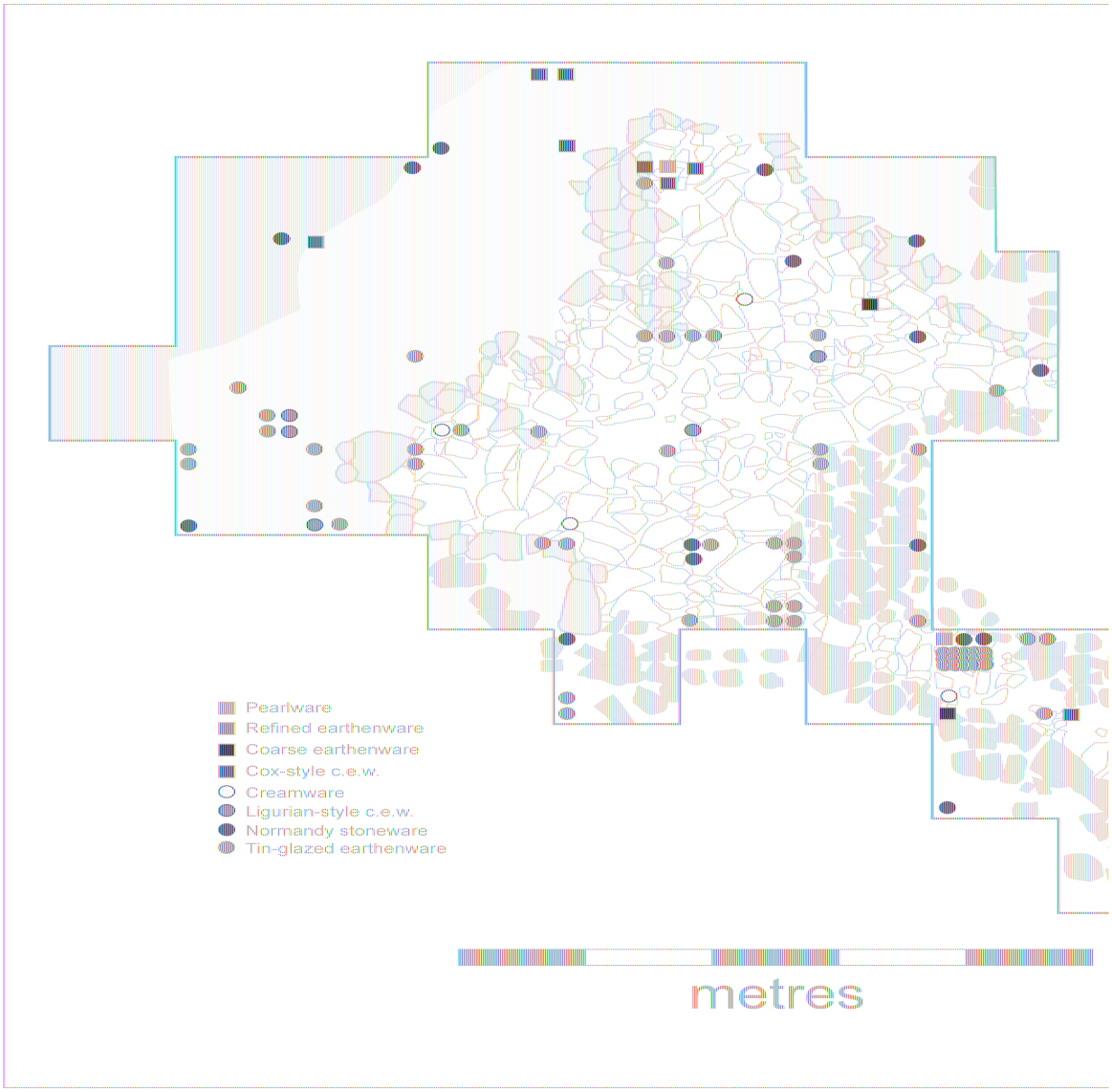

Figure 5.32: Ceramic distribution in House 2

confirmed. TGEW is largely restricted to the southern portions of the house; the plate rim was recovered from the floor area near the entrance tunnel. Most of the creamware fragments were recovered near the southern end of the entrance tunnel. The tea bowl was found on the southern end of the central floor.

The distribution of the artifacts indicates activity areas within the house. The paucity of artifacts and abundance of animal remains in the northeast portion of the house supports the interpretation of the area as a cooking and food preparation area (see below). Cox-style earthenware and Normandy stoneware are materials and forms typically used for food storage or cooking in European contexts (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:35; St. John 2013:168). Their association with other evidence of food preparation indicates a similar function in the Inuit household. Additionally, the large soapstone lamp and a pot base were also found nearby. Ceramics such as TGEW and creamware, on the other hand, are used as serving vessels and other health or hygiene purposes (Miller and Stone 1970). To find them near the other activity areas and away from the food preparation area supports the suggestion that they were used in a similar function among the Inuit at Double Mer Point. The majority of the whale bone was recovered from within this food preparation area. The association may be due to the similarity in materials, if whale bone scraps and broken tools were discarded near other animal waste. Similar tools and space may have been needed to work the whale bone into usable forms as for processing food animals.

The preponderance of artifacts in the southern portion of the house, particularly near the edge of the west bench and among the lampstands indicates that this is where most of the other activities took place inside the house. Lamps provided the necessary

light to be able to make and decorate clothing, create tools, and enjoy recreational activities. People could sit on the edge of the bench to work on projects, and store materials in their alcove spaces for future use. The bench areas near the exterior house walls have fewer artifacts than the bench edge, also supporting this interpretation.

A concentration of artifacts is also present in the entrance tunnel. This area was probably quite cramped and dark, and people likely had to crouch or even crawl to get through. This would easily lend itself to loosing personal belongings as things could be dropped or tugged off from clothing and then not easily be found. This trend is common in Inuit winter houses (Murphy 2012:32).

Generally speaking, most artifact types were found throughout the house. This is expected of a communal house structure, where all members of the household had similar access to all types of artifacts (Rankin 2014b:48, 52). The remains of particular items, such as the Ligurian-style CEW dish, may be more localized if the object was unique in the household and only used by one family.

5.3.2 Assemblage Date

In order to determine an occupation date for House 2, the datable European artifacts were studied. Artifacts from the midden layers in the northeastern portion of the house were not included in this analysis, since they could not be absolutely associated with the occupation levels of the house. The details of each material used to determine the assemblage date are discussed previously in this chapter. Materials that are diagnostic include creamware, Ligurian-style CEW, Cox-style CEW, TGEW, pipes, the trigger

guard, the fork, and the button (Fig. 5.33). Normandy stoneware was manufactured during a broad period, and although production peaked in the 17th and 18th centuries, it is not indicative of a more specific era (St. John 2011). Similarly, the beads generally have a long period of production spanning the late 17th into the 19th centuries. The restricted production indicated for a few of the styles described above (Table 5.2) cannot be stated with confidence, as a larger survey of bead literature may reveal broader production periods.

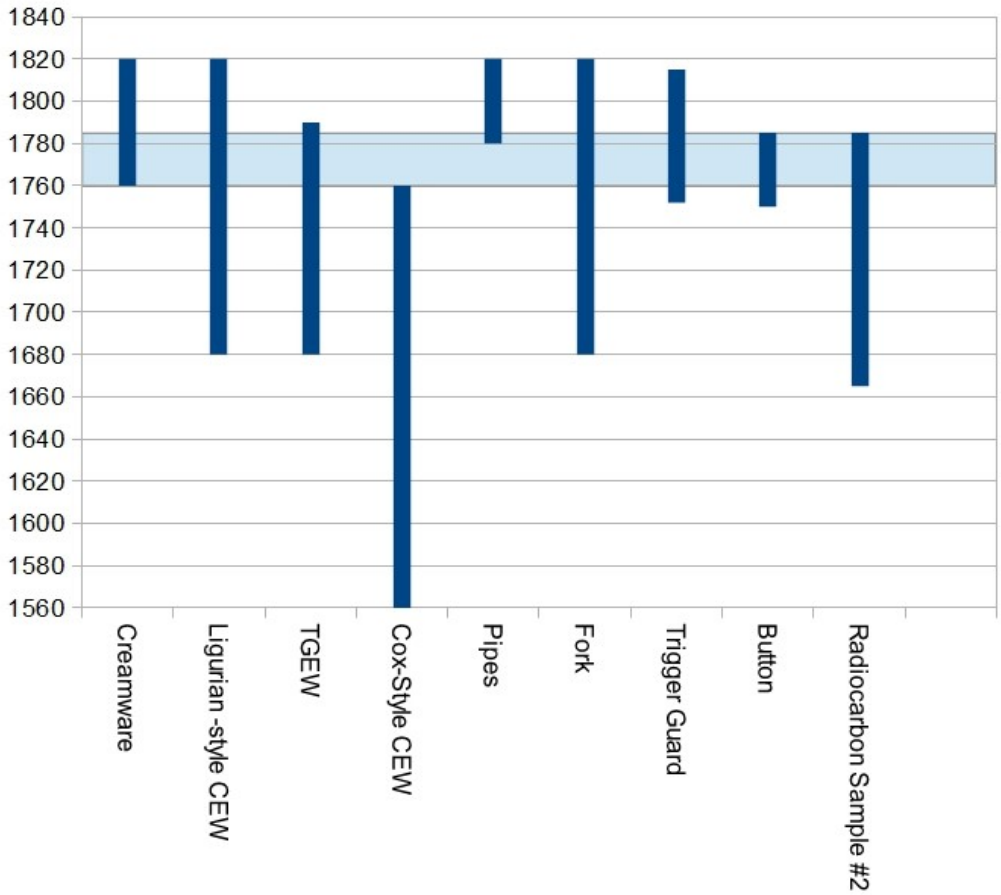

Figure 5.33: Assemblage date. Shaded area indicates House 2 occupation period.

The artifacts suggest that House 2 was occupied in the second half of the 18th century, most likely during the period of 1760-1790. This date is in agreement with Jordan's assessment of the occupation of Double Mer Point (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Production dates for the assemblage range into the first quarter of the 19th century; however, the lack of substantial material in the occupation levels from the 1800s, such as refined earthenwares or highly decorated pipes, indicates the site had been abandoned before that time. One pipe bowl was recovered from the sod, just below the surface, in the northeast portion of the house (see Fig. A5). Due to its location, it has been determined to be part of the midden layers and not from the occupation of the house. However, its distinctive decoration made it a good candidate for identification. The bowl has a crowned harp on its left side and a crowned heart on the right. This imagery was commonly used by several pipe makers in Bristol, England during the period of 1770-1800 (David Higgins, pers. comm.). This provides an excellent *terminus ante quem* for House 2, suggesting that it was abandoned before or only shortly after 1800. Three possible refined earthenware fragments, common in the 19th century, may be intrusive. In addition to the artifactual evidence, historical documentation from the 1820s indicates that Inuit in the Narrows were not living in communal houses at that time, although some were living in sod houses (Laing 2011; Young 1931; Zimmerly 1975).

The amount of time it takes for new styles and products to make their way into an Inuit household is unknown. Traders and travellers may not have access to new products immediately, especially in a relatively remote location such as Hamilton Inlet, and Inuit may not value new styles in the same as Europeans. The issues of time lag between

manufacture, acquisition, use and discard of specific materials (see Adams 2003) among the Labrador Inuit has not been studied in detail, though doubtless there is some amount of delay. The Cox-style CEW vessel, for example, was likely used and curated longer than the creamware vessels at House 2 before being discarded, since their manufacture dates are separated by some years even though they were discarded in the same deposit.

5.3.3 Radiocarbon Dating

Two samples of caribou bone were sent to Beta Analytic, Inc., for radiocarbon dating (Fig. 5.34). The first sample (GbBo-2:3598) was from the northern portion of the house above the paved stone floor. It returned a conventional radiocarbon age of 100 +/- 30 years b.p.. The calibrated dates figured to two sigma/95% probability are 1680-1735 CE, 1800-1935 CE, and post-1950 CE. Compared to the assemblage date, the first date is too early and the second date is too late, as there is no material to support either time period. A modern date is also out of the question. A small window of 1755-1760 CE is also possible, but this is not included in the narrower 1-sigma calibration. This sample may be intrusive from the midden that was deposited over the northeastern portion of the house, although the sample was selected from the lower levels of the excavation in an attempt to avoid this. The second sample (GbBo-2:3569) was from the northwestern corner of the house, over the bench area and near the interior wall. It returned a conventional radiocarbon age of 150 +/- 30 years b.p. The 2-sigma calibrated results included three possible ages. The most recent, 1905 CE-present, can be ruled out since there is no evidence of a modern occupation of the site. The remaining two dates (1665-

1785 and 1795-1890) are most harmonious with the dates of the artifact assemblage. The later time frame, however, is less likely due to the lack of supporting 19th-century artifacts. The 1-sigma calibrated date of 1725-1780 from Sample 2 is the most reflective of the artifact assemblage dates. Radiocarbon dating can be challenging and is best employed for archaeological contexts that are at least several hundred years old (Murphy 2012:34). The broad date returned for House 2 does little more than support the interpretation of the artifact assemblage.

