Divided but Together:

Variation in 18th-Century Labrador Inuit Housing as seen in House 3

at Double Mer Point (GbBo-2)

by © Vincent E. Jankunis

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Abstract

The sod winter house has been a source relied upon heavily by archaeologists who study the Labrador Inuit past. Research has focused on how the size and construction of houses have changed through time and used those changes as evidence of larger social changes in Labrador Inuit society (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Murphy 2011, 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1976a, 1976b; Taylor 1976; Whitridge 2008; Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007). However, there are also differences in the design of houses that reflect variation in Inuit housing at certain points in the past. Recently, those designs present during the Communal House Phase of Labrador have been highlighted (Kaplan 2012; Murphy 2011, 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014), but little work has focused on explaining the reasons for the many different house designs. This thesis offers an explanation for the design of House 3, a house occupied at the winter community of Double Mer Point during the latter half of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century.

Acknowledgements

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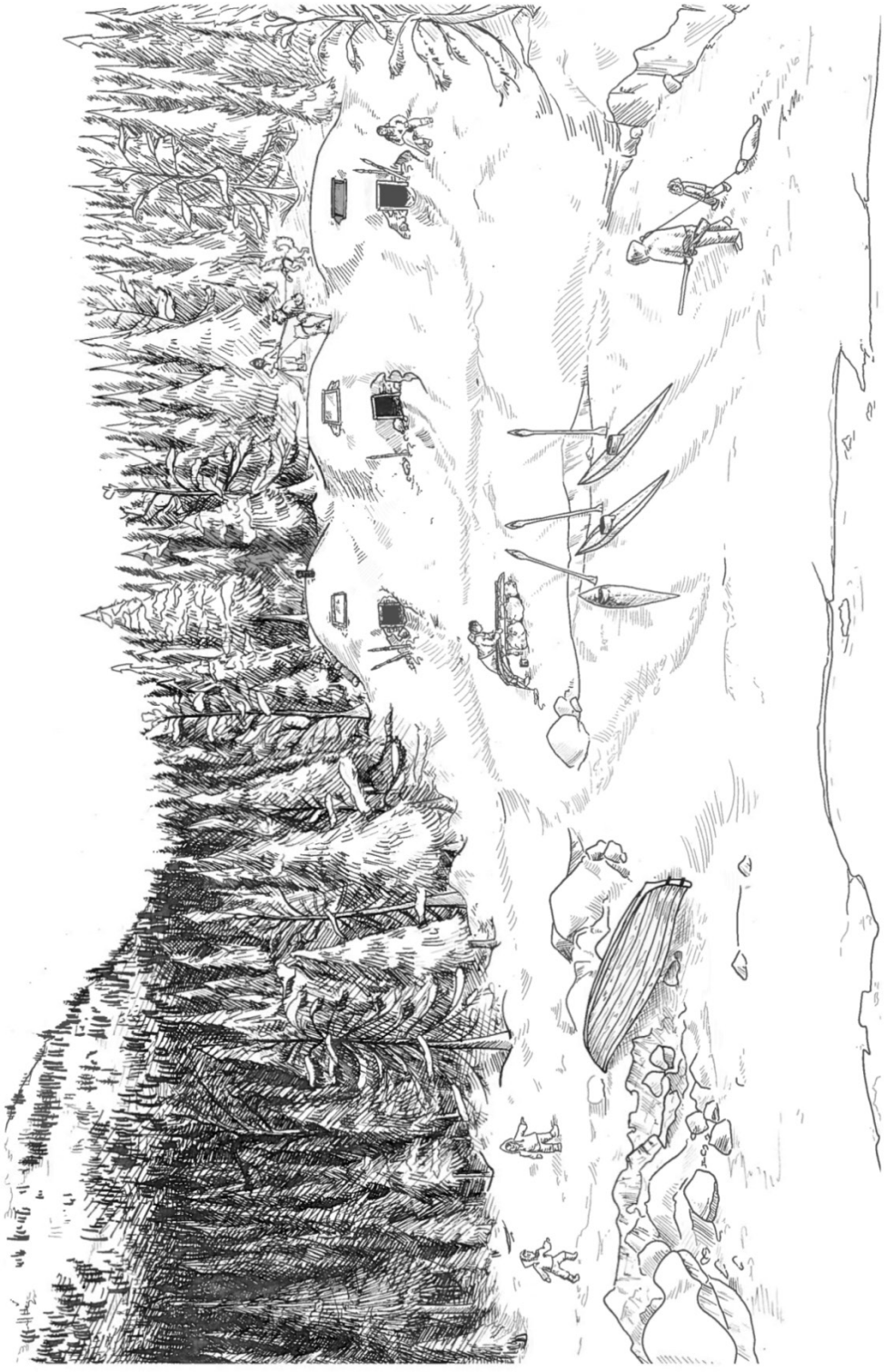

Figure 1.1 Double Mer Point ca. 1795, as imagined by Vincent Jankunis and illustrated by Meghan Walley.

1. **Introduction**

It would be difficult to name any single product of Labrador Inuit culture more important to archaeologists than the winter sod house. The most permanent type of dwelling from the past, sod houses are often still visible on the landscape. Moreover, they offer a veritable treasure trove of artifacts that accumulated over several months, if not years. Arguably, the most important aspect of winter sod houses, however, is the significant variation in their size and construction. It was noticed early on by archaeologists (Bird 1945), and quickly became the lens through which the Labrador Inuit past has been studied.

The first generation of archaeologists to devote considerable time and effort to reconstructing Labrador Inuit history did so through the variation they observed in winter sod houses. Able to confirm that the size and construction of houses changed over time, they set to work determining the age of different house designs (Fitzhugh 1972; Jordan 1974, 1978, Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1972; 1976a 1976b). The sum of their efforts was a culture-history that details Inuit occupation in Labrador from the arrival of Inuit to the peninsula, through to the 20th century. For most, it was the period of communal living during the 18th century called the Communal House Phase (Schledermann 1976a) that drew attention. For over a century Inuit chose to live in multifamily households, and for decades archaeologists have sought to explain why. The impacts of past climatic conditions have been raised (Richling 1993; Schledermann 1976b; Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007), as has the socioeconomic windfall of a developed trade economy between Inuit and Europeans (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980;

Kaplan 1983; Taylor 1976). However, such extended focus on the origins of communal living meant that until quite recently it was referred to in only general terms. Focus never shifted away from the most common design of a communal house because it was thought to be sufficient enough to explore the motivations behind the practice of communal living. There are, however, house designs represented in the archaeological record (Kaplan 2012) other than the classic large, rectangular communal house with three sleeping platforms and multiple lamp stands (Schledermann 1976a). This thesis explores one such alternative design at Double Mer Point, and suggests it represents one of the many ways Inuit practiced communal living.

For many years the dominant theory has been that communal houses developed around a class of Inuit entrepreneurs active in the burgeoning trade economy of the 18th century (Jordan 1978; Taylor 1976). Able to garner wealth and power through their role as intermediaries in the Inuit coastal trade network, it is believed large households formed around these individuals as they were joined by other Inuit wishing to benefit from their influential positions (Jordan 1978; Taylor 1976). In many cases, the list of influential positions held by these individuals also included that of whaling captain and/or shaman (*angagok*) within their communities (Taylor 1974, 1976). The strength of this theory based on social aggrandization is that it also seems to hold true when applied to households other than those of the most influential individuals in Inuit society. In the late 18th century, the most common living arrangement was composed of a male patriarch, his two sons and their families (Taylor 1974). Like the Inuit who attached themselves to the most prominent Inuit of the 18th century, the presence of the sons and their families within these communal households can also be explained through a desire to access

wealth and power. As a part of the household they would have had access to the resources of their father, and all could have worked together to further their collective position. Support for the aggrandizer theory only grows when it is applied to the design of the representative, classic communal house. In a household where everyone was invested in the wealth and power that a single individual brought, it makes sense that within its walls shared space would be favoured over personal space. However, the aggrandizer theory cannot be applied to all Inuit households of the 18th century. Moravian records list households comprised of other relationships that include those between brothers, uncles, and nieces, to name just a few (Taylor 1974:74-75); households which likely had different power dynamics and different house designs.

In recent years, archaeological research has begun to focus on the complete excavation of Inuit sod houses rather than just portions of houses or their associated middens (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Bohms 2015; Brandy 2013a, 2013b; Murphy 2011, 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014; Rankin 2015). The shift in strategy has demonstrated that Inuit agency is visible in the archaeological remains of a house; in its material culture, its overall construction, and in its internal design. In turn, this research has highlighted the areas where the theme of Inuit identity can be explored. In the most comprehensive explanation of the Communal House Phase offered to date, Kaplan and Woollett (2000) frame the practice of communal living as one part of a larger strategy developed by Inuit to combat the stresses placed on Inuit society by Europeans. They suggest communal living had the same capacity as other shared practices common during the 18th century in that as an act it strengthened Inuit social relations and demonstrated a sense of Inuit strength, or "Inuitness", to outsiders (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). The

important implication embodied in the research of Kaplan and Woollett (2000) is that Inuit winter sod house were a means of cultural production. They were not able to explore this concept beyond a general sense, but their work offers the opportunity to do so at smaller scales. Perhaps if applied at the level of the household, it could be a way to explain Inuit communal households of the 18th century that have been overlooked.

Double Mer Point, located in the Narrows of Hamilton Inlet, is a site well-suited for a re-evaluation of old assumptions about the practice of communal living. The three contiguous winter sod houses at the site have, from their time of discovery, been treated as a typical communal house community (Fitzhugh 1972; Jordan 1978; Kaplan and Jordan 1980; Kaplan 1983). Recent excavation of the three houses has demonstrated the community was far from uniform (Bohms 2015). There is an unequal distribution of prestigious artifacts between the houses, and more importantly variation seen in the construction and internal design of the houses. The focus of this thesis is the house which deviates the most from the design of the classic communal house, House 3.

1.1 Research Objectives

There are three overarching goals that have guided the direction of this thesis from start to finish. The primary goal was to provide a detailed account of what life was like for the Inuit who occupied House 3. This would help if interpretative displays are to be built at the site. The intention behind the second and third goals was to then determine where House 3 fits in the current understanding of 18th-century Inuit society. Specifically, I wanted to: 2) explore variability in Inuit houses during the 18th century; and 3) explain why that variability existed. For much of the time that communal living has been studied

the quantifiable benefits of the living arrangement have received the most attention. Access to food resources that can be measured in the amount of seal remains, for example, or the accumulation of wealth or power in the form of European goods. Now that the list of benefits provided by communal housing has been expanded to include solidarity (Kaplan and Woollett 2000), it is time the less-tangible benefits are explored in the archaeological record. The complete excavation of House 3 offers the opportunity to do so at the level of the household and community by asking how the design of a winter sod house, its faunal remains, and its artifacts reflects the social and economic strategies of a lesser-known communal household.

1.2 Thesis Overview

The following chapters are organized so that the necessary theoretical and historical background information is provided first. Focus then shifts to House 3 with a discussion of its architectural remains and associated material culture. My interpretation of House 3 is then presented in the final chapters.

Chapter 2 presents information about Inuit housing separated into four thematic sections which narrow in focus as they progress. It begins with a description of Inuit houses. The section that follows discusses approaches that have been used in the general study of houses, as well as in the context of Inuit society past and present. The third section gives an overview of the Labrador Inuit winter house. The chapter concludes by outlining my approach for studying housing in this thesis.

Chapter 3 provides the historical background. It focuses on the arrival of Inuit and Europeans to Labrador and the increased contact between the two groups in the second

half of the 18th century. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the relationship between Inuit and Europeans changed through 400 years of cultural exchange.

The purpose of Chapter 4 is two-fold: to review the history of Hamilton Inlet, the region where Double Mer Point is located, and to show how early archaeological research conducted in Hamilton Inlet led to the establishment of a narrative which describes Inuit housing in Labrador.

Chapter 5 details the results from the excavation of House 3 at Double Mer Point undertaken in 2015. The chapter begins with a description of the site. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to describing the excavation of House 3 and the architecture that was uncovered.

Chapter 6 deals exclusively with the artifacts and faunal remains that were collected from the excavation of House 3 and the surrounding middens.

Chapter 7 interprets the results of the archaeological research of House 3 and places them within the larger context of Labrador Inuit household variability. It begins with a discussion of the internal organization of House 3. This is compared to other winter sod houses of the 18th century, including those at Double Mer Point. The chapter then concludes by delving deeper into the design of the house by discussing how it acted as a means of cultural production for its Inuit occupants.

In the final chapter, findings are reiterated before possible directions for future research are given. The take away point: there is much to be learned from winter sod houses of the past when they are considered to be more than just four walls and a roof.

2. **Conceptual Framework: Homes and Domestic Space**

As a central part of everyday life, the house firmly rests where human necessity and cultural representation intersect. A product of the materials at hand, the builder's personal choices, and the influences of the larger society or culture there is no shortage of variation when it comes to such a universal human creation, and no simple way to explain it. It is a difficult, maybe impossible, task to fully understand the reasons for household variation in any one community, and the difficulty of that task is multiplied when it is undertaken at the regional scale, and even more so at the scale of an entire cultural group. Yet for those studying the Inuit past, the house has been a main focus of study, interpreted as a social tool (Mauss 1979), and a representation of cultural beliefs at the individual or societal level (Dawson 2002, 2003, 2006, 2008; Dorais 2010; Patton and Savelle 2006; Saladin D'Anglure 1977; Therrien 1987; Whitridge 2004, 2008).

This chapter draws on a selected number of authors who have commented on Inuit housing past and present, as well as authors associated with specific theoretical schools of thought that are involved with the study of housing. Their works illustrate the major theoretical approaches applied to the study of architecture over the past century and demonstrate how over that time the perceived role of architecture within the lives of people has changed. In turn, this sets the stage for a review of how the winter sod house has been used to construct a Labrador Inuit culture-history. The chapter concludes by outlining the approach I have adopted for the study of House 3 at Double Mer Point.

2.1 The Inuit Winter House

The modern association of the word *iglu* with the Inuit snow house built of spirally-stacked blocks of snow does not adequately reflect Inuit housing in the past. The accounts of early explorers and social scientists who documented Inuit groups living in snow houses in the central and eastern parts of the Canadian Arctic are partly to blame (see Birket-Smith 1976 [1929]; Boas 1975 [1901], 1888; Mathiassen 1976a [1928], 1976b [1927], 1976c [1927]; Parry 1969 [1824]; Ross 1969 [1835]). Having abandoned sod winter houses centuries before, these Inuit groups lived exclusively in snow houses throughout the coldest of the winter months. However, other Inuit, like those of Labrador, lived in houses made of sod during the winter well into the 19th century (Kaplan 1983). It is in Labrador that Victor Turner (2001 [1894]:223) learned a broader definition of the word *iglu*. He describes it as a general term meaning house, just as it does in English. Given the similarities in the design and organization of winter houses whether made of snow or sod, Turner's is the better definition of the two.

In a sweeping review of precontact and historic period Inuit architecture from Alaska, the Canadian Arctic and Subarctic, and Greenland, Lee and Reinhardt (2003) list ten characteristics shared by all primary winter dwellings (see Table 2.1). Made of snow or a combination of sod, whale bone, wood, and stone all houses benefitted from the insulating properties of a semi-subterranean (or near semi-subterranean) design which used multiple internal elevations to control the flow of air through two main house compartments. They are a sunken main sleeping chamber built below the ground surface of snow or earth, and a narrow entrance tunnel built even lower. The depth of the entrance tunnel below the main chamber's floor enabled it to act as a well to prevent cold air from

entering the house interior, a feature colloquially called a “cold trap”. Few historical illustrations depict the layout of the main chamber but those that do depict a common design regardless of building material (see Figure 2.1). Inside, the main chamber was divided between floor space and one or more raised platforms located on the rear or side walls. As the highest surfaces in the house, these platforms were the warmest places used for sleeping and sitting. Attached to or near the sleeping platforms were stands built for the oil lamps that provided a source of heat for cooking, as well as lighting and warming the home. A rack was a common piece of interior furniture and was positioned above the lamps. It served two functions: it acted as a frame to suspend cooking pots, and as a drying rack where wet articles of clothing could be placed. In addition to the light provided by the open flame of the lamp, natural light filtered into the interior through a window or skylight made of seal gut, ice, or in later times glass. If necessary, the skylight could be removed to improve air flow, but this was generally accomplished through a ventilation hole in the roof of the main chamber which allowed warm air to escape. Snow and/or sod provided the insulation for portions of the house above ground, including the roof and walls. Both materials performed a similar function, but each had benefits and disadvantages when used for house construction.

Table 2.1 Features shared by snow and sod winter dwellings. After Lee and Reinhardt 2003, Table 1.

Features shared by all primary winter dwellings
• physically discrete main sleeping chamber • moderate to marked excavation for main chamber • use of artificial lighting (oil lamps) • sooty walls due to lamps and/or hearths • barely warm to extremely hot temperatures in main chamber • some means of venting stale air and heat from main chamber • use of natural lighting (from outside main chamber) • raised sleeping platforms or benches with insulated bedding • basic binding methods (e.g., lashing, sewing, pegging, pinning), if any, in construction • middens (refuse heaps) near exterior entrance/exit

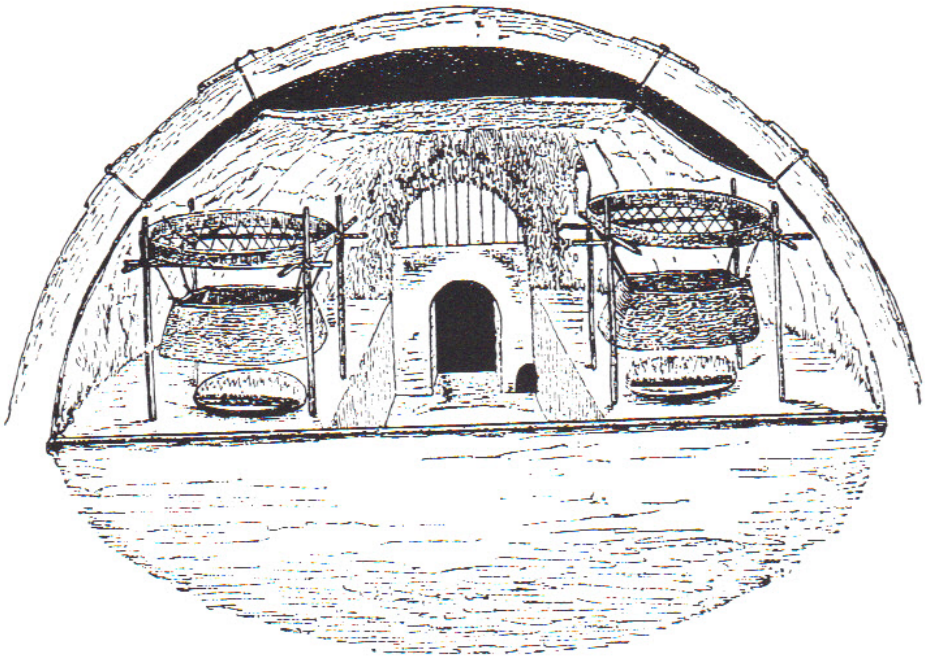

Figure 2.1 Interior of a Baffin Island snow house showing raised sleeping platforms, lamps, racks, skin lining, and tunnel. From Boas 1888, Figure 493.

Snow certainly was the easier of the two house materials to work and was readily available during the winter. When Therkel Mathiassen lived among the Inuit groups who occupied the Melville Peninsula, Southampton Island, and Baffin Island regions during The Fifth Thule Expedition (the people he called the Iglulik Inuit), he witnessed firsthand the versatility of snow house construction (Mathiassen 1976a [1928]). Between 1921 and 1923 he recorded a variety of snow house designs in use. From single-domed houses to elaborate complexes built as long-term dwellings for as many as four families with upwards of nine interconnected domes (Mathiassen 1976a [1928]:126-128). Only adequate snow, knowledge, and a handful of simple tools were required to build a snow

house, and it could be done quickly. For example, a single-domed home could be completed in as little as 45-60 minutes provided there were two builders; one cutting the blocks, the other trimming and then placing them often in the concentric pattern (Lee and Reinhardt 2003; Mathiassen 1976a [1928]:118-125). Mathiassen also noted the limited lifespan of a snow house when used as a primary dwelling. On average they lasted only a month to six weeks during the colder parts of winter. However, there were strategies which could prolong the life of the dome interior, the best being the use of a skin lining (Mathiassen 1976a [1928]:128-129). Cutting off the icicles that formed on the interior surface or applying fresh snow to soft sections as a patch were other ways to delay the inevitable deterioration of the house. However, if regularly moving from one place to another, the snow house was convenient and even presented an opportunity to alter the house design to better fit the occupant's needs. Presumably, this was the case when a four-family group Mathiassen knew moved from Aua's River to the east coast of the Melville Peninsula where they built a house with fewer rooms than the one they had left only a month before (see Figure 2.2). In other regions where snow houses were uncommon, such as in Labrador, simple snow house designs supplemented winter life as temporary shelters (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:58-60; Kaplan 1983; Lee and Reinhardt 2003; Taylor 1974, 1984:514).

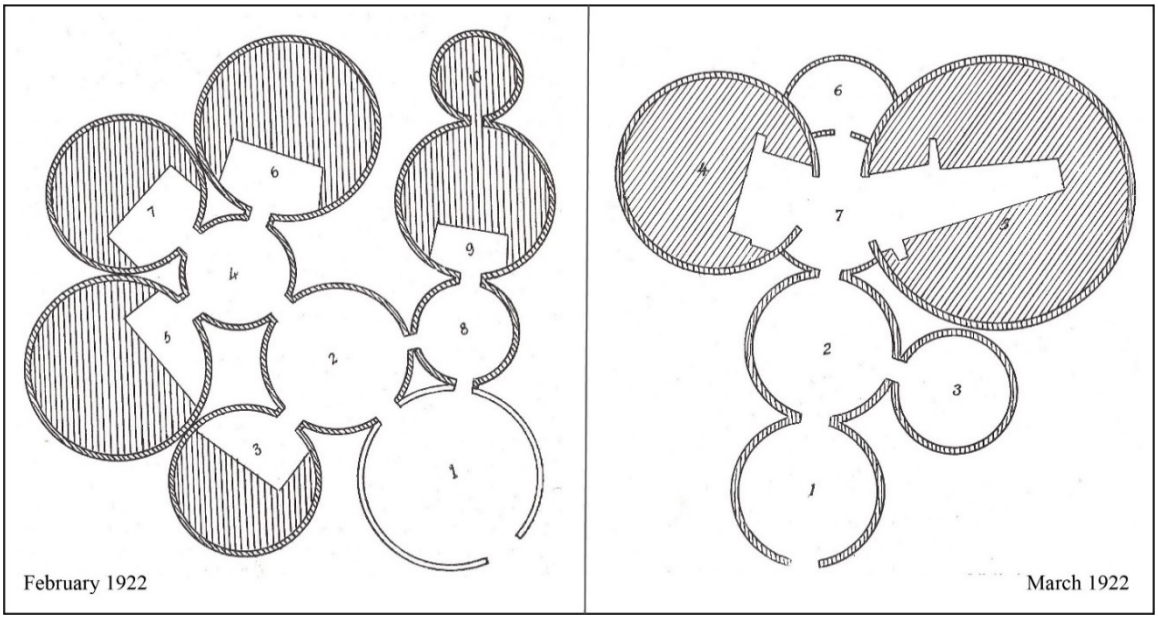

Figure 2.2 Floorplans of two snow houses occupied by the same four-family group after a move from Aua's River to the east coast of the Melville Peninsula, from Mathiassen 1976a [1928]:126-127, Figures 78 and 79.

Sod houses required more materials than snow houses and were more labour intensive, but they offered their builders a longer-lasting dwelling. Construction took a bottom up approach that first required the excavated area needed for a semi-subterranean house design. The excavated sod could be used for the walls and roof, but additional steps were necessary before their construction could begin. In some cases, stones were used to pave the floor of the house and construct a sturdy foundation. Wood or bone was also needed to build the superstructure that would support the roof and possibly portions of the walls. The reward for the time and effort spent in the gathering of materials and the construction of a sod house was the permanency of the structure. Bugs, vermin, and natural degradation that occurred during the warmer months were some of the natural

factors that determined when a house would need significant renovation. Otherwise, annual maintenance to a house's roof would have likely been enough to ensure it could be returned to with little effort year after year. Changes to the house for other reasons would have been possible too with limitations. The interior of the house could likely have been reconfigured when occupied, but changes to the size of a house would have been difficult in the winter. That is unless snow block-constructed additions would suffice.

In the end, if a discussion of Inuit winter housing is guided solely by whether a house is made of sod or snow, attention is diverted from the flexibility of Inuit housing strategies. For Inuit who had to contend with changing weather and the movement of animals both materials were beneficial, which meant their use was not always mutually exclusive. The overlap of sod and snow house use is most visible during the shoulder seasons of autumn and spring. In the central Arctic, the *qarmaq* (autumn or spring house) was a dwelling used when it was too cold to comfortably live in skin tents but too warm to live in snow houses (Lee and Reinhardt 2003). Although its roof was made of skins from the summer tents, the walls were commonly made of stone, sod, and whale bone like those of the sod winter house (Lee and Reinhardt 2003). The similarities between the remains of the transitional *qarmaq* and sod houses occupied throughout the winter can present a problem for archaeologists who prefer to distinguish the two different types of dwellings (Park 1988). In parts of Labrador it was not the warmth of sod houses that was needed in the spring, but the mobility afforded by snow house construction. Since snow houses could be built on the ice, they allowed some Labrador Inuit to live near the *sina* (ice edge) as they hunted sea mammals (Kaplan 1983). In both cases, a change in

circumstances meant a change in housing strategy. A stark reminder that there are many factors that can influence house form.

2.2 Approaches to the Study of the House

Approaches used in the study of housing, both past and present, generally fall within a spectrum anchored by practical function at one end and symbolic representation at the other. Early anthropologists saw the house as something which helped a society survive the environment they inhabited and so they often searched for the role it fulfilled. With the rise of structuralist theory in the 1970s the house became something different altogether as it was seen as a manifestation of underlying structures of the human psyche. The search for universal cognitive processes in architecture didn't last long in its original form, but it did open the door to many of the symbolic approaches that aimed to interpret the cultural characteristics of housing. The most significant change to architecture analyses came with the realization that architecture shares a dynamic relationship with those who inhabit it. Researchers continue to use approaches which strive to understand the physical, social, and symbolic attributes of architecture but they do so with an understanding that it plays an active role in the process of cultural production.

2.2.1 The House as a Tool

In early anthropological research the house was viewed as one of many tools developed by a group to survive in their environment (Lawrence and Lowe 1990). The roots of this approach can be traced back to the early cultural evolution theories of Lewis Henry Morgan, Edward B. Tylor, and V. Gordan Childe and how they saw the house as a part of cultural production. Racist overtones aside, this approach assumed a static

relationship between people and their architecture as their behaviour was dictated by external forces. Within this vein, the goal of the researcher was to understand the purpose of the building by defining how it helped maintain society. These approaches often defaulted to environmental factors to explain the variation in architecture they observed, though some researchers dug deeper in a bid to understand how architecture helped maintain society by "accommodating and/or expressing social organization, social structure, cosmology, and the like" (Lawrence and Lowe 1990:456).

Marcel Mauss adopted this approach as he offered his theory behind the seasonal variations of Inuit dwellings in his work *Essai sur les variations saisonnières des sociètès Eskimos* published in 1950. At the crux of the issue was the visible difference in settlement size during the summer versus the winter. Mauss discarded deterministic theories which chalked up the congregation of Inuit in the winter to basic necessity, and offered a holistic analysis which addressed the economic, religious, and social aspects of Inuit society (Bravo 2006; Dawson 2006; Lawrence and Lowe 1990; Saladin D'Anglure 2006). He believed there were two seasonal phases of Inuit social life which stood in stark contrast to one another, both equally important to maintain a social equilibrium (Mauss 1979:78-79). The summer was a time when groups dispersed and social bonds became "relaxed" (Mauss 1979:77). The winter was a time of cultural coalescence when individual families were brought together in a form of communal living to replenish religious, economic, legal, and social ties. In his view, the winter house was a result of the social reality of Inuit during the winter and its form facilitated one necessary half of a seasonal duality.