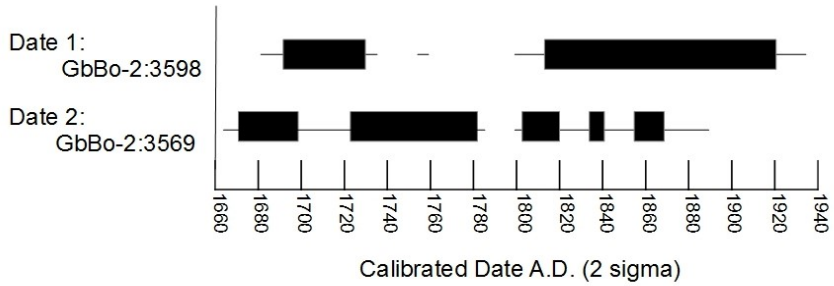

Figure 5.34: Calibrated radiocarbon dates. Line represents 2-sigma (95% confidence) range, while bar represents 1-sigma (68% confidence) range.

5.3.4 Artifact Summary

In total, 2225 artifacts were recovered from House 2, displaying a mix of European- and Inuit-produced items. European materials dominated, with 80.2% of the assemblage. Many of these were modified by the Inuit, such as nails or barrel straps made into projectile points, while most appear to have been used without major changes. Inuit materials, including soapstone, whale bone, pyrite and mica, accounted for 3.7% of the

assemblage, while chipped stone materials of other Paleoeskimo origin comprised 11%. The remaining artifacts, consisting of hide and leather fragments and one wooden handle, could not be definitively attributed to a particular culture.

Many traditional aspects of Inuit life are represented in the artifacts. A whalebone sled shoe indicates transportation via dogsled was taking place. Soapstone pots were being used to prepare meals, while lamps fuelled by sea mammal fat provided heat and light to the household. Ceramic vessels included a mix of flatwares and hollowwares. Traditional Inuit foods were often liquid-based and eaten in bowls or shallow dishes (Cabak and Loring 2000:24). The ceramic bowls and jars were likely used in the same way that wood and skin vessels were used in earlier years (Cabak and Loring 2000). Use as cooking and storage or serving may have been guided by the ware type and shape in similar ways to those used by Europeans. Traditional methods were still being used for hunting, as seen in the various projectile points for harpoons and arrows, although guns were also likely present and may have been preferred for certain animals. Two hafting elements of iron and bone suggest the use of ulus in the household. Hide continued to be used for at least some items of clothing.

Other activities are also suggested by the collection. Clay pipes indicate that members of the household had taken up smoking. A variety of fishhooks and net weights shows that fishing was an integral part of the home. The wide variety and large numbers of beads, as well as the two spoon bowls and engraved glass inset, give an indication of the decorations used on clothing and the body. Elaborate decorations were a sign of wealth and prestige (Driscoll 1984:40). The engraved button may also have been used as

decoration, or may have been part of European-style clothing.

The large number of European artifacts indicates that the household was participating in regular, formalized trade. The artifacts represent a variety of European nations. France and England were likely the primary source of most of artifacts, with materials from elsewhere in Europe being channelled through French and English traders. The ceramic assemblage in particular is representative of French connections. Trading posts manned by *Canadiens* likely had limited access to French markets after British rule began in 1763 (Igartua 1974). Goods acquired before the conquest may have been sold after the treaty, and the Inuit likely continued to use French goods acquired in previous years. The proximity of Quebec traders in Hamilton Inlet makes them a primary source for goods. However, the Inuit of Double Mer Point likely travelled outside of the bay as well, encountering other traders from England, the Netherlands, Newfoundland, and New England (Martijn 2009).

Overall, the collection shows a household that in many ways is still operating in a traditional Inuit manner. However, there are hints of the dramatic changes that would take place during the next few years.

5.4 Faunal Results

5.4.1 Quantification and Results

During the excavation, 1,437 faunal specimens were recovered. The remains were sent to Lindsay Swinarton, zooarchaeologist at Université Laval, for identification. Identification was made to the species level when possible, and other attributes of the

elements were also noted. Shellfish periostracum was collected but, due to its fragility, was not quantified. Faunal elements collected from the midden layer in the northeastern portion of the house (total 250) were not included in the following analysis, leaving a total of 1,187 specimens. The midden layers were removed in order to limit the discussion to the habitation period of House 2, since they likely represent depositions made by later occupants of House 1 or 3. To aid in the interpretation of the assemblage, the number of identified specimens (NISP) and minimum number of individuals (MNI) were calculated (Table 5.3). The NISP is the total number of identified fragments of a particular species, while the MNI indicates the fewest number of animals needed to account for the number of fragments present (Grayson 1984). NISP provides an indication of relative abundance, although it may over-represent the number of animals present. Different animals may be butchered, transported and preserved in different ways, impacting the number of specimens and fragmentation of elements (Grayson 1984:20-23). MNI is likely to overemphasize the least common animals represented, since an animal with only one specimen present may be given the same value as an animal with a larger number of specimens (Murphy 2012:37). Together, the two counts compliment each other and provide a useful interpretation of the data. MNI was calculated by examining the elements from each species, noting the particular bone and the side of the animal it represented. The maximum number of one element from one side of the animal is considered the minimum number of individuals needed to account for the assemblage (Grayson 1984). Regarding the harp and ring seals in particular, the most common element recovered was the petrous bulla, or ear bone. These are the densest bones of a seal and typically preserve

well. If 50% or more of a petrous bulla was present, it was counted as one element. If less than 50% was preserved, it was not counted, as it could be a portion of a previously counted element. The maximum number of petrous bullae for one side was then recorded as the MNI.

Table 5.3: Faunal Quantification Results

Species	**NISP**	**MNI**
Ringed Seal	82	12
Harp Seal	78	21
Harbour Seal	13	6
Bearded Seal	3	1
Ringed or Harbour Seal	144	
Unspecified Seal	315	
Caribou	58	3
Dog	27	6
Dog or Wolf	2	
Arctic Fox	1	1
Red Fox	3	1
Unspecified Fox	8	3
Black Bear	2	1
Polar Bear	1	1
Unspecified Bear	1	
Whale	1	1
Bird	1	1
Cod	6	1
Shellfish	8	
Indeterminate	4	
Indet. Mammal	429	
Total	1187	

Seal dominated the faunal assemblage from House 2. The total number of specimens identifiable to the seal genus was 635, which amounted to 53.5% of the total assemblage and 84.2% of all NISP. Approximately half of the seal remains were not identifiable beyond the genus level, and nearly one quarter could be ringed or harbour seals. Of the fragments identifiable to the species level, the most common types of seal were ringed and harp seals, with 13 specimens identifiable as harbour seals and only 3 specimens identified as bearded seal. In terms of MNI, harp seals were the most abundant with 21 individuals, followed by ringed seal (12), harbour seal (6) and bearded seal (1). Other food species represented in the assemblage include caribou, codfish, shellfish and an unspecified bird. Foxes were not typically used as food, but were trapped for their fur. Dogs also were not eaten except in dire circumstances (Park 1987). The dogs were likely work animals used for transportation in the winter and perhaps as aids to hunting (*ibid.*). The black bear remains may have been from a food source, since a long-bone was recovered. However, two bear teeth were also collected. Bear teeth were frequently used as amulets, so their presence indicates the entire bear may not have been brought back to the house. The polar bear is represented by part of a mandible which, similarly, does not mean the animal was collected primarily as food. The one whalebone fragment had evidence of chopping, and may have been material intended to be fashioned into a tool rather than the remains of a meal. The cod remains were all recovered from one locale, and likely represent only one fish. Further fish remains may have been missed due to their size and the collection methods used.

Other details about the faunal remains, such as age, pathology and modification

were noted during cataloguing. Two caribou specimens were identified as juvenile or immature, while one showed evidence of a possible healed wound. In the seal collection, four specimens indicated the possible presence of arthritis, suggesting old age, and one had a healed wound. Additionally, 24 seal specimens were identified as immature, though their exact species could not be determined. Three seal specimens were classified as neonatal or foetal, representing a minimum of one individual. One of the dog specimens displayed signs of arthritis. One dog, represented by a complete cranium, had suffered three severe head wounds that were either healed or healing at the time of death. Dogs were often recipients of beatings throughout Inuit cultures, although the regularity of violence may have varied by region (Park 1987:185). Evidence of cutting, chopping and gnawing was present on 76 (6.4% of whole assemblage) of the specimens. Seal and caribou made up the majority of these examples, with six samples from unidentified mammals. This supports the interpretation of the use of seal and caribou as food sources for Inuit and their dogs.

5.4.2 Seasonality

Harp seals are in Groswater Bay and the Narrows during their migrations along the coast, heading north in May and June and heading south in December and January (Ames 1977:287). During the fall migration they pass nearer to shore than in the spring, and have a thick layer of fat so they will float after being killed. They were typically hunted in early winter from kayaks with harpoons until the ice became too thick (Taylor 1974a:51). Ringed seals are present year round in Hamilton Inlet, but were typically

hunted by the Inuit in winter. The seals maintain breathing holes in the fast ice, and patient hunters can harpoon them when they come up to breath (Brice-Bennett 1977:149). Double Mer, the Backway, and Lake Melville were all regions where breathing-hole hunting took place (Ames 1977:287). Bearded seals were also hunted through breathing holes (Taylor 1974a:53) or at the edge of ice floes (Woollett 2007:81). Harbour seals are found year round in eastern Hamilton Inlet (Ames 1977:287). During the winter they can be hunted at the floe edge.

The seal assemblage from House 2 shows a combination of open-water and fast-ice hunting conditions. By combining harp and harbour seals, which are both hunted in open water (combined NISP=91), and comparing to ringed seals (NISP=82), it seems that there was a nearly equal dependence on both environments. Most of the harp seals were probably hunted during a small window during their migration then stored for later consumption (Woollett 2007:81); however, a few may have been trapped if the ice formed quickly in a given year. Ringed seals would have been more regularly available, and likely were considered a more stable food source. Woollett (1999, 2007) studied the ratios of ringed and harbour seals at Inuit winter house sites in Hamilton Inlet as part of his analysis of the contribution of environmental factors to the rise of communal houses. In this study, he used faunal remains collected by Jordan during his 1973 and 1975 excavations in Hamilton Inlet. Remains from Double Mer Point test pits were combined with the larger assemblage from Eskimo Island 1 for the study. The combined assemblage indicated that harbour seals were significantly more common than ringed seals during the 18th century (Woollett 1999:Fig. 2, 2007:Fig. 5). After the complete excavation of House

2 at Double Mer Point, this does not seem to be the case. When looking at only ringed and harbour seals, the NISP of ringed seals outnumbers that of harbour seals 82 to 13. This may be attributed to preservation and/or identification, since an additional 40 years had passed between excavations and many seal remains were not identified beyond genus level. Alternatively, it may be due to techniques used in the excavation. Woollett (1999:376) noted that Jordan's technique did not include screening excavated soil, which may have resulted in not collecting smaller specimens, and that his test pits may not have been accurate representations of the occupation of the houses. Woollett attempted to correct for these problems by grouping houses by time period (*ibid*.); however, it seems that the results of the complete excavation of houses at Double Mer Point may necessitate revisiting Woollett's conclusions regarding seal hunting and ice conditions. Investigation of the middens at the site may also impact the ratio of seal remains, changing the interpretations presented here.

Seal pups are born in the spring. The three neonatal/foetal seal specimens could not be identified to the species level, but given the pupping habits of the seals represented at the site, they are most likely to be ringed seals. Ringed seals pup in dens in the snow during March and April (King 1983:88). Hunting ringed seals on the ice in spring commonly resulted in taking newborn pups as well as adults (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:355; Woollett 2007:80-81). Other seal species cannot be completely ruled out, but were likely more difficult to access when their pups were infants. Harp seals have a pupping ground off the coast of southern Labrador where birthing takes place in late February or March (King 1983:94). Harbour seals give birth as late as June on shorelines

and sandbars (King 1983:83), while bearded seals give birth on ice floes in April or May (King 1983:103). The presence of such young seal remains thus indicates that Inuit were living at Double Mer Point in the early to mid spring season, likely before all the ice went out of the bay.

Trapping of white foxes typically takes place in the spring, when they travel south on the sea ice. They arrive near Rigolet in March and return north in May (Ames 1977:287). Cod can be jigged in open water during the summer and through the ice during the winter. Generally, they are found only in deep water, such as out in the mouth of Groswater Bay; however, they move into shallower water near the coast during the early spring, where they could have been accessed as a food source or as bait for fox traps (Brice-Bennett 1977:143). Although primary caribou hunting season was in the late summer, caribou occasionally came to the coast during in the spring (Ames 1977:293) and could be stalked and killed by individuals with a bow and arrow or a gun (Taylor 1974a:48-49). Shellfish could be collected in the winter (Taylor 1974a:55), though they were usually collected in the spring (Brice-Bennet 1977). The faunal assemblage reflects the winter occupation indicated by the architecture of the sod house. Seals were the primary food source, supplemented by caribou, and a to a lesser extent by fish, shellfish, and birds.

5.4.3 Archaeoentemology Results

Soils samples for archaeoentemological analysis were collected from the entrance tunnel, house floor, and bench surface. Samples were sent to Université Laval and

analyzed by graduate student Olivier Lalonde. The analysis results provide insight into the environment inside the house, and different uses of the three different spaces sampled.

The sample from the entrance tunnel is characterized by insect species identified with decaying matter (53.8%, MNI=481) and wet environments (28%, MNI=247). Large numbers of certain insects indicates they were likely living and reproducing there, suggesting a favourable environment for long periods of time and not just accidental human introduction. These species indicate the entrance tunnel was perpetually damp and mouldy, likely with moss, leaf litter and other forest debris covering the floor (Lalonde 2015:17). The largest amount of charcoal was also identified in the entrance tunnel sample, indicating that it may have been discarded there.