2.2.2 The House as a Symbol

With the introduction of structuralist theory to anthropological practice in the 1960s, researchers were offered an alternative approach to understanding human behaviour which redirected the focus from external to internal forces. It assumed there were universal mental processes housed in the human subconscious which directed behaviour and the products of this process could be found in all aspects of one's culture (Lawrence and Lowe 1990). Dubbed the "Father of Structuralism", Claude Lévi-Strauss was one of the school of thought's greatest proponents and his concepts feature heavily in much of the early research conducted under its auspices. Influenced by linguistic theory, he believed there were universal binary oppositions which governed human behaviour such as: sacred/profane, central/peripheral, male/female, married/unmarried, cooked/raw, and that homologies (similar distinctions) of these could be found across all cultural settings (Lévi-Strauss 1963). This meant certain underlying principles were adhered to in the construction of houses. To demonstrate his universal binaries at work, Lévi-Strauss draws upon the layout of the village Omarakana in the Trobriand Islands studied by Malinowski (Lévi-Strauss 1963:136-137).

Subsequent researchers sought to uncover other governing principles. Robert McGhee attempted to do so within the sphere of Arctic archaeology. In an article titled *Ivory for the Sea Woman: The Symbolic Attributes of a Prehistoric Technology*, McGhee sought to identify those symbolic attributes believed to have influenced Thule ivory use (McGhee 1977). Drawing on the taboos and mythologies of Inuit groups from across the Arctic, he postulated that certain dichotomies governed the behaviour of their Thule ancestors, including those of land/sea, summer/winter, man/woman, and tentatively,

antler/ivory (McGhee 1977:147). Compelling as his argument was, his theory remains susceptible to many of the criticisms levelled towards early structuralist approaches. It fails to account for human agency and cultural change over time, and it does not address the likelihood that the perceived unconscious mental structures are products of the researcher's culture, not the culture being studied (Lawrence and Lowe 1990). But, for its shortfalls, McGhee's loose theory made some of the first modern semantic associations of the Inuit winter house which he tied to ivory and so the linked categorical oppositions of sea, winter, and women (McGhee 1977:144). Outlined below are other symbolic associations that have been formed with the winter sod house through the later study of archaeological materials, mythology, and ethnographic accounts.

Whale, Woman, Universe, the Inuit Winter House

Symbolic associations between whales and the Inuit winter house are among the most popular and well-developed. Whales feature prominently in Inuit history and their influence in the Canadian Arctic can be traced back to the belief that the pursuit of bowhead whales drove the Thule's eastward migration, a theory which still holds weight today (see Chapter 3 for a full discussion). Even with the decline of whaling that followed the onset of the Little Ice Age, the hunt continued to play a role in the spiritual and social lives of the Inuit (see McCartney [1980] and Whitridge [1999] for an overview of whale influences on Inuit groups, as well as Taylor [1985] for a Labrador-specific example).

The most tangible connection between the winter sod house and the bowhead whale begins with their shared materials and similar designs, as whale bones were the material most often used to construct winter houses in areas deprived of timber. Working with archaeological and ethnographic data from the settlement of Tikigaq in northern

Alaska, Lowenstein (1993) suggests the association of whale and house stretches beyond the obvious biological associations in which the entrance tunnel symbolizes the whale's mouth and the main chamber of the house symbolizes the body of the whale. In Inupiat lore the *iglu* plays a central role in many stories involving whales and the rituals of the whale hunt. In one, a raven flies through the mouth of a whale at sea only to find itself in a well-light *iglu* where a woman is tending a lamp. Noticing that she exits and returns regularly the raven asks why she is so restless, to which she answers, "life and breathing" (Lowenstein 1993:41). She dies, and upon her death the lamp is extinguished. The whale also dies signifying she was its soul and the lamp its heart (Lowenstein 1993). In another story, a man returns from a hunt to learn his wife was seduced or raped by his father. In anger, he throws a drum through the *katak* (threshold) of his home into the entrance passage. The discarded drum disappears and that night the man hangs himself. Sometime later, a dead whale washes into the community and inside its gullet the lost drum is found. As Lowenstein puts it "the symbols follow one another with linear precision" with the plot of the story centering on the connection between whale and house (Lowenstein 1993:49). A secondary, but nonetheless important aspect of the story he points out, is the transitory power of the *katak*, which often acts as a metaphysical barrier in narratives demarcating the divide between land and sea (Lowenstein 1993:49). These stories, although originating from the western Arctic, intimate symbolic associations likely practiced in the central and eastern Arctic based on the widespread whaling economy associated with Thule winter houses.

A recent archaeological study conducted by Patton and Savelle (2006) offers quantifiable evidence that a symbolic association between whale and house existed in the

past. The study focused on the placement of whale bones used in the construction of Thule winter houses. Through mapping the placement of specific bones, they determined that crania, maxillae, and cervical vertebrae – all bones found in the head and upper spine and believed to represent the whale's mouth – were concentrated in the entrance tunnels of sod houses. Patton and Savelle (2006) also found that four of the 18 houses they studied stood out with significantly more bones representative of a whale's mouth. They suggest the variation between houses was due to each household's ability to participate in the symbolic construction of their house. Because successful whalers had first choice of cuts when it came to butchering the kill, the authors concluded that whalers were able to participate in the symbolic association of whale and house to a greater degree than other Inuit in the community (Patton and Savelle 2006:153).

Anthropological research on Inuit culture has also interpreted the house as a gendered space. Historically, gendered divisions permeate research focused on Inuit society and only some have expanded these divisions beyond male and female, most notably Saladin d'Angluire (1977, 2006). Within the greater body of research, the house is assumed to be a female space, and, like in the Inupiat (Lowenstein 1993) story mentioned above where the woman acted as its embodied soul, the role of women is seen as integral to domestic life. Evidence of the connection between woman and home has steered most to focus on those domestic activities carried out by women such as cooking and sewing – things easily observed in ethnographic accounts and archaeological contexts. In addition to this research, some have pursued different avenues pointing to corporeal symbolism present in story and language which equates the winter house to a woman's womb. As Dorais (2010) states the word for uterus, "*igliaq*", in Nunavik

Inuktitut (as recorded by Therrien 1987) is a variation of the word for a sleeping platform, which when translated means “the small platform”. This metaphor of house as womb is echoed in the memory of one individual who recalls their uterine life in which they describe their mother’s womb as a snow house, exited when she became too large to stay comfortably (Dorais 2010:141; Saladin d’Angluire 1977).

Drawing further on the symbolism embedded in language, it has been suggested that the house is just one part of a system designed to give order to the environment and greater universe by linking intangible things with those that are familiar (Dorais 2010; Therrien 1987). The roof of the mouth, the dome of a snow house, and the sky or heavens are all called the same, and so it has been suggested the house is a microcosm of the larger world and vice versa (Dorais 2010; Therrien 1987). The association of these three things representing the levels of person, house, and the cosmos is a stark reminder that something as universal as housing has ontological nuances.

2.2.3 Space, Place, and Cultural Traits

Identifying the influences of unseen mental processes is important for understanding a cultural group because it provides a starting point for understanding behaviour manifested in its cultural traits. Structuralists, the first group of researchers to devote significant resources to unlocking behavioural laws, knew this and made it a goal from early on. The problem was they worked under the assumption that the beliefs of the western world were applicable across all others, like the perceived separation of sex and gender. Recently, the reinforcement of the separation between the concepts of space and place has been cautioned against by Whitridge (2004) in the hopes of avoiding a similar

narrowing of perception when it comes to understanding the connection people have with physical spaces. He argues that how people view and interact with the physical world is heavily dictated by a unique cultural framework built of symbolic associations which bridge the physical and non-physical. He calls it the "imaginary" (Whitridge 2004:240).

In the western world space is generally thought of as a measurable commodity; quantifiable like the square footage of a house or the acreage of a property. It is a view that stems from the deeply rooted nature/culture divide of the western world (see Latour [1993] for a discussion on this) where the natural and social worlds are altogether separate. Place is a concept far more abstract and represents something that is created when the physical world is imbued with meaning and thus incorporated into a cultural frame of reference. Place-making is the name given to the conversionary process which makes this transition from space to place possible, and its common effects are articulated nicely in the adage "to make a house a home". It implies the house (space) is different than the home (place) and that something must happen to turn the former into the latter. This act is practiced universally and continuously but the result, as Whitridge argues, is very different if the space/place separation is removed and the connections people make with the physical world are left in a middle ground between the two (Whitridge 2004:243). In these situations, conceptual associations are equally if not more important to the use of space than the actual physical location.

To illustrate his point, Whitridge (2004) describes the imaginary of the Thule as a grouping of homologous concepts occupying different levels of scale. The most compelling of these is the connected concepts of being at rest, activity, and the storage of animals, which are followed at the levels of both the settlement and the home shown in

Figure 2.3. The highest level is where bodies lay at rest. In the house this occurs on the sleeping platforms, while in the settlement it is restricted to the burials usually found on the higher terrain behind the houses built along the shorelines. The middle level is where human activity takes place, which is in the houses at the settlement level, and on the floor areas within the house. Below the area of activity, the animals are stored. In the house, this is restricted to the entrance passage where space was often made for dogs, and at the settlement level this concept is seen in the caches of food stored on the shore for later consumption.

These semantic connections which link concepts to the physical world are just a few which may have influenced Inuit perceptions of space and how it was used in the past. However, the potential for these relations to change would have always been present as new places and new ideas were encountered. The Thule migration south and contact with European groups in the centuries to follow provided ample opportunity for both to influence the lives of Inuit. The impact of the Moravian Church on Labrador Inuit housing during the 18th and 19th centuries is only one of many examples where the imposition of cultural beliefs influenced domestic architecture and organization. The government social housing programs initiated in Canadian Inuit communities in the 1950s and 1960s provide another example outside of an archaeological context where external beliefs were forced on Inuit through housing. The friction that was created in Inuit society during the mid-20th century likely mirrored that which was present in Labrador during the late 18th century when colonial forces worked to change Inuit society. For that reason, it is explored in detail.

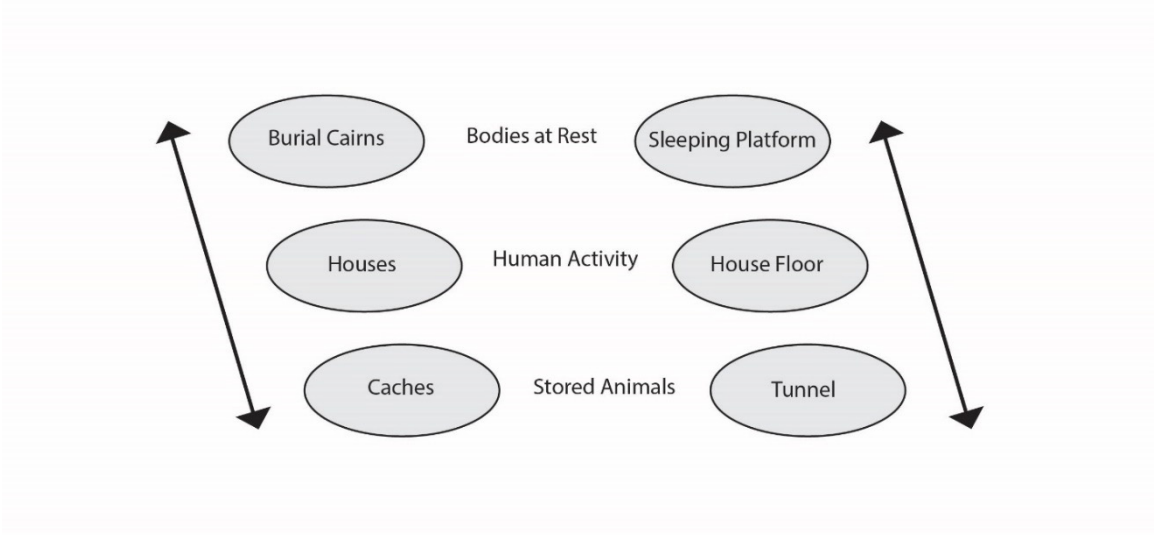

Figure 2.3 Practical and symbolic homologies of settlement and house, after Whitridge 2004, Figure 10.

Until the 1960s, the government of Canada practiced a program designed to dissuade the centralization of Inuit populations in the Arctic (Damas 2002; Dawson 2006, 2008). The Policy of Dispersal was driven by the fear of creating a situation of dependency, but its pretense represents a failure to recognize the effects that development in the north had already had on Inuit life. While some policy makers still saw Inuit settlement as nomadic, the fact of the matter was the establishment of trading forts spurred by an Arctic fur economy saw people settle semi-permanent base camps to support a hunting/trapping economy (Damas 2002:42). This move to a more permanent settlement system only intensified with the construction of missions, mines, and military establishments such as those associated with the DEW line (Damas 2002; Dawson 2006, 2008). To the Inuit, these places acted as anchors on the land because of what they offered. At the newly-founded settlements some found western education for their children, jobs, and scrap materials to use in the construction of their homes (Damas

2002). Disease also factored into the growth of these communities as some Inuit were forced to move where they could access healthcare and others sought resources when family members passed away (Damas 2002:40-41). Government officials and southerners working in the north believed the concentration of Inuit in communities and the houses they built, were major contributors to the spread of disease and the overall poor health of Inuit. However, it was unrealistic to expect Inuit to avoid high risk settlements where diseases were brought in by outsiders (Damas 2002:40-42). As for the popular belief that Inuit houses were run down and contributed greatly to poor health, that was not always true. In some cases, houses constructed with recycled materials were well-built and comfortable (Damas 2002:40-42; Tester 2006). That said, housing was a major concern of policy makers as there was widespread disparity not only within communities, but also from one settlement to the other (Damas 2002). The Eskimo Affairs Committee was formed in 1952 to address issues that stemmed from southern development in the north, housing among them, but it had limited success in improving the circumstances of Inuit populations. In the final years of the 1950s, the situation of Inuit in Canada was bad and southern perceptions were worse. Southern observers continued to vocalize their dismay at what they saw as a dire situation, and the publicized starvations in the Kivalliq region in the winter of 1958-1959 gave credence to their point of view. In 1959, a report by the Department of Northern Affairs & Natural Resources linked housing to infant mortality and poor health (Damas 2002:46; Dawson 2006, 2008).

Social housing programs were the federal government's response to the Inuit housing crisis that continued past the 1950s. The earliest programs saw government agencies attempt to provide what is now called culturally sensitive houses either by

mirroring house styles they believed would be familiar to Inuit, like the short-lived domed Styrofoam "*iglus*", or by working with Inuit-led cooperatives that offered their own designs to government agents with limited success (Damas 2002; Dawson 2006, 2008; Tester 2006). In the end, costs determined form and Inuit found themselves living in Euro-Canadian houses built and designed for southern life.

Put bluntly, Euro-Canadian houses didn't fit with Inuit life from the start because the cultural principles and practices reflected in their design ran contrary to those of Inuit society. The colonialist imposition of dominant Canadian culture doesn't appear to have been intentional, but rather a product of modernist-driven policy which sought to provide human needs through technology and order (Dawson 2006, 2008). Regardless, the effects continue to be felt in the Canadian north nearly five decades later as research undertaken in Arviat, Nunavut in the summer of 2002 has demonstrated (Dawson 2003, 2006, 2008). There, people are forced to deal with the shortcomings of their homes daily. Kitchens, for example, showcase the situation well. Designs include counters and electric stove elements which function well for southern diets but not those which rely on traditional foods of wild game. The counters are neither strong enough to support large animals nor large enough to provide the surface area needed for butchering, so this activity often takes place outside in the open air, in a tent, or in an attached cold porch (Dawson 2003:21.11, 2006:127, 2008:121-122). The common practice of cooking food in large pots, both traditional and non-traditional, has also been forced to areas outside the kitchen because of concerns for high electric bills, as well as the threat of moisture damage and the smell certain dishes create (Dawson 2003, 2006, 2008). Poor ventilation and a lack of cold spaces are additional issues which affect where activities take place and to some extent

they, like those of the kitchen, could be remedied with minor changes to house design (i.e. sturdier counters and an improved ventilation system). But Dawson points to a deeper flaw at the root of those inadequacies which comes with the use of Euro-Canadian architecture in Inuit communities; that is, a fundamental cultural difference of opinion in the importance of private versus public space.

The houses imported to Arviat were designed to meet the needs of a typical Euro-Canadian household which, in most cases, consists of a single nuclear family. Moreover, the division of interior space reflects the value of privacy widely held by western society, but not necessarily Inuit families of the north. The communal tenets of Inuit society were noticed by anthropologists early on (see discussion of Mauss' work in previous section), and Dawson (2003, 2006, 2008) argues these remain important in the greater community and continue to be practiced in the domestic setting. He points to a disjointed use of space where the higher integrated spaces – those most easily accessible from all areas of the house – are favoured over less integrated spaces for most activities (Dawson 2003, 2006, 2008). One common outcome finds families occupying living rooms together while bedrooms function as places of storage or even go unused (Dawson 2003:21.10, 2006:127, 2008:121). When asked about this arrangement, some say Inuit families are just closer than others and that it is easier to tend to children when they share quarters. In addition to these reasons, Dawson sees this communal space as integral to maintaining those bonds within the community. Visitors are common and having a space easily accessible to them helps maintain social ties, as well as the flow of information and the sharing of resources needed to support activities out on the land.

The houses of Arviat illustrate the relationship that exists between house and occupants and the power one can hold over the other. The imposition of Euro-Canadian architecture changed how people used their homes. Cooking and crafts were relegated to spaces ill-suited for those activities. Still, however hampered these activities were, people were able to import their use of space despite the conflict. They were able to "re-appropriate" the house as Dawson puts it (Dawson 2006:131). Understanding how this process is accomplished is something social scientists have been studying for some time.

2.2.4 The House as a Means of Cultural Production

With the development of structuralism in the social sciences during the 20th century came a new approach for explaining human behaviour, and by extension the relationship that exists between humans and the built environment. At the heart of structuralist theory is the belief there are unseen mental processes which influence human behaviour; processes that are manifested in the many aspects of culture, such as housing. In the early application of structuralist theory, however, practitioners were limited to describing the relationship between the underlying mental processes and human behaviour with no clear understanding of how they were formed. Not until the advancements brought to structuralism by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu was there a framework for explaining how hidden symbolic structures and human behaviour shaped one another and changed over time (Lawrence and Low 1990:469). He believed at the root of the relationship were the actions of the individual.

Bourdieu viewed the relationship between an individual and their social reality as the basis for social production in a culture. The cornerstone of his theory is the concept of

habitus illustrated in his work *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) which describes his ethnographic research conducted in Kabylia during the Algerian War of Independence. He describes the individual as a social agent who, during the course of everyday life, interacts with the "fields" of their cultural system which include shared concepts or rules related to power and class. These concepts, and the behaviour associated with them, are then internalized by the individual through the mechanism of practice or imitation, the sum of which form the *habitus*. In in other words, the *habitus* is the process of internalizing the rules and concepts of one's culture by practicing the behaviour they produce in others. It is Bourdieu's belief that the Kabyle house was divided into two sections based on binary oppositions that reflect the homologous oppositions of fire/water, cooked/raw, high/low, light/shade, day/night, and ultimately male/female (Bourdieu 1977:90-91). The impact of Bourdieu's theory of social production is great but not easily defined. It redefined the relationship between the individual and the built environment into one which is dynamic. Where the influence one has on the other can be studied - house, prison, farm, or whatever it may be. Moreover, in the acknowledgement that the relationship between house and occupant is recursive, and so continuously being formed, Bourdieu created a framework to study that relationship and made it difficult to justify simply identifying which aspects of a culture are reflected in their behaviour and architecture (Lawrence and Low 1990:470).

The belief that there is an ongoing exchange between people and their built environment is a given in modern research of Inuit housing despite the fact it is often not explicitly stated. So too is the theme of cultural production as researchers have begun to engage more fully with colonial contexts both past and present. Agency, particularly the

agency of Indigenous individuals and groups, is regularly discussed especially when the conversation revolves around responses to colonial pressures. In this manner housing can work to preserve Inuit culture. In the 1950s Inuit housing was undergoing changes in Frobisher Bay resulting from the development of a military base (Tester 2006). Some Inuit chose to distance themselves and live in tents outside of Iqaluit in a conscious choice to resist (Tester 2006:237). Presumably, these Inuit saw the tent and everything that comes with tent living as a way to hold on to the aspects of their culture that were changing. A way to continue producing their culture. The use of domestic space by Inuit living in Euro-Canadian housing in Nunavut is a different form of cultural production but shares in a strategy that keeps Inuit culture alive. Using their houses in ways which run counter to how they were designed to be used has allowed Inuit living in Arviat to carry out the traditional activities of their culture. Social relationships have been maintained making the pooling of resources possible (Dawson 2003, 2006, 2008).

This idea that housing can be used as a strategy to maintain Inuit culture has also entered the discussion of Labrador Inuit housing of the late 18th and 19th centuries in yet another way. Kaplan and Woollett (2000) list the use of large polygynous households as part of an amplification of Labrador Inuit culture in response to the efforts of Moravian missionaries and other Europeans who actively sought to change their lives. While all communal houses likely reflect a shared desire to resist external pressures on Labrador Inuit culture, there must have been differences in how individual households used their housing strategy to participate in the process of cultural production.

2.3 The Labrador Inuit Winter House

The Labrador Inuit winter house underwent significant changes between the 15th and 20th centuries as the Thule-style houses brought to Labrador eventually became the year-round homes occupied by contemporary Inuit. The shift from one house style to the next is thought to reflect the influences of external forces on Labrador Inuit society and so observable changes to building materials, house design, and house size are viewed as indicators of cultural change. Theories for the changes in house form have highlighted the environmental, economic, and lastly social circumstances of the past 500 years of Inuit occupation of Labrador that are visible in the archaeological record (Fitzhugh 1972; Jordan 1974, 1978, Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1972; 1976a 1976b; Taylor 1976; Whitridge 2008; Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007; Woollett and Kaplan 2000).

2.3.1 Household Variations Over Time

Winter sod houses have been central to most discussions of the Labrador Inuit past. Other forms of housing were used throughout the year, but they are either more difficult to find or were occupied for shorter periods.

The skin tent was the summer dwelling of the Labrador Inuit until the 20th century when cotton (sometimes referred to as calico or canvas depending on the blend and origin) began to be used for tents of a more European style (Hutton 1912; Tanner 1947). Ethnographic sources tell of at least two different tent designs used during the 19th and 20th centuries by the Labrador Inuit and while some tent designs may have fallen out of use by this time – like the rectangular double-tent Hawkes mentions (see Hawkes 2015

[1916], figure 11:2), the ethnographic examples were likely similar to earlier tent forms. Conical and ridge tents were two common designs, and both had coverings made from caribou or seal skins (Hawkes 2015 [1916]). Conical tents had a frame constructed of long wooden poles fastened together where they met at the top. Ridge tents were a variation on the conical tent which expanded on the design by running a pole or thong from the circular portion to an adjacent, anchored bipod. The result was a larger tent with a circular rear section and parallel sides resembling that used by Inuit groups in the central Canadian Arctic (see Lee and Reinhart 2003 for an overview; Taylor 1984:514; Turner 2001 [1894]:226-227). There is no indication one style was favoured over the other among certain groups, or if one style was better-suited for certain circumstances. Like the winter house, the interior of the tent was divided into separate spaces with something as simple as a stick laid on the floor to separate the sleeping area of the owner from those of others (Turner 2001[1894]:227). Unfortunately, such distinctions are invisible to archaeologists because of the temporary nature of the dwellings. Often the rocks used to hold the skin coverings down are the only remains representing the shape of the tent. Ovals, circles, and D-shaped stone outlines have been recorded but whether they represent different time periods or seasonal styles is unknown (Kaplan 1983:246). Tents tend to provide very little data on everyday life. Artifact densities are often low and those that are present often represent successive reoccupations of site areas, making their interpretation difficult (Dobrata 2014; Kaplan 1983). Geochemical analysis of the soils from tent rings has recently shown some promise in interpreting these dwellings (see Dobrata 2014), but overall their investigation is fraught with challenges.

Figure 2.4 Calico summer tent ca. 1903-1908, Hutton 1912: 255.

The snow house was also used by the Labrador Inuit, but mainly as a winter dwelling second to the sod house. Moravian records of the late 18th century describe both simple, single-domed snow houses built as overnight shelters while travelling or hunting, as well as large house complexes with multiple domes and shared entrance passages used when a group planned to stay in a location for a longer period (Taylor 1974:75, 1984:514). Unfortunately, the snow knives used for cutting snow blocks that are found in archaeological contexts offer the only evidence of snow houses in Labrador other than the written accounts of Europeans (Kaplan 1983). Moravian census data, which includes names and kinship ties of individuals living in snow houses in central and northern

Labrador, suggest there was an average of five occupants living in any one dome of a snow house in the last quarter of the 18th century. This is much fewer than the average number of occupants in sod houses (Taylor 1974:75-76). Stopp (2013), however, draws parallels between their interior layout and those of sod houses dating back to roughly the beginning of the 16th century. She cites an early description of a snow house provided by Captain Cartwright in which he poetically describes the atmosphere of Attuiok's home visited in 1771. She points to the features listed by Cartwright including a bench along the rear wall, two lamp stands, a window above the door of the main chamber, and a sunken entrance passage. Informative as these accounts of European chroniclers are, they provide only a few examples of snow house use which is restricted to the late 18th century and offered from a foreign perspective. Archaeological remains could offer greater depth to these anecdotal sources of snow house use, however the likelihood of finding their remains is limited at best. As a temporary dwelling made of snow, they left no architectural trace and other cultural materials, such as artifacts and animal remains, would be minimal due to their short occupation if built on land. If built on sea ice, as has been suggested was done for spring hunting at the *sina* (Kaplan 1983:284), then those chances evaporate completely.

The low returns that snow houses and skin tents offer has led researchers to focus their attention on winter sod houses. As the most substantial Labrador Inuit dwellings they consistently deliver discernable architectural details and greater concentrations of artifacts. Moreover, due to their successive occupations and construction they are the most visible type of dwelling on the landscape. Even today house depressions are visible on the landscape helped by thick vegetation that is supported by organic-rich soils from

past refuse. Separating the multiple, sometimes intermittent periods of occupation is the greatest challenge when working with winter sites, but the benefits of being able to associate an assemblage with a single house outweigh any difficulties.

The first scholars to conduct intensive archaeological research noticed early on there was significant variation in the design and overall size of sod houses. They believed certain socioeconomic periods of Labrador Inuit history were represented in the different styles of houses they observed, viewing these houses as a means to both identify socio-economic change and offer explanations as to why these changes occurred. With the help of datable artifacts and historic records a narrative of house types emerged in the foundational archaeological works (Bird 1945; Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1972) outlining Labrador Inuit history from their arrival on the Labrador Peninsula through to modern times. However, a major limitation of archaeological research is the time required to conduct extensive excavations. More often than not, researchers were often forced to define winter houses based upon superficial observations; namely the overall size, construction, and number of sleeping platforms. The most comprehensive description of the changes to these features of winter houses remains that of Kaplan (1983), and others have continued to supplement her work.

2.3.1.1 Settlement - 17th Century

As the Inuit settled the coast of Labrador, they brought with them the sub-rectangular, semi-subterranean style of sod house that measured no more than 6 m long and 3 m wide (Kaplan 1983:220). Built of sod, stone, wood, and sometimes whale bone these houses were designed with a sunken entrance passage and interior chamber, both

generally paved with flat stones. A house excavated at Staffe Island 1, roughly 35 km south of Cape Chidley, is believed to be one of the earliest examples of this house type in Labrador dating to the period of initial Inuit settlement (Fitzhugh 1994). Fitzhugh dates this site to the 12th or early 13th century, but most now agree that the colonization likely began in the 15th century (Kaplan and Woollett 2016). Regardless, the house at Staffe Island 1 represents the earliest form of Inuit winter sod houses in Labrador. Its design (see Figure 2.5) mirrors that of earlier Thule houses found in the eastern and central Arctic with a sleeping platform located on the rear wall and a cooking area located immediately west of the entrance tunnel in the main chamber (Whitridge 2008:300-301). Based on the single platform and overall size, it is assumed houses of this design were single-family dwellings.