The bench sample had a broader range of ecological niches represented, including decaying matter (35%), dampness (27%), forest litter (11%), and wood (10%) making up the largest portions. Specific species indicate the bench was probably covered with branches and small twigs, and was dryer than the floor (Lalonde 2015:17). Species that frequent spruce, larch and fir were also recovered, indicating those materials were utilized on the bench (*ibid*., 13).

The floor sample indicated a similar environment to the entrance tunnel (decaying matter 49%, dampness 23%), although more insects related to forest litter were recovered (14%). As with the entrance tunnel, it appears that moss and small twigs were brought into the house to cover the floor (Lalonde 2015:17). Insect remains from this sample were much more fragmented, likely due to trampling when people were walking or working on the floor. Insects that feed on feces were recovered from all three samples, suggesting that

fecal matter was present throughout the house (Lalonde 2015:17-18).

Small numbers of adventive European species were identified (MNI=11, 0.8% of total assemblage). Two of the species, *Latridius minutus* and *Orizaephilus mercator*, are associated with stored food products, such as flour, cereals, or even bread (Lalonde 2015:18). The small number of specimens indicates these insects were not self-sustaining and were likely introduced into the house by people (*ibid.*). Moravian records at Hopedale indicate the Europeans in southern Labrador, including Pierre Marcoux in Hamilton Inlet, traded bread and biscuit to Inuit (Brice-Bennet 1981:39; Rollmann 2013). The other two adventive species present are *Oxtelus* cf. *laqueatus*, which feeds on decaying matter, and *Tomicus piniperda*, which is a pest of conifer trees (*ibid*.).

5.5 Faunal Discussion

5.5.1 Faunal Distribution

Faunal remains were mapped to determine their distribution (Fig. 5.35). Remains recovered from the midden layers in the northeastern portion of the house were not included. Faunal remains were recovered primarily from the perimeter of the excavation, over the walls and outside the boundaries of the house. Large numbers of remains were also concentrated in the northeastern section of the house, over the bench. Relatively few remains were found in the centre of the house, over the paved floor and bench areas. Most of the species remains were evenly distributed around the house. All of the cod remains were from one location on the east wall just north of the entrance. The fragments are all from the head of one individual, which was likely disposed in that location. A

concentration of fox bones was recovered from the entrance passage, all of which are cranial and mandibular remains and presumably from one individual.

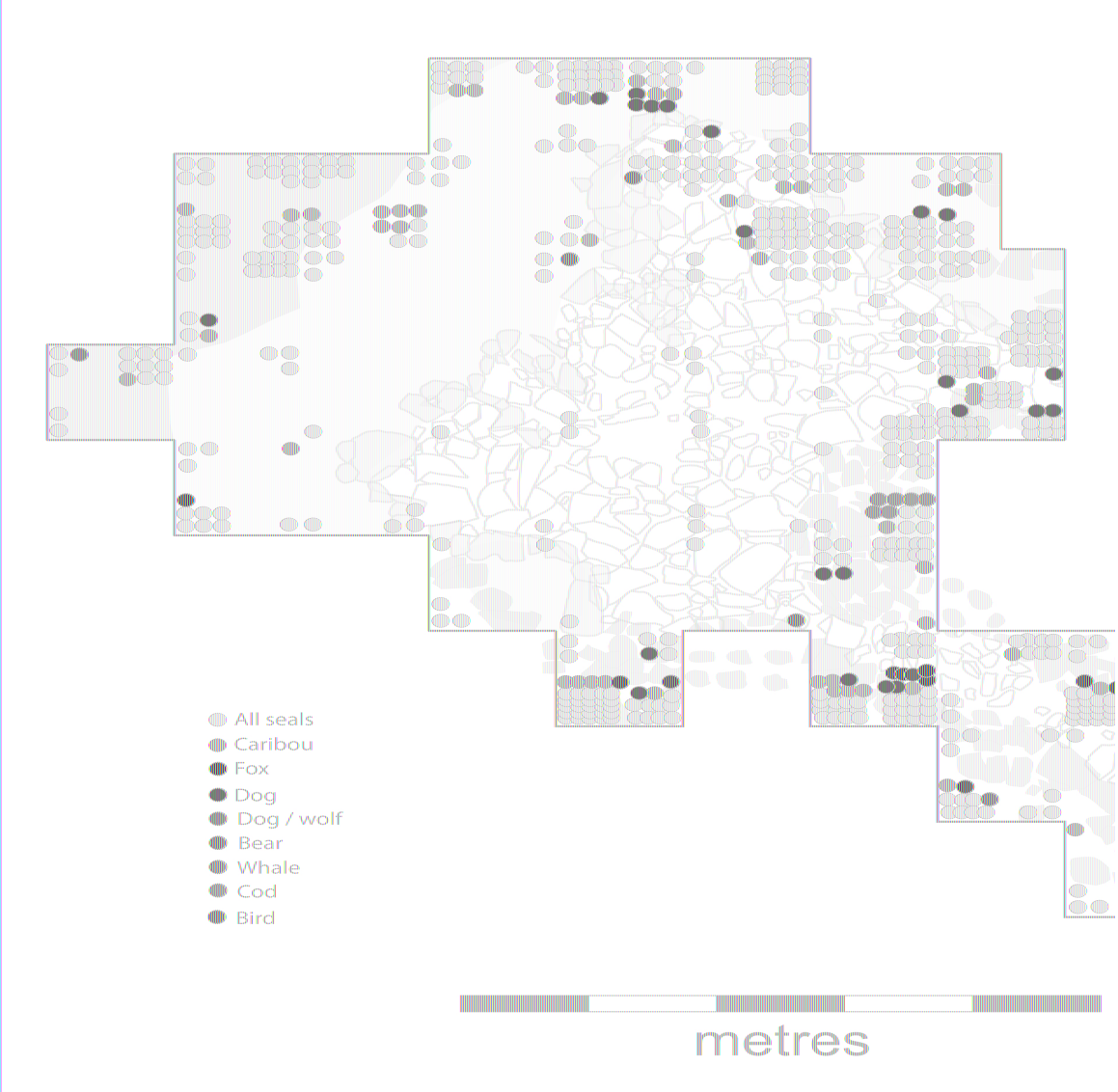

Figure 5.35: Distribution of faunal remains in House 2

The location of the faunal remains reflects typical Inuit patterns of waste disposal. Waste was periodically cleaned out of the house and disposed in middens on either side of the entrance tunnel (Rankin n.d.). Additionally, remains are often found in the walls of the

house, where they were pushed out the way (Woollett 2003:259). The large middens present at Double Mer Point indicate the extent of exterior disposal. The excavation only encroached on the edges of these middens; further excavation in 2015 may add more detail.

The preponderance of animal remains in northeastern portion of the house provide the last piece of evidence for the use of that area for cooking and food preparation (see Chapter 4). Fewer artifacts of other types were recovered in that area, while a large number of animal remains were prominent. There is no lampstand, but the elevated work station was surrounded by soil stained a yellow colour from heat and sea mammal oil. In addition, concentrations of charred organic material were recovered from the surrounding area. The floor near the northeast bench had been repaved at least once, in an attempt to clean up the area in the wake of relatively messy activities.

5.5.2 Faunal Summary

The faunal assemblage from Double Mer Point House 2 was dominated by seals, particularly harp, ringed and harbour seals, with minimal representation of bearded seals. Seals are a primary food source for Inuit throughout Labrador, and House 2 reflects this dependence. Over 85% of identified specimens were seal. Within the seal remains, the most common were ringed and harp seals. This suggests the Inuit at Double Mer Point were frequently hunting on fast ice for ringed seals, likely in the nearby Double Mer, and relied less on open-water hunting where harbour seals would be encountered. The migratory harp seals would have been available for a short time and, while certainly an

important food source, were not as reliable as the ringed seals. Caribou was an important secondary food source, while shellfish, birds and fish were consumed in smaller numbers.

Other faunal remains are less likely to be food sources, but rather represent other aspects of Inuit life. Dogs were a primary mode of winter transportation via komatik (dogsled), and were only consumed in times of great need. These animals were not considered pets, however, and evidence of trauma is fairly common (Park 1987). Whales were not usually hunted by Inuit in southern Labrador, so whale bones in the faunal collection are not likely to represent food remains (Woollett 1999:376). Rather, they were more likely to be raw material acquired from further north, or collected from the bone beaches of Basque whaling sites (Rankin n.d.), with the intention of creating tools such as the sled shoes and implement handles seen in the artifact collection. Foxes were typically trapped for their fur rather than their meat. Similarly, bears could have been eaten, but the claws and jaw fragments recovered from House 2 indicate a different purpose. The distribution of the faunal remains indicates that most remains were disposed outside the living area of the house, in middens on either side of the entrance tunnel and around the perimeter of the structure. Within the house, the processing of animals and preparation of food took place primarily around the northeast bench.

Archaeoentemology results indicate that House 2 was relatively damp inside, with moss, small twigs and forest litter lining the floor. The benches were likely covered with small branches as well. Adventive species of insects from Europe suggest the possibility of imported foodstuffs being present in the house.

Chapter 6: Comparative Sites

6.1 Comparative Sites

In order to contextualize Double Mer Point House 2, comparisons were made to four other Inuit communal houses in Labrador. The comparative houses were chosen based on their location, extent of excavation, and era of occupation. Houses chosen represent occupations spanning the second half of the 18th century into the early 19th century, roughly contemporaneous with Double Mer Point. Comparisons of a broader temporal range are beyond the scope of this project. Large portions, if not the entirety, of each house were excavated, providing a sufficiently large sample size to be representative of the experience of the inhabitants. Locations range from southern to northern Labrador, representing a variety of European interaction spheres.

The purpose of the comparison is to evaluate the nature of Inuit interaction with European traders. The Inuit communal house is often thought to have been a response to growing trade relationships, where an individual leader developed skills and resources needed to successfully reach and interact with Europeans, thereby supporting a larger kin-based network in a reciprocal relationship (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Richling 1993). All of the houses in this comparison represent families believed to be in extensive trade relationships with Europeans, yet differences exist that may be helpful in revealing the breadth of the Inuit experience.

The houses chosen for this comparison are Pigeon Cove House 1, in Sandwich Bay; Eskimo Island 1 House 2 and Eskimo Island 2 House 5, both located in Hamilton

Inlet; and Uivak Point House 7, near Okak (Fig 6.1). The amount of information available for each site is varied; some data sets are more thorough than others, and not every aspect of each site will be discussed here. The focus of the comparisons will be on the architecture, spatial organization, and artifact and faunal assemblages at each site. When considering the artifact assemblage, objects made of iron in traditional Inuit forms, such

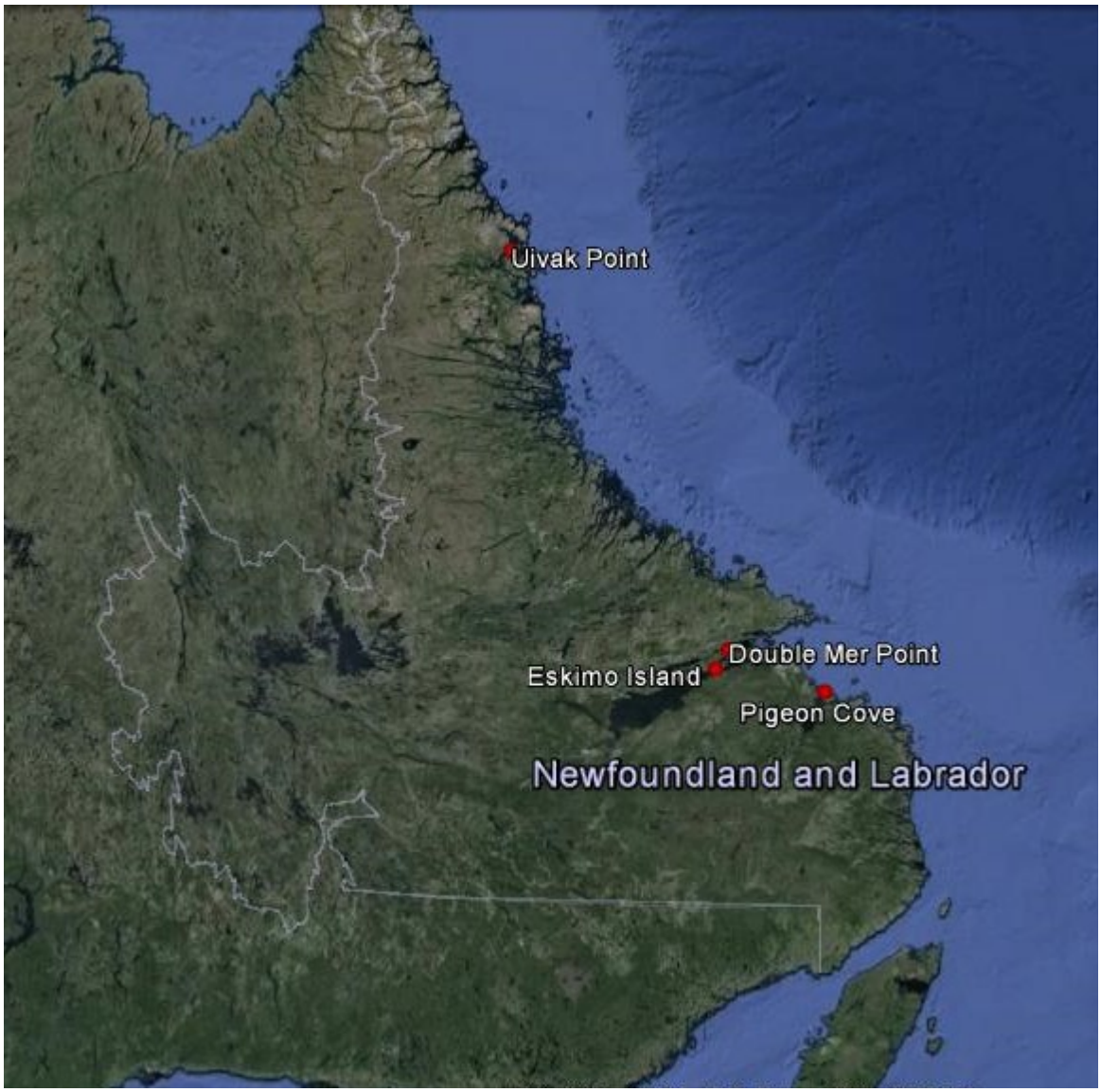

Figure 6.1: Location of comparative sites

as ulus or projectile points, are considered to be Inuit artifacts rather than European. Particular attention to Eskimo Island will be undertaken to evaluate Jordan's interpretation of the Inuit experience in Hamilton Inlet (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). The sites will be discussed in geographical order from south to north.