Houses occupied by two families were also present early in the history of the Labrador Inuit. The house designs that have received the most attention date sometime after the Inuit colonization of the coast but before the 18th century (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion). These houses include a larger number of sleeping platforms while the remainder of the architectural features are the same as in the single-family house. One style has two platforms located on the adjacent side walls, rather than only one on the rear wall. Houses of this type have been tentatively dated to the 17th century and have a wide distribution throughout Labrador with examples recorded in Hamilton Inlet at Eskimo Island 3, in the Hopedale region a little farther north, and at Johannes Point 1 and Nachvak Village yet farther north (Bird 1945; Kaplan 1983:234-235). A second style saw the union of two single-family homes with a shared entrance passage while the main chamber of each house remained separated with their own sleeping

platforms. These bi-lobed houses have been recorded at Nachvak Village and in the Hopedale region but other than a pre-18th century date little is known about them (Bird 1945; Whitridge 2008:301, 2004). While the joining of households was intentionally undertaken, it is possible that the variation in two-family houses may reflect varying degrees of independence or interdependence between families. Over time there is a gradual aggregation of households centered on communal activities which is recognized by an increase in house sizes until the 19th century. That said, there remains the possibility that larger houses were constructed for some other reason.

Around the turn of the 17th century a noticeable shift in the location of Inuit settlements occurred. Outer island and exposed shore locations were abandoned for forested and protected inner bays (Kaplan 2012). The move expanded Inuit use of the Labrador coast beyond the familiar sea and icescapes of northern latitudes and situated settlements in more central locations that brought Inuit closer to several resources including lumber, caribou, fish, and most importantly seal (Kaplan 2012; Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007). Having gained a familiarity with the Labrador environment over more than two centuries, Inuit chose locations where different species of seal could be hunted from fall to spring. Settlements were located where coastal fast ice, the *sina*, and *polynyas* (stretches of water kept open in winter by strong currents) could be visited easily from the fall to spring to hunt mainly harp and ringed seal (Woollett 2003, 2007:72).

2.3.1.2 18th Century

In the late 17th and 18th centuries Labrador Inuit winter houses retained the semi-subterranean construction of previous centuries, but a new, larger house design emerged

as the dominant form (although two platform houses continued to be used for some time) (Kaplan 2012). The increase in dimensions was met with the addition of a third sleeping platform so that one was found on all but the entrance wall. The size of houses ranged from 7 x 6 m to as large as 16 x 6 m with most having a rectangular shape where the front and rear walls were longer than the side walls (Kaplan 1983:238). Based on their larger size and their common third sleeping platform, they were quickly classified as multifamily dwellings (Bird 1945, Fitzhugh 1972; Schledermann 1972). As historical documents came to light, this assumption was reinforced. The earliest census records of Moravian missionaries do not extend to the time communal houses emerged, but they do provide some insight into the composition of the large households in northern Labrador at the end of the 18th century. Proximity to missions seems to have influenced the size of households with those at a greater distance having more members (15 near missions, 19 away) (Taylor 1974). The average household, however, included 20 related individuals, most commonly a male patriarch, his married sons and their families (Kaplan 1983; Taylor 1974:70-74, 1977). Polygynous unions, usually between a man and multiple wives, were common in these large households (Taylor 1974:67). To date, examples of these houses have been found along the Labrador coast from Sandwich Bay to Saglek Bay (Bird 1945; Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Murphy 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014; Rankin 2014b; Schledermann 1976a) demonstrating that it was a Labrador-wide shift in housing practices. This shift in Inuit social relations has attracted the attention of researchers most likely because it corresponds with the more permanent settlement of the coast by Europeans.

Change is a common theme of 18th-century Labrador, and its relationship to the arrival of permanent European settlements has been explored in detail. Inuit and Europeans knew of and interacted with one another since the 16th century or earlier (Kaplan 1983,1985, 2012; Martijn 2009; Stopp 2002), but interactions between the two groups certainly increased during the 18th century as merchants, sealers, and fishermen expanded their year-round operations, first in the Strait of Belle Isle and then north along the Labrador coast (Hiller 2009). The archaeological record indicates that as a result of increased contact Inuit gained greater access to European goods in the 18th century. Collections excavated from Inuit houses consist of large quantities of European-manufactured artifacts. Items made of iron, as well as wooden boats, articles of clothing, and other personal items which carried with them a sense of prestige, are among those found at sites dating to 18th century (Fay 2016; Kaplan 2012; Rankin and Crompton 2016).

An early perception of Inuit society during the 18th century was that it was thriving, having at one point called a time of "cultural florescence" (Jordan 1978:176). No doubt this view came from interpreting the growth in the size of households, the settlement of new areas, and the increased flow of European goods as indicators of prosperity. A modern interpretation of the same evidence frames them as indicators of the stresses placed on Inuit society by the European missionaries, merchants, and settlers who began to settle the coast in the latter half of the 18th century (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). The influx of new ideas and people set the tone for the 19th century which once again saw changes to the housing of the Labrador Inuit.

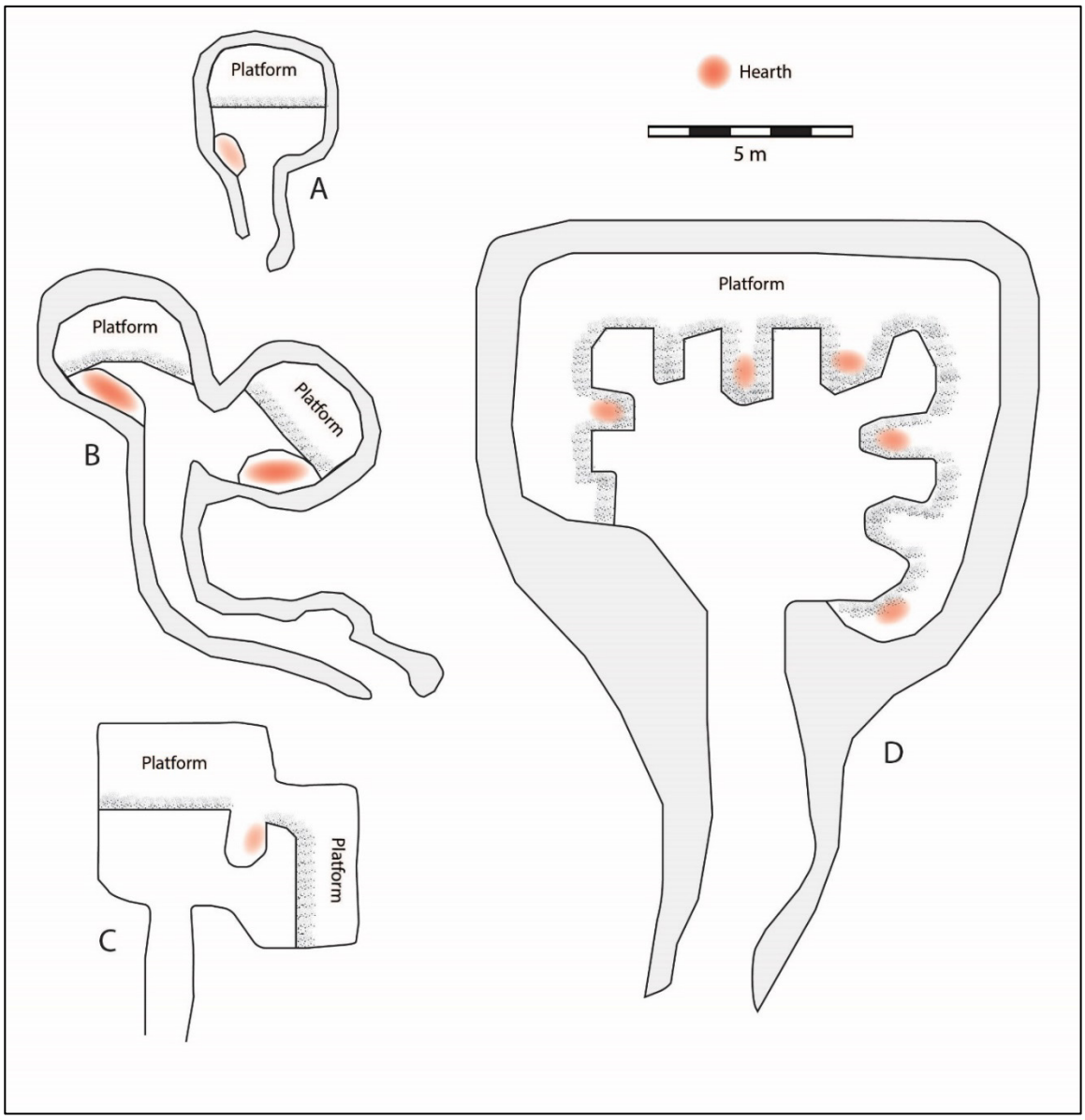

Figure 2.5 Examples of Labrador Inuit sod houses: (A) Single-family "Thule" house after House 10, Staffe Island 1 (Fitzhugh 1994); (B) 17th-century bi-lobed house, Nachvak Village (Whitridge 2008); (C) Type I house variant, Hopedale region (Bird 1945); (D) Typical communal house layout after House 8, Ikkusik site (Schledermann 1976a).

2.3.1.3 19th Century

In the 19th century the size and construction of Inuit winter houses changed yet again as Europeans and Inuit began to live closer to one another. The Moravian Church first settled the northern coast in 1771 and a continued interest in the conversion of the Labrador Inuit to Christianity fuelled further settlements (Hiller 1971, 1977). By 1800, the missions of Nain, Okak, and Hopedale were in full operation (Hiller 1971, 1977). The pace of European expansion also quickened on the south and central coast during the final decades of the 18th century so that by the start of 19th century independent trading, sealing, and fishing operations were found from Hamilton Inlet to the Strait of Belle Isle (Hiller 2009; Rollmann 2011). Some Inuit chose to settle near the new settlements as they grew, and others kept their distance (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kleivan 1966). Regardless of desire, however, Inuit found themselves in a situation of ever-increasing contact throughout the 19th century.

While the semi-subterranean houses of the previous century continued to be used by some Inuit well into the 19th century, other Inuit shifted their houses to above-ground constructions which decreased in size and were built without entrance passages (Kaplan 1983, 1985, 2012). Although different in design, the new form of winter house marked a return to single-family living. For reasons that are still unclear the shift in social organization occurred sooner for Inuit who lived near populations of newcomers. It seems in some cases the abandonment of semi-subterranean houses was born of internal motivations. This sentiment is supported with statements such as: "…European houses, which are coming more and more into fashion with them", and "[i]t is more and more the wish of the Esquimaux [sic] to have each a separate dwelling of his own…" written by

Moravian missionaries in the 1840s (cited in Kleivan 1966:34). That said, there were also external pressures on Inuit from the Moravian Church to change their housing habits that were not captured so easily in quotes, but were present nonetheless. Many of the aspects of multifamily sod house living conflicted with the values of the Moravian missionaries on a spiritual and practical level. Being granted exclusive rights to manage large swaths of Inuit territory in the late 18th century, the Protestant sect was given the upper hand in the dissemination of their ideals in northern Labrador. Their influence was considerable. Kleivan (1966) stops short of acknowledging the conflicting morals of the Christian missionaries and the polygynous relationships of Inuit common in the 18th and 19th centuries, but they certainly existed and would have spilled over into the domestic realm along with western perceptions of cleanliness (Whitridge 2008). In far northern Labrador beyond the reach of the missions multifamily, semi-subterranean dwellings persisted longer. The north may have been a place where the ideas of missionaries could be actively avoided. Overall, however, the trend throughout the 19th century was that Inuit houses became more "European". Lumber was a major building material used for walls and flooring, sleeping platforms were eventually replaced by beds, and woodstoves became the main source of heat necessary for the poorly-insulated homes which housed an average of six people by the 1870s (Kleivan 1966).

The shift in house materials and design would have seemed a significant and rapid change to Moravian missionaries viewing and recording Inuit culture from an outsider's perspective. However, within Church records are indications that less visible aspects of Labrador Inuit society, such as domestic activities and spiritual beliefs, were likely slower to change. For example, continuity existed in the internal layout of houses and how they

were used. A small number of well-to-do Inuit had houses with multiple separated rooms (see Kleivan 1966:37-38), but one-roomed homes remained the most common. A scale model made by a missionary shows how they were designed in the late 19th century (see Taylor 1984:515). Its interior is filled with furnishings new to Inuit domestic life including a wood burning stove, a bed, and possibly a table. The adoption of these new items marks a meeting of old and new as they were placed at locations within the house occupied by similar furnishings in earlier Inuit homes. The stove is located immediately to the left in the main chamber where lamps were often found. At the rear of the room is a bed where sleeping platforms were located in older houses. Kleivan (1966:37) argues that these houses have few similarities to older Inuit houses in construction and furnishings, yet even in his research there are indications it was a change in form and not necessarily function. Beds continued to be used as seats and work spaces, at least by women, and interiors continued to be multi-use areas inside one-room houses (Kleivan 1966:38).

A second example of continuity relates to Inuit beliefs about housing noted by the Moravian doctor Samuel King Hutton who served in charge of the Okak hospital from 1903-1908 and 1911-1913. King was particularly concerned with Inuit housing and wrote about the changes he witnessed during his first tenure in Labrador (Hutton 1912). As a physician, he thoroughly believed winter sod houses were unsanitary and he goes into great detail in describing the smell of the dwellings he found so repugnant. He is happy to report that wooden huts continued to replace the older sod houses. However, he noticed a disparity of living conditions had come with the replacement. Houses of the wealthy housed harmoniums, sofas, and even had linoleum floors, while other Inuit had trouble obtaining lumber (Hutton 1912:309). He notes, the average home was small and furnished

with a stove on one wall, a small table with a soapstone or paraffin lamp, and a curtained-off sleeping area. Items used on a regular basis like clothing, bladders and floats, and harnesses were scattered on the edge of the floor or adorned the walls (Hutton 1912:309-310). But even as Hutton saw first-hand the continued transition of Inuit housing towards European designs, he was also reminded of the impact of belief on domestic life. More than once he watched as people dismantled their houses following the passing of one of its occupants only to build it again in a different location (Hutton 1912:295).

2.3.2 Social Change and "The Communal House Phase"

The size of sod houses, their number of sleeping platforms, and their general construction have long been seen as indicators of cultural change. The narrative put forward by researchers to explain these changes begins with a period of single-family households when houses like those of their Thule ancestors were imported to Labrador. A shift to multifamily houses spanning the 18th century follows, but it is short-lived and concludes with a return to single-family households that were more European in design. To understand the motivations behind these changes researchers have tended to look at the periods of transition for answers, focusing on the circumstances of the time and their affects on Inuit society. So far, the transition to 18th-century communal houses has received the most attention.

The earliest hypothesis for the use of communal houses in Labrador was formed by Junius Bird following his excavation of 22 sod houses in the Hopedale area (1945). He used the many house styles he encountered to form the narrative of Inuit housing that would later take shape with the next generation of researchers (see section 4.2.2). He took

a conservative approach to ordering the various house styles he excavated, dividing them into three main categories which could then be further subdivided by specific aspects of their construction. The oldest, Type I, was primarily a single-family home with a sleeping platform on the rear wall, an open floor area, and a lamp stand on either side of the entrance tunnel (Bird 1945:128). This description perfectly describes House 10, the Thule-style house from Staffe Island investigated by Fitzhugh decades later (Fitzhugh 1994). Within this first category Bird also included two additional house styles with similar internal layouts as subcategories believing they were contemporaneous. A wider variation and a two-room variation (Bird 1945:128). From the remainder of the houses he excavated, Bird surmised that Inuit households increased in size over time. He believed the large communal houses of his Type III were the most recent (Bird 1945:179). This left the rectangular houses with sleeping platforms on opposing side walls, those of his Type II category that he believed to be two-family homes, somewhere between large communal houses and single-family houses. Bird was cautious not to assign ages to his groupings of houses, but his ordering of the houses from small to large demonstrates a tendency to view changes in the size of households in a linear fashion. As for his explanation for the development of communal houses, he believed that because of conflicts between Inuit and Europeans Inuit had a desire to band together, something he saw possible with the availability of wood in Labrador (Bird 1945:179). Concerned primarily with classifying the many houses he excavated over a short period of time he offered little evidence to support his theory. Only that there were more European-manufactured artifacts in communal houses, which to him suggested interactions intensified between Europeans and Inuit during their use.

In the early 1970s Peter Schledermann excavated numerous Inuit winter houses in the Saglek Bay region of northern Labrador (Schledermann 1972, 1976a, 1976b). Given that Schledermann's excavations were roughly 375 km north of Bird's in Hopedale, there were remarkable similarities between the houses both men investigated. Doing away with the subcategories of Bird, Schledermann proposed three broad categories of Inuit houses with specific time spans that covered the 15th century to the 20th century (Schledermann 1972). The Early Phase (1450-1700) primarily contained those house types of Bird's Type I. It included a pear-shaped single-family house, square-shaped houses, and two-room variations believed to be multi-family homes (Schledermann 1972:68). The second phase was termed the Communal House Phase (1700-1850) after the large houses of Bird's Type III. His third phase, the Late Phase, covered the period of 1850 to the present in which houses transitioned to a more European-style with wooden-frame construction, wood burning stoves, and a lower number of occupants (Schledermann 1972:134-135).

The lumping of various house styles into three broad categories, coupled with the extension of the culture-history begun by Bird into the 19th and 20th centuries, gave Schledermann's 1972 iteration of an Inuit housing narrative a satisfying arc complete with a beginning, middle, and end. It also placed the emphasis on the rise of communal houses in the middle period as a curious climax between a clearly-defined start and end. Citing Inuit communal housing arrangements in the eastern Arctic and an almost simultaneous growth in the size of Inuit houses in Greenland (see Gulløv 1997 for an overview), Schledermann believed that the motivation behind the development of communal houses in Labrador was the cooler climatic conditions of ca. 1550 to 1850 which culminated into the Little Ice Age (Schledermann 1972, 1976a, 1976b). He

reasoned the increased sea ice brought on by cooler temperatures disrupted the regular movements of mammals such as white whales, bowhead whales, narwhal, and harp seals placing a great deal of stress on food sources. The shift to communal living was a way to ensure that resources could be shared more equally while still holding true to traditional Inuit practices. Seal, likely a main food source with the decline of whaling, could continue to be shared at the household level while fuel and materials could be pooled and conserved (Schledermann 1976a, 1976b).

Schledermann's hypothesis addressed the social impacts that may have been felt among Inuit communities experiencing a deteriorating climate across the Arctic and Subarctic regions of Canada and Greenland. However, his hypothesis fell short in accurately describing past climatic conditions in Labrador. James Woollett (2003) found the opposite of what Schledermann believed was true with his later research. Using seal teeth recovered from 18th-century Inuit sites and other paleoenvironmental data to reconstruct past climatic conditions, he discovered there was less sea ice during the 18th century instead of more. Woollett reversed the hypothesis of Schledermann believing that communal housing facilitated the communal, open-water hunting of seals which commonly occurred near *polynya* (Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007).

Although the early research of Woollett furthered the argument that climate had spurred the adoption of communal houses, other researchers decided to focus on social rather than environmental factors and explored the impacts of European expansion during the 17th and 18th centuries. Contact was a motivating factor that Bird (1945) had touched on before, and later researchers built on his idea by examining the influences of missionaries, merchants, and settlers in detail. Their work eventually led to the realization

that the communal house played an active role in the preservation of Inuit society (Kaplan and Woollett 2000).

Following researchers took a different approach by acknowledging the benefits of exchange and focusing on the rise of individual Inuit who garnered status through traditional means or a mastery of the emerging economic circumstances of the 18th century. To Richard Jordan (1978), it was access to trade goods which drew kin and non-kin alike to high-status individuals successful as "middlemen" or frontline traders who in some cases were also excellent whaling captains. His views were shared by Taylor (1976) who through his study of Moravian records supported the rise of these successful individuals and their pivotal role in the coastal trade network that moved Inuit procured commodities like whale baleen and oil south to be exchanged for European goods. In addition to the power afforded through economic mastery, Taylor also found that some of the most influential of these individuals were *angagok* (shamans), a position that granted sway among others in their communities (Taylor 1974). The emphasis on economic motivations held by both researchers fit well with the timeline of European expansion into the central and northern reaches of Labrador in the late 18th century and the year-round settling of the coast. Subsequent research – first that of Jordan and Kaplan (1980), then by Kaplan (1983, 1985) – reiterated the economic situation that surrounded communal housing and offered a strengthened explanation that addressed both its rise and dissolution. They continued to believe that unequal access to European goods was the impetus for the rise of Inuit entrepreneurs and the formation of communal houses. Inuit middlemen were able to accumulate wealth in the form of goods, as well as prestige, and other Inuit were drawn to their households. But it was by pointing out what happened

when access to European goods became more equal among Inuit, that made Jordan and Kaplan's theory more complete. They argued that as materials became locally available through Moravian missions, local trading posts, and settlers the imbalance between Inuit evaporated. The Inuit middleman's role was rendered obsolete which meant Inuit no longer needed to congregate in communal households to access the goods and power of successful individuals (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985).

If a single motivation for the rise of communal housing was to emerge near the end of the 1970s it is no surprise that it was economic. The first large-scale excavations of Inuit sites had just been completed (see the works of Fitzhugh 1972; Jordan 1974, 1976; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1972) giving researchers the base of archaeological data needed to describe the history of the Labrador Inuit from their arrival to the 20th century. In doing so, they recognized an increase of trade goods in Inuit homes around the start of the 18th century that coincided with the shift to larger communal houses and hinted that their adoption was linked to the growing presence of Europeans. Focusing on the social impacts of an emerging trade economy allowed changes within Labrador Inuit society to be understood through the actions of individuals, something that was largely missing in the deterministic theories of the 1960s and 1970s that saw the environment as a primary governing agent of human behaviour (Rankin 2009). The descriptions of influential Inuit of the time, like Tuglavina, Mikak, and others recorded by Moravians and merchants aided in this more dynamic view of the period that has endured to the present. Only today the economic motivations have been included within a broader understanding of Inuit behaviour that addresses the many stresses of European encroachment.

Standing apart from other recent interpretations of 18th-century Inuit houses Whitridge (2008) focuses less on the historic circumstances that instigated the move to multifamily houses and more on why they developed as they did. He places the house within a larger timeline of designs dating back to the ancestral Old Bering Sea culture (1000 CE) noting the removal of the hearth from a central location in the houses to a detached kitchen area and then its slow return over the next 700 years (Whitridge 2008:300-301). He ties this trend in household organization to shifting gender roles which in Labrador were influenced by an imbalance in the numbers of men and women created by the loss of Inuit men during the 18th century from disease, accidents, violence, and sometimes just work (Whitridge 2008:302). As women were brought together in polygynous households formed because of the gender imbalance, they were able to complete the slow process of reinstating the central hearth in homes. It is a theory that recognizes the *longue durée* of the Inuit housing tradition that predates European contact, and by doing so it highlights internal societal motivations for the reorganization of the house which has a history of being understood through external forces. What's lacking is a scope that incorporates other behaviours of the time. A line of reasoning that suggests fewer men will lead to polygynous unions and big houses has echoes of the same logic internalized in earlier theories that singled out either access to trade goods or food as root causes of change rather than choosing to address them all within a larger framework of responses that considers the many stresses on Inuit culture at the time. So far, the interpretation of 18th-century Labrador Inuit society that does this best is the one given by Kaplan and Woollett (2000).

The most comprehensive explanation to date is built on the assumption that European influence effected change. Where others have focused mainly on the housing strategy – its benefits and origins, Kaplan and Woollett (2000) include it within a larger framework of behaviour spurred by the many stresses placed on Inuit culture at the time. They describe strategies that Inuit developed to counteract European influences as forms of resistance. Among them are overt shamanistic demonstrations, whaling enterprises, polygynous unions, and other displays of wealth (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:357). The exploitation of shared commodities (whale, seal, and fish) was not new to the 18th century, but it did intensify with the settlement of Europeans on the coast exacerbating the already stressed resource base. Whale numbers had already declined significantly and by continuing to develop seal, salmon, and cod fisheries Europeans assumed ownership of resources and lands useful for their procurement (Stopp 2002). Settlement also brought new religious and economic stresses to Labrador Inuit society. The assault on Inuit spirituality spearheaded by missionaries of the Moravian Church who worked to undermine the belief system upheld by the *angagok* is well documented (Hiller 1971; Kleivan 1966; Sabathy-Judd 2009). Add to this the disruption to the coastal trade economy when goods were made locally available by missionaries and merchants and the list of threatened institutions grows as do the associated roles of trader, whaling captain, and *angagok*. Inuit had to navigate their way through these changes and an argument that they would participate in activities that simultaneously emphasized "Inuitness" and reinforced the societal bonds those activities worked to maintain is compelling. It allows winter communal living to be explained in a variety of complimentary ways: as a strategy for the concentrated hunting of seals which in turn facilitated the accumulation of wealth

through trading activities; a means of controlling labour and regulating food and trade goods acquired through those activities; and lastly, as a symbol of wealth and resistance that worked to build and maintain interpersonal networks while personifying Inuitness to outsiders. This conclusion is both liberating and daunting because of the number of avenues now available to interpret Inuit behaviour during the 18th century.

It is because of the heavy reliance on the sod winter house as a source of information, that archaeologists have been able to realize the complexities that surround the use of communal houses. Over time approaches that focused on a single external factor to explain cultural change were abandoned for one that recognizes the interplay of internal and external motivations within a larger context. When Woollett and Kaplan (2000) drew connections between winter communal living and activities (i.e. whaling, shamanistic demonstrations, polygynous unions) other than trade, they incorporated it within a framework of behaviour unbounded by season. Most importantly, they also considered the importance of less visible benefits to communal houses, taking note of how social bonds would be reinforced and cultural symbols celebrated. This expanded the role of the winter sod house to include it as an active part of Labrador Inuit identity that is now free to be explored from the cultural level down to the household.

2.4 Conclusion: My Approach to House 3

Explaining the rise of communal houses in the 18th century has preoccupied many researchers over the years (Bird 1945; Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Murphy 2011, 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1972, 1976a, 1976b; Taylor 1974, 1976; Whitridge 2008; Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007;

Woollett and Kaplan 2000). Many of the early models relied on a single factor to explain their development and function. Since then there has been a broadening of scope. If the winter house can be said to have functioned as part of a hunting strategy, a way to trade, and a symbol of wealth or "Inuitness" then it would be naive to assume it acted the same for every household in every context. The opportunity to investigate in the archaeological record how winter houses benefited different households has up to this point been nonexistent. Excavation is slow, tedious, and expensive and as a result only a handful of houses have been fully excavated. Most are only characterized by their superficial features and limited materials excavated from associated midden deposits. With the complete excavation of the three houses at Double Mer Point a more nuanced study of 18th-century winter housing is possible.

This study of House 3 explores how the internal organization of space influenced the daily life and identity of its occupants. There is a focus on the internal organization knowing full well there will remain an unbridgeable gap between what House 3 was to the people who occupied it and what can be gleaned from its archaeological remains. The house itself is tangible, but what it meant to the people who called it home could be far more abstract. Knowing this, there are three assumptions that were adopted: 1) the house design reflects how the Inuit of House 3 chose to organize their lives; 2) the house played an active role in forming and maintaining their cultural and household values; and, 3) the house is a representation of those values held at the time of its abandonment.

3. **Setting the Scene: Labrador and its Peoples (15th to mid-19th Century)**

The history of Labrador from the 15th to mid- 19th century has largely focused on the arrival of two groups to its shores and what drew them there in the first place. The interwoven histories of Inuit, Europeans, and the Indigenous groups who occupied Labrador prior to their arrival are generally understood through major events, often European-centered and economic in nature. John Cabot's "discovery" of Newfoundland and the treaties of Utrecht and Paris are often called upon as signposts to direct our understanding of Labrador history. If relied upon too heavily, these events tend to obscure the fallout of more general trends. The nature of the Inuit colonization of Labrador, the development of European seasonal fisheries, and the expansion of the fur trade are well understood events. Less so are the impacts of European colonial endeavors on Indigenous groups. This is primarily because Indigenous accounts of the historic period and earlier are lacking in the literature of Labrador's history. That said, archaeological research and the continued interpretation of historical documents has contributed greatly to a more nuanced understanding of the past and has helped to fill in the blanks between those major events so well-known to the history books.

This chapter provides an overview of those major events and the vagaries that still remain. Attention is given primarily to the two groups who arrived in the 15th or 16th century: Inuit and Europeans.

The first section reviews the history of the Labrador Inuit beginning with the 13th-century migration of their ancestors, known as the Thule, from Alaska. Although it seems a distant event, understanding the motivations for such an undertaking provides the

background necessary for the later discussion of European contact in Labrador. The Thule expansion into Labrador and their interactions with Europeans from the 16th century to the 19th century are not unique events of the historic period but chapters within a greater Inuit narrative of expansion and resource procurement.