6.1.1 Pigeon Cove (FlBf-6), House 1

The Pigeon Cove site is located in Sandwich Bay, on the shore of a small cove on the west end of Newfoundland Island. The site, consisting of a single historic Inuit sod house, was discovered in 2011 during a survey of Sandwich Bay undertaken by Rankin as part of the CURA project “Understanding the Past to Build the Future” (Rankin 2013a). The house is located on a bedrock terrace about three meters above sea level, near a small stream. It is oriented so the entrance tunnel is roughly parallel with the shore and opens to the south. The artifact assemblage and radiocarbon dates suggest an occupation date of approximately 1722-1778 CE.

Pigeon Cove House 1 was excavated in 2012 (Rankin 2013a). The excavation revealed a large house; the interior measured 11 meters along the back wall and 9 meters front-to-back (99m^2), including the bench areas. The entrance tunnel was 4 meters long. It had a floor paved with stones about 7.5 by 5 meters in area, and benches along three sides. At least three lamp stands were identified, including a large rectangular lamp stand or raised platform on the east side of the house. This platform is constructed around a bedrock outcrop, and extends about one third of the way into the house.

During the excavation, a total of 4,532 artifacts were recovered, including a mix of

European and Inuit materials. Of these, 465 were chipped stone tools and debitage not likely associated with the Inuit occupation. Of the remaining artifacts, 3,741 are attributed to European sources and 208 are considered traditional Inuit objects, while the remaining 118 are indeterminate. European objects include 1,572 nails and spikes, 1,119 ceramic fragments, 343 kaolin pipe fragments, 160 beads, window and bottle glass, 20 gun flints, lead shot, 17 fish hooks, 22 fragments of clay roof tile, assorted pieces of boat-related hardware, an axe, key, chisel, pewter spoon, coins, buttons and many other items. A wide variety of ceramics representing at least 26 vessels were recovered, such as creamware, pearlware, Normandy stoneware, Breton CEW, TGEW, and Beauvais stoneware (Andrew Collins, pers. comm. 2015). Inuit materials included soapstone pots and lamps, ulus and mens' knives, harpoon heads, whale bone sled shoes, a bow drill mouthpiece, a copper headband, and a possible kayak paddle tip.

In addition to the artifacts, 4,281 pieces of faunal remains were collected; 3,541 could be identified to genus or species level. The most abundant category was seal (72% of identified specimens), with ringed seal (76% of identified seals) being the most common and lesser amounts of bearded (10.6%), harp (10%), and harbour seal (0.3%). Caribou made up 5.4% of identified specimens, with small amounts of codfish (0.3%) and birds (0.4%) present. Notably, domestic pig remains (N=10, 0.3% of identified specimens) were also recovered from Pigeon Cove. The pig must have been acquired from European sources, either through trade or raiding (Rankin 2013a:10). Dog (1.5%), fur-bearing animals (1.4%), whale (0.3%), and walrus (<0.1%) complete the assemblage.

6.1.2 Eskimo Island 1 (GaBp-1), House 2

Three Inuit sod house sites are located on Eskimo Island at the southern end of the Narrows in Hamilton Inlet. The sites are clustered together on the south shore of the island, 40-50 meters from the water. They were discovered by William Fitzhugh in 1968 (Fitzhugh 1972), and Richard Jordan conducted excavations at the sites as the major component of his Hamilton Inlet research in 1973 and 1975 (Jordan 1974, 1978; Kaplan 1983). One house from each of Eskimo Island 1 and Eskimo Island 2 are being used in this study.

Eskimo Island 1 consists of three large sod houses in a contiguous row. They are situated on the highest point of the island, about eight meters above sea level and about 60 meters from the shore. They are oriented with their tunnels opening to the south, running downhill toward the shore. To the east of Eskimo Island 1 (and a similar distance north of Eskimo Island 2) is a large midden about two meters deep and extending as far as 2000 m^2 (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). House 2 is the middle, and biggest, of the three houses. Whether the houses share walls, or House 2 was built over the edges of the other two structures is not clear at this time (Woollett 2003:259). In 1975 Jordan excavated 32 m^2 of the house interior and 12 m^2 of the entrance tunnel (Jordan 1978; Woollett 2003:259).

House 2's back wall is 12.3 meters long, and the side walls are 8.4 meters, while the entrance tunnel is 10.8 meters long (Kaplan 1983:413). It is not clear where the measurements were taken. Jordan (1974:85) provides slightly larger dimensions for the house than Kaplan. House 2 has platforms on three walls and multiple lamp stands

(Jordan and Kaplan 1980). The platform was made of compacted peat, with tree boughs over the top in places. Timber structural elements were uncovered, as well as a paved floor that was two layers thick. Much of the sediment, particularly in the southeast portion of the excavation, was saturated with sea mammal oil which seeped through the floor and accumulated under the stones, suggesting the inhabitants may have been processing the oil inside the house for trade (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Woollett 2003).

Jordan did not use any screening during his excavation process. As a result, small artifacts may not have been collected by the excavators. In addition, stratigraphic control was limited, and all artifacts were considered to be from the same occupation for the interpretation of the site. It is therefore not clear if there were multiple occupations of the site, or if the house may have been used as a dumping area after it was abandoned (Woollett 2003:260). This is an important consideration, since Jordan (1978) noted the presence of human cranial remains in the fill. These were interpreted as the evidence of an attack by the Montagnais (Innu) on the Inuit in about 1760, resulting in the abandonment of Eskimo Island in favour of Double Mer Point (Jordan 1978). However, the exact provenience information of the fragments is unclear, making it difficult to reassess Jordan's interpretation.

During the excavation, approximately 10,000 artifacts were recovered. They are reported in Jordan and Kaplan (1980), and are in storage at The Rooms Provincial Museum. Jordan and Kaplan's report and the artifact catalogue were used to asses the collection. Although the house was not completely excavated, for this study, the artifacts recovered are assumed to be representative of the entire assemblage. The artifacts

represent a mix of European and Inuit objects, with European items being significantly more prevalent. European objects have been dated to the 18th century (Jordan and Kaplan 1980); a narrower time-frame has not been determined. The artifacts include many French materials, and are indicative of extensive trading. European materials include 8,968 beads, 600 nails, 60 fish hooks, 50 ceramic fragments, 26 pieces of glass, 35 pieces of lead shot and 3 musket balls, 11 clay pipe fragments, 2 spall-style gun flints, about 20 iron knives or knife fragments, 6 buttons, a pair of cufflinks, a padlock key, a coin, 2 pewter spoons, 1 axe head, 2 files, 2 sword fragments, 30 unidentified metal fragments, and clay roof tile fragments. Inuit artifacts included 38 soapstone vessel pieces, cut and drilled baleen, 17 whale bone artifacts, 5 ulus, 10 iron projectiles, 5 other bone items, a wood bow fragment, wood harpoon shaft fragment, stitched leather, and a few fragments of slate and mica, totalling 163 objects.

Faunal remains were also collected. No formal report was written by Jordan assessing the assemblage, but Woollett studied the remains for his PhD dissertation. The larger Eskimo Island 1 collection was joined with the smaller collection of remains recovered from test pits at Double Mer Point in Woollett's analysis in order to accommodate his research goals and the limitations of Jordan's methods and recording (Woollett 2003:493-95). For comparisons to Double Mer Point House 2, the combined numbers will be used, as a reanalysis of the faunal collection was not feasible.

A total of 4,658 faunal elements were in the amalgamated Eskimo Island 1 and Double Mer Point assemblage (Woollett 2003:496). Of these, 2,571 (55.2%) could be identified to the genus or species level. Seals made up nearly 94% of the total NISP,

followed by foxes (1.9%), caribou (1.6%), and dogs (1.4%). Mussel and whale were also present, with less than 1% of the NISP each, while similar small numbers unspecified fish and birds were present but not counted in the NISP (Woollett 2003:504). Within the seals, harp seals were most abundant (45% of seal NISP), followed by harbour seals (31.9%) and ringed seals (22.5%), with very little bearded seal (Woollett 2007:Table 1).

6.1.3 Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2), House 5

Eskimo Island 2 is located about 30 meters east of Eskimo Island 1. It consists of three sod houses, two of which (Houses 4 and 5) are adjacent to each other and appear to share a sidewall, while the third (House 6) is separate and located behind them. The houses are all oriented with entrance tunnels opening to the south and the shoreline. Jordan (1974) placed test pits in all of the houses in 1973, and in 1975 excavated a large portion of House 5 (Kaplan 1983).

Despite the excavation, significant aspects of House 5 remain unclear. The house is approximately 9.3 m across the back wall and 7.2 m along the side walls, with an entrance tunnel 7.5 m long (Kaplan 1983:416). Using Jordan's site map, the interior of the house appears to be up to 9 by 8 meters, contradicting Kaplan's measurments (Woollett 2003:263). With either measurement, the house is smaller than Eskimo Island 1 House 2, but new mapping is needed to establish the true dimensions of the structure. When Fitzhugh (1972:83) discovered the site, he reported that Houses 4 and 5 appeared to have been divided into two rooms. Jordan confirmed this observation (Jordan 1974:86; Jordan and Kaplan 1980:43), but a review of the evidence suggests this internal wall may be a

late addition to the house, perhaps to make the living area smaller, or it may even represent a second, smaller house built on top of the larger structure (Woollett 2003:265). Jordan (1974:85, Fig. 7) initially dated the occupation of House 5 to the first half of the 19th century. Kaplan (1983:415-19) reevaluated the material culture, showing a clear 18th-century component, perhaps as early as 1750. In order to completely understand Eskimo Island 2, it will be necessary to return to the site to conduct excavations with tight stratigraphic control and careful mapping.

In 1975 Jordan excavated 28 m^2 of the house interior and 8 m^2 of the entrance tunnel. The excavation revealed that the house was dug down into the peaty soil, reaching bedrock in some areas. The floor was paved, and benches were present on three sides along with several lamp stands. Wood structural elements were uncovered. Sediment was about 70 cm deep. The dividing wall partitioned the east side of the house, running north-south parallel to the side wall. This wall was observed to be made of turf and timber, with its base approximately 40 cm above the paved floor, indicating it was likely a later addition (Woollett 2003:265). Limited soil areas inside the house were saturated with sea mammal oil, and there was not enough oil to penetrate the floor as seen at Eskimo Island 1 House 2. Despite the unusual interior wall, Jordan (1977:144) considered House 5 to be a communal house.

Approximately 2,240 artifacts were recovered from the excavation, including Inuit and European objects, as well as 19 non-Inuit chipped stone artifacts. The assemblage is described in Jordan and Kaplan (1980), and is housed at The Rooms Provincial Museum. As with Eskimo Island 1, the published descriptions, museum catalogue and personal

observation were used to evaluate the artifacts. Despite the possibility of multiple occupations at House 5, all of the artifacts are considered together, as there was no feasible way to distinguish among them given the available information. European artifacts number 2,115. They include 1,532 glass beads, approximately 220 nails and spikes, 120 ceramic fragments, 50 unidentified iron fragments, 42 kaolin pipe fragments, 41 glass fragments, 23 gunflints or pieces of flint, 14 iron knives or knife blades, 10 fish hooks and jigs, 7 buttons, 4 decorative glass jewellery insets, 2 roofing tile fragments, a variety of clay brick or tile pieces, lead chunks, lead shot and musket balls, copper alloy thimbles, several pieces of gun hardware, cast iron pot fragments, and a variety of iron tools such as a chain, axe head, maul, shovel blade and scissors. Ceramics included creamware with a feather-edge pattern, possible Staffordshire slipware, Normandy stoneware and refined earthenwares. A total of 107 traditional Inuit items were recovered, including 36 soapstone fragments from pots and lamps, 35 whale bone artifacts including mattock blades, sled shoes and a snow knife, 5 iron projectiles, 6 bone or antler objects including an ivory harpoon socket, 6 whetstones, 3 ulus, and a variety of hide and other stone items.

Faunal remains were analyzed by Woollett (2003) in the same study as those from Eskimo Island 1. Eskimo Island 2 was not amalgamated with other sites; however, all of the faunal remains collected from the test pits in House 6 were included with those from House 5. A total of 4,496 faunal elements were collected, of which 2,701 (60%) could be identified to genus or species. Of the identified elements, 95.7% are seals, with 1.1% foxes, 1.4% dogs, and 0.9% caribou. Other identified animals present in small amounts

are codfish, salmonids, ptarmigan, bear, river otter and whale (Woollett 2003:499). Within the seal remains, 183 elements could be identified to species level (Woollett 2007:Table 1). Ringed seals were most common (45.9% of seal NISP), followed by harp seal (36.1%), harbour seal (16.1%) and bearded seal (1.1%).

6.1.4 Uivak Point (HjCl-9), House 7

Uivak Point is located in northern Labrador, about seven kilometers northeast of the Moravian mission of Okak. The site is on terraces above a cove on the southwest side of a peninsula between Okak Bay and Mugford Bay, and has an expansive view of the bay and ocean (Woollett 2007:79). It consists of at least nine sod house ruins, and, along with other nearby Inuit structures such as caches, burials, and Inuksuit, gives an indication of long-term and extensive Inuit presence (Kaplan 2009:120; Woollett 2003:294). Several other Inuit sites are located in the greater Okak region, evidence of the abundance of resources on that part of the Labrador coast (Kaplan 1983:529). The Moravian mission station at Okak was established in 1782, and mission records have been useful in the interpretation of the Inuit occupation and activities at Uivak Point (Taylor 1974a; Woollett 2003:297).

Uivak Point was first reported in 1966 by J.Garth Taylor, and visited by the Torngat Archaeology Project in 1977 and 1978, although no archaeological excavations were conducted (Kaplan 1983:528-29). In 1993 James Woollett and Susan Kaplan with the Bowdoin College Labrador Archaeology Project began a long-term study at the site, investigating the architecture, material culture and subsistence economy of 18th-century

communal sod houses (Kaplan 2009; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Woollett 2003:298, 2007:79). Excavations were carried out between 1993 and 2000 in several houses and middens, including House 7. A total of 40.5 m^2 were excavated from House 7, covering most of the floor area particularly in the north and east areas of the house. In addition to the excavation, soil samples for paleoethnobotanical analysis were collected, and cores from several timbers were taken for dendrochronological dating purposes.

House 7 is situated on a terrace about eight meters above sea level, to the west and down-slope of four other houses. It is oriented with the tunnel extending downhill from the western house wall toward the shoreline. The house is one of the largest at the site, measuring 14 meters along the back wall and 10 meters along the sidewalls at the crest of the walls, with interior dimensions of 11 by 8 meters (Woollett 2003:320). The tunnel is relatively short and difficult to delineate. It appears to be about three meters long with a cold trap, running generally southwest from the house, although the end may be obscured. Since it is constructed on a slope, substantial rock construction may have been impossible, and instead the passage was dug down into the earth (Woollett 2003:328). The house walls are made with timber and whalebone structural elements, and the floor of the house is tightly paved with stones. Only one layer of floor stones was encountered, but multiple occupations are suggested by layers of sediment above the stone floor separated by thin layers of sand (Woollett 2003:331). Sleeping platforms are present on three sides, constructed of sand and soil with a rock and whalebone retaining wall, and timber along the edge. The bench surface was covered with turf and twigs divided by thin sand layers accumulated up to 35 cm thick, again indicating multiple phases of

resurfacing and reuse (Kaplan 2009:123; Woollett 2003:332). Three possible lamp stands were identified.

A total of 2,762 artifacts were recovered during the excavation of House 7. A breakdown of the artifact categories is presented in an appendix in Woollett (2003), while diagnostic artifacts are discussed in the text. I was not able to examine the collection, and relied on Woollett's report for the analysis. Inuit artifacts represented the full range of activities performed, including land and sea-mammal hunting, transportation, house construction, manufacturing, food production and consumption, and sewing. Specific items of note are: Thule-type harpoon heads, bone and ivory harpoon foreshafts, seal-bladder nozzles, a wound plug, a possible bone wrist guard, a composite bone and iron fish hook, bone kayak paddle edges, various dogsled-related items, soapstone lamps and vessels, a wick trimmer, pendants made of bone, ivory and animal teeth, the “cup” portion of an *ajagaq* (cup and pin) game, and quantities of minimally worked wood, antler, ivory and bone. European artifacts were abundant, generally paralleling the categories of Inuit objects. These included 577 ceramic fragments of several different wares, 276 beads, gun flints and lead shot, fish hooks, knives, 2 glass goblet bases, metal buttons, an amethyst glass rhinestone, kaolin pipes, a mouth harp, 66 nails/spikes, a glass doorknob and a large assortment of unspecified iron objects.

Using a combination of historical records, artifacts, dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating, Woollett and Kaplan have assessed the likely date of the house occupation. Artifacts and stratigraphy suggest the house was first occupied as early as 1750-1760, but certainly by the 1770s, and continuously inhabited until some time after

1792 (Kaplan 2009:121; Woollett 2003:396-97). A rebuilding episode likely took place around 1785 (Woollett 2003:410), and the house was abandoned by 1807, when Moravian records no longer remark on the community (*ibid*., 413). Dendrochronology was used to refine this further, indicating an initial occupation from 1772 to 1780 and a second from 1792 to 1806 (Kaplan 2012:31)

Faunal remains were collected from the intact floor deposits relating to the occupation between 1785 and 1807 (Woollett 2003:541). A total of 7,304 elements were recovered, including 997 fragments of mussel periostracum. Of the total, 2,716 could be identified to the genus or species level (Woollett 2003:Table 9.40). Small seals made up 84% of the identified specimens, followed by fox (5.1%), dog (4.1%), large seals (1.8%), whale (1.4%) and caribou (1.0%). Small numbers of arctic hare, walrus, birds, fish, and domestic pig are also present. Ringed seals were the most commonly identified seal, composing 50% of the seal assemblage. Harp seals made up 28.9% of the group, followed by harbour seals with 15.9% and bearded seals with 5.3% (Woollett 2003:563). Two fragments of domestic pig were recovered: part of a mandible and maxilla. Since the head is not a normal portion used for consumption, it indicates the animal may have been transported live to Labrador, then butchered (Woollett 2003:563). It may also have been preserved as salt-pork (Brophy and Crisman 2013). It probably represents contact with the Moravian missionaries, who may have given it as a low-value food gift (Woollett 2003:563, 2007:79). Whale remains include several elements that are high in meat content or only present at a butchering site, an indication of hunting whales for food (Woollett 2007:80), which is supported by Moravian records (Taylor 1974b).

6.2 Comparisons

6.2.1 Architecture

The five houses are all very similar in construction design and methods. The houses are roughly rectangular, with a longer back wall than side walls. They have sleeping platforms on three sides, multiple lamp stands, paved floors and a cold trap in the entrance tunnel. All of the houses have evidence of timber construction; Uivak Point House 7 also incorporates whale bone elements, a common construction material in northern Labrador, particularly above the tree line. There is some variation in the entrance tunnels. The passage at Uivak Point House 7 is particularly short, perhaps as short as three meters, while Eskimo Island 1 House 2 has a passage over 10 meters long. Eskimo Island 2 House 5 and Double Mer Point House 2 are rather intermediate, at 7 meters, while Pigeon Cove is at the shorter end of the spectrum. It has been observed that the tunnels at Eskimo Island 1 are perhaps exceptionally long, although the reason for this is unknown (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42).

The houses exhibit some variation in size as well. Eskimo Island 1 House 2 is the largest house in Hamilton Inlet (Woollett 2003:259), with dimensions of approximately 12.3 by 8.4 meters (103.3m^2). It is not clear where these measurements were taken, but they are likely from the crest of the walls, so the interior would be slightly smaller. Pigeon Cove, with interior dimensions of 11 by 9 meters (99m^2), is very similar in size, with Uivak Point House 7 not much smaller at 11 by 8 meters (88m^2). The measurements of Eskimo Island 2 House 5 are not clear, but the house interior is approximately 9 by 8 meters (72m^2) or a little smaller, making it intermediate in size. Double Mer Point House

2 is significantly smaller than all of the comparative structures, with interior dimensions of 6 by 4.5 meters (27m^2). As discussed in a previous chapter, Double Mer Point House 2 may have been constructed in the available space between Houses 1 and 3, limiting its size. Interestingly, rather than revert to older house forms with only one bench to maximize interior work space, the interior is organized in the same way as the larger houses. Multiple platforms and lamp stands, with a designated cooking area often located to the right upon entrance into the house, seems to be a cultural norm independent of space availability.

6.2.2 Faunal Remains

In order to compare the faunal assemblages of the five structures, some accommodation must be made for the variety of house sizes and degree of excavation. In Table 6.1 the faunal assemblage for each house is shown as elements per square meter in order to normalize the sample for the excavated area of each house. The breakdown indicates that Double Mer Point House 2 has significantly less accumulation of faunal material compared to all of the other houses. Pigeon Cove House 1 is the closest, with about twice as much as House 2. If we assume that the amount of faunal material is a function of the length of time a house was occupied, then it is clear that House 2 was occupied for a much shorter time than the other houses. It will be interesting to see if the other two houses from Double Mer Point were also occupied for such a short time, or if House 2 was occupied for only a portion of the duration of the community as a whole.

Table 6.1: Comparison of concentration of faunal remains

Structure	Faunal Sample	Excavated area (m^2)	Fauna/m^2
Pigeon Cove House 1	4281	89	48.1
Eskimo Is. 1 House 2	4658[1]	44	105.9
Eskimo Is. 2 House 5	4492[2]	36	124.8
Uivak Pt. House 7	6307[3]	40.5	155.7
Double Mer Pt. House 2	1187	47.5	25.0

1: Amalgamated total with Jordan's test pits at Double Mer Point
2: Amalgamated total with Jordan's test pits at Eskimo Island 2 H6
3: From last occupation only, and without mussel periostracum

The faunal assemblage from Double Mer Point House 2 aligns strongly with those from the other comparative houses. Seals make up 85% of the identified specimens, which is the same ratio as at Uivak Point House 7, although less than the Eskimo Island houses and more than Pigeon Cove House 1. The ratios of specific seal species does vary among the houses, which is likely due to specific environmental and climatic conditions near each site. Double Mer Point House 2's seal use most closely reflects that of Eskimo Island 2 House 5, with ringed seals making up about 45% of the seal numbers, harp seals 35-45%, and bearded seals about 1.5%. Eskimo Island 2 House 5 used about 16% harbour seal compared to Double Mer Point House 2's 7%. Uivak Point House 7 was also similar in seal usage, with about 50% ringed seal. Pigeon Cove House 1 was much more dependent on ringed seal (76% of seals), while Eskimo Island 1 House 2 was more dependent on harp and harbour seals.

Double Mer Point House 2 stands out from the other houses in terms of caribou use. Nearly 8% of the identified remains were caribou, while Pigeon Cove used 5.4%, and the remaining sites had about 1-1.5% caribou. This may be due to the opportunistic

harvesting of caribou during a relatively short occupation, skewing the numbers slightly higher. Alternatively, some caribou remains may be intrusive from dumping on the house after its abandonment. Although material from the upper fill levels of the northeast portion of the house were removed from analysis, some of the fauna may have been missed. If a butchered caribou was deposited on top of House 2, it would potentially skew the results.

Domestic pig remains were recovered from Uivak Point House 7 and Pigeon Cove House 1. While no faunal remains from domestic animals were recovered from Double Mer Point House 2, remains of European insect species associated with grain-based foods were found (Lalonde 2015). No indication of European foods was found at the Eskimo Island sites, but the houses were not completely excavated, and no samples were taken for archaeoentemological analysis. Further research at the sites may reveal new evidence, but for now the lack of remains is inconclusive. These three houses make a case for Inuit experimentation with European food sources in the late 18th century. While the pig at Uivak Point House 7 is most likely from the Moravians, the foods at the southern sites could have been acquired through either trading or raiding. Moravian accounts from Hopedale record an Inuit journey to Kippokak in 1795, where traders gave "biscuit" in exchange for skins and blubber (Brice-Bennett 1981:39). Pierre Marcoux was documented by Moravians providing bread to Inuit (Rollmann 2013). He expanded his enterprise from Hamilton Inlet into Kippokak (Stopp 2008:32), and likely had a similar business model in both locations.

6.2.3 Material Culture

Just as with the faunal remains, the artifact assemblages must be normalized in order to make accurate interpretations. Table 6.2 shows a comparison of the artifacts recovered from the houses. The number of artifacts has been divided by the total area excavated in order to compare the density of the artifacts. Artifacts attributed to other Recent Indian or Paleoeskimo sources were not included, since the focus of the comparison is on the Inuit occupation. Artifacts that could not be attributed to either Inuit or European sources with certainty, such as most of the hide and leather fragments, were also not included. The ratio of Inuit to European objects was recorded and, in addition, the number of different artifact classes for each culture has been determined. This was done by counting the different types of artifacts from each house, in order to quantify the variety present. Artifacts made by the Inuit from European iron were considered to be Inuit. For example, if hypothetical assemblage had 21 nails, 12 creamware sherds, 2 pearlware sherds, an axe, 4 lead shot, 2 iron harpoon endblades, a whale bone sled shoe, and 3 whale bone snow knives, there would be 5 European classes and 3 Inuit classes recorded.