The second section discusses how European pursuits affected Labrador Inuit life. It begins in the 16th and 17th centuries when the Inuit found themselves largely on the periphery of a seasonal fishery which saw Breton, Norman, and Basque whalers and fishermen annually visit the Strait of Belle Isle. The many facets of Inuit/European interactions are reviewed as these two groups developed their own industries; the Inuit, a coastal trade network; the French, a seasonal fishery which expanded to include a sedentary component in southern Labrador by the middle of the 18th century. The bulk of the section, however, is dedicated to the impacts British rule had on Inuit life in Labrador. It includes the concerted efforts of the Moravian missionaries and the British government to Christianize and contain the Inuit and the eventual *métissage* (racial mixing) which occurred later as other Europeans began to settle the coast.

The chapter concludes with a brief consideration of Inuit perspectives during the historic period. Motivations for Inuit behaviour beyond economic gains are discussed, as are Inuit-held perceptions of the European newcomers near the end of the 18th century.

Figure 3.1 Labrador and the Strait of Belle Isle Region. Concessions after Hiller 2009:39.

3.1 Inuit Ancestors: The Thule

The Inuit of central and eastern Canada are known to be the descendants of a cultural group called the Thule. Identified through the artifacts they left behind, the Thule were a people who travelled east from Alaska and developed a unique culture as they settled the Canadian Arctic and Greenland. After having been established in the Central and Eastern Arctic for centuries, Thule culture changed around 1500 as annual temperatures fell and various European groups began to arrive on the shores of North America. Populations of Thule settled in different regions throughout the Canadian Arctic and Subarctic where they developed their own unique regional identities. The cultures that emerged were different enough from that of the Thule, that their descendants are known by different names: the Inuit and the Inuvialuit. There is, however, a general agreement among researchers that many aspects of Thule culture endured as populations pushed into new frontiers, like Labrador, despite changes to geography and economy.

3.1.1 Thule Migration

The Thule culture was first identified by Therkel Mathiassen who studied archaeological materials recovered during the Fifth Thule Expedition conducted from 1921-1924 (Mathiassen 1976b 27:2). A logistically daunting undertaking led by Greenlandic-Danish anthropologist Knud Rasmussen, the project sought to discover the origins of the Inuit. To this end, expedition members collected extensive amounts of ethnographic and archaeological data across Arctic North America. In Mathiassen's description of the Thule culture he lists numerous examples of a material culture well-suited to life in the Arctic. Many of those were still prominent in the traditional Inuit life

he observed such as dogsleds, kayaks, and umiaks, as well as hunting implements for use on the sea ice and open water including harpoons, lances, bows and arrows (Mathiassen 1976b [1927], 1976c [1927]; Maxwell 1985:248-249). It was the central role of whale hunting in Thule life that convinced Mathiassen that Thule culture had not developed in the Central Arctic but moved there from Alaska (Mathiassen 1976c [1927]:184).

Later archaeologists supported the Alaskan origins put forward by Mathiassen, and with the addition of radiocarbon dating techniques and further research of material culture (especially harpoon heads), it was generally agreed upon that the Thule expansion began in the 10th or 11th century (Maxwell 1985:250-261). Debate still surrounded the cultural origins of the Thule – some argued for the Birnirk culture of the Point Barrow region, while others the Punuk culture of the Bering Strait region – but many believed their migration was motivated in part by the search for marine animals during a period of warmer conditions (Maxwell 1985:250-253). The beginning of the Medieval Warm Period aligned conveniently with the accepted date of expansion so it seemed logical that the newly opened waters would have changed the habitat and movements of bearded seals, walrus, ringed seals and bowhead whales, and that Thule would have moved east in their wake. It wasn't until Arctic researchers became more aware of the challenges associated with radiocarbon dating materials from the north that it became clear the migration occurred somewhat later. The revelation cast doubt on a migration that followed the movement of animals east. Data was reconsidered, a new date of expansion was offered, and an alternative motivation for the migration was put forward.

The Thule migration story underwent a significant reworking in the first decade of the 21st century when it was discovered that radiocarbon dates obtained from marine

animals were unreliable. As a result, those most familiar with archaeological research of the Thule revisited their earlier interpretations by putting aside radiocarbon dates that weren't from terrestrial animals (Friesen and Arnold 2008; McGhee 2009). The adjusted approach revealed two things: the Thule expansion began in the 13th century, nearly 200 years after the Norse were established in Greenland, and that it was rapid, with the first Thule possibly reaching Greenland in as little as a couple years (McGhee 2009:161). As for the motivations behind the eastern movement of the Thule, there are differing opinions which focus on various "push" and "pull" factors (Frieson 2016; Frieson and Arnold 2008). Relatively dense populations in Alaska may have placed significant stress on a limited number of resources, and even led to conflict, which would have made emigration a plausible choice for those who wanted to create a better life for themselves (Frieson 2016). Established theories that suggest "pull" forces were strong, generally agree that access to new animal resources largely fuelled the migration east (Frieson 2016; Frieson and Arnold 2008). The exception would be McGhee (2009), who offers an alternative theory in which food and animal resources were not the main motivation. He suggests that the migration was instead undertaken with the purpose of acquiring iron from the Cape York Meteorite and the Greenlandic Norse (McGhee 2009:161). It is an interesting theory, but as Frieson and Arnold (2008:536) point out it would be difficult to prove that the primary goal of the Thule was iron or animals because of the problem of equifinality. The pursuit of either would have led to an expansion east, and because of this shared conclusion determining which theory is more correct than the other is difficult if not impossible.

The timing of the expansion is arguably more important point to focus on. In less than 200 years Thule culture had changed significantly from its Alaskan antecedent and flourished as the population expanded during a period referred to as the Classic Thule Phase (Friesen and Arnold 2008:534). By the end of the 14th century the Thule way of life was rather uniform and practiced over a geographically expansive area from the McKenzie Delta to the eastern coast of Greenland, and as far south as the northern parts of Hudson Bay (Maxwell 1985: 261-262). While seal continued to be an important source of food, whaling held a prominent role in Thule society at this time. Those in the eastern Arctic had access to meteoritic iron and occasionally foreign iron through the Greenlandic Norse, whether it be through direct trade, intermediaries, or raiding until the beginning of the 16th century (Ramsden and Rankin 2013:303).

At the onset of the Little Ice Age, ca. A.D. 1500, the uniform way of life as described during the Classic Thule Phase gave way to the precursors of modern Inuit populations as much of the central and High Arctic was abandoned for southern locations. Again, the problem of equifinality is encountered. The environmental shift may have spurred the move south as animal patterns changed. However, there is the possibility that wood or perhaps foreign goods and metals brought by European fishermen motivated movements to southern latitudes (McGhee 2009; Ramsden and Rankin 2013). The Thule found access to all these resources as they colonized the coast of Labrador.

3.1.2 The Thule in Labrador

The Thule almost certainly entered Labrador by way of southern Baffin Island, but there are different opinions about when that occurred. Fitzhugh (1994) proposes

villages on Staffe Island in northern Labrador are from Thule pioneers who lived there as early as the mid 13th century. If the same methodology which rewrote the original Thule expansion from Alaska is followed for sites in Labrador – that is, relying on only terrestrial animal remains for radiocarbon dating – that date becomes later. A revised chronology puts the arrival of the Thule in the 15th or early 16th century, after which they followed a southward route along the coast reaching Sandwich Bay in southern Labrador by the mid 17th century or earlier (Ramsden and Rankin 2013:307). Finding themselves in a new land, the Thule settled in areas resembling the Arctic landscape they had left where familiar animals could be hunted. Early settlements were located on barren outer islands or near the mouths of fjords and bays close to *sina*, major ice leads, or *polynyas* favourable for the hunting of bowhead whales, walrus, seals, polar bears and birds (Kaplan 2012).

As the Thule moved south, they encountered both new peoples and landscapes. In addition to the European whalers, fishermen, and Dutch traders frequenting the shores of Labrador seasonally, the Thule would have likely met the Late Dorset and Point Revenge groups (Kaplan 2012:21). Driven as they were, it appears they displaced the Indigenous groups occupying the coast and by the late 17th or early 18th century Inuit settlement patterns shifted. The protected bays and inner islands became the favoured locations for settlements, a move which coincided with an increase in winter house size. By this time the Thule would have been well-acquainted with the Labrador coastal setting and the move to more central and protected areas may have been at least partially motivated by the wider breadth of animals that could be hunted from those locations (Kaplan 2012). Another factor which may have encouraged the change in Inuit settlement patterns was

the arrival of Europeans who came to Labrador for resources. Their increased presence during that time may have encouraged the change of location and household composition seen during the late 17th and 18th centuries as whale stocks were depleted and a formal trade network was established between the Inuit and Europeans (Kaplan 2012).

3.2 Early Europeans in Labrador

Around the time the Thule began their southward movement out of the high Arctic Europeans began plying the waters of the North Atlantic near Labrador. They came for resources, and their exploits began with the establishment of seasonal fisheries in the 16th century that pursued cod fish and whales in the Strait of Belle Isle. It was there along the shores of southern Labrador and northern Newfoundland that Europeans built stages and shore-stations and interacted with Indigenous groups including the Inuit. Early interactions between the two groups were a mixed bag of violent and mutually-beneficial endeavors (Barkham 1980; Fitzhugh 2015; Martijn 1980, 2009; Martijn et al. 2003; Mitchell 2013; Pope 2015), as the Inuit remained largely on the periphery of the fishing industries. Slowly this changed as trade became a larger part of European activities with the addition of the French sedentary fishery. The southern shore stations that supported the fishery provided the first formal locations for the exchange of European and Inuit goods in Labrador. A result of the improved trade was the establishment of an Inuit coastal trade network which facilitated the movement of goods.

As French merchants expanded into southern Labrador in the 18th century the Inuit coastal trade network reached its height. Inuit entrepreneurs acted as middlemen facilitating the transportation and exchange of baleen, oil, and other goods between

northern Labrador for those acquired from southern merchants or fishermen. However, as traders, missionaries, and settlers multiplied throughout the end of the 18th century and first half of the 19th century, the peripheral position of each society to the other ended. Distinct social and economic systems converged resulting in a cultural exchange that would change Inuit life.

3.2.1 Migratory Workers: Fishermen, Whalers, and Traders

Soon after the "discovery" of America western Europeans began to exploit the natural resources it held. One of the first areas to be targeted was the Strait of Belle Isle where Bretons, Normans, and Basque fishing crews began to frequent its waters at the beginning of the 16th century (Pope 2015:17). The impacts of the productive cod fishery were undoubtedly felt by the populations there, yet the Basque whaling industry, which began around 1543, left a more obvious trace in the archaeological record and therefore it is often the lens through which researchers have tried to understand early Inuit/European contact in southern Labrador (Loewen and Delmas 2012:221-226). Whether the European hunting of bowhead whale was motivated by a desire to exert control over the strait, and by extension the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or by the favourable hunting conditions of the area, the venture was extremely successful. For over three decades whaling stations were used on the southern Labrador coast and Québec's Lower North Shore until a 1579 English embargo on whale products combined with the geopolitical tendencies of the time effectively crippled the Basque industry in the region. Afterword, the Basque continued to travel to the Strait of Belle Isle to hunt whales and fish for cod, but in much smaller numbers (Loewen and Delmas 2012:224-225). The establishment of a Basque sedentary

seal fishery in the 17th century ensured the Basque maintained a presence in the Strait of Belle Isle until French expansion in the 18th century drove them from the region (Loewen 2017).

A recent reanalysis of Basque sites located in the Strait of Belle Isle has demonstrated that some may represent an annual Basque presence in the area well after the peak of the whaling industry of the 16th century (Loewen 2017). However, shore stations that represent the seasonal activities of Basque fishermen and whalers from June to the end of December are still the most common type of Basque site to have been studied (Loewen 2017; Loewen and Delmas 2012:214). At the height of whaling operations, the industry employed nearly 2000 sailors brought over in 20-30 ships annually (Barkham 1978), which necessitated large amounts of materials be brought from Europe. Harpoons, lines, nails, tiles, cauldrons and casks were some of the items needed for a successful season which involved activities both on and off the water (Proulx 2007:52). The hunting of whales, similar to the fishing of cod, was carried out by crews of no more than seven men in small eight-meter boats called *chalupas* (Harris and Loewen 2007:309). Like the similarly designed French *chaloupe* and English shallop, these boats were propelled by either oar or by sail, as a 16th-century example from Red Bay shows (Harris and Loewen 2007). The terrestrial portions of the Red Bay site demonstrate the many on-shore aspects of Basque whaling. Ovens were used for rendering oil, cooperages were kept busy constructing the barrels for storing whale oil, and shelters were erected to house the men who worked at these and related tasks (Tuck 2005; Tuck and Grenier 1989). Artifacts from these sites, particularly nails and roof tiles,

have been found at Inuit sites documenting a complicated relationship between Inuit and Europeans best described as a mixture of conflict and opportunistic endeavors.

3.2.2 Early Inuit/European Interactions

It was once believed that central Labrador, specifically Groswater Bay and the Narrows, was the southern terminus of Inuit occupation in Labrador (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985). Now, after extensive archaeological, historical, and ethnographic research in the 1990s and 2000s, it is generally accepted that southern Labrador was an important part of the Inuit landscape, which they occupied by the early 17th century (Fitzhugh 2015; Ramsden and Rankin 2013; Rankin 2014b). But debate still surrounds the nature of Inuit pursuits in southern Labrador, and it is most often explored through the pursuit of resources. While access to new hunting grounds (Stopp 2002) and access to raw materials (Mitchell 2015) likely influenced Inuit interests in Southern Labrador, the major pull seems to have been the European goods found there. That said, any research regarding the Inuit presence in southern Labrador invariably leads to a discussion of the multifaceted relationship between the Inuit and the Europeans who they met when they arrived.

Historic references to Inuit activities in southern Labrador were recorded as early as the 1580s by French fishermen (Martijn 1980; Stopp 2002), but an earlier 1566 printed flyer is the first reference to Inuit in *Terranova*. (Martijn 1980; Stopp 2002:76). As demonstrated by the discussion surrounding the whaling scene depicted on Descelier's 1546 *mappemonde* (Martijn et al. 2003), the Strait of Belle Isle was an intersection for various groups during the 16th century including Innu (Montagnais) and Beothuk who

were established in the area before Breton, Norman, and Basque crews began their seasonal fishery and whaling enterprises, as well as those who came after in search of European goods like the Inuit and even the Mi'kmaq. From historic and archaeological sources it seems the Inuit were quite successful in this pursuit through both indirect and direct means.

Raiding and pillaging are the most frequently cited means by which the Inuit acquired European goods before trade formalized in the 18th century (Crompton and Rankin 2016; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Martijn 2009; Rankin and Crompton 2016). The acquisition of goods from seasonally abandoned shore-stations is believed to have started in the 16th century, and since it occurred after the departure of whalers and fishermen it did not lead to direct contact between the two groups (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985). This lack of contact may have in fact reinforced Inuit raiding of European caches. Inuit would commonly cache their own resources, so while the French and Basque crews viewed this behaviour as thievery, the Inuit likely saw it as an extension of their own caching practices (Rankin and Crompton 2016:8). Small items commonly taken included iron objects which could easily be modified to become endblades or harpoons, such as nails and spikes, as well as exotic materials like ceramics and glass (Rankin and Crompton 2016:8). European fishing boats, similar in size and form to the Inuit *umiak*, were highly-prized items and were also taken from caches (Crompton and Rankin 2016). The loss of these boats seriously impeded the operation of the fisheries and is believed to be at least one major cause of the animosity fishermen felt towards Indigenous groups (Martijn 2009:71).

Attacks against European whaling and fishing crews were also a means for procuring goods. Deaths occurred on both sides, yet the efficient and persistent nature of the Inuit campaign has led it to be called a successful "guerilla war" by some (Martijn 1980:108; Mitchell 2013:321; Pope 2015:16). As early as 1611, serious concerns of French fishermen of the Petit Nord prompted a petition for an armed escort (Pope 2015:23). However, violent clashes continued into the 18th century affecting first the French sedentary fishery, then British interests in the years immediately following the Treaty of Paris (Mitchell 2013). As Stopp (2002) points out, Inuit violence may be overrepresented in the historical record overshadowing the more amicable interactions which did occur. The reported conflicts are no doubt one part of a contentious relationship. However, Europeans with a vested interest in the fisheries would certainly have taken care to record events that would further secure their enterprises in the New World, enterprises that also included mutually-beneficial, non-violent interactions.

References to trade between Indigenous groups and European fishermen span the period of sustained Basque presence along the Strait of Belle Isle from at least 1542 to the final decades of the 16th century (Turgeon 1997:14-18). Accounts of peaceful interactions appear to highlight trade with Innu rather than Inuit (Barkham 1980), however the seeds of trade were likely planted during this early stage of interactions. Fishermen in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence regularly exercised their right of *portage* which allowed them to transport a small amount of cargo free of charge for the purpose of trade (Crompton and Rankin 2016:315-316; Pope 1995, 2015). This practice saw the exchange of furs for goods brought specifically for trade such as iron tools, copper kettles, glass beads, and in some cases the personal items of fishermen (Crompton and Rankin 2016:8). Trade likely

took a similar form in Labrador. Garments of clothing, spare cloth, scissors, cufflinks, buttons, combs, coins, needles, and ceramics (specifically Normandy coarse stoneware) are just some of the personal items that would have been traded by French mariners and their Basque counterparts well into the 18th century (Crompton 2012).

There is also evidence that some Inuit may have acted as stewards keeping stations safe while the fishermen were away over the winter. So far, this practice has only been suggested to have occurred at Hare Harbour on the Québec Lower North Shore in the 17th or 18th century (Fitzhugh 2015:54-55). Given that Innu (Montagnais) are known to have worked alongside Basque fishermen during the 16th and 17th centuries (Barkham 1980; Martijn et al. 2003) joint ventures between Inuit and Europeans seem plausible.

Early in the 18th century the French established themselves as the main economic force in southern Labrador when they focused on the north side of the Strait following the loss of their fishing grounds in southern Newfoundland in 1713 (Pope 2015:25). The relationship between the French and Inuit took on a new tone as the French began to occupy parts of the coast year-round to further their sedentary fishery and formal trade. By this time a trade network had developed among the Labrador Inuit which incorporated the seasonal flow of European goods. Inuit traders, based in central and southern Labrador, were essential to this network acting as middlemen ferrying seal and whale products from northern Labrador south to exchange with fishing crews and merchants (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Rankin and Crompton 2016; Taylor 1974). These individuals were often influential community leaders and shamans, and although most historic records suggest they were men, women, such as a woman named Mikak, also took part (Fay 2014). Economically speaking, they were entrepreneurs

who for the benefit of prestige and financial gains undertook perilous journeys to the south. Archaeological evidence suggests they were very successful. Even in locations far away from permanent European settlements Inuit entrepreneurs were able to provide access to European-made goods to the degree that when Moravian missions settled nearby the material culture hardly changed (Fay 2015).

3.3 Merchants, Missionaries, and Settlers

Prior to the 18th century, Labrador was the domain of the Indigenous groups who resided there. The Inuit occupied much of the coast, the Innu (Montagnais) the interior, and the Beothuk were also in the Strait of Belle Isle region. Within this cultural landscape the southern coast was a meeting place, a convergence of cultures and peoples thanks to the seasonal occupation of the many bays and rivers needed for the exploitation of whales and fish by the European groups discussed in the previous section. In the 18th century, this changed as the French diversified their approach in Labrador with the adoption of year-round settlement and the active pursuit of formal trade with Indigenous populations. The influx of merchants pushed the boundary of European settlement north on the coast, and once Labrador fell under British rule those boundaries were pushed even further. Policies were adopted by the British to control Inuit movements and posts, forts, missions, and ultimately settlements stretched the length of the coast by the 19th century.

3.3.1 The French Sedentary Fishery

The French were the first to make concerted efforts towards year-round settlement in Labrador. They began when tracts of land were granted to Québec-based merchants in the 17th century, which extended French holdings beyond the King's Posts and Sept-Isles

to the eastern coast of the Labrador Peninsula (Hiller 2009:38-39). The first concession to significantly expand into this region was the Kegaska-Kessessakiou *seigniory* granted to Sieur Courtemanche in 1702. It covered a large swath of territory from the Kegashka River (approximately 190 kilometers east of Mingan, Québec) to what is believed to be the Churchill River, including Hamilton Inlet (Hiller 2009:38; Zimmerly 1975:43-45). The grant was all-encompassing and gave Courtemanche exclusive rights to trade with Indigenous groups, to take seals for 10 years, and permission to fish cod and hunt whales (Hiller 2009:38; Zimmerly 1975:43-45). From 1705 to his death in 1717 he explored the lands and attempted to develop trade. His success was limited (Stopp 2002:83), however his plans to build a fort at Kessessakiou (Hamilton Inlet) at the time of his death signals he believed in the merits of establishing trade with the people there. Over the next 40 years concessions continued to be granted by the French Crown and a successful sedentary seal fishery designed around the harp seal migration developed along on the coast of what today is called the Québec Lower North Shore and southern Labrador. Initially, only the spring migration was targeted, but from 1733 operations expanded to include the fall migration north, which kept employees busy throughout the year ensuring their posts were operational (Trudel 1978:106).

The establishment of permanent fishing stations certainly increased the probability of encounters with Inuit and the reports of violent incidents which did occur echoed those of French fishermen. On the surface Inuit aggression appears counterproductive to the operation of their fully-developed trade network that relied on an influx of goods from European sources. However, the favourable locations for hunting seals and fishing salmon which French merchants targeted were also important to Inuit (Crompton 2015;

Stopp 2002). Inuit likely viewed the establishment of stations along the coast as an incursion into areas traditionally used by them (Stopp 2002:83). Nevertheless, trade remained profitable enough to encourage the French frontier to be pushed northwards by the middle of the 18th century.

Sieur Jean-Louis Fornel is credited for establishing the first posts in Hamilton Inlet, and his exploits constitute the best example of how French influence had progressed since concessions were first granted in Labrador. As early as 1734 Fornel had applied for a concession including *Baye des Esquimaux* (Hamilton Inlet), but due to financial reasons he was unable to explore the area and his application was delayed (Bohms 2015:46-47). In 1737, he acquired a joint 2/3 share in a sealing station in Chateau Bay which he operated for six years furthering his plans for trade farther north (Miquelon 1974; Stopp 2008:18). He believed Chateau Bay would work well as a base of operations for both trade with Inuit in the area and his aspired expansion into *Baye des Esquimaux* and so he petitioned to authorities for the concession of Chateau Bay to pass to him upon its expiration in 1745 (Miquelon 1974). In 1743, he turned his attention to an exploratory trip to Hamilton Inlet after he was granted a concession the previous year (Bohms 2015:47; Zimmerly 1975). Landing near Rigolet he claimed the land for France before leaving Jean Pilote, Pilote's son, and several Innu (Montagnais) employees to be retrieved by ship after exploring the bay (Bohms 2015:47). Weather prohibited a ship reaching them as planned, but while there Pilote established outposts at Northwest River, near Rigolet, and another nearby location before they were eventually forced to return to southern Labrador overland (Bohms 2015:47).

Fornel died in 1745 and his vision of bringing Hamilton Inlet into the fold of French trade was never realized. Not much is known about his frontier-pushing posts; however, the fact that they were nearly a reality shows the shifting landscape of European/Inuit interactions. Hostilities still were possible as the fatal exploratory mission of the Moravians in 1752 shows (Cary 2009; Rollmann 2009), but Fornel certainly believed trade was possible in the Inuit stronghold of Esquimaux Bay and he was not alone. King's Post leaseholder Francois-Etienne Cugnet and Intendant Hocquart voiced concerns that success for Fornel would negatively affect trade posts to the west, and they believed it likely enough that his final submission was delayed for years (Miquelon 1974). Even the relationship between French fishermen and Inuit improved not long after, when a tentative truce with those gathered at Chateau Bay was brokered by Captain Galiot of Saint Malo in 1757 (Martijn 2009:79-80). The deal, in addition to establishing regular trade meetings at Quirpon, forged a tentative peace even though a general distrust continued to surround the otherwise successful trade for years to follow (Martijn 2009:79-80).

3.3.2 British Rule

The Treaty of Paris brought the Seven Years' War between the Kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of France to a conclusion and stipulated French possessions in Labrador and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence be transferred to the British Crown. Under British rule a different approach was taken for the extraction of resources which directly affected the Labrador Inuit. The French had employed a two-pronged approach to their enterprises in Labrador which included seasonal ship fisheries and year-round stations

devoted to sealing, furring, and trading. Under the French system Inuit were relatively free to conduct trade with either group, and in general they were not hindered in their movements throughout the area. Under British rule, however, programs were undertaken for the purpose of controlling the Labrador Inuit population including the settlement of Moravian missions on the coast of Labrador north of Hamilton Inlet. Independent traders, and later the Hudson Bay Company, added to the permanent settlement and brought with them men, goods, employment, and significant change to Inuit life.

3.3.2.1 The British Ship Fishery

With the Treaty of Paris signed in 1763 New France was relinquished to British rule leaving only the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon for France to use as a base for continued fishing off the French Shore (Hiller 2009:44). Control of the Labrador coast was handed to the government of Newfoundland and the implementation of British interests fell squarely on the shoulders of Commodore Hugh Palliser named Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Newfoundland in 1764 (Hiller 2009:44-45). During his four years as Governor he took steps to promote the English ship fishery in southern Labrador and in doing so tried to vacate it of two groups who he believed threatened it: those who had already established stations on the coast and the Inuit who routinely interacted with them (Hiller 2009; Kleivan 1966).

Palliser's vision was that the fishery in the Strait of Belle Isle area was to be solely a British venture. The French were to remain on their side of the Strait, and even the mainland colonies and Newfoundlanders were to be excluded (Hiller 2009:45). By design it was to be a seasonal ship fishery carried out by crews from Great Britain who would

have to set up their operations each year. To ensure success, Palliser tried to get rid of the concessions granted over the past century of French commercial expansion which he believed held an unfair advantage in the seasonal fishery (Hiller 1977:84). In 1765, he ordered the French not to fish in Labrador or conduct trade with Indigenous groups, but he met stiff opposition when he tried to remove concessionaires by declaring Labrador lands granted by the Governor in Québec since the end of the war illegal (Hiller 2009:45, 1977:84). Palliser also adopted the King William's Act of 1699 and the fishing admiral system to regulate the rights to certain resources available to seasonal fishermen in a location such as a harbour. The first to arrive for the season would have control of the seal and whale fisheries, the next the salmon fishery, and the third would share the exclusive right to "traffick" with Indigenous populations (Hiller 2009:45). At the same time as attempting to remove European settlements in southern Labrador, Palliser also solidified plans to remove the Inuit populations of central and south Labrador who he saw as a hindrance to his plans of a southern fishery.

As mentioned, violence between Inuit and Europeans had continued into the 18th century straining French trade and fishing industries as they expanded. With Labrador under British rule, Palliser moved towards improving relations with the Inuit with the help of the Moravian Church. Simply put, Palliser wanted the Inuit out of southern Labrador and the Moravian missionaries provided the means to see it done. A missionary of the Moravian Church named Johann Christian Erhardt had in fact attempted to establish a Labrador mission in 1752 (Carey 2009; Rollmann 2009). A small house and garden were built near Makkovik, which they called *Hoffnungsthal*, but it was soon abandoned after Erhardt and six of his crewmen were killed in an apparent Inuit ambush

while travelling north of the mission (Carey 2009; Rollmann 2009). In 1764, Palliser met with Jens Haven, a missionary of the Moravian Church who, like Erhardt, was a strong proponent of its foreign mission work in Labrador. They realized that their goals for the Labrador Inuit aligned and Palliser encouraged Haven to pursue a Labrador mission (Hiller 1971:75-76). In preparation for the request of lands, Jens Haven travelled to the Strait of Belle Isle to assess the situation and meet with Inuit there (Hiller 1971:76). Through his interviews he learned that trade had become a large part of Inuit life. This information led him to conclude the violence towards Europeans was by and large driven by economic needs, rather than by malicious intent (Hiller 1971:76). He believed that the missions in Labrador should be organized to fulfill the economic needs of the Inuit so that Inuit could be confined to the north and not need to travel south. This would grant Palliser's wish and provide the opportunity for missionaries to spread word of Christ the Saviour when Inuit came to trade (Hiller 1971).