The most apparent observation is the size of the assemblage from Eskimo Island 1 House 2. With nearly 10,000 artifacts, of which 8,968 are beads, the ratio of European to Inuit artifacts is by far the largest, as is the number of artifacts/m^2. However, when we look at the number of European and Inuit classes, Eskimo Island 1 House 2 does not stand out dramatically from the other southern houses in terms of variety of European objects. If we artificially adjust the number of beads to 1,873 (the same concentration of beads/m^2

Table 6.2: Comparison of artifact assemblages

Structure	European Items	Traditional Inuit Items[1]	Total Artifacts	Excavated area (m^2)	Artifacts/ m^2	Euro: Inuit Ratio[2]	Euro Classes	Inuit Classes
Pigeon Cove House 1	3741	208	3949	89	44.4	18:1	55	20
Eskimo Is. 1 House 2	9840	139	9979	44	226.8	71:1	56	29
Eskimo Is. 2 House 5	2115	102	2180	36	61.6	21:1	62	18
Uivak Pt. House 7	1872	421	2293	40.5	56.6	4:1	47	42
Double Mer Pt. House 2	1785	83	1868	47.5	39.3	22:1	55	20

1: Includes items incorporating European metal, such as ulus.
2: Ratio of total European items to total traditional Inuit items

as Eskimo Island 2 House 5, the site with the next highest concentration of beads), then the Euro/Inuit ratio becomes 20:1, which is more in line with the other southern houses. The artifacts/m^2 becomes 65.7, still the highest of the sites under consideration. In terms of the Inuit artifacts, Eskimo Island 1 House 2 has the second most variety. This may be a result of several factors. First, Eskimo Island 1 House 2, with its general 18th-century date, was probably occupied a little earlier than the other sites being considered. The inhabitants may not have begun using as many European objects to replace traditional implements. Fewer gun flints compared to other sites, and a lack of other gun hardware, for example, may indicate that traditional hunting tools were being used more than firearms. Alternatively, preservation conditions may have been such that more bone and wood artifacts were able to be recovered, and thus are more representative of the variety of objects actually used. The massive quantity of beads is probably best explained by

trade. Inuit from Eskimo Island are documented trading seal oil to Pierre Marcoux in the 1780s (PC No. 1292, 1299). The thick layer of sea mammal fat and oil in Eskimo Island 1 House 2 was interpreted by Jordan (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42) as a sign of processing oil for trade. It appears that the Inuit at Eskimo Island 1 House 2 focused on acquiring beads over other possible materials. Perhaps this was an economic decision, since beads are small and easy to transport, yet were considered high value (Driscoll 1984; Karklins and Adams 2013:96; Stopp 2008:76), making them an excellent choice to carry north in the Inuit coastal trade network. In general, this quantification confirms the observation that the number of beads from Eskimo Island 1 House 2 is unusually high. However, in terms of the other artifacts, Eskimo Island 1 House 2 is very similar to other southern houses, and there may even be an argument for a more traditional lifestyle outside of the trading market.

Uivak Point House 7 also stands out from the other houses. This is primarily apparent in the ratio of European to Inuit artifact numbers, and in the variety of Inuit and European items. Unlike the southern houses, Uivak Point House 7 has a low ratio of European to Inuit artifacts, fewer classes of European objects and more classes of Inuit objects. Inuit artifacts made of a variety of materials were recovered; ivory, wood, baleen, whale bone and antler were all present. Permafrost conditions made it more likely that these types of materials would survive compared to southern sites, where permafrost is nonexistent or patchy (Woollett 2003:147-151). The differences are perhaps more likely a reflection of the different relationship with Europeans and the Inuit coastal trading network. Whales were hunted and scavenged in the Okak region (Taylor 1974b:Table 10;

Woollett 2007:79), providing a source for the materials desired by European traders. Residents of Uivak Point are less likely to have been in contact with European traders compared to those who lived further south. While travel to the south was possible, it would likely have been a multi-year commitment, with transit time taking enough of the summer season to warrant spending at least one winter away from the northern settlements (Rollmann 2013; Taylor 1974a:8-9). In addition, the entire community needed to be dedicated to the endeavour in order to provide the people, boats and other supplies for such a trip (Kaplan 1983:353-56). As a result, not every family was able to make the journey to do their own trading. It is more likely that most Inuit that far north were primarily consumers in the Inuit coastal trade network, exchanging locally acquired baleen, whale bone, ivory and perhaps oil for European goods from fellow Inuit who made the journey on a regular basis (Rollmann 2011:6-7). The lower numbers of European artifacts attest to the apparent difficulty or cost of acquiring the objects. In 1786 the Moravians established a mission at Okak, only a few kilometers away (Rollmann 2006; Woollett 2003:294). This could also have been a source for European goods, although the selection was not the same due to the Moravians' desire to maintain various aspects of Inuit lifeways, such as dependence on traditional hunting techniques for food acquisition (Rollmann 2011:6, 2013). Despite the nearby Moravian source, many Inuit continued to acquire goods from southern sources (Rollmann 2011, 2013).

The southern houses of Pigeon Cove House 1, Eskimo Island 1 House 2, Eskimo Island 2 House 5 and Double Mer Point House 2, all have similar variety of European and Inuit artifacts and, once the beads are adjusted at Eskimo Island 1 House 2, similar ratios

of European to Inuit materials. When the assemblages of European goods are compared, the primary differences in type are seen in the particular types of ceramics, and the particular forms of some of the iron objects. The ceramic differences can be attributed to the era in which the houses were occupied and the dominant trading partners of those eras. The ceramic types are all types that were relatively common and cheap in European markets. The only porcelain is actually found at Uivak Point House 7. Regarding the iron objects, the houses have the same basic materials such as nails and spikes, straps, knives, fish hooks and unidentifiable rods and pieces. Eskimo Island 2 House 5 has a few more tool forms, such as a hammer, shovel, chain, padlock and key, compared to Double Mer Point House 2 and the other sites. These may be from the more recent 19th century occupation, when the inhabitants may have taken on more European lifeways. The small number of differences in particular iron objects are otherwise incidental objects that likely were chance variations in the trade of personal goods by individuals (Crompton and Rankin n.d.).

The differences between the southern houses become more apparent when the quantities of particular classes of artifacts are reviewed (Table 6.3). In order to compare the variously-sized houses, numbers of specific commodities were divided by the area excavated. Through this method, house size and, therefore, number of occupants normalized. This also allowed for comparisons to length of house occupation, as described above. The quantity of beads at Eskimo Island 1 House 2 has been discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Beads are also present in relatively high numbers at Eskimo Island 2 House 5 (1532; 42.5/m^2) and at Double Mer Point House 2 (695; 14.6/m^2), while

Table 6.3: Comparison of concentration of selected European materials

Structure	Excavated area (m^2)	Fauna/ m^2	Beads	Beads/ m^2	Ceramic frags	Ceramic/ m^2	Nails	Nails/ m^2
Pigeon Cove House 1	89	48.1	160	1.8	1119	12.6	1533	17.2
Eskimo Is. 1 House 2	44	105.9	8968	203.8	51	1.2	600	13.6
Eskimo Is. 2 House 5	36	124.8	1532	42.6	120	3.3	220	6.1
Uivak Pt. House 7	40.5	155.7	276	6.8	577	14.2	66	1.6
Double Mer Pt. House 2	47.5	25.0	695	14.6	84	1.8	612	12.9

at Pigeon Cove House 1 only 160 beads were recovered (1.8/m^2). If we assume that Eskimo Island 2 House 5 was occupied about five times longer than Double Mer Point House 2, as indicated by the faunal data above, then Eskimo Island 2 House 5 should have the opportunity to acquire about five times as many beads. In fact, the number of beads/m^2 at Eskimo Island 2 House 5 is only about three times higher, indicating that the occupants of Double Mer Point House 2 were perhaps more focused on beads as a commodity.

It seems that the communities in Hamilton Inlet may have specialized in trading beads over other materials. Pigeon Cove House 1, however, may have focused on ceramics and nails. Over 1,100 ceramic fragments were recovered from Pigeon Cove (12.4/m^2), representing at least 26 vessels, while Eskimo Island 2 House 5, the next highest frequency, had 120 fragments (3.3/m^2) from a minimum of 16 vessels. Double Mer Point had 84 fragments (1.8/m^2) from only a minimum of 8 vessels, while Eskimo

Island 1 House 2 had 51 pieces (1.2/m^2) from a minimum of 14 vessels. The ceramic assemblage at Pigeon Cove includes a mix of French-sourced utilitarian vessels and finer English-sourced wares (Collins 2015 pers. comm.), indicative of mixed trading partners and possible scavenging of seasonal French fishing camps (Wolfe 2013). The 600 nails (13.6/m^2) recovered from Eskimo Island 1 House 2 can be interpreted as evidence for collecting and processing iron in preparation for trade (Rankin 2013:315). Pigeon Cove House 1 has an even higher concentration of nails (n=1533; 17.2/m^2), and possibly only half as long to have acquired them. The collection includes both straight and curved and clinched nails, indicating that many were scavenged from other objects or structures (Wolfe 2013:106). Double Mer Point also had a high concentration of nails, perhaps higher than Pigeon Cove given the apparent length of occupation; they appear to be a secondary focus area to beads. An alternative interpretation would suggest that the occupants of Pigeon Cove and Double Mer Point House 2 were using more nails in the construction of their houses or other wooden objects that did not survive in the archaeological record.

Pigeon Cove's location on an island in the outer reaches of Sandwich Bay may be related to a focus on ceramics and nails. During the mid-18th century, French fishermen frequented the southern Labrador coast (Crompton 2014; Kennedy 1995:20-25). Residents of Pigeon Cove could easily have made contact with passing boats to trade for ceramics such as storage and utilitarian vessels used on board (Wolfe 2013: 151). George Cartwright's trading post on the southern shore of Sandwich Bay was not constructed until 1775, near the end of or after the Pigeon Cove occupation (Stopp 2008:17), so was

not a likely source of European goods at the time. In addition, Sandwich Bay was a fairly short commute to the Strait of Belle Isle, where seasonally abandoned fishing stations could easily be raided for nails and other gear left behind. Nails may not have been supplied by Europeans as a trade material, and Inuit likely continued to collect them from European sites well after trading relationships were common (Wolfe 2013:113). The residents of Pigeon Cove may have had a small sailing boat, as evidenced by the substantial amount of hardware and equipment recovered from the excavation (Crompton and Rankin n.d.). If this was a boat used by residents of Pigeon Cove and not one scavenged for its iron content, the owners would have had a good method for accessing the fishers and traders of the southern coast.

6.3 Discussion

The discussion will focus on the question from the beginning of the chapter, namely, what these communal houses indicate about the different Inuit trade relationships with Europeans.

With all of the houses, the wide variety of European-source materials suggests a definitive trading relationship rather than an economy based solely on scavenging materials. The southern houses from Pigeon Cove, Eskimo Island 1 and Double Mer Point have a nearly identical breadth of variety of European objects, with differences between them apparent in the volume of particular types of objects. Eskimo Island 2, with its clear 19th-century occupation on top of an older house, has slightly more types of European items and fewer types of Inuit items. This is likely a reflection of that later occupation,

when Inuit and Métis families were living in single family houses and had adopted many European habits and economic strategies (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kennedy 1995). At this point we cannot clearly distinguish the two phases of occupation at Eskimo Island 2 House 5; however, there are enough similarities with the assemblages of Eskimo Island 1 House 2 and Double Mer Point House 2 to suggest that the 18th-century occupation did not differ significantly from neighbouring sites. The broad similarities in European items indicates that the Inuit traders knew what types of things they wanted to acquire and targeted them, which in turn allowed regular European visitors and owners of trading establishments to tailor their offerings to meet those needs. The variation in the particular items present at a given site is likely the result of encounters with individual European fishers or one-time visitors who were trading personal items in order to boost their meagre seasonal income with a few furs or pieces of baleen (Crompton and Rankin n.d.).

One way that Double Mer Point House 2 stands out from the other sites is the apparent short duration of occupation, based on the accumulation of faunal debris. Murphy (2012; also Kennedy 2009) has suggested that communal houses in southern Labrador varied from their central and northern counterparts in the amount of time they were occupied. She argued that front-of-the-line traders who likely occupied these southern houses necessarily had to be mobile in order to reach Europeans at whatever location they may be visiting in a given year. The communal house, then, was more of an identity marker than a requirement for survival (Murphy 2012:53). Double Mer Point House 2 may be an example of this type of structure. It is slightly different than the focus of Murphy's study, Huntingdon Island 5 House 3, in that there are approximately two

times more fauna/m^2 and a little over three times more artifacts/m^2, suggesting a slightly longer occupation and more intense trading. This is explained by the location of Double Mer Point House 2 in Hamilton Inlet and the European dynamics of that region.

Eskimo Island has a long Inuit occupation. Its three sites indicate Inuit had been living there almost continuously between the late 16th century into the mid 19th century (Jordan 1978; Kaplan 1983). Although Jordan (1978) believed Eskimo Island was abandoned during the second half of the 18th century, Kaplan's (1983) reevaluation of the artifacts from Eskimo Island 2 House 5 shows a clear late-18th century component, suggesting that if the island was abandoned at all, it was not for very long. European traders were present in Hamilton Inlet beginning in the mid-1740s with a post at North West River at the western end of Hamilton Inlet. They remained active at that site until some time in the 1750s, and then were reestablished in the early 1780s (PC No. 1234). In the 1780s, the Inuit at Eskimo Island were trading seal oil at North West River, and the traders there were making efforts to entice Inuit from further afield to trade there as well (Brice-Bennett 1981:37-38). Moravian records from Nain and Hopedale from the 1770s and 1780s indicate that Inuit from their missions and further north were leaving to go south, to such places as Hamilton Inlet and Chateau Bay, where they could trade for things the Moravians were unwilling to provide, such as guns, alcohol and boats, and get goods at cheaper prices (Brice-Bennett 1981:34; Hiller 1967:138-140; Rollmann 2013; Taylor 1977:51). Newcomers to Hamilton Inlet may have had a difficult time joining a well-established settlement, such as at Eskimo Island, without having kinship connections (Kaplan 1983:357). Double Mer Point provided a location with equally good access to

food resources, and a better view of the bay to keep a lookout for newly arriving boats. The location would still allow the occupants to access the trading posts in western Lake Melville, but without the potential conflict of living with another unknown community. The northern Inuit may not have stayed long, continuing on in search of other trade goods, or returning to the north after accomplishing their goals.

Comparisons between Double Mer Point House 2 and the other houses at Double Mer Point will give an indication of the longevity of the site as a whole, which may impact this interpretation. In addition, comparing these southern trading communities to known northern traders will help us understand if the southern variation of the communal house is more a function of mobile traders or the southern location.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusions: Toward a More Complete Understanding of Inuit Life in Hamilton Inlet

This final chapter provides a condensed version of the excavation results from Double Mer Point House 2. This is used as a reference to address the research questions proposed in Chapter 1. The chapter will conclude with related topics that would benefit from future research.

7.1 Summary of Findings

Excavation was conducted at Double Mer Point, a historic Inuit sod house community in the Narrows of Hamilton Inlet, Labrador. House 2, the central and smallest house at the site, was the focus of the investigation. The excavation revealed a semi-subterranean sod house with all of the features of a communal house. It was built with timber structural elements and sod walls, has a paved stone floor, low sleeping platforms along the rear and side walls, and several lampstands. The house interior measures approximately 6 m along the back wall and 4.5 m along the side walls, for a total area of 27 m^2. It has a paved entrance passage approximately 7 m long with a cold trap. House 2 is quite small compared to other communal houses. This may have occurred if House 2 was constructed after the other houses at the site, and was made to fit into the available space between them. Alternatively, the other houses may have been expanded after the

abandonment of House 2; however, the width of the side benches indicates that if House 2 was truncated, it was not by much.

Approximately 2300 artifacts were recovered, representing traditional Inuit objects and a wide variety of European materials. 81% were of European origin, 4% were Inuit, while the remaining 15% were either unattributable or Paleoeskimo in origin. Inuit materials included whalebone tools such as a mattock blade and sled shoe, iron projectile points and endblades, soapstone pot fragments, a near complete soapstone lamp, a possible bear tooth amulet and various materials such as mica, pyrite, antler and worked whale bone. European materials included 695 glass beads in a variety of colours and styles; ceramics such as creamware, Normandy stoneware, tin-glazed earthenware, Ligurian-style CEW, and Cox-style CEW; 612 iron nails and spikes; a variety of other iron tools; knives; spall-style gun flints; glass fragments; kaolin pipes; a gilded glass inset with a crucifix engraving; a tin-plated button; a brass trigger guard from a British Sea Service musket; and an Ottoman clay pipe bowl.

Over 1,100 faunal remains were also collected. These were primarily seal (84% of NISP), with smaller amounts of caribou, dog, fox, bear and shellfish. Codfish and birds were also present in minimal amounts. Within the seal assemblage, ringed and harp seals were most common, with smaller amounts of harbour seal and a few bearded seal elements. The combined artifact and faunal distribution indicate that the northeast portion of the house was used primarily as a food production area. Many faunal remains and charred organic material was recovered from this area. Most of the other artifacts were recovered from the southern portions of the house, indicating that other activities such as

tool and clothing manufacture were somewhat separated from food preparation.

7.2 Addressing the Research Objectives

The research objectives for this project were laid out in detail in Chapter 1. The first goal was to establish the occupation period for Double Mer Point House 2. This will situate the house in relation to other settlements in Hamilton Inlet and Labrador in order to address the other two areas of investigation. The second objective was to compare House 2 to other communal houses in order to evaluate communal house use among the Inuit in southern Labrador. The final objective was to explore the relationships between Inuit at Double Mer Point and the various European groups who were establishing themselves in Hamilton Inlet and elsewhere on the Labrador coast during the 18th century.

7.2.1 Occupation of Double Mer Point, House 2

The excavation of House 2 revealed a relatively small Inuit winter sod structure designed to house multiple families. The large volume of European goods found during the excavation make it clear the site was occupied during the historic era. Specific items were used to determine a more refined occupation date, the details of which are reported in Chapter 5 and summarized here. Objects with limited production used for dating the site include creamware, Ligurian-style CEW, Cox-style CEW, TGEW, kaolin pipes, the trigger guard, the fork, and the button. Normandy CSW and most of the beads have broad production dates that are less useful for determining a narrow window of occupation, but they corroborate an 18th-century occupation. Similarly, radiocarbon dates are not ideal for

identifying short occupations in the recent past, and in this case can only support the date indicated by the artifact assemblage. Radiocarbon dates combined with the assemblage suggest the site was occupied during the period of 1760-1790.

The chronology of Inuit occupation in Hamilton Inlet as a whole was investigated by Richard Jordan in the 1970s (Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980) and is reviewed in detail in Chapter 2. Briefly, his interpretation of the 18th century is as follows: After initial colonization at Eskimo Island 3 in the late 16th or early 17th century, Eskimo Island 1 was inhabited in the mid-18th century. The site was attacked approximately 1760 and the survivors moved to Double Mer Point where they lived until about 1800, after which they returned to Eskimo Island 2. Finally, families dispersed to single-family homes such as Snooks Cove in the mid-19th century. The occupation period of Double Mer Point House 2 fits this interpretation; however, the site as a whole may have been occupied longer, into the early 19th century. When the information from Double Mer Point is combined with other recent research at Snooks Cove (Brandy 2013a, 2013b; Pritchard n.d.), the discovery of new possible-Inuit sites from the late 18th-early 19th century (Brake and Davies 2015) and reinterpretations of Eskimo Island 2 (Kaplan 1983; Woollett 2003), it becomes apparent that the Inuit experience during the late 18th and early 19th centuries was more complex than Jordan proposed. The sites of Eskimo Island 2, Double Mer Point, Snooks Cove and even Palliser Point may all have been occupied at the same time, with the members of each community choosing a slightly different approach to participation in the trading post economy. Most noticeably, communal houses were beginning to transition to single family dwellings, at least in part due to the level of

involvement in the fur and salmon industries. At this time, it seems that Double Mer Point may be one of the last places in Hamilton Inlet that Inuit were living in communal houses.

7.2.2 Communal House Use

House 2 has all of the features of a communal house, despite its small size. With an interior roughly equivalent in size to the single family dwellings of 17th-century Eskimo Island 3 or 19th-century Snooks Cove, this suggests that the organization of space inside the house by the third quarter of the 18th century was a cultural change and not simply a desire to build larger houses. Kaplan and Woollett (2000) have argued that several aspects of 18th-century Labrador Inuit culture were responses to the opportunities and stresses placed on communities as a result of the intensifying European use of Labrador's resources. The characteristics, including polygynous marriages, display of material wealth, continued whale hunting, overt shamanism, and construction of communal houses, were perhaps methods of showing solidarity and identity as a culture when that identity was being threatened. Hamilton Inlet seems to be a perfect place to use these techniques. The region is fairly close to the primary European occupation zone in southern Labrador. Inuit from further north came south regularly to access European goods, perhaps only staying for a year or two before returning with their bounty. Within Hamilton Inlet itself, *Canadien* traders had permanent posts established in the 1740s and again from the 1780s onward, where the traders and their engagés were practically neighbours with Inuit communities.

In Hamilton Inlet, the Inuit communities of Eskimo Island 1 and Double Mer

Point are both built as linked houses, with multiple houses built side-by-side and perhaps even sharing walls. Two houses at Eskimo Island 2 are also built adjacent to each other. This method of organization is uncommon in Labrador, with very few other sites arranged in this way. More often, individual houses are near each other, but may be oriented in different directions or have more space in between freestanding structures. In Hamilton Inlet space in the landscape is not a factor limiting the area available for house construction. Eskimo Island is covered in tundra and small shrubs, and, although Double Mer Point is currently forested, the space around the houses is clear, whether a natural break or perhaps artificially cleared by the inhabitants (Kaplan 2009, 2012:37). The construction of the houses together, then, warrants some explanation. If the houses at each site were standing simultaneously, they would present an even stronger image of Inuit solidarity than a single communal house alone. This may be an indication of the pressure felt by those Inuit who lived in and travelled through Hamilton Inlet as they approached a part of the country that was known to be full of potential economic benefit and at the same time laced with physical and cultural danger. The newly identified 19th-century Broomfield Point site may also be built with this configuration (Brake and Davies 2015:29, Fig. 23; Brake pers. comm. 2015). Although the depressions and sidewalls are difficult to see, and the Inuit attribution is not certain, the three houses appear to be built in a row. If further investigation confirms this organization, the concentration of linked house sites in 18th and early 19th-century Hamilton Inlet could indicate a long-term adaptation to life in tandem with traders and settlers.

One other site with possible linked communal houses is on Niatak Island, near

Nain (Kaplan 1983:471, Fig. 108). Of the four houses identified at the site, three are large structures built together in a row and may be linked in a similar way to Eskimo Island 1 or Double Mer Point. The size of the houses suggests they may be in the communal house style, though no excavations have taken place to confirm this. The Niatak A site (also called Niatak Village) was occupied at a similar time to the linked houses in Hamilton Inlet. The site was visited by Moravian missionaries from Nain in 1773, at which time two houses were inhabited (Kaplan 1983:471; Gerald Penney Associates 1999:2). The proximity of the Nain mission beginning in 1771 may have served a similar role as the traders in Hamilton Inlet, particularly if the inhabitants of Niatak A were wary of becoming part of the mission community. Comparison of this site to Hamilton Inlet sites could be instructive in the interpretation of this style of community organization. The temporal and structural relationships between the houses within each of the communities are also necessary to understand the possible function of the houses as a unit.

Double Mer Point House 2 appears to have been occupied for a relatively short time. Using the assumption that faunal remains found within the house represent primarily food remains rather than other activities, the average concentration of remains in the excavated units was used to estimate comparative length of occupation. In this way, the size of the houses and thus, number of occupants, as well as the amount of excavation completed were normalized to allow comparisons. The results indicated that House 2 was occupied approximately one quarter to one fifth of the time of the Eskimo Island and Uivak Point sites, and perhaps half as long as Pigeon Cove (see Chapter 6). The middens on either side of the entrance passage for House 2, however, are fairly large. Jordan

([1975]) estimated from his test pits that they were 60-80 cm deep. This suggests that Houses 1 and 3 were occupied for a longer period, perhaps both pre- and post-dating House 2. It has been suggested that Inuit communal houses in southern Labrador were only occupied for a short time, as front-of-the-line traders had to be mobile to access European goods in a variety of locations and circumstances (Kennedy 2009; Murphy 2012:52-53). Despite the short occupation, the effort to build the large structures was justified by the desire to show status and power through the architecture. Hamilton Inlet is uniquely situated between central and southern Labrador, with aspects of both worlds. Long-term occupations are clear at Eskimo Island, yet Moravian diaries from Hopedale and Nain record Inuit families heading south to Hamilton Inlet, Sandwich Bay and Chateau Bay for one or two year periods to acquire goods (Brice-Bennett 1981; Rollmann 2013). It is clear that the residents of Double Mer Point House 2 were trading extensively. What is less clear, however, is the identity of the occupants. The house may have been built for a newly independent family group, perhaps after a patriarch in one of the other houses died, leaving children who, without a mediator, were unable to settle their differences and needed separate living quarters (Taylor 1974a:82-83). Alternatively, the house may have been built to house visitors or relatives from another region who joined the community for a short time to take advantage of the economic opportunities available nearby. Future comparisons among the three houses at the site will reveal more of the community structure, and allow these questions to be explored further.

7.2.3 Inuit and Europeans in Hamilton Inlet

It is clear that Inuit and Europeans have been in close contact in Hamilton Inlet over much of the 18th century, if not earlier. For much of that time, interaction was characterized by trade, guided by both parties in an attempt to develop a mutually beneficial exchange. Europeans desired baleen, sea mammal oil, seal hides, ivory and feathers, generally hoping to exchange low quality trifles to achieve high profit (Stopp 2002:74, 178). Inuit also actively directed trade offerings toward what they desired. George Cartwright's journal and papers from his time in Sandwich Bay and southern Labrador record how the Inuit preferred high quality goods, and that items that turned out to be unnecessary were quickly identified and ignored (Stopp 2002:178). The two lists of supplies needed for the "Esquimeau [sic] trade" written by Cartwright (Stopp 2002:74, 178-79) reflect a collection very similar to that found at communal sod houses in southern Labrador. This evidence supports the argument that Inuit at Double Mer Point were primarily acquiring European goods through trade relationships, rather than through raiding and attacks. The selection and origin of goods at House 2 suggest that a large portion of the exchanges were likely taking place right there in Hamilton Inlet. Normandy stoneware, Cox-style CEW and Ligurian-style CEW are all French origin, which may have come through Quebec-based merchants such as Pierre Marcoux. Historical records recount Marcoux trading harpoons, knives, blankets, needles and muskets to Inuit of Eskimo Island specifically (PC 1298, 1299), and likely with other local groups. Marcoux was known as a devout Catholic, and some documents even describe him as a priest (Brice-Bennet 1981; PC 1423; Rollmann 2013), which makes him a very likely source of

the small glass inset engraved with a crucifix. He was known to trade foodstuffs such as biscuit with Inuit, and may be a source of the European grains in the house suggested by insect remains identified in the archaeoentemology report.