The plan of the Moravians to act as government agents was laid out in a petition submitted to the Board of Trade in 1765 (Hiller 1971:75-76, 1977:83). In it they asked for the government to: order sailors to stop "Frightening & threatening" the Inuit; for an exploratory vessel to be sent to the coast of Labrador with Haven and three other missionaries; and, for four separate tracts of land totalling 400, 000 acres (Hiller 1977:83). This last request proved to be a problem as it ran contradictory to the previous land claim policies enacted by Palliser (Hiller 1971:77). But the Moravians believed the land was necessary to keep their future converts from the influence of other Europeans, particularly southern traders who dealt in rum and guns, but also other missionaries, and unconverted "heathens". In 1765, four Moravians travelled to Labrador to carry out a

reconnaissance of the Labrador coast. Three of the party members carried out their own work and the fourth assisted Palliser in brokering a peace with Inuit gathered at Chateau Bay. Despite their progress, the Moravians' request was not met for another four years. In 1769, they were granted a 100, 000 acre tract of land in Esquimaux (sic) Bay (Hiller 1977:85). After a survey trip in 1770 they settled their first mission in the *Nuneingoak* region in 1771 which they called Nain (Hiller 1971:78) (Figure 3.1).

3.3.2.2 The Moravian Mission

Proselytization was most important to the Moravian Church, but they found that trade sometimes interfered or ran contradictory to their evangelical mission creating problems on both fronts (Hiller 1971). While the Moravians expanded their influence by settling Okak in 1776 (Figure 3.1) and Hopedale in 1782 (Figure 3.1), so too did merchants and the ship fishery in southern Labrador (Hiller 2009:47). The presence of Europeans in southern Labrador and their willingness to provide goods and services not offered at the missions continued to draw Inuit from the mission areas to the south during the 1770s and 1780s (Rollmann 2011). Their presence also removed any incentive for the Inuit living in southern Labrador to move north. Trade was a means to an end for the Moravians; a necessary tool for both attracting potential converts, and later for ensuring the financial feasibility of the mission (Hiller 1971:85). No lists of trade goods exchanged at the missions exist before 1787, but items were likely utilitarian in nature like fishhooks, lines, needles, and knives (Kleivan 1966:48). Alcohol, firearms, European foodstuffs, and clothing items were believed to have done damage to Inuit health and the Inuit traditional way of life and were avoided (Hiller 1971:92).

In fact, the desire for objects available only in the south is believed to be the reason why Inuit continued to travel there, particularly for firearms and boats (Rollmann 2011). From the establishment of their missions the Moravians had a strict policy forbidding the sale of firearms to the Inuit, a policy adopted because of their fear for violence (Hiller 1971:92-93; Rollmann 2011:10). The view of southern traders, who were proponents for the sale of guns, is personified in the actions of George Cartwright who operated fishing and furring stations in Sandwich Bay and Cape Charles for the majority of 1770-1786 (Stopp 2008). His arrival to the coast of Labrador appears to coincide with the first mention of firearms in the north by Moravian missionaries, and as early as 1773 he is named by Inuit as the source of their guns (Rollmann 2011:9). Firearms, powder, and lead were included among a list of desired goods for trade that Cartwright penned to his agent in 1783 making it likely that he carried them early on (Stopp 2008:74-75). In fact, he believed so fully in the benefits firearms would bring to the Inuit that he not only sold them but was known to loan them in return for some of the bounty procured through their use (Rollmann 2011:9-10).

Cartwright's operations and those of the other southern traders placed the Moravians in a difficult position. Their efforts to prevent the Inuit from accessing firearms were being thwarted by southern traders and Inuit were acquiring more every year. Moreover, the refusal to sell firearms meant their potential converts were spending less time near the missions. The negative impacts of their initial policy proved too much, and with the blessing of the Moravian elders in Saxony the policy was revoked in 1786 (Rollmann 2011:12-14). By the 1790s, Moravian records indicate journeys south had

largely ceased (Hiller 1971, 2009; Rollmann 2009) and at least three of the goals that Governor Palliser and Jens Haven shared were achieved.

By the end of the 18th century large populations of Inuit were attracted to the missions along the coast. The hostilities that had become a hallmark of Inuit/European relations had come to an end and many Inuit had accepted Christianity (Hiller 1971:86). The role that traders, the Moravian missionaries, disease – and Inuit themselves – played in this de-escalation is unclear, but no major incidents were reported after the 1760s (Hiller 2009:47-48). Circumstances were favourable for the expansion of merchant firms in Labrador and the settlers following closely behind.

3.3.2.3 Settlers and the Labrador Métis

Independent British merchants, as well as those based in Newfoundland and Québec, found traction with trade in the late 18th century and their operations soon spanned the Labrador coast from the Strait of Belle Isle to Hamilton Inlet. It's during this time that the first settlers began to establish themselves in Labrador. The sporadic nature of trading pursuits in the closing decades of the 18th century makes it difficult to say how many individuals came to Labrador with the intention to settle. Roles at the time are hazy making it difficult to distinguish between employee, entrepreneur, and settler. Increased commercial activities, however, brought with them the men necessary for the operation of the sealing, furring, and fishing posts. Many of these men chose to stay in the area and wed Inuit women, thus beginning what has been called the ethnogenesis of the Labrador Métis (Kennedy 1997).

Early reports of unions between Inuit women and European men are few and far between, but they do exist. William Phippard and John Newhook were likely among the first to settle on the Labrador coast. They chose to do so after three years of waiting for their long-delayed ship to reach them (Campbell 2000; Way 2014). By the time it arrived in 1783, they had learned Inuttut and become acquainted with the people and geography of the area, so they decided to stay and marry Inuit women (Campbell 2000; Way 2014). Similarly, Ambrose Brooks, the father of Lydia Campbell Brooks, married an Inuit woman around 1800 (Stopp 2014:156). In relating her father's story, Campbell states he came to Labrador to avoid the press gangs during the Napoleonic War, just as other English men who "came out up the shore for woodcutters, seal fishing, and cod fishery" (Campbell 2000:11; Stopp 2014:156). The Hudson Bay Company gained a foothold in Labrador following the aggressive takeover of posts in Hamilton Inlet in 1837 (Bohms 2015:52), and the number of settlers increased as the men who came to work the posts chose to settle after one or two terms of service, often marrying Inuit women (Fitzhugh 2009:317).

Until roughly the 1830s, settlers were contained to the lands south of the Moravian districts, even though missionaries in Hopedale expressed concerns over the encroachment of colonists in the 1790s (Kleivan 1966:92). In the 1830s and 1840s, these concerns were renewed as the missionaries feared the negative effects these European-descendant "southlanders" were having on their congregation (Kleivan 1966:97). It's at this time that the arrival of the first settlers in northern Labrador can be traced to well-known families started by Amos Voisey, John Ford, Robert Mitchell, and J. Lane (Kleivan 1966:93). Misgivings directed towards southern settlers were extended to these

men, however the Church's attitude eventually softened as it became clear they were not there for the purpose of trade but to build a life based largely on subsistence fishing, hunting, and trapping (Kleivan 1966:101-102). A map compiled by Levin Theodor Reichel in 1872 shows how the demographic of Hamilton Inlet and Sandwich Bay had changed with the arrival of southern settlers. Beside households listed as "Eskimos" (sic) are also many households he classified as "Englander" and "Mixed" (Reichel 1872). Reichel's map also shows the emergence of distinct regional identities which formed along the coast. In the north, the population remained largely Inuit with communities centered on the Moravian missions. In central Labrador, a combination of Inuit, white, mixed, and Inuit-Métis families focused on hunting and trapping activities centered around permanent settlement. In the south, some places resembled central Labrador. In others, pockets of Inuit society became mixed with an increasingly European society with ties to Newfoundland (Hiller 2009:48).

3.4 Conclusion: Inuit Societal Change

This chapter has looked at the arrival of the Inuit and Europeans to Labrador and the prevailing assumptions that their arrivals were driven by economic factors. For Europeans, the pursuit of animal resources of whales, cod fish, seals, salmon, and fur bearing animals appears a straightforward expansion of the European global economy at the end of the 15th century. For the Inuit, or Thule as their ancestors are called, Labrador may have provided a reprieve from colder temperatures where open-water hunting could continue. Or, perhaps the opportunity to access new materials like wood and European goods was the motivation behind their expansion. The incentives were likely many. Once

the Thule arrived around the mid 15th century (Kaplan and Woollett 2016; Ramsden and Rankin 2013; Whitridge 2016) (see Fitzhugh for an argument of an earlier date), they were soon interacting with Europeans on the Strait of Belle Isle.

The nature of meetings between these two groups has often been framed within a European perspective as the bulk of this chapter demonstrates. Concern is generally given to the pursuits of the French, Basque, and British, and so it is clear how the Inuit fit into their systems, but less so how they fit into the Inuit system. Europeans must have viewed Inuit as beneficial to their enterprises to some degree because of the trade they offered. The historic record emphasizes only the hindrance of Inuit violence which lingered until the end of the 18th century. How Inuit viewed Europeans is less clear. When Jens Haven travelled to northern Labrador in 1773 his impression was the Inuit "looked upon the Europeans as stupid people without understanding, whom they could cheat and rob as they pleased, looking upon them … as poor, interested and greedy of gain" (quoted from Hiller 1971:841). This sentiment is echoed in an interaction between the shaman Sekuliak and the missionary Drachart around 1772. Sekuliak said to Drachart: "believe me…I am a great captain, and I am not afraid of you" (cited in Sabathy-Judd 2009:135). It seems for roughly the first 200 years of interactions between the Inuit and Europeans, Inuit were in a position of power. This changed after 1763 when the British sought to disrupt and change Inuit life in Labrador.

Under British rule, policies in Labrador were developed to promote a seasonal fishery in southern Labrador and to control Inuit populations. Christianity and settlement were the tools used to disrupt the way of life and it is evident from the frustration of Moravian missionaries that the motivations behind the Labrador Inuit way of life was not

purely economic as Haven had believed. The goods offered at the missions didn't draw Inuit living south of Hopedale to the north, nor did they cease the trips of Inuit who travelled south for items like firearms and boats. No doubt social and spiritual aspects of Inuit society also worked against Moravian plans to confine Inuit to northern Labrador. The prominent individuals of the Inuit coastal trade network were often *angakut* (singular *angagok*) described by the Moravians as shaman or spiritual leaders (Hiller 1971). As Rankin and Crompton (2015) suggest, the pursuit of European boats was for more than transportation, but also for the prestige garnered through such goods, like the whaling captains of their ancestors. Other examples of resistance, such as the sharing of meat with Inuit who were not part of the Moravian congregation (Hiller 1971), persisted during the early decades of the missions. Resistance was not violent, however, and it slowly dissipated with time, the establishment of trading posts, successive mission stations, disease, and ultimately the acceptance of white settlers and the birth of the Labrador Métis.

4. **Hamilton Inlet and its Role in the Study of Inuit Housing**

The sod winter house has played a large role in the narrative of Inuit history in Labrador. The remains of these houses attest to the Inuit arrival in Hamilton Inlet sometime in the 17th century. Interests and economies shifted over time and settlement patterns followed suit. The town of Rigolet emerged as the main settlement of the region, though numerous cabins continue to dot the shores of the Narrows.

The first part of this chapter introduces the physical geography of Hamilton Inlet and the Inuit who have called it home for nearly 400 hundred years. It discusses how their settlement patterns have changed and the many seasonal movements that demonstrate a continuity of human movement and settlement in the region. The second section discusses previous archaeological research in Hamilton Inlet as it relates to Inuit sod house structures. Hamilton Inlet was one of the first locations where Inuit winter sod houses were classified in Labrador (see Fitzhugh 1972, 1977; Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983), and the study of these houses over the past decade has continued to influence the views of researchers which rely on them to study Labrador Inuit history.

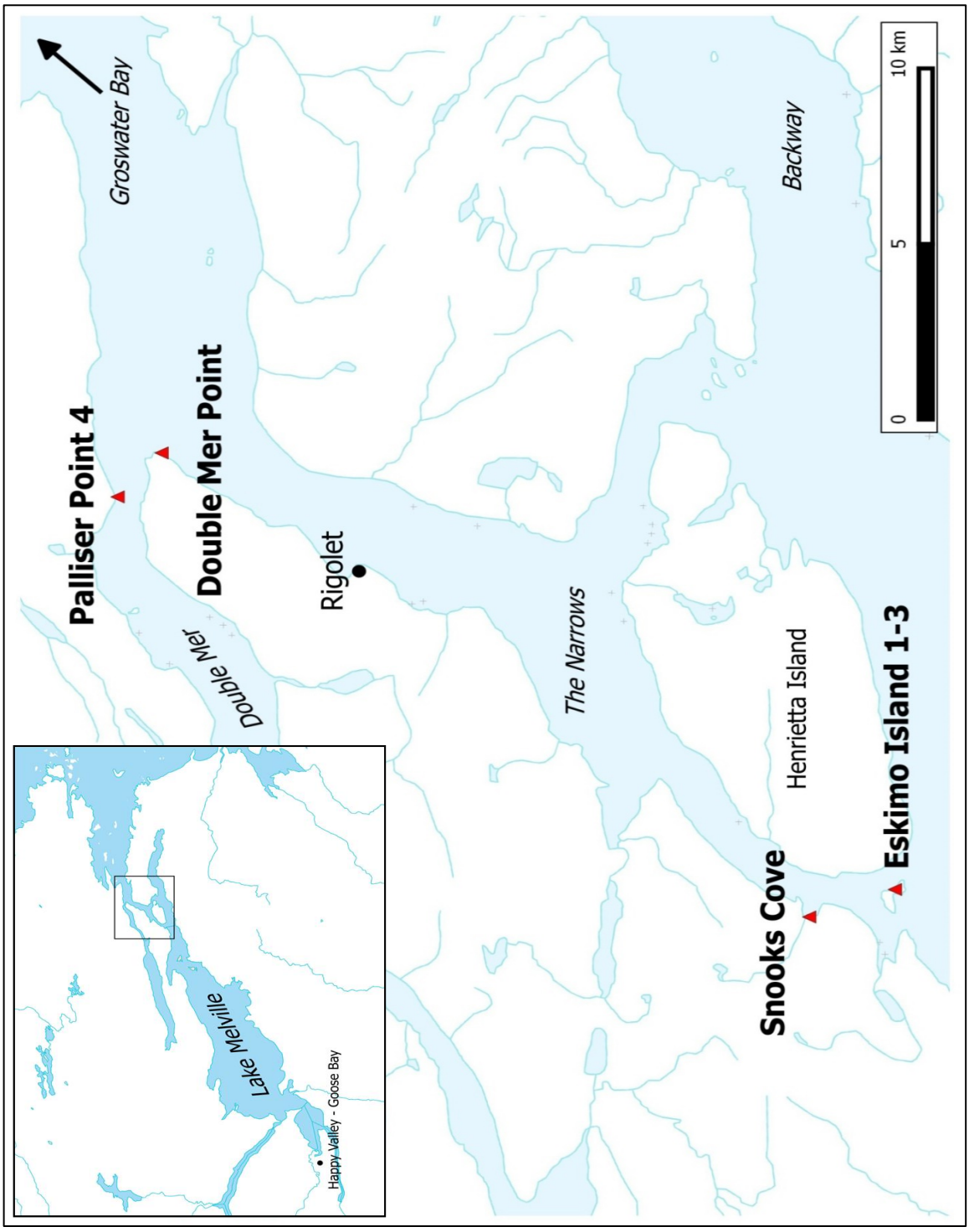

Figure 4.1 Hamilton Inlet (after Fitzhugh 1972) and important geography and locations in the Narrows.

4.1 Physical and Human Geography

Hamilton Inlet encompasses the large swath of central Labrador between Goose Bay and Indian Harbour centered on the large estuary of Lake Melville (after Fitzhugh 1972) (see Figure 4.1). The region can be divided into two halves: west and east. In the west, the deep waters of Lake Melville are fed by east-flowing tributaries from the Labrador plateau, and along its southern shore run the Mealy Mountains reaching heights of 1300 meters. On a clear day their snow-capped peaks can be seen in the eastern half of Hamilton Inlet where the water becomes shallower, saltier, and more constricted as it flows towards the sea. East of Henrietta Island, the main channel flows north where it narrows to just under two kilometers before entering Groswater Bay. In this narrow passage currents can reach speeds upwards of seven knots and as a result the Narrows remains ice-free in the winter. Neighbouring bodies of water include Backway, a 35-kilometer eastern extension of Lake Melville known to locals as Back Bay (Ames 1977:279), and Double Mer, a narrow extension of Groswater Bay stretching nearly 80 kilometers inland. Terrain around the Narrows is uneven and variable. Forest of spruce and tamarack with the odd birch and poplar covers many of the hills and valleys while muskeg swamps fill the low-lying and poorly-drained areas. The tops of the highest hills resemble the boulder-strewn barren landscape found on the outer coast and islands of Groswater Bay where the cold Labrador Current creates an arctic landscape in contrast to the subarctic interior.

When Europeans first visited Hamilton Inlet it was called *Ivuktoke* ("Walrus Place") (Hancock et al. 2008:4-5) or *Aiviktok* ("Someone caught a walrus") (Blake 2010:1) by the Inuit who lived there. They soon chose their own names to mark the

inclusion of both land and sea within their own cultural landscapes; the French knew it as *Baie des Esquimaux*, then the English as Hamilton Inlet. However, the three different names for the region do little to describe how those who have lived in Hamilton Inlet related to their geography throughout history.

Before the fur trade gained traction in central Labrador the Inuit of eastern Hamilton Inlet followed the rhythms of the plants and animals moving seasonally to access different resources. Families congregated in sod house communities in the winter. Seal was hunted on the open-water and ice edge and migrating herds of caribou were targeted on land and ice (Jordan 1977:47). In the spring villages dispersed, and smaller groups of families lived in skin tents where they could hunt migratory birds, collect their eggs, and continue to hunt seal. Fishing was the main pursuit in summer as people moved to the mouth of streams to catch trout and salmon during their annual run (Jordan 1977:46). The ripening of berries would mark the end of summer, and soon after people would hunt the returning migratory birds, caribou, seal, and whale before moving back to their winter communities (Jordan 1977).

Like the Inuttitut name for Hamilton Inlet refers to the walrus, many local places are named after animals that remain important to people today or in the recent past. Places like Upper and Lower Seal Rocks, Trouting Brook, Goose Island, and Stag Hill likely suggest locales where these animals were known to be for generations. Other place names are more reflective of the influences of resource industries during historic times, which changed people's movements on the land and altered the terms of access for resources valuable in European markets.

As permanent trading posts entered the area in the 18th and 19th centuries a shift in subsistence brought with it a shift in settlement patterns. The Hudson's Bay Company was the first to formalize and impose a system of land and resource ownership for the development of the salmon and fur industries. Soon after purchasing the trading post in Rigolet in 1836, the Hudson's Bay Company established a relationship with the people of Hamilton Inlet much like the debt-peonage system of Latin America (Ames 1977:281). Under this system people entered contracts with the company who provided the rights to a berth and the equipment to fish it for a 1/3 share (Ames 1977:281). The main economies quickly became salmon fishing in the summer and the trapping of fur-bearing animals in the winter. Place names like Caracajou Point, Fox Cove, Beaver Brook, and Otter Brook Point evoke images of the animals so important to the fur trade. Others point to the division and ownership of land and resources that accompanied it. Family ownership of places implied by the names such as Shiwak's Pond, Goudie's Cove, and Flowers' Cove may predate the imposed HBC system, but more likely their origins can be traced to a time when people began to live and establish themselves near their resources.

Today the relationship between the people of Hamilton Inlet, the land, and the animals has taken on a new tone reminiscent of times past and new in its own right. Most people in the Narrows now live in the Inuit community of Rigolet, but still depend largely on locally available resources. Many houses are heated with wood and the consumption of wild game, sometimes called "country food", is common in part because of the high cost of imported foods, but also because of its role in Inuit culture. The commercial salmon fishery is gone for the time being and the fur trade is a shadow of its former self. However, the network of cabins from those times continues to be relied upon for hunting

and fishing, only now they are accessed by power boats and snowmobiles. The outer islands and north shore of Groswater Bay continue to be popular spots for hunting migratory birds and picking berries, but now one can travel there and back again in a single day.

4.2 Archaeological Research

Archaeological research of the Inuit past in Hamilton Inlet was sporadic until a broad regional survey program was conducted by William Fitzhugh in the late 1960s (Fitzhugh 1972). From there it was expanded by Richard Jordan who excavated Inuit village sites in Hamilton Inlet for his study of Inuit culture change (Jordan 1974, 1978). His work was used by subsequent researchers (e.g. Kaplan 1983; and Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007), and his collaborative theory of Inuit socioeconomic change (Jordan and Kaplan 1980) continues to be influential. Thanks in part to research in Hamilton Inlet, the winter house has become the lens through which archaeologists explore Inuit life and social change.

Archaeological research in Hamilton Inlet has also continued to shape the narrative of Labrador Inuit housing, by suggesting that changes in Inuit life are reflected in the design of the winter sod houses (Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983). Richard Jordan's research showed the limitations of early approaches taken by archaeologists who tried to assign each house design to different periods of history (Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). James Woollett's research demonstrated how much could be learned of 18th-century conditions using a broad definition of communal housing (Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007). Whereas the complete excavation of sod houses by students

of Lisa Rankin (see Bohms 2015; Brandy 2013a, 2013b; Pritchard 2012) has demonstrated Inuit housing in Hamilton Inlet is less homogenous than once thought.

4.2.1 Early Authors, Adventurers, and Archaeologists

The first researchers to visit Hamilton Inlet hailed from Europe and their interests in the history of the area were tangential at best. Lured to the shores of Labrador by the Vinland Sagas, two separate expeditions scoured the coast of central Labrador for tangible evidence of Norse exploration in North America. They often met with residents and enquired about local ruins which brought them to at least two Inuit sites including Eskimo Island.

The first expedition was that of Jorgen Meldgaard of the Danish National Museum. It was fueled by his belief that Labrador and the Norse *Markland* ("The Forested Land") were one in the same, based on topographical descriptions recorded in the Vinland Sagas (Appelt et al. 2007:2016; Fitzhugh 1972:85; Madsen and Appelt 2010). Travelling with the help of local fishermen, Meldgaard surveyed the southern half of Labrador from Goose Bay to the northern tip of Newfoundland for six weeks in 1956 (Madsen and Appelt 2010). His passage through the Narrows and Groswater Bay brought him to two Inuit sites where he conducted field work (cited in Schledermann 1972:17), presumably in search of evidence for a Norse presence in Labrador. One of the sites he visited was Eskimo Island, believed to be the earliest Inuit winter settlement in the Narrows (Kaplan 1983:256-258). On the island he dug a "few test trenches" with what he saw as disappointing results (Madsen and Appelt 2010:25). Although his search for

evidence of Norse travellers was ultimately fruitless, it did not dissuade others from following in his footsteps.

Five years after Jorgen Meldgaard's survey, Hamilton Inlet was again visited by a team in search of Norse ruins. Following the second season of excavation at the now verified Norse site of L'Anse aux Meadows on the northern tip of Newfoundland, Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad decided to follow the Vinland route north to investigate the Labrador coast in 1961 (Ingstad 2013:69). They too travelled through Hamilton Inlet stopping at many places including English River and Eskimo Island before returning south to the long stretch of sandy coast near Cape Porcupine. They chose not to excavate at any of these locations (Ingstad 2013:78) and like Meldgaard found no evidence of the Norse in Labrador.

4.2.2 Foundational Research: The Building of a Narrative

William Fitzhugh was the first to conduct serious archaeological research in Hamilton Inlet which he undertook for his Ph.D. dissertation. With the region virtually unknown to archaeologists at the time, he sought to establish a culture sequence which would further divide the three broad cultural units, Amerindian, Dorset, and Inuit believed to be represented on the Ungava-Labrador Peninsula (Fitzhugh 1972: 3-5). As the title of his dissertation suggests – *Environmental Archeology and Cultural Systems in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador: A Survey of the Central Labrador Coast from 3000 B.C. to the Present* – Fitzhugh adopted a cultural ecological approach in his definition of the prehistoric and contemporary cultural groups. He relied on adaptations to the environment understood through settlement and subsistence patterns to differentiate between cultural

units. With a small field crew Fitzhugh surveyed a significant portion of Hamilton Inlet in 1968 and 1969 with the most intensive survey focused on the Narrows, as well as the north shore and the many coastal islands of Groswater Bay (see Fitzhugh 1972:6, figure 3). The scope of the project didn't permit extensive excavation of the archaeological sites he found, and what limited excavation that did occur was largely undertaken to determine the cultural origins of a site. From the 81 sites recorded, Fitzhugh put forward two culture sequences – one for eastern Lake Melville and one for western Lake Melville – covering 5000 years of human occupation (see Fitzhugh 1972:129, figure 61). With the benefit of hindsight, it's clear his desired "general cultural framework" (Fitzhugh 1972:5) was a success as it laid the foundation that archaeological research in Hamilton Inlet has been built upon over the last 50 years.

Due to the scope of Fitzhugh's research, he did not focus on Inuit history in any detail. Instead, he adopted the seminal work of Bird (1945) to explain Inuit settlement he located during the survey. Fitzhugh's description of Inuit houses shares the same linear interpretation of houses of Bird (1945). Fitzhugh adopts Bird's communal house term for the large houses he identified in Hamilton Inlet and classifies other houses along similar temporal lines (see Section 2.3.2). Self admittedly, Fitzhugh was among those scholars still preoccupied with determining the successive groups which occupied the peninsula prior to European arrival (Fitzhugh 1972:2), and he fulfilled this role more than adequately. He began to tell a side of Inuit history in Hamilton Inlet accessible only through the archaeological record. He revealed a 16th-century southward expansion brought Inuit to Hamilton Inlet and that their arrival effectively divided the region in two (Fitzhugh 1972:132). The western part was occupied by Indigenous groups who relied on

interior resources (Fitzhugh 1972:158-159), represented today by the Innu Nation, and the eastern part by the Inuit who relied heavily on marine resources (Fitzhugh 1972:161), now represented by the Nunatsiavut Government.

Soon after the completion of Fitzhugh's regional survey Richard Jordan returned to Hamilton Inlet to focus on the Inuit history of the region. Over the course of two summers (1973 and 1975) he revisited known Inuit sites choosing to focus the majority of his efforts on those with sod winter houses. He excavated three houses at Eskimo Island, one at Snooks Cove, and test-pitted an additional eleven throughout the region including the three houses at Double Mer Point (Jordan 1973-1975, 1974, 1978). He used these sites to argue the use of communal houses was driven by socioeconomic motivations (see Chapter 2). In doing so, he also extended the narrative of Inuit housing by including those houses that came after the Communal House Phase. Because so little was known of the nature and extent of Inuit occupation in Labrador, Jordan focused on exploring Inuit history through the chronological changes in Inuit sod houses. His temporal approach was able to account for most of the variation seen in the design of sod houses. However, his published works demonstrate that such a strict interpretation of sod house designs does not always work.

Like his contemporary Schledermann (see Chapter 2), Jordan (1978) divided the houses he studied into three specific periods to form an Inuit culture-history. He termed them: the Colonization and Raiding Period (1600-1700), the Whaling and Intermittent Trading Period (1700-1800), and the Trapping and European Settlement Period (1800-1870) (Jordan 1978). These periods underwent minor revisions in a collaborative article Jordan coauthored with Susan Kaplan (Jordan and Kaplan 1980), but the core narrative

remained consistent. He did not present the layout of each house he excavated but rather chose specific houses to represent each historical period as support for his theory that the socioeconomic impacts of trade were behind the changes to Inuit society in Hamilton Inlet. However, there were two houses which Jordan was never able to firmly place. Changing from one publication to the next, Houses 5 and 6 at Eskimo Island 2 challenged Jordan's conviction of a linear narrative of Inuit housing.

Eskimo Island 2 is a site comprised of three large winter houses numbered 4, 5, and 6. All three were classified as communal houses, yet the construction of Houses 5 and 6 differ from the classic layout defined by Schledermann (1976a). Their interiors are divided into two rooms by an internal wall (Jordan 1974:85, 1978:181). Jordan's initial conclusion was that this separation of space was the result of a breakdown of the social bonds that had originally brought people together in communal houses, making them later examples of Inuit housing (Jordan 1974:85). Later, Jordan (1978:181) re-considered their internal divisions, suggesting the internal walls were constructed to help conserve heat as traditional communal houses were transitioned into single family homes. In the final discussion of the houses (Jordan and Kaplan 1980), the placement of Houses 5 and 6 waivered. House 6 was no longer deemed a part of the transitional phase from communal houses to single-family homes, only House 5. House 6 was mentioned only as a side note as possibly being occupied at the same time as the communal houses of Eskimo Island 1, the largest houses in the region (Jordan and Kaplan 1980:42). The reassignment of House 6 may have come from a reanalysis of cultural materials, but it is clear there was no obvious placement for houses that deviated from Jordan's model. Two houses originally thought to be contemporaneous based on their design were in the end separated. The one

which fit the current narrative of Inuit housing was kept, the one which didn't was removed.

It is difficult to fault Jordan for his focus on those houses which fit the narrative already in place and ignore those that didn't. He was after all, like his contemporaries, working to fill a void in the literature by creating a typology of Inuit winter housing. Sorting houses based on clearly-observable characteristics was a logical way to do this, and it had proved successful in highlighting patterns of change. Susan Kaplan's Ph.D. dissertation is the pinnacle of this pursuit (Kaplan 1983). A synthesis of the archaeological research that came before, Kaplan's work reviewed all known sod houses and offered the most comprehensive explanation of the variation displayed in their construction. It echoed the socioeconomic motivations she voiced with Jordan (1980) but with a greater base of supportive evidence. There was ample household variation in her culture-history comprised of an early, middle, and late period, but it too supported the linear narrative that had emerged in earlier works.

4.2.3 The Absence of the House

Susan Kaplan's dissertation marked a turning point in the study of Labrador Inuit housing. The completion of an Inuit culture-history meant that certain changes in Inuit history had been identified. The move of Inuit settlements from the outer portions of the coast to protected inner bays was one such trend, and another was the congregation of Inuit in large communal houses in the 18th century. Research that followed turned to exploring the changes detailed in the culture-history, and it did so without the

identification and classification of house types which was such a main component of earlier work.

James Woollett's (2003) research in Hamilton Inlet is an example of the direction research took following the completion of Kaplan's (1983) culture-history. With a generally agreed upon sequence outlining the chronological changes to Inuit sod houses, researchers did not feel the need to carefully study and then classify each sod house that was encountered as earlier researchers had done. When Woollett entered the discussion of 18th-century communal house use, he did so with the arrangement of communal living already clearly defined. This in turn permitted him to adopt a new approach and study communal living from a zooarchaeological perspective.

Believing new information about the environment and hunting practices would elucidate the motivations for and functions of communal houses, he conducted a study of seal remains collected from Inuit winter sites (Woollett 2003:vii-viii). It included two regions in Labrador, of which Hamilton Inlet was the southern component. Woollett relied upon collections from five sites in the Narrows previously excavated or test-pitted by Jordan: Eskimo Island 1, Eskimo Island 2, Eskimo Island 3, Double Mer Point, and Snooks Cove.

In many ways Woollett's approach was similar to those of Fitzhugh and Kaplan. He drew together ethnohistoric sources, environmental information, and archaeological evidence. Where it differed significantly was in scale. By incorporating new, high-resolution palaeoenvironmental data from the fields of archaeobotany and ethnohistory with his own zooarchaeological analysis of seal remains, Woollett was able to study Inuit culture change in the archaeological record in terms of decades rather than centuries

(Woollett 2003:37-38). Moreover, to prevent an overreliance on ecological factors in his investigation of Inuit communal living, he also took into consideration the impact social agents may have had by relying on ethnographic sources in what he calls a subject-centered approach (Woollett 2003:38).

Contrary to claims that the 18th century was a period of poor climatic conditions in Labrador (Schledermann 1972, 1976), Woollett found that it was a time of moderate climate and reduced winter ice conditions (Woollett 2003:622). In Hamilton Inlet, people relied heavily on harbour seals during the 18th century, a species which was hunted on open water unlike the harp seals harvested more heavily during the 17th and 19th centuries (Woollett 2003:624-625). He concluded communal houses were a response to climatic conditions, one which facilitated organized open-water hunting and demanded social reorganization at the household level (Woollett 2003:625).

The design of Woollett's (2003) research is important for two reasons. First, it demonstrates that faunal remains can be used as proxies for past climatic conditions. He was able to reconstruct the environmental conditions of the 18th century and use that information to form a theory for the emergence of large communal houses. His research is also important in that it demonstrates what can occur when architecture is not considered in the course of studying a housing strategy. Woollett excavated only small portions of house interiors concentrating mostly on middens where accumulated seal remains were found. He generally trusted earlier interpretations of house architecture and relied on the classic definition of a communal house provided by Kaplan to inform his conclusions (Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007). Much was learned about hunting practices and climate of the 18th century, but he did not address what constitutes a communal house in terms of

social organization or architecture. Recent research (Murphy 2012) that required an example of a communal house to demonstrate communal housing was practiced in southern Labrador highlights the lack of revision. Despite having been excavated nearly 40 years prior, the best example of a communal house for Murphy (2012) to cite was Schledermann's House 8 from Ikkusik. Had other researchers (i.e. Richling 1993) incorporated the study of architecture into their research, the definition of a communal house likely would have been updated. Unfortunately, that did not happen. Woollett (2007) appears to recognize this shortcoming when he expresses the importance of the social aspects of housing (of which architecture is a principal component) at the end of a recent article. After touching on nearly every aspect of 18th-century Inuit life except housing, the final sentence of the article reads: "[r]esearch might as well examine…the physical structure of social space in communal houses to learn more about Inuit social relations during this period" (Woollett 2007:82). This thesis is part of a larger body of research that has begun to do just that.

4.2.4 The Reintegration of the House

In the early 2000s a research program was begun by Lisa Rankin in southern Labrador with a focus on Sandwich Bay (Rankin 2015). Like most other research that followed Kaplan's dissertation, its goal was specific: to determine the extent and nature of the Inuit presence in southern Labrador in the past. Where her program differed was in its approach. The focus remained on winter houses, but Rankin chose to completely excavate their remains. Partial excavation and general survey had proved unsuccessful for archaeologists in the past in determining whether a house was Inuit, European, or Métis

(see Stopp 2002:85) and the complete excavation of houses was a way to overcome those uncertainties. It proved successful, and in the process demonstrated the value of viewing sod houses as physical and social spaces. For example, the bilateral distribution of Inuit and European goods inside House 1 at Huntingdon Island 5 demonstrates the possession of commodities within communal households may not have initially been as communal as the shared living arrangement suggests (Rankin 2014b:46-47). The same line of thinking has supported the argument that there are different ethnic signatures that can be seen in architecture, faunal remains, and artifact assemblages, making it possible to differentiate between Inuit, Métis and European households (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Rankin 2015). With the completion of the project in Sandwich Bay, Rankin's approach was brought to Hamilton Inlet. Since her move north, Rankin and her graduate students from Memorial University of Newfoundland have revisited two of the sites identified by Fitzhugh and later revisited by Jordan. Their work has brought these sites into larger discussions of identity and ethnicity and raised questions about the standing history of the region.

The first site to be revisited was Snooks Cove on the north shore of the Narrows near Eskimo Island. When investigated earlier by Fitzhugh, and then Jordan, multiple house foundations were found, but it was unclear whether the houses were occupied by people of Inuit, Euro-Canadian, or mixed ethnicity (Fitzhugh 1972:84; Kaplan 1983:431). The ambiguous nature of the site kept researchers away until a map by the Moravian clergyman Levin Theodore Reichel was found detailing the locations of houses for the families living in Hamilton Inlet in 1872 (Reichel 1872). The map shows Snooks Cove was inhabited by Inuit families which was enough to convince two researchers from

Memorial University to return to the site. Their approaches were complimentary; Eliza Brandy was primarily interested in the faunal remains for her M.A. research, and her findings would be beneficial for Brian Pritchard's Ph.D. research on Inuit responses to colonial pressures in Labrador.

Over the course of two summers they excavated the remains of two houses from Jordan's original survey. Brandy and Pritchard each propose ages for the houses, Brandy in her thesis (2013a), and Pritchard in his preliminary work (Pritchard 2012). The dates do not align, but they do overlap. The older house was built in the late 18th century and occupied until it was abandoned, either in the mid 19th century (Brandy 2013a:114) or not until the Inuit movement from Snooks Cove to Carawalla in the 1890s (Pritchard 2012). The more recent house was found to have a similar internal organization, but its wood-planked construction and associated European-manufactured goods led Brandy to conclude it was built in the mid 19th century and abandoned early in the 20th century (Brandy 2013a:114). Pritchard believed the house was occupied for a longer period based on the collection of artifacts from both houses and a date of abandonment provided by the current residents of Snooks Cove (Prichard 2012:16-18). Built sometime in the first quarter of the 19th century, before the 1826 visit of Ellidge, and then abandoned in 1940 (Pritchard 2012). Regardless of these inconsistencies, the work of both Brandy and Pritchard provide interesting insight into the life of Inuit from the late 18th century to the early 20th century; specifically, how it changed and what may have stayed the same as Europeans populated the area and permanent trading posts were established.

Brandy's (2013a,b) interests focused on Inuit foodways during the 19th century when the establishment of permanent trading posts brought European men and significant

changes to the demography of Hamilton Inlet. Unions between European men and Inuit women became more common during this period, but determining whether households were Inuit, European, or Inuit-metis based on archaeological materials can be a difficult task. Traces of ethnicity have been found in the construction of houses, and in their associated artifact assemblages (see Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Rankin 2015), but little research had searched for ethnic markers in faunal assemblages. Brandy's work contributed to the discussion of ethnicity as she explored the changes of Inuit life through the faunal remains recovered from the households at Snooks Cove (Brandy 2013a:1-2). She concluded that both houses were occupied during the winter months, but each was representative of a different dietary strategy. Central to her argument was the role of seal. She found that despite the continued hunting of seal into the 19th century, its importance as a food source may have diminished as seal became a trade commodity in the Narrows and people came to rely more on birds and caribou for subsistence (Brandy 2013a:115-117).

While her thesis was concerned with demonstrating how things may have changed for Inuit during the 19th and 20th centuries – specifically diet – equally important are her direct and indirect comments pertaining to cultural continuity throughout that time. The similar organization of the house interiors suggests a common conceptualization of domestic space despite a difference in construction materials. Similarly, the expanded role of seal appears drastic at first but as she points out seal still played a large role in Inuit life as it accounted for nearly half of the diet in the more recent house (Brandy: 2013b:338). Moreover, the practice of seal hunting would have continued to provide for people in a different way. Brandy goes so far as to suggest that the importance of seal to

Inuit identity may have prompted the continued hunting of seal as an exercise of autonomy (Brandy 2013b). Regardless of whether one chooses to focus on the similarities or differences of Inuit life in 19th-century Hamilton Inlet, Brandy's research raised important questions about Inuit identity and how it was expressed in the face of colonial forces, a topic investigated by later researchers.

Upon review of the ethnohistoric literature recorded during the 18th and 19th centuries Pritchard (2012) found sources reported different and sometimes contradictory Inuit responses to the forces of colonialism, which paint two very different portraits of Inuit life in central Labrador. In one, the way of life changed drastically following a decline in population in the second half of the 18th century (Jordan 1978:181; Kaplan 1983:324) and the adoption of European clothing, the English language, and Christianity (Pritchard 2012). In stark contrast, other sources describe a traditional Inuit lifestyle in which Inuit language, hunting methods, and polygamous forms of marriage continued to be practiced (Pritchard 2012). From his preliminary analysis of the cultural materials from Snooks Cove, Pritchard concluded the second portrait was more accurate than the first. Rather than the end of the 18th century being a time of cultural destitution, the Inuit in the Narrows were able to exercise a more autonomous and traditional way of life citing, like Brandy, the continued importance of seal in Inuit life in 19th-century colonial Labrador (Pritchard 2012). His most important conclusion, however, was determining Snooks Cove and Eskimo Island (Eskimo Island 2) were occupied at the same time. This suggests the movement of people in Hamilton Inlet was not as linear as Jordan (1974, 1978) thought, and that Inuit populations did not decline significantly. The possibility that

each site represents a different approach to interacting with the colonial system added a much-needed dimension to the narrative of Inuit occupation and identity.

The most recent site revisited by Rankin and her students is Double Mer Point located near the east end of the Narrows. There, Rankin and her students have undertaken the complete excavation of three contiguous Inuit winter houses previously test-pitted by Jordan in the 1970s (Jordan 1974; Rankin 2014a; Bohms 2015; Jankunis et al. 2016). The first large-scale excavation was conducted by Jeralyn Bohms who in 2015 excavated the middle house, House 2 (Bohms 2015). As it was the first house completely excavated at the site, her MA thesis focused on identifying the period of occupation and situating it within the context of Hamilton Inlet. It provides a well-articulated interpretation of Inuit life in the Narrows during the latter half of the 18th century and expands on the themes of trade, mobility, and identity.

The many trade goods recovered from House 2 substantiated the claim of well-developed trade in Hamilton Inlet with roots predating the transfer of Labrador to Great Britain in 1763. In addition to the presence of French ceramics, the strongest evidence comes from archival documents detailing the transactions of one of the earliest traders to operate in the area. Although the enterprise of Québec-based merchant Pierre Marcoux was brief in the 1740s, his records list items traded with the people of Eskimo Island (Bohms 2015:186). Nearly 30 years later, Captain George Cartwright mentions the Inuit's ability to identify quality trade goods showing how well-acquainted they were with trade by the second half of the 18th century (Bohms 2015:186). The incorporation of commerce did not mean drastic changes to Inuit life because Bohms saw ways in which the

autonomy of the Inuit at Double Mer Point was displayed in the material culture of everyday life.

Bohms (2015:181) concluded House 2 was occupied from 1760-1790 making it possible that Eskimo Island (Eskimo Island 2), Snooks Cove, and Double Mer Point were occupied at the same time. The possibility had been considered nearly three decades earlier by Kaplan who conceded if it were true, questions would rise of the "communities' social and economic relationships with one another" (Kaplan 1983:258). Bohms suggests the location of the sites and the social organization of the people who occupied them represent different approaches of engaging with the trade economy and the people who brought it to Hamilton Inlet (Bohms 2015:181). She describes the life of the people in House 2 at Double Mer Point as being influenced by European goods and the presence of traders, but one which still held strongly to traditional ways of life. Items such as iron knives, ulus, and firearms had replaced the slate tools and bows of earlier periods but were incorporated into a traditional lifestyle. Animals hunted during the winter were still overwhelmingly seal and caribou and their homes, although larger than those of earlier times, had a similar design and were still lit by soapstone oil lamps (Bohms 2015:187).

Lastly, Bohms' (2015) research integrated the results of recent archaeological survey work in Hamilton Inlet undertaken by the Nunatsiavut Archaeology Office and William Fitzhugh since 2013. Their combined efforts have led to over a dozen archaeological, historic, and modern sites to be identified in the Hamilton Inlet tentatively dated to the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. These works highlight important events such as the establishment of the first Methodist church which began construction in 1887 under the direction of Albert Holmes who was a missionary from Newfoundland (Brake

2014:11). More importantly, they show the propensity of cultural resources in the area and the many sites representative of Inuit history inextricably linked with a sense of place greater than the winter villages studied so far. Bohms points out that Palliser's Point found in 2013 (Brake and Davies 2015) could also have been occupied at the same time as Eskimo Island, Snooks Cove, and Double Mer Point, and that the unexcavated site at Broomfield Point may share architectural characteristics with the three houses at Double Mer Point (Bohms 2015:183). A perfect example of how "the Inuit experience during the late 18th and early 19th centuries was more complex" than once thought (Bohms 2015:181).

As this review has shown, the reintegration of the house into archaeological research has hinted at the complexity of Inuit life in Labrador. Hamilton Inlet is now the stage for that process of reintegration, though it is still in its infancy. Differences in hunting tactics, trade practices, and housing imply different socioeconomic strategies were employed by Inuit during the 18th century, and that they likely differed from one household to the next. Proving such differences existed at the level of the household is best done in the setting of a community like Double Mer Point. With three closely-associated houses, Double Mer Point offers the opportunity to explore the variation of household strategies in Hamilton Inlet.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed Inuit life in Hamilton Inlet and the different approaches that researchers have used in its study both past and present. Through that research we know

the Inuit colonized Hamilton Inlet in the 17th century and have lived there ever since. It is the time in between which gets complicated.

Europeans began to settle in the area near the turn of the 18th century but the impacts of the economies, ideas, and people they brought are still being determined. Jordan (1974, 1978) noted a visible change in households which he attributed to the direct and indirect influence of Europeans. He brought the narrative of Inuit housing to Hamilton Inlet and demonstrated the same general trend applied there as it did in other parts of Labrador. When Inuit arrived in the 17th century, they lived in small single-family houses. Large communal houses centered on prominent Inuit traders replaced single-family houses by the 18th century. Then with the introduction of the fur and salmon industries in the 19th century they returned to single-family homes. Also important is how Jordan's research demonstrates the shortcomings of the approach early researchers used to interpret sod winter houses.

Fitzhugh was right to recently point out all that is known about the Narrows region comes from the study of three sites: Double Mer Point, Eskimo Island, and Snooks Cove (Fitzhugh 2015:48). They were the focus of archaeologist's work in the past and, except for Eskimo Island, have been the focus of recent archaeological research. Only now, intensified excavation of the houses has brought attention to the variety of socioeconomic strategies employed by the Inuit. The three sites were likely occupied in the Narrows near the end of the 18th century and each is the product of a different way Inuit organized their lives in response to the circumstances of the time. The socioeconomic strategy represented in the material culture and architecture of House 3 is considered in the following chapters.

5. **House 3: Double Mer Point**

Double Mer Point (GbBo-02) is located in central Labrador on the north shore of the Narrows (Figure 4.1). Unlike other Inuit winter sites in the region, such as those on Eskimo Island and nearby Snooks Cove, it was unknown to locals when William Fitzhugh recorded it in 1968 (Fitzhugh 1972). Thereafter, it became part of both Jordan and Kaplan's early research as one of five Inuit sites in Hamilton Inlet used to develop a theory of socioeconomic change discussed in the previous chapter (Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985). Over the next three decades the site was left untouched while it continued to receive academic attention. Occupied during the second half of the 18th century, Double Mer Point offers an example of Inuit life during the Communal House Phase when multifamily homes were the norm.

In the early 2000s the role of Double Mer Point expanded from the confines of academic discourse when the newly-formed Nunatsiavut Government believed its historic value could have a local impact. Outlined in the Nunatsiavut tourism strategy for 2014-2020, the site would play an important role in sharing the unique natural and historic setting of the area with visitors and locals alike (Nunatsiavut Government 2014:10). When finished, a coastal boardwalk offering a beautiful 8 km walk would terminate at the 18th-century Inuit winter village which would be reconstructed. However, before the site could be developed it was necessary to excavate the three winter houses. This provided the opportunity for researchers to revisit the long-debated circumstances of cultural change during the 18th century and once again delve into the topic of communal winter houses.

This chapter is the first of two that discuss the results from the excavation of House 3 - its artifacts, faunal remains, and architecture. It begins with an overview of Double Mer Point, followed by a brief review of the 2015 excavation strategy and methods. The architecture of House 3 is discussed in the final section of the chapter.

5.1 Site Description

Double Mer Point (GbBo-2) includes two separate areas of occupation located along a 150 m stretch of shoreline on the north side of the Narrows. Each area has its own section of beach and is characterized by their main season of use. The summer occupation is in an elevated clearing just east of a shoal, roughly 5 m back from the gravel beach. Outlines of at least three tents were found there in 1973 (Jordan 1973-1975, 1974), in part because of the noticeable difference in vegetation that can still be seen today. Approximately 60 m to the east are three semi-subterranean winter houses set roughly 25 m back from a section of beach bounded by bedrock outcrops. The houses are contiguous and generally rectangular, each with a long, narrow entrance passage opening south towards the shore. Except for a tent ring identified between one of the houses and the shore in 2013 (Rankin 2014a), winter and summer occupations of the site appear to have been kept separate. The presence of knapped stone tools and debitage indicates the area of the Inuit winter houses was previously occupied by Dorset and possibly Maritime Archaic groups (see Section 6.1.1.2). Many knapped artifacts were found in secondary contexts within the sod houses, but the nature and extent of earlier occupations of the site have yet to be explored.

5.1.1 Location

Located where the waters of Double Mer, the Narrows, and Groswater Bay meet, Double Mer Point would have provided those who lived there advantages not available in other parts of the region. Over the years, many of these advantages have been noted by researchers who have studied the site. Most have tended to favour one advantage over others when offering a reason for settling at that location.

As Jordan was the first to conduct extensive excavations in the region, he was also the first to offer an explanation as to why people chose to live at Double Mer Point. He believed the site was occupied by Inuit who left Eskimo Island after a devastating attack by a group of Innu (Montagnais) at some point during the second half of the 18th century (Jordan 1978:181). He argued at Double Mer Point, Inuit would have had a better vantage of the Narrows and an overall more defensible position in the event of future attacks (Jordan 1978:181). However, there is little evidence to support an attack of that scale ever happened. His theory rests largely on human remains found in different houses throughout Eskimo Island. One example was a calvarium (skullcap) filled with beads, which he interpreted as a sign left to warn others it was not a safe place to live (Jordan 1978:181). Gripping as this narrative is, it loses weight when the context of the skull is re-examined. As Bohms (2015:21-22) points out, the calvarium was recovered from a house that only received limited excavation (Eskimo Island 2, House 6), and which is set noticeably apart from other sod houses on the island (those of Eskimo Island 1 and 2).

Entertaining a migration from Eskimo Island to Double Mer Point, Bohms (2015) offers an alternative catalyst: disease. In 1772, six Inuit travelled with George Cartwright to England with plans to return the following spring (Stopp 2016). The trip went as

planned with much of their time spent at Cartwright's house in Nottinghamshire until many of the Inuit guests fell ill with smallpox just before the return voyage (Stopp 2008:28, 2016). Of the six Inuit, only Caubvick survived, returning to Labrador in the spring of 1773. Her ultimate fate was unknown until six years later when a medal was found among Inuit remains on an Island in Ivuktoke Bay (Hamilton Inlet). Cartwright, who was residing in Labrador at the time, recognized it as one gifted to Caubvick on her trip leading him to conclude she had acted as a carrier for the disease succumbing to it along with those she was with (Townsend 1911: 260-261). Fitzhugh (1972) has suggested Big Black Island in Groswater Bay as the location of this unfortunate event, but Bohms (2015:22) cautiously suggests it may have been Eskimo Island. But Bohms also points out the looting of graves on Eskimo Island in the 1950s, and the limited archaeological investigations on the island make it difficult to support or refute an exodus from Eskimo Island spurred by a single event (Bohms 2015:22). Moreover, she suggests that Double Mer Point was not the sole community of the late 18th century, and that Inuit were also living at Eskimo Island 2, Snooks Cove, Palliser's Point and possibly the recently identified Broomfield Point (Bohms 2015:181-183).

Although Double Mer Point may have been settled because of an unfortunate incident somewhere else, the site offers access to a variety of food resources. The focal point of the Narrows is the *polynya* which regularly keeps the waters from Eskimo Island to Groswater Bay open throughout the winter. When winter conditions were observed in February 2017 ice over a meter thick extended five to ten meters from shore but the channel was open (see Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2 below). The open water of the *polynya* and the neighbouring fjords that freeze with fast ice in the winter – Double Mer,

Backway, and Lake Melville – offered Inuit access to the habitat of different seal species in addition to those animals and resources found on land (Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007). Among the strategies Inuit used to respond to the stress placed on economic and social systems during the 18th century was the cooperative hunting of seal (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Woollett 2007). Seal hunting was a mainstay of life in Hamilton Inlet from the 17th to 19th century and any location in the Narrows was well-suited to this activity (Woollett 1999). Harp seals were intercepted on their southern migration in the fall. Harbour seals, their movements dependent ice conditions, were present in open water. Ringed seals were also accessible in the winter on the frozen fjords at their breathing holes and in their dens or basking on the ice in the spring. Woollett argues that during the second half of the 18th century a moderate climate may have extended the Narrows' *polynya* connecting it to the sea ice edge through Groswater Bay (Woollett 2007:78). If this large *polynya* did exist, Double Mer Point would have been a well-situated location for accessing different hunting environments based farther away from Innu territory than sites on Eskimo Island to the west (Fitzhugh 1972). The *polynya* would have ensured open water would have been available throughout the winter and would have attracted a large number of resources. The fast ice of Double Mer would also be near.

In addition to the benefits outlined by Woollett, the immediate geography of the site would also have provided unique conditions for hunting, fishing, and settlement. The shoal just east of the site, awash at high tide and exposed at low tide, extends roughly 75 m from shore acting as a breakwater to the strong waters of the Narrows where they meet those of Double Mer. With the ebb and flow of tides, the churning leeward waters attract fish, birds, seals, and whales, and when exposed it is one of the largest intertidal zones in

the area where mussels can be found. The shoal also provides protection from the tidal currents, making the launching of boats easier there than along the other exposed parts of the coast. Lastly, settlement on the north shore of the Narrows would have provided shelter from the conditions of winter. The south-facing shore would have received the most possible hours of daylight, and the headland to the north would have provided protection from the prevailing northern winds.

Figure 5.1 February shore ice on the north side of the Narrows.

Figure 5.2 The Narrows, February 21, 2017.

5.1.2 Previous Archaeological Work

Double Mer Point was originally recorded in 1968 by Fitzhugh (1972). Although he and his crew didn't conduct formal excavations at the site, they did record the winter houses and summer tent rings, collect some artifacts, and take photographs of site features.

In the 1970s, Double Mer Point became one of five winter sod house sites that Jordan used for his study of Inuit history in Hamilton Inlet. A total of 12 test pits (ca. 50 cm^2) were excavated at Double Mer Point over the course of the 1973 and 1975 summer field seasons (Jordan 1973-1975, 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). A sketch from his first season indicates that he excavated portions of the middens, entrance tunnels, and house interiors (Jordan 1974). Their locations are shown in Figure 5.3 in addition to six others (two in each house) excavated in 1975 when he returned to gather more artifacts to finalize his regional chronology of Inuit settlement (Jordan 1973-1975, 1978). As an example of Inuit social and economic shifts which occurred during the 18th century, Double Mer Point featured prominently in Jordan's theory of Inuit cultural change (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). The site was not visited again by researchers for nearly four decades.

At the request of the Town of Rigolet, active research resumed at the site in 2013 under the supervision of Dr. Rankin of Memorial University of Newfoundland. It was an advantageous partnership between the community and the soon to be *Tradition and Transition* project which came to fruition in 2015. The plan was to excavate all three winter houses, each one as the topic of a Master of Arts degree. Individually, each student would use their findings from the house they excavated to research certain topics.

Together, they would put forward a reanalysis of Inuit culture during the late 18th and early 19th century in Hamilton Inlet and aid in the development of projects planned by the community of Rigolet.

In 2013, an initial survey was conducted with three goals: 1) map the winter component of the site; 2) determine the state of the house ruins; and, 3) excavate small portions of each house for future planning (Rankin 2014a). To this end three 1 m² units were excavated in each house to gauge the character of the site. The deposits of all three houses were found to be intact and a noticeable disparity of artifacts recovered from them hinted at an interesting community dynamic. Artifacts from House 1 accounted for 61% of the total number of artifacts collected from all three houses, over twice the amount of House 2 (27%) and nearly five times that from the similarly-sized House 3 (12%) (Rankin 2014a). Furthermore, there were differences in the proportion of Inuit items from each house. But, with the anticipation of further work to come, hypotheses about the occupation of the houses were cautious.

In 2014, extensive excavation began at Double Mer Point with House 2. Under the direction of Jeralyn Bohms 47.5 1 m² units were excavated uncovering nearly the entire interior of the house. Her thesis, which discusses the artifacts, architecture, and faunal remains and situated Double Mer Point within the history of Hamilton Inlet, questioned the long-held chronology of the Narrows established by Jordan and Kaplan (1980) decades before (see Chapter 4) (Bohms 2015).

In 2015, Houses 1 and 3 were the focus of excavation. The excavation of House 1 was overseen by Laurence Pouliot (Université Laval), and the excavation of House 3 by myself. At the end of the season the ruins of nearly all three houses were excavated

leaving only the sections in between, where the walls were believed to meet, to be excavated the following year. In 2016, a crew from Memorial University of Newfoundland returned to the site and excavated the remaining sections, completely uncovering the ruins of all three houses as seen in Figure 5.4.

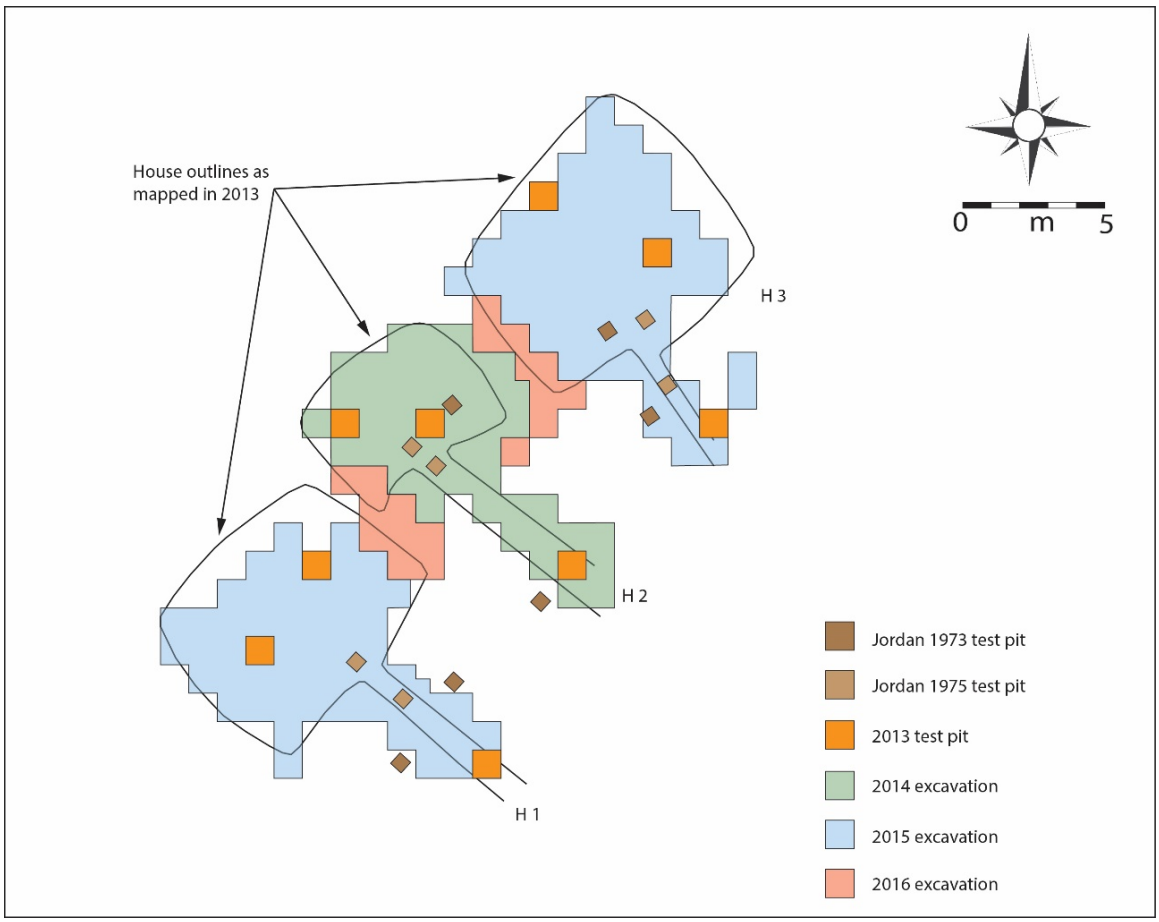

Figure 5.3 Excavation stages of winter sod houses at Double Mer Point.

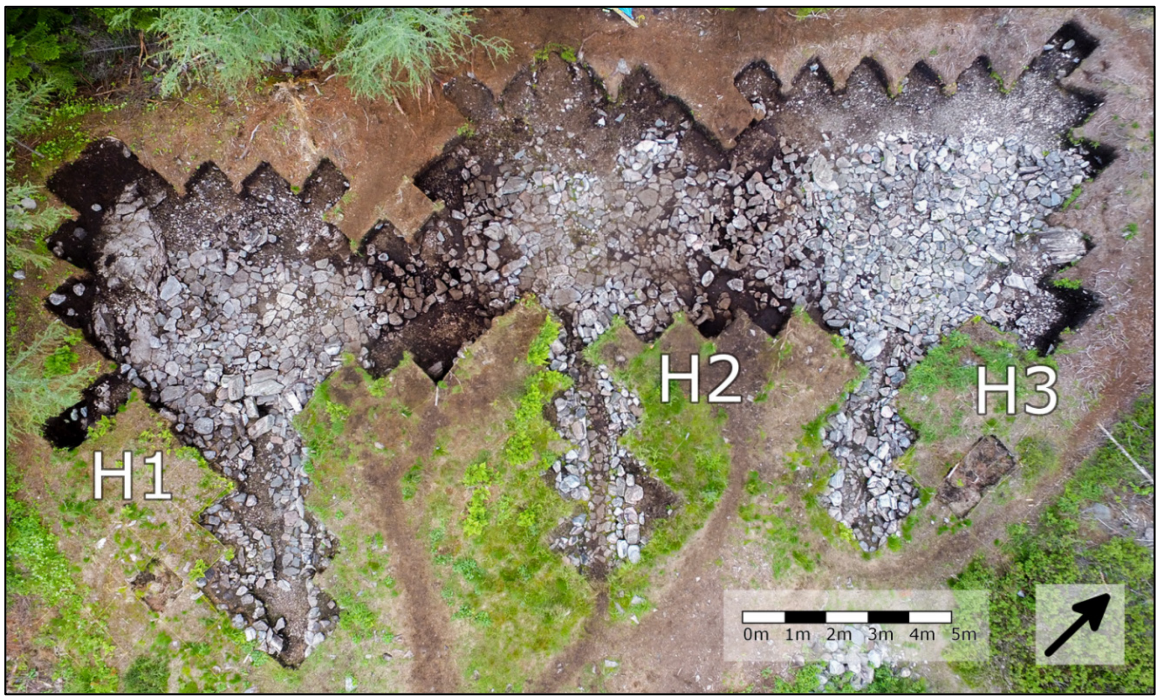

Figure 5.4 Exposed remains of Houses 1-3 at the end of the 2016 excavation season.

5.2 House 3 Excavation (2015-2016)

In 2015, I undertook the complete excavation of House 3 with the help of a research team composed of students from Université Laval and Memorial University of Newfoundland, locals, volunteers, and paid staff. Excavation took place from July 7th to September 20th during which efforts were focused mainly on the house.

The main goal was to expose the interior and entrance passage to floor level, and to expose the foundations of the walls. Excavation which generally followed the depression of the house found cultural deposits were shallow near the middle of the house (ca. 10 cm) and deepened to an average of 40 to 50 cm at the walls. The 2013 excavation units were incorporated into a 60 m² block excavation which encompassed House 3. The block excavation was large enough to expose the entire foundation of the house, except

for the outer portion of the west wall. Care was taken to excavate between flag stones but did not continue deeper to ensure the house floor was left intact.

A secondary goal in 2015 was to excavate a portion of the midden deposits associated with House 3. This goal was partially accomplished through the process of excavating the house itself. Of the 60 units included within the 60 m² block excavation, five units around the periphery contained mostly midden deposits (Figure 5.5). Two additional areas were targeted to sample midden deposits farther from the house. The first was east of the entrance tunnel where a noticeable mound was located with exposed animal remains. Mirroring a mound west of the entrance tunnel, it was the most likely of the two to contain refuse associated solely with House 3. Excavation of the mound midden consisted of two 1 m² units. Test pits were also planned for the area around the winter houses to gain a greater understanding of outdoor activity areas, but time restraints restricted excavation to a single, partially-excavated 50 cm² unit in between House 3 and the shore. Excluding the partially excavated test unit, the total excavation of House 3 and associated areas was 62 m².

In 2016, the final excavation of House 3 was completed when the west wall was fully exposed. While taking part in this final stage of work, I also returned to the interior of House 3 to excavate small portions of the internal features to determine whether they were built as part of the original construction or a later phase.

5.2.1 Field Methods

Deposits above the foundation of House 3 were a mixture of dark organic soil, cultural materials, and sod with no clear stratigraphy. Due to the lack of stratigraphy,

excavation was carried out in 10 cm arbitrary levels by trowel. Structural stones were left in place until the remainder of the cultural deposits above the floor stones were excavated, after which stones that were part of roof or wall collapse were removed. The location of artifacts found *in situ* was recorded using three-point provenience as legislated by the Nunatsiavut Government and all sediment was sifted through 6 mm (¼ inch) wire mesh. Leather, hide, fur, and feathers were often found in a degraded state and unless showing any sign of being worked they were collected together by quadrant and level. Faunal materials were also collected by quadrant and level to be identified once fieldwork was completed. Bulk soil samples were also collected and later analyzed in search of botanical and entomological remains.

5.3 Architecture

The excavation of House 3 revealed evidence of how it was constructed, inhabited, and how it was left when abandoned. The builders greatest challenge was likely the restrictive bedrock at the site that regulated the house design. Yet, using the materials at hand they were able to construct a home that followed traditional winter housing principles developed centuries earlier. Overall, it resembles other 18th-century Inuit sod houses found in Labrador. It falls within the normal size range and has a semi-subterranean design that includes an entrance passage, much like the other two houses at Double Mer Point. Only when excavation was well underway did it become clear the interior layout of House 3 diverges from the typical communal house design of the period, setting it apart from not just its neighbours but what is believed to be the characteristic form of domestic organization of the time (Schledermann 1976a).

5.3.1 Construction

In many respects House 3 is like other Inuit sod houses of the 18th century. The most obvious similarity is that the majority of the house is built below ground level as part of a semi-subterranean design that takes advantage of earth insulation to create a warm home in even the coldest of temperatures (see Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7). Stacked angular stones of various sizes form the foundation of the exterior walls and a combination of earth, sod, and stone were used for those portions above ground level. The many iron nails and fragments of decayed wood that were found suggest local timber was used to construct a wooden superstructure that supported the roof and walls. It is unclear exactly what form the roof took, but if consistent with those of other houses at the time it would have been a hip-style roof built from animal skins and the sod pieces excavated in the early stages of construction (Kaplan 1983; Lee and Reinhardt 2003:36; Taylor 1984:513-514). On its south facing section, a skylight or window may have been centered over the spot where the low, narrow tunnel used to enter Inuit houses met the interior at the *katak*, or cold-trap step. Built lower than the floor of the house interior, and opening downslope towards the water, the entrance tunnel acted as a well to trap cold air and keep it from entering the main chamber. It measures approximately 6 m long and judging by the difference in elevation between the tunnel floor and the rest of the house it was roughly 50 cm wide and 50 cm tall.

The main chamber of the house measures roughly 6 x 7 m from the outside creating a living space of no more than 30.25 m^2. This puts it within the normal range of houses at the time, albeit on the small side (Kaplan 1983:238). The same building materials used for the exterior were also found inside. Flat stones were laid as paving for

a relatively consistent floor, while internal features were built using angular stones, gravel, or a combination of both. When necessary, timber was used to buttress or retain these features just as it was to support the walls (Figure 5.11). The number and placement of these internal features, shown in Figure 5.5, creates a layout different than other houses of the 18th century.

The focal point of the interior is a raised sleeping platform built of loose gravel which runs the length of the rear wall (see Figure 5.8 and Figure 5.9). Positioned farthest from the entrance and above the house floor, it would have been one of the warmest places in the house. The remaining interior space is organized by three features built of piled stones which extend towards the middle of the house creating small alcoves off of a main, open floor area. Two of these features extend from the rear corners of the house, at either end of the sleeping platform, to the middle, lending the interior a more-or-less symmetrical design (Figure 5.5). The only difference between these features is that it's easier to discern where the wall ends and the feature begins on the west side of the house where a deeper alcove juts into the west wall. The third stone feature abuts the sleeping platform creating a U-shaped alcove that opens toward the center of the house. On either side, two sections of open floor form corridors between the platform and the central open area of the house. Lastly, a possible drainage feature is located in the front portion of the house. It consists of numerous aligned floor stones which run from the end of the left stone feature, near the middle of the house, to the southeast corner of the house where wall stones and bedrock were largely absent (Figure 5.5).

The natural topography of Double Mer Point appears to have had some impact on the overall design of House 3 but not the house interior. The shallow soils seem to have

been the greatest hurdle the builders had to overcome. Bedrock is visible in many areas of the house from the entrance tunnel to the sleeping platform, showcasing the limited depth that could be excavated while trying to maintain the overall slope needed for an efficient house. The small curve at the entrance of the tunnel is one example where the prohibitive nature of the bedrock influenced house design. While it's possible that it was a result of some other factor such as preference, an adjustment to prevailing seasonal winds, or the drift patterns of snow, the fact that it occurs at a spot where the bedrock is shallow suggests it was necessary to reach the depth needed for a warm home. The bedrock outcrop bordering the east wall of the house likely also played a part in dictating the size of the house. However, the foundations of the adjacent walls of House 2 and House 3 which were excavated in 2016 suggest the two houses were laid out at the same time. If so, the bedrock on the east side of House 3 would have been taken into consideration when the size of the house was decided.

Despite the natural restraints of the building site, there are no indications the house was modified in any way after it was constructed. The floor stones generally rest on or just above bedrock and there is no evidence that subsequent layers were built on top of the original floor. The effort required to move exterior walls coupled with the restrictive nature of the surrounding bedrock and neighbouring house would have made an expansion difficult even if it was desired. Modifications to the interior would have been easier, but don't seem to have taken place. In 2016, small portions of the three stone features were excavated to determine whether they were the product of the original design or a later phase of construction (Figure 5.10). The absence of floor stones and artifacts underneath is proof they were part of the original construction and that no major

renovations had been done to the house interior during its occupation. It appears House 3 didn't change at all from the time of its construction to its abandonment, at least architecturally, suggesting it met the needs and desires of its occupants.

The greatest difference between House 3 and other houses characteristic of the Communal House Phase is the number of sleeping platforms. House 3 has only one that spans the rear wall rather than the three that commonly span the side walls as well. If each platform in a typical communal house reflects the space of at least one Inuit family, then there were fewer families in House 3. A breakdown of the interior organization suggests that number was only two.

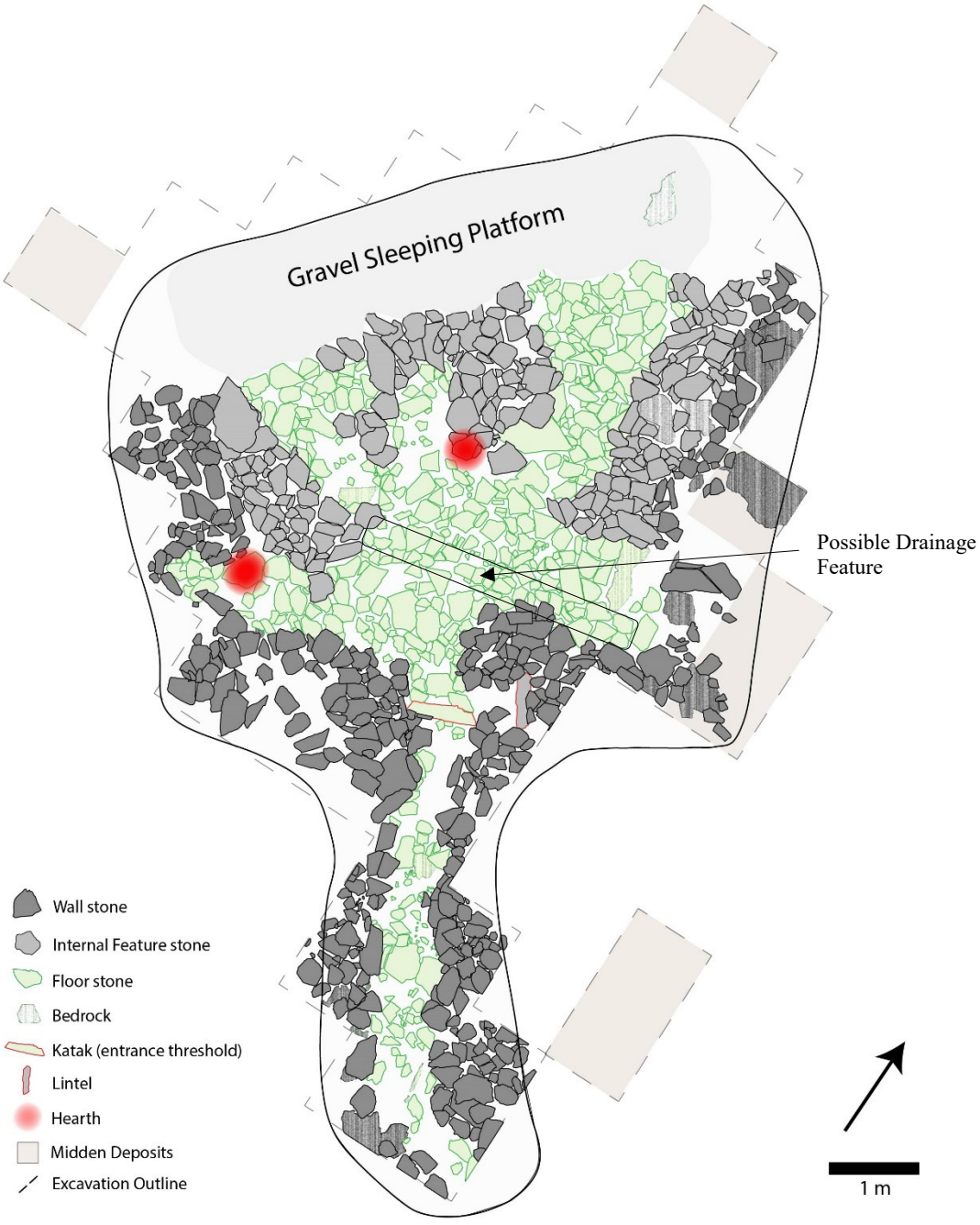

Figure 5.5 Map of House 3 features.

Figure 5.6 View northwest of House 3.

Figure 5.7 View southeast of House 3 with sleeping platform in foreground.

Figure 5.8 View east of House 3.

Figure 5.9 View west of House 3 with Deirdre Elliott for scale.

Figure 5.10 East feature after excavation of 50 cm² section.

Figure 5.11 Horizontal fragment of wood separating bench (left) from the wall (right).

5.3.2 Habitation

Less obvious than the construction of the house is how it was transformed into a living space and used on a daily basis. The presence of organic materials offers evidence the interior was furnished like those documented in ethnographic accounts (for example, the laying of warm, insulating materials on a sleeping platform), but they provide little insight into how the interior of the house was used. What activities took place inside and where can only be explored after first examining the interior layout of House 3. When broken down into its principal components, the house can be separated into two sub-layouts, each of which follows the pattern of earlier single-family houses.

Decayed organic materials were regularly encountered during the excavation of House 3. In some cases, it was possible to associate some with specific features. Decomposing hide fragments were the most visible. High concentrations near the rear of the house suggest caribou hides were used to insulate the sleeping platform. The analysis of bulk sediment samples suggest down-like feathers were also used to cover the sleeping platform, in addition to the furs (Lalonde 2016:5). As for those materials used to furnish the other portions of the house, only indirect evidence was found. The high frequency of wood borer insects (*Scolytidae*) found in bulk soil samples collected in the center of the house suggest the use of conifer boughs as a floor covering, most likely from the spruce trees in the surrounding forest (Lalonde 2016:25). Other materials were certainly used to furnish the interior but were either cleared out when the house was abandoned or simply decomposed in the acidic soil.

According to ethnographic accounts, when sleeping platforms were shared hides were often hung from the rafters of sod houses to provide each family a semi-private space (Lee and Reinhardt 2003:36; Kleivan 1966:26). As the size of House 3 indicates more than one family resided there, this strategy was likely practiced and may have also been used to partition other areas of the house. Other semi-permanent fixtures recorded in Inuit sod houses include storage areas, called niches. A common type of niche was made by placing boards over projecting stone features, creating a space for items to be placed inside (Lee and Reinhardt 2003:36). Something similar may have been constructed over the U-shaped alcove near the sleeping platform. If so, it likely didn't cover it entirely as it seems to have been one of two cooking areas where a *kullik* (soapstone oil lamp) was regularly used.

The best clues to how House 3 was organized come from the placement of two hearths (cooking areas) and their position in relation to the other features of the house. Charred fat, greasy soils, and a high frequency of mussel remains were recorded in the alcove immediately to the left of the house entrance (Figure 5.12), as well as on the corner stones of the alcove near the rear sleeping platform (Figure 5.13). The position of the lamp near the sleeping platform is consistent with 18th-century, multifamily houses, but the location of the other, in the alcove near the entrance tunnel, resembles that found in older, single family Thule houses (Bird 1945; Fitzhugh 1994; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1972). In those houses a simple layout consisting of three primary components was followed. This layout is illustrated in Figure 5.14 using House 10 from Staffe Island 1. A cooking area (hearth) was located directly adjacent to the entrance tunnel, a sleeping platform at the rear of the house, and an open floor area in between

them. If this formula is applied to the interior of House 3 using the hearths as anchor points, a similar pattern emerges. One household consisting of cooking area, passage, and sleeping platform is located in the western half of the house, while a second household is located in the northeast corner (Figure 5.14). Together they represent the layout of two households brought together under one roof with a shared open floor area. Given that the use of two-family houses has only recently been acknowledged (Kaplan 2012), the design of House 3 raises a number of questions. Primarily, why did the Inuit of House 3 choose to organize their house in this manner? This question drives the discussion of Chapter 7 after the material culture is covered in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.12 Oil-stained rock in southwest alcove.

Figure 5.13 Alcove next to sleeping platform with oil-stained rock in southeast corner.

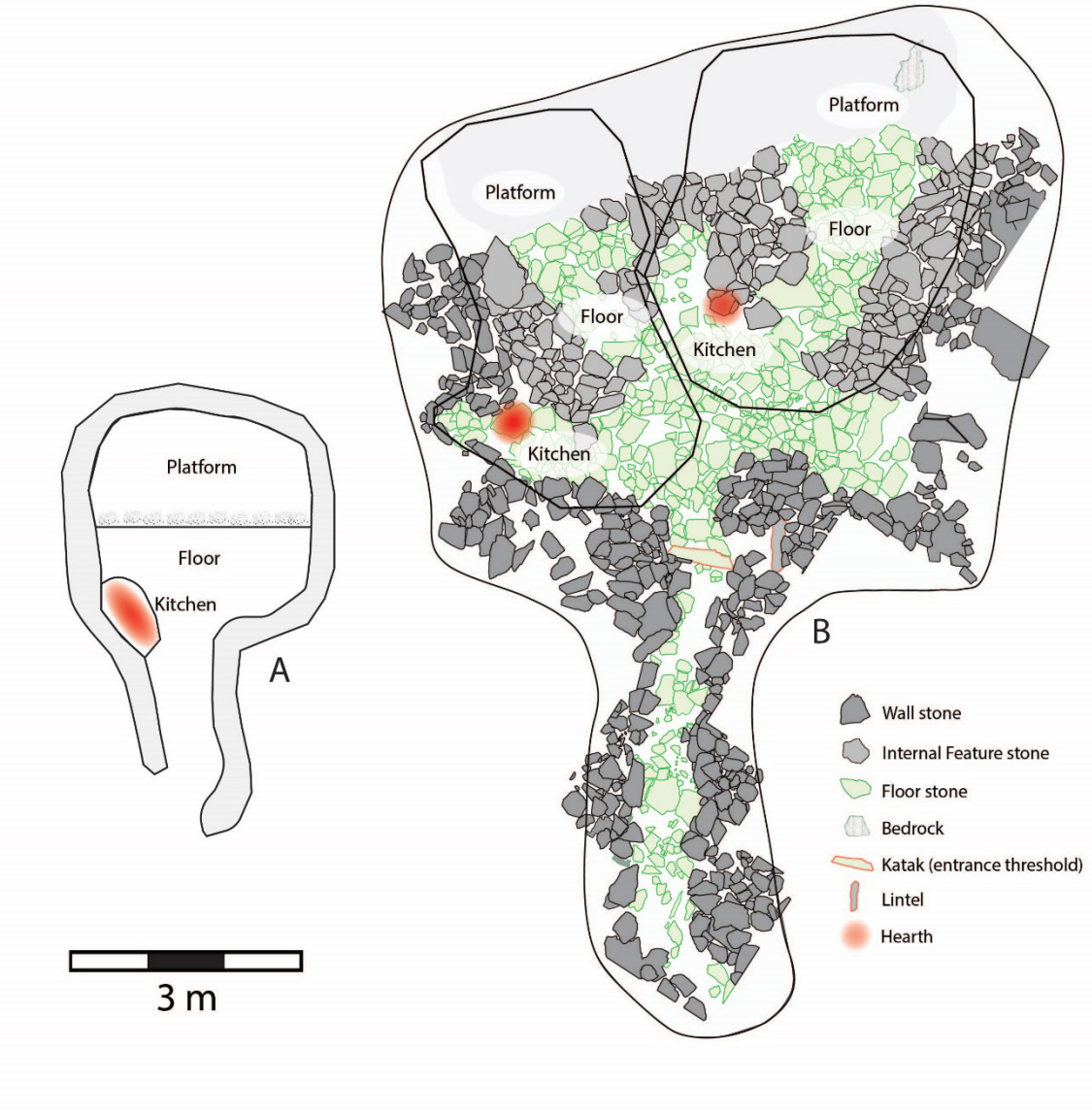

Figure 5.14 Comparison of House 3 layout beside that of a single-family sod house: (A) House 10, Staffe Island 1 (Fitzhugh 1994); (B) House 3, Double Mer Point.

5.3.3 Abandonment

The exact motivations behind the abandonment of House 3 remain lost to history, but the state in which the house was left suggests the departure was purposeful and that a return was planned. For example, early in the excavation a large boulder was found obstructing the entrance tunnel about midway (Figure 5.15). Much larger and rounder than the stones used in the construction of the tunnel, it may have been placed to prevent animals from entering as the house sat vacant during the warmer months. The stone, however, would have only acted as a barrier if the roof remained intact. The presence of rove beetles and other insects in House 3 suggest this may have been the case, as they would have found the damp and decaying organic matter they prefer in the warm, dark, and damp microclimate of an abandoned house with its roof intact (Lalonde 2016:18-19). However, the natural drainage of water from the high ground behind House 3, now funnels through the house and out the entrance tunnel, making it difficult to draw any concrete conclusions about whether the roof was left in place or not. The dank, dark environment preferred by the rove beetles may have been created if the roof was left intact, but regular rain would have ensured a moist environment inside the house if the roof was removed. Unless the possible drainage feature was extremely effective at directing water to the southeast corner of the house, decay would be the same in both scenarios. A particularly bad day of flooding in 2015 is pictured in Figure 5.16. It is safe to assume similar flooding had to be contended with in the past, which may have been a contributing factor to the abandonment of House 3. Water damage may have required the floor to be repaired more often than in other houses or may have made the house less comfortable to live in during the fall and spring.

Figure 5.15 Boulder obstructing the entrance passage.

Figure 5.16 House 3 flooded on August 6, 2015.

5.4 Conclusion

There are no obvious signs that House 3 was occupied for a shorter period than either of its neighbours. Jordan thought he uncovered three layers of floor stones each representing separate occupations (Kaplan 1983:444), but this incorrect interpretation was a product of his limited testing that didn't recognize wall collapse in certain areas of the house such as near the *katak*. The midden deposits which accumulated around the entrance tunnel don't appear any smaller than those of the other two houses and the stones used to construct it were left in place and intact.

Those shared similarities between the three houses which were clear before excavation began - namely size and construction – remained true once House 3 was excavated. The closer examination of the interior layout is where the differences began to show. House 3 is organized differently than the typical communal house of the 18th century in that it has only a single sleeping platform and lacks the multiple central hearths characteristic of the period. The layout of the house is best described as two single-family homes under one roof. Why this housing strategy was chosen over others is an intriguing question, especially when the material culture points to a lifestyle otherwise typical of the time.

6. **Material Culture of House 3**

Numerous artifacts and large amounts of animal remains were collected as House 3 and a portion of an exterior midden were excavated. To better discern the activities that took place inside and outside of the home, the material culture has been divided into two contexts: those found in the midden deposits and those from within the house. The location of the sampled midden deposits, which total 7 m², are shown in Figure 5.5. The remainder of the excavation area (55 m²) constitutes the interior of the house. The faunal assemblage that is discussed in the second section of the chapter is also divided into interior and exterior contexts.

6.1 Artifacts

When Jordan (1974) described the artifacts recovered from his initial excavations in Hamilton Inlet, he created three categories based on their origin of manufacture: objects of Inuit manufacture from traditional materials; objects of European manufacture reworked into a traditional Inuit form; and, unmodified objects of European origin. A similar analysis of the artifacts from House 3 would demonstrate little, except that European trade goods were available in Hamilton Inlet during the second half of the 18th century and early part of the 19th century, and that the Inuit who lived at Double Mer Point acquired those goods. Of the 2516 artifacts collected from the excavation of House 3 and its adjacent midden (see Table 6.1), just over three quarters originate from European sources. In comparison, the Inuit-manufactured items made exclusively from materials found in Labrador, such as bone, baleen, hide, soapstone, iron pyrite, wood, and mica, or items made from a combination of native and non-native materials account for

just over 7% of the assemblage. Inuit items made of organic materials are likely underrepresented in the assemblage due to their susceptibility to degradation in the acidic soils at the site, yet it is unlikely that even with better preservation they would equal those of European manufacture. If the knapped stone tools from earlier occupations of the site are excluded, the proportion of European-manufactured goods in the assemblage is even greater at 91%. There is, however, little doubt that the house is Inuit. The population of the Narrows was almost exclusively Inuit until the beginning of the 19th century, what's more the construction of House 3 follows Inuit design principles (see previous chapter). It is clear that trade goods were incorporated into many facets of Inuit life, so a functional approach has been adopted for the description of the material culture from House 3. The focus is on how items were used rather than where they came from, or what they are made of.

Seven activity categories were created based on the perceived function of items. In order to determine an artifact's function three types of evidence were used: the intended use of an item before it entered the trade system; the described use of items in ethnographic materials from the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries; and, as a last resort, the physical characteristics of an item. All but 313 artifacts could be classified within the seven activity categories when analysis was completed. The first four categories – House Construction, Food Preparation and Consumption, Clothing, and Recreation - are more closely tied to the domestic setting than Transportation, Hunting/Conflict, and Tools and Manufacturing.

Table 6.1 House 3 artifact origins and material types.

Origin	Count	Percent of Total Collection
European	**1898**	**75.4%**
Glass	981	39.0%
Metal	694	27.6%
Ceramic	112	4.5%
Clay	92	3.7%
Flint	13	0.5%
Textile	6	0.2%
Inuit	**184**	**7.3%**
Animal Skin	81	3.2%
Stone	66	2.6%
Mammal Bone or Antler	27	1.1%
Metal	5	0.2%
Baleen	3	0.1%
Wood	2	0.1%
Inuit / European	**6**	**0.2%**
Metal / Bone	4	0.2%
Metal / Wood	2	0.1%
Other	**428**	**17.0%**
Stone	428	17.0%
Total	**2516**	**100.0%**

6.1.1 House Construction

Just under 40% of all artifacts collected are associated with the various stages of house construction of House 3; from the initial excavation of the house area, to the building of the frame and roof, and finally the organization of the interior (see Table 6.2). This section discusses the tools and materials used in house construction and those artifacts which would have been encountered during the construction process that aren't Inuit but certainly were familiar to them.

Table 6.2 Artifacts associated with house construction.

Artifact Type	House 3 Count	House 3 %(House 3)	House 3 Midden Count	House 3 Midden %(Midden)	Total Count	Total %(Total)
Mattock	**1**	***<0.1%***		***0%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Lithics	**353**	***16.2%***	**76**	***22.2%***	**429**	***17.0%***
Biface		*0%*	1	*0.3%*	1	*<0.1%*
Core	1	*<0.1%*		*0%*	1	*<0.1%*
Flake	334	*15.4%*	69	*20.1%*	403	*16.0%*
Preform	1	*<0.1%*		*0%*	1	*<0.1%*
Retouched flake	3	*0.1%*		*0%*	3	*0.1%*
Scraper	2	*0.1%*		*0%*	2	*0.1%*
Shatter	12	*0.5%*	6	*1.7%*	18	*0.7%*
Nail / Spike	**392**	***18%***	**85**	***24.8%***	**477**	***18.9%***
Window glass	**31**	***1.4%***		***0%***	**31**	***1.2%***
Mica	**39**	***1.8%***	**16**	***4.7%***	**55**	***2.2%***
Total	**816**	***37.5%***	**177**	***51.6%***	**993**	***39.5%***

6.1.1.1 Mattock

One of the largest artifacts found in House 3 was a mattock handle made of whale bone. It was a tool used to cut turf in the first stage of house construction (Mathiassen 1976b [1927]:56) and was likely used to excavate the ground before the foundation of House 3 was laid. This process would have also supplied the sod used for the walls and roof. It may be part of the same mattock whose blade was found in neighbouring House 2 in 2014 (Bohms 2015:114).

6.1.1.2 Lithics

A total of 429 knapped stone artifacts make up a significant portion of the assemblage associated with House 3. Generally, the presence of knapped lithic tools and debitage are attributed to earlier occupations when found on Inuit sites, and this is believed to be the case here. Those found in House 3 were likely transported in the sod

pieces used for the walls and roof. Multiple tools including two retouched flakes, two scrapers, and two preforms were found. The remainder are debitage, the by-product of making knapped stone tools. They are almost exclusively made of Ramah chert, which originates from quarries in northern Labrador (Burke and Gauthier 2017). It was a material that has a wide spatial distribution having been transported as far as the southeastern United States, and an even more impressive temporal distribution that includes the Archaic, Palaeoeskimo, Intermediate Indian, and Recent Indian periods in Labrador (Erwin and Curtis 2017). Despite the possibility that Inuit may have also made use of Ramah chert at times (McAleese 2002), the material from House 3 is likely from earlier occupations of the site. There are other examples of knapped artifacts from Double Mer Point believed to be Dorset (Laurence Pouliot, personal communication 2017), and older Archaic materials roughly 4,000 years old (Lisa Rankin, personal communication 2018). Lacking any diagnostic artifacts, the knapped artifacts from House 3 could have been deposited during occupations by either group. Regardless of their origin, knapped artifacts were likely uncovered by the builders of House 3 during construction, just as they were at many favourable locations along the coast where Inuit settled the landscape used by earlier groups.

6.1.1.3 Nails

The most common artifact related to the construction of House 3 is iron nails and spikes. Necessary for the construction of stages, outbuildings, and boats, these were brought in large quantities to Labrador by seasonal fishermen and whalers beginning with the Basque (Proulx 2008:56) and so were among the first European goods acquired by the

Labrador Inuit from the 16th century onwards. They are commonly found at Inuit sites in Labrador (Kaplan 1983), their usefulness extending beyond their intended function. To the fishermen they were necessary for the successful operation of their seasonal stations. To the Inuit, nails were a convenient source of iron first and foremost, and while they also used them in the construction of buildings many examples of nails reworked into harpoon points and hand tools have been found at sites throughout Labrador, including Double Mer Point (Bohms 2015:82; Jordan 1974:83, 1978:176, 178; Wolfe 2013).

Those collected from House 3 are significantly corroded in some cases making it difficult, sometimes impossible, to discern their exact shape and specific features. The nails that aren't corroded exhibit the features of hand-made nails forged from nail rods. The characteristic grain-like striations indicate they are made of wrought iron, the choice material for nail production until steel was adopted in the 1890s (Wells 1998:81). Although machine-cut nails began to replace those made by hand beginning in the 1790s (Noël Hume 1970:253; Wells 1998:83-86), machine-cut nail production did not begin in Newfoundland until well into the second half of the 19th century (Cuff 1984). Nails that made their way to Labrador may have been sourced from other markets (e.g. Québec or Britain), but without knowing the origins of those at Double Mer Point a conservative date of pre-20th century must be assumed. It is unlikely all of the nails and spikes found were used in the construction of House 3, but those that were likely outnumber those reworked for other purposes.

Four hundred and seventy-seven of the nails and spikes found in House 3 are believed to have been associated with the construction of wooden structural elements based on their shape and lack of obvious modification into tools. Over a quarter show the

telltale curved tip or 90˚ bend of clinched (sometimes called “clenched”) nails resulting from the process of hammering the exposed end of a nail either flat or hooking it back to prevent its hold from loosening. Many nails are also curved from either being bent during the collapse of a building or from the process of being removed from wood. If so, they could represent the collection of nails from other locations, and/or the reuse of nails on site (Wolfe 2013:96). Lastly, in some instances the remnants of wood still cling to the shaft of nails despite all the organic material having been replaced by iron corrosion.

The spatial patterning of nails suggests they were primarily used in the construction of the house. Nails were found in every excavated unit, but in greater numbers near the house walls than in the interior. Furthermore, there is an unequal distribution of nails between the rear and the front the house that is best explained by where building materials were needed most. Nails were found in lower numbers at the rear of House 3 where the surrounding undisturbed earth was used as a wall rather than having to build one. The density of nails then increases in the shallower, front half of the house (including the entrance tunnel) where stronger walls and supports for the roof would have been needed.

6.1.1.4 Window Glass

Window glass is another European material used in the construction of House 3. Thirty-one pieces of glass are believed to be from panes used for a window which allowed natural light to enter the house. Before changes to the Inuit winter house form during the 19th century, windows were made of stretched seal intestines positioned above the entrance tunnel on the south facing gable of the roof acting much like a skylight

(Taylor 1984:513). Moravian records indicate that this placement of the window persisted in some areas after Inuit had transitioned to above ground wooden houses (Kleivan 1966:37) and that the adoption of glass windows depended on economic well-being. Those thought of as "well-to-do" in Hopedale had made the switch by 1860 (Kleivan 1966:37), but in Hamilton Inlet this transition appears to have occurred earlier.

6.1.1.5 Mica

The final type of artifact associated with the construction of House 3 includes the 55 thin pieces of mica found throughout House 3. They are commonly found in Inuit dwellings and are believed to have been used traditionally as both windows and mirrors (Murphy 2011:79). Overall, the pieces are small and fragmentary, the largest measuring only 4.5 x 4 cm, far too small to be used as a mirror. It, along with the others, is likely a fragment from larger pieces.

6.1.2 Food Preparation and Consumption

Items associated with food preparation and consumption presented in Table 6.3 make up a small percentage of the artifact assemblage. Like those incorporated into the construction of the house, they demonstrate the inclusion of European goods, most notably ceramics, within a traditional context. There is, however, the likelihood that items made from wood, bone, and animal skin did not preserve as well. Dishes and cups are known to have been carved from wood and made of sealskin too, and utensils such as spoons, and ladles were carved from wood and made of bone (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:92-93; Turner 2001 [1894]:231-232). Despite the absence of these items, it seems the preparation of food was still organized in a traditional manner with the use of the *kullik* as

the main source of heat for cooking. The artifacts in Table 6.3 are organized by material. This format is carried over for the discussion of ceramic artifacts below because of the many ware types but not for the other artifacts which are far fewer in number.

Table 6.3 Artifacts associated with the storage, preparation, and consumption of food/drink.

Artifact Type	House 3 Count	House 3 %(House 3)	House 3 Midden Count	House 3 Midden %(Midden)	Total Count	Total %(Total)
Ceramic	**98**	***4.5%***	**14**	***4.1%***	**112**	***4.5%***
Flatware	27	*1.2%*	2	*0.6%*	29	*1.2%*
Holloware	34	*1.6%*	6	*1.7%*	40	*1.6%*
Sinot	7	*0.3%*	1	*0.3%*	8	*0.3%*
Tea Cup	8	*0.4%*		*0%*	8	*0.3%*
Tea or Coffee Pot	4	*0.2%*		*0%*	4	*0.2%*
Unidentified	18	*0.8%*	5	*1.5%*	23	*0.9%*
Glass	**8**	***0.4%***	**2**	***0.6%***	**10**	***0.4%***
Bottle	8	*0.4%*	1	*0.3%*	9	*0.4%*
Tumbler		*0%*	1	*0.3%*	1	*<0.1%*
Soapstone	**4**	***0.2%***	**1**	***0.3%***	**5**	***0.2%***
Kullik (lamp)	2	*0.1%*		*0%*	2	*0.1%*
Vessel	2	*0.1%*	1	*0.3%*	3	*0.1%*
Metal	**1**	***<0.1%***		***0%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Cutlery	1	*<0.1%*		*0%*	1	*<0.1%*
Total	**111**	***5.1%***	**17**	***5%***	**128**	***5.1%***

6.1.2.1 Ceramics

One hundred and twelve ceramic fragments were recovered throughout the house and surrounding area in no apparent pattern. Varying in size and condition they represent at least 17 vessels used for serving, food storage, and possibly cooking from English, French, Italian, and possibly Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese origins. Production dates of the nine ware types that could be identified span the 15th to 19th century; however, most

saw their widest popularity during the 17th and 18th centuries, especially in North America. The eclectic assemblage includes examples of coarse earthenwares and stonewares produced for storing foods beside finer decorated wares common in 18th-century Britain and Colonial America. The information for each ware type is shown in Table 6.4 before each is discussed in turn. In some cases, the production dates included in the table are adjusted slightly based on any diagnostic features of one or more vessels which further reduces the period of production to better fit the collection. An example of all ware types is shown in Figure 6.1.

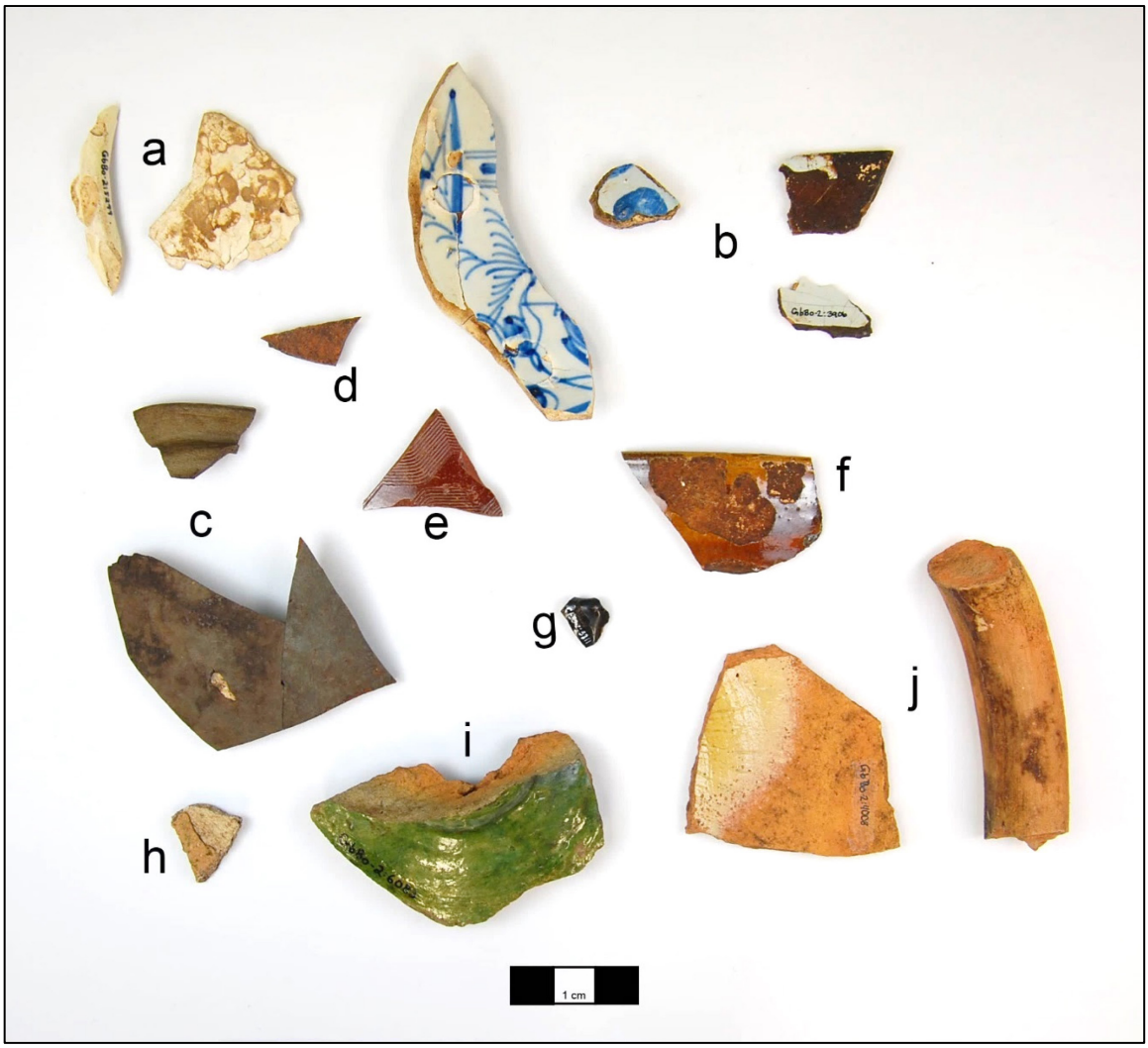

Figure 6.1 Ceramic ware types: (a) creamware; (b) china glaze / pearlware; (c) Normandy stoneware; (d) unknown; (e) English redware; (f) Ligurian-style earthenware; (g) Jackfield earthenware; (h) unknown; (i) French green-glazed earthenware; (j) Cox-style earthenware.

Table 6.4 Identified ceramic ware types.

Ware Type	Origin	# of Fragments	Minimum Number of Vessels	Vessel Style	Suspected Use	Date Range
Tin-glazed Earthenware (Delftware)	Dutch, Spanish English, or Portuguese	21	2	1 Teacup 1 Unknown	Serving	1690 - 1800
Creamware	English	16	1	Flatware (plate)	Serving	1762 - 1830
China Glaze (Pearlware)	English	12	1	Flatware (serving dish or plate)	Serving	1775 - 1812
Ligurian-style Earthenware	French or Italian	12	2	1 Flatware (plate) 1 Hollowware (mug or cup)	Serving	1680 - 1820
Cox-style Coarse Earthenware	French	28	3	3 Large Holloware	Cooking?	16th century – ca. 1760
French Green-glazed Coarse Earthenware	French	3	1	Holloware (lidded pot or jar)	Cooking?	ca. 1500 – ca. 1800
Normandy Coarse Stoneware	French	8	2	1 Medium-large *sinot* (storage jar) 1 Small *sinot*	Storage or cooking	ca. 1400 – ca. 1850
English Redware	English	1	1	Teapot or coffee pot	Serving	1760 - 1800
Jackfield Earthenware	English	3	1	Teapot	Serving	1745 - 1790
Unidentified		8	3			

Tin-glazed Earthenware (Delftware)

For centuries the preoccupation of European potters to produce a porcelain as durable and aesthetically pleasing as that from China spawned innovative techniques in production and decoration (Miller and Hunter 2001). Until the 18th century the closest they could come was a soft-bodied ceramic with a white surface, made possible using a lead and tin-oxide glaze often decorated using a cobalt oxide that fired blue (Noël Hume 1970:106). It was produced in many different regions of Europe with each type known by a different name. The oldest examples, known as *maiolica*, were produced in Italy from the 14th century onwards before contemporary industries began in northern Europe in the 16th century (Miller and Hunter 2001; Noël Hume 1970:106). English delftware made in factories established by relocated Dutch delft potters reached peak production in the 17th and 18th centuries, and a similar product made in France called *faïence* in many cases dates to that same period (Miller and Hunter 2001; Noël Hume 1970:106). English delftware continued to be exported to North America during the third quarter of the 18th century, however the introduction of superior earthenwares, which gained traction from the 1760s onwards, meant production declined rapidly until it eventually ceased around 1800 (Miller and Hunter 2001; Noël Hume 1970:107-111).

Twenty-one fragments of tin-glazed earthenware were found in House 3: 11 pieces of glaze and 10 ceramic sherds. Eight of the sherds are thin-bodied and burnt with only small amounts of undecorated white glaze. The consistent thickness and shape suggest they are from the same vessel and two sherds, a rim and base, suggest it was a teacup. The teacup may have been decorated as some of the glaze fragments have an unknown blue design. However, any number of the fragments may have originated from

the other unknown vessel represented by the two remaining thicker, unburnt sherds. Both have glaze on their interior and exterior surfaces. One sherd has a small portion of blue design. With so few sherds it is impossible to speculate what type of vessel they are from. The low number of sherds also makes it difficult to determine the provenance of the tin-glazed ceramics. Those recovered from neighbouring House 2 were believed to be French (Bohms 2015:109), but the lack of red colour in the paste of those from House 3 suggests either Dutch, English, Portuguese, or Spanish origins.

Creamware

In the 1740s, with the aid of a document describing the process and materials used for producing porcelain in China, kaolin clay and petuntse were used to create a hard-paste porcelain similar to that made in China (Miller and Hunter 2001). Creamware, as it is now called, was harder than tin-glazed wares and following a successful marketing campaign by Wedgewood in the 1760s became the dominant ware in the western world from the 1780s to the end of the War of 1812 (Miller 1991:1; Miller and Hunter 1990:110). Despite declining demand from the 1790s onward, creamware consistently remained cheap and was produced into the 19th century until roughly 1830. By that time the production technique had evolved significantly to produce a product that was whiter, one which most archaeologists would today classify as a different ceramic type (Miller 1991:5).

Sixteen pieces of plain creamware were identified representing the base, foot, and body of what is believed to be a single piece of flatware, most likely a plate or flat serving dish. Four pieces mended to form a portion (roughly 6 x 5 cm) of the flat base. On one side much of the glaze has flaked off – possibly from heat exposure, leaving only a small

corner with glaze covering the light cream-colored fabric. Fine, concentric manufacture lines are visible on the base where glaze is also absent. The lack of curve suggests the base belonged to a plate rather than a cup or bowl and the diameter assumed from the manufacture lines and the two foot fragments support this. The lack of diagnostic characteristics in either form or decoration makes it difficult to determine a date of manufacture.

China Glaze (Pearlware)

Twelve pieces of China glaze, often referred to as pearlware, were identified, most of which mend to form the base of a plate or serving dish. Although incomplete, the dish exhibits many of the attributes associated with the reproduction of Chinese porcelain by English potters (Miller and Hunter 2001). Where the foot meets the base, the typical blue pooling of the cobalt added to whiten the glaze can be seen. Also, on the surface is hand painted blue-on-white decoration which depicts portions of the commonly copied "Chinese-house pattern" (Miller and Hunter 2001; Noël Hume 1970:129-130). Visible on the mended base is the roof a pagoda, the focal point of the scene, surrounded by foliage. A separate sherd has the wavy blue strokes used to depict the shimmering water often found in the foreground. This motif was common on China glaze with examples from American Colonial sites dating from 1775 to 1812 (Miller and Hunter 2001).

Ligurian-style Earthenware

Twelve pieces of a thin-bodied, honey-brown-glazed earthenware are tentatively identified as Ligurian-style. Their mottled colour suggests some sherds were thermally altered post-production, yet they share a common reddish fabric. This general classification has been applied to similar examples found in North America, including

those from sites in Newfoundland and Labrador, to cover those produced in the Mediterranean regions of northern Italy and southern France which closely resemble one another, despite those from France coming from a later copy industry (Barton 1977, 1981; Bohms 2015; Murphy 2012; St. John 2011:70-71). The style gained widespread popularity at the end of the 17th century due to its cheap sale price and the popularization of coffee drinking. From roughly the 1760s to the 1780s the market in France was flooded, yet production continued until 1820 when a crippling tax was instated on wares entering France from Albisola and popular English refined wares steered the consumer in a different direction (Blake 1981; St. John 2011:70-72). Examples from Québec date from 1750-1800, but it has been suggested that due to the regular travel of migratory French fisherman they were present in Newfoundland and Labrador 25 years earlier (St. John 2011:71-72).

Based on the different thickness of the rim sherds and a single base sherd, the 12 fragments from House 3 likely represent a minimum of two vessels; some form of small hollowware, possibly a *tasse* or mug, and a flatware, possibly an *assiete* (plate) (St. John 2011:70).

Cox-style Coarse Earthenware

The most represented ware type includes 28 fragments of brown coarse earthenware with only hints of its lost yellowish glaze on base and shoulder fragments. The reddish/orange fabric with inclusions of red clay and sand suggest it is Cox-style coarse earthenware which was manufactured in southern France from the 16th century to the latter part of the 18th century (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:34-35). In North America, Cox-style vessels have been found at French and Basque sites until roughly 1760

(Brassard and Leclerc 2001:35). Three distinct base fragments suggest there were likely three separate vessels. The curved profile of the bases as well as the 17 body sherds suggest they were globular or round in form and the charred exterior of many pieces point towards their use as cooking vessels. At least one vessel had a single handle and one a constricted opening, based on a single example of each. *Marmites* were a common vessel form of the Cox-style ware type during the 18th century (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:34-35) and the handle suggests at least one was this type of two handled vessel. However, some form of jug or mug is also possible.

French Green-glazed Coarse Earthenware

Another type of coarse earthenware was identified by its distinct green glaze and pinkish-buff fabric with large red clay and silica inclusions. Wares of this type are generally classified by the "candy-apple" copper-lead glaze as Saintonge coarse earthenware, from the Saintonge region of western France. It is believed to have been produced as early as the 13th century and examples exported to New France can be dated to as late as 1760 based on the goods recovered from the wreck of the Mauchault (Barton 1981:66; St. John 2011:85). The three fragments recovered from House 3 do not have the typical white slip and chalky paste associated with Saintonge coarse earthenware and are better classified in general terms as French green-glazed coarse earthenware produced from the 16th to 18th century (Brassard and Leclerc 2001:28-29; St. John 2011:84). Faint traces of an interior yellow glaze remain on two of the fragments, while the consistent thickness suggests all three were from the same vessel. The concentric manufacture lines, profile, and remnants of a knob suggest it may have been a jar or some form of lidded pot.

Normandy Coarse Stoneware

Eight fragments of another ware type originating from France were identified as Normandy coarse stoneware. This type of stoneware offered an alternative to coarse earthenware vessels for the preservation and transport of foods and because of its non-porous nature was the choice of Norman and Breton crews who worked the French fishery (St. John 2011:160, 2013:168; Fajal 2013). It was produced as early as the 14th century; however, there are many examples in Newfoundland and Labrador that date to the period when production peaked in the 17th and 18th centuries. It was the most common type of ceramic found at the French migratory fishing station of Dos de Cheval on Newfoundland's Petit Nord and it has also been found at Inuit sites in Sandwich Bay and Hamilton Inlet (Bohms 2015:110; Murphy 2012; St. John 2011, 2013).

Seven of the fragments from House 3 are likely from the same vessel as all are thick-walled body sherds with red and large quartz inclusions and deep manufacture grooves on the interior surface. Similar in form and appearance to those found in House 2 in 2014, they were likely fragments of a medium to large *sinot*, the most common type of vessel used for the storage of butter or salted foods (Bohms 2015:110; St. John 2013:169). The lack of charring on the sherds suggests it was used for food storage or for the serving of food, as Bohms concluded for those recovered from House 2 (Bohms 2015:110).

The remaining fragment is a rim/neck sherd significantly thinner than the other sherds. It shares the same grey colour, but its paste is without large inclusions. An almost identical example was found at Snooks Cove which mended to form a small jar likely

used for storage. Both examples share the same folded over flat rim style that has been classified by St. John as one used during the 18th and 19th century (St. John 2013:17).

English Redware

A single sherd of English lead-glazed redware was also found in House 3. The fabric is fine-grained and light red, while the exterior is covered with a dark reddish-brown glaze. Tea and coffee pots were the most common vessels made in both dry-bodied and lead-glazed variants of English redware. Although varieties were produced from the 1740s into the 19th century, the incised geometric pattern on the exterior surface of the sherd indicates it was made after 1760 when the use of engine-turned lathes allowed precise and consistent decoration to be applied to pot exteriors (Noël Hume 1970:121; Rickard and Carpentier 2004). A teapot with the same geometric pattern currently housed in England dates to approximately 1770-1780 (Noël Hume 2001:300), which lends credibility to early assumptions that English redware teapots are commonly found in North American contexts of the third quarter of the 18th century (Noël