Despite the large volume of peaceful trade and attempts by British authorities to curb violence, Inuit attacks on ships still occurred in 18th-century Labrador (Mitchell 2013). A few artifacts from House 2 provide circumstantial evidence suggesting the possibility of an attack on a member of the British Royal Navy. The trigger guard from a British Sea Service musket, a pipe from the eastern Mediterranean and a possible piece of iron grape shot could all point in that direction. In 1784, the Moravian diarist from Hopedale records that Tuglavina, a prominent Inuit trader and leader with connections to Hamilton Inlet, returned from a visit to the south with a British officer's uniform and two dress swords (Hiller 1967:135-36; Rollmann 2013). The timing and location of the two collections may coincide. The possibility of a British Naval officer trading away a uniform, dress swords, and a Navy-issue musket in addition to personal belongings such as a pipe seems unlikely; however, without further evidence supporting the possibility of an attack, the method of acquisition remains speculation.

Despite the relatively late period of occupation and close proximity of European traders, trappers and even early settlers, the Inuit living at Double Mer Point House 2 were maintaining a largely traditional lifestyle, with only a few chosen aspects of European life beginning to be seen. The faunal assemblage indicates primary reliance on seal and caribou. Dogs and komatiks were still vital to winter travel; soapstone lamps and pots were being used with few ceramic vessels present; harpoons, arrows and other

subsistence tools were largely Inuit-made or modified. The areas where European goods are used are direct replacements, such as iron knives instead of slate, or the directed incorporation into traditional lifeways, such as guns, beads and other decorative items. The changes coming in the 19th century are on the periphery: possible evidence of flour-based food, limited smoking pipes, and a few scraps of woven textiles.

7.3 Conclusion: Toward a More Complete Understanding of Hamilton Inlet

In many respects, the European development of Hamilton Inlet mirrors that of the southern Labrador coast, albeit in a more condensed time scale and with a smaller population. Early explorers lead to steady development of trapping, trading and fishing industries, and finally to settlement in the 19th century. Hamilton Inlet was home to a significant Inuit population as well. The Inuit may have come to Hamilton Inlet to target European goods from the outset, and the region has been inhabited by them continuously since the early 17th century. During the 18th century the two groups learned to live together, balancing the costs and opportunities of their relationships. Inuit seized the opportunity of commerce, accessing nearby traders as well as travelling further along the coast to find other opportunities. At the same time they were well aware of the costs, and may have tried to mitigate those by living in communities of linked communal houses, portraying an image of identity and solidarity to whoever, Inuit or European, may pass by. Kaplan and Woollett's (2000) interpretation of communal houses as a response to the stresses of outside pressures for culture change is seen in gross scale at the linked house communities of Hamilton Inlet.

Despite the pressure, Inuit in Hamilton Inlet maintained much of their traditional culture into the early 19th century. Even then, transitioning to European-style housing, dress and other lifeways was gradual and largely done by choice, as 19th-century Protestant missionaries could attest (Laing 2011; Young 1931).

Richard Jordan provided an early comprehensive understanding of Inuit life in Hamilton Inlet that has guided researchers throughout Labrador for years, and with good reason. New information from Snooks Cove, Double Mer Point and newly identified sites, as well as reinterpretation of evidence from Eskimo Island is leading to the emergence of a more complete picture. Hamilton Inlet is unique in Labrador, and furthering our understanding of the variety of the Inuit experience in the region will go a long way toward understanding Labrador as a whole.

7.4 Areas of Future Research

In order to fully understand the Inuit occupation of Hamilton Inlet, clarification is needed at Eskimo Island. The work done by Jordan at the three sites there has been used as a baseline for Inuit research throughout central Labrador; however, questions about his methods and conclusions by recent researchers have begun to accumulate. The excavation of complete houses with modern techniques will provide a better understanding of the culture history of the region, allowing researchers to focus on other questions that depend on that knowledge.

One area in particular that would benefit from the renewed research is the nature of southern communal houses. Murphy (2012) suggested that short-term occupations may

be a feature of communal houses in southern Labrador, reflecting the high mobility requirements of front-of-the-line traders trying to access European materials. It may be that this is in fact a function of trade rather than of location. The study of the houses of known traders in northern Labrador could provide insight into this possibility.

The initial review of artifacts from Eskimo Island 1, Pigeon Cove and Double Mer Point suggests that some Inuit traders may be specializing in the trade goods they target, perhaps in response to northern markets. If this is the case, our understanding of Inuit participation in the global market of the 18th century could certainly be impacted. In a related study, the ability of northern communities to potentially specialize in the products they provide for the global market should also be explored.

Finally, the excavation of all three houses at Double Mer Point will provide an opportunity to study the community as a whole. The relationship between the houses in time and space, as well as the differences in artifact assemblages and organization will help researchers understand the variation in households within a settlement. Differing levels of wealth, participation in trade networks and adherence to traditional lifeways may be apparent, giving another indication of the variety in the Inuit experience in Labrador.

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Appendix: Materials Recovered from Midden Layers over Northeast House 2

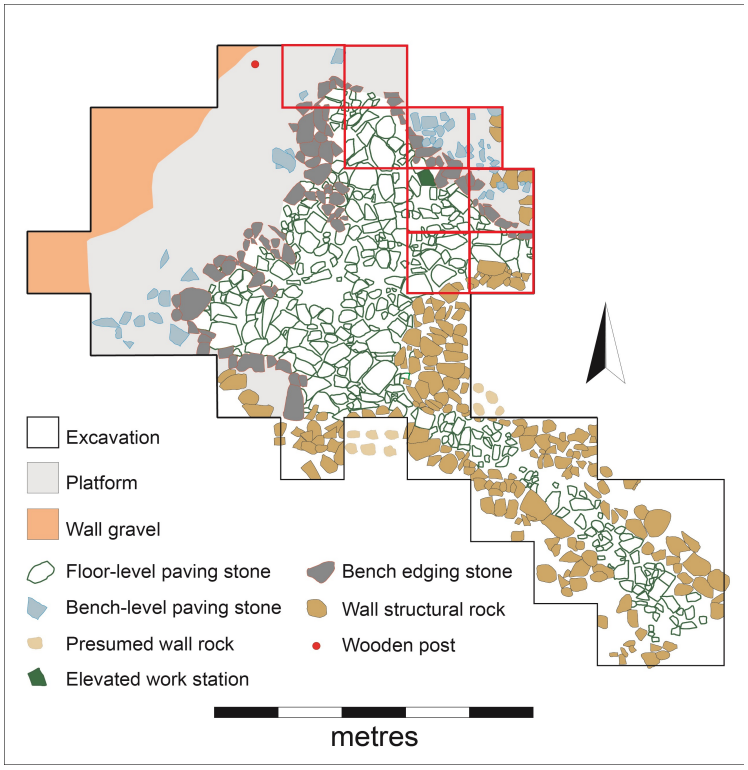

Figure A.1: House 2 with units containing midden layers outlined in red

The midden between House 2 and House 3 extended over portions of the northeast corner of House 2. In order to accurately reflect the occupation of House 2, material recovered from the sod and top 20 cm (Levels 1 and 2) of nine units was not included in the analysis. Figure A1 outlines the units that were affected by this decision. Artifacts and faunal remains from the designated levels are summarized in Tables A.1 and A.2. Photos of potentially diagnostic artifacts follow the tables.

Table A.1: Artifacts from midden over NE House 2

Artifact	Number
European	**263**
Glass beads	106
Nails	77
Ceramics	35
Unknown iron	12
Iron object	9
Pipe fragment	2
Flat glass	3
Clay fragment	6
Bottle glass	2
Non-ferrous metal object	1
Non-ferrous metal fragment	3
Misc. glass	3
Fabric/cordage	1
Leather object	1
Inuit	**10**
Mica	2
Whale bone artifact	4
Iron projectile point	1
Pyrite	3
Other/unattributed	**52**
Hide/leather	13
Chipped stone debitage	37
Chipped stone tool	2
Total	323

Table A.2: Faunal remains from midden over NE House 2

Species	**NISP**
Caribou	30
Bearded seal	1
Harp seal	13
Ringed seal	19
Harbour seal	2
Ringed or Harbour seal	24
Unspecified seal	54
Unspecified fox	1
Dog	6
Dog or wolf	2
Whale	1
Snail	1
Indeterminate mammal	84
Total	**238**

The iron objects include 5 fish hooks, 1 knife blade, 1 large folding-knife handle (Fig. A.2) and 2 iron rings; the non-ferrous metal is a lead net weight. The European leather object is a shoe (Fig. A.3). Three fragments of glass belong to an enamelled drinking vessel such as a tumbler, and one of the fragments has evidence of use as a scraper (Fig. A.4). A pipe bowl with a harp and crown moulded design was found (Fig A.5). The decoration motifs were common among several pipe makers from Bristol, England during the period 1770 to 1800 (David Higgins, pers. comm.). Initials of the pipe maker would typically be located inside the heart on the right side of the pipe; however, due to the way the bowl is broken, the initials could not be determined. The Inuit iron

projectile point is a triangular harpoon endblade with an iron rivet holding the remains of a bone foreshaft (Fig. A.6). Worked whale bone implements include a sled shoe, a partial dog trace buckle and a “C”-shaped handle (Fig. A.7). The ceramics are shown in Table A.3, while the beads are in Fig. A.8 and Table A.4.

Figure A.2: Iron folding knife handle

Figure A3: Leather shoe

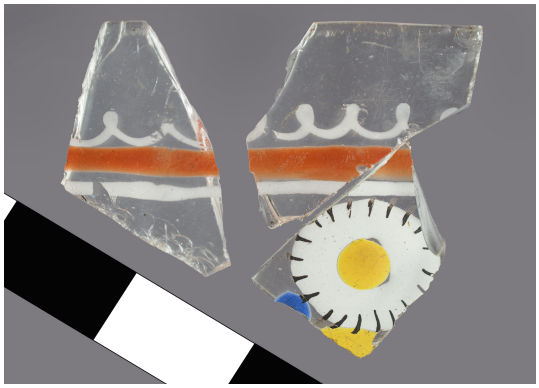

Figure A4: Enamelled glass tumbler fragments. Photo by P. Ramsden.

Figure A5: Pipe bowl with harp and crown motif. Photo by P. Ramsden.

Figure A6: Iron endblade with bone foreshaft. Photo by P. Ramsden.

Figure A7: "C"-shaped whale bone handle

Table A3: Ceramics from midden over NE House 2

Ceramic	Number of Fragments
Tin-glazed Earthenware	15
Normandy Stoneware	7
Cox-style Coarse Earthenware	7
Ligurian-style Coarse Earthenware	3
TGEW glaze fragments	3
Total	**35**

Figure A8: Beads from midden over NE House 2. See Table A4 for descriptions.

Table A4: Beads from midden over NE House 2

Classification	Description	Size (mm)	Number	Date/Attribution	Reference
Ia2 Fig. A8a	Op. black tubular	L: 4.4 D: 2.4	1	1776-80	Karklins 1981
IIa11 Fig. A8b	Op. white core, often with tsp. outer layer	L: ~2-4 D: ~2-4	76	1580-1890	Blair *et al.* 2009 Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013
IIa15 Fig. A8i	Op. white core with tsp. outer layer, tubular with very rounded ends	L: 13.1 D: 7.3	1 partial	1600-1836, Amsterdam	Brain 1979
IIa40 Fig. A8c	Op. turquoise	L: ~2-4 D: ~2-4	6	1600-1836	Brain 1979 Karklins 1981

IIa46 Fig. A8e	Op. light blue-grey	L:1.6-2.9 D: 2.4-3.8	1	1699-1890	Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013
IIa55 Fig. A8d	Tsp. dark blue	L: 2.0-3.3 D: 2.3-4.0	3	1600-1890 Amsterdam	Brain 1979
IIb* Fig. A8j	Op. brown with 6 op. stripes alternating white and redwood	L: 6.3 D: 6.6	1		
IVa5 Fig. A8g	Redwood with tsp. green core	L: ~2-4 D: ~2-4	4	1600-1836 Amsterdam	Blair *et al.* 2009 Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013
IVa13 Fig. A8h	Op. white exterior, tsp. light grey core	L: 1.8 D: 2.7	1	1560-1615	Rumrill 1991
IVb* Fig. A8f	Redwood exterior with 4 white stripes, tsp. green core	L: 2.2-2.4 D: 2.8-2.9	1	Late 18th/19th c.	Karklins and Adams 2013
IVb* Fig. A8k	Op. white exterior with 6 redwood stripes, off-white core	L: 4.0 D: 5.3	1	1670-1760 Netherlands	Brain 1979 Karklins 1991
WIb11 Fig. A8o	Spherical wound op. robin's egg blue, highly polished	L: 4.1 D: 4.0	1 partial		Stone 1974 (larger)
WIc1 Fig. A8l	Wound barrel-shaped op. white, striations visible	L: 11.4-11.9 D: 6.8-7.2	6	1700-1833	Brain 1979 Karklins and Adams 2013
WId* Fig. A8m	Wound doughnut tsp. amber	L: 5.3 D: 12.2	1	1700-1833	Brain 1979 Stone 1974
WId* Fig. A8n	Wound op. turquoise	L: 5.4 D: 7.3	1 partial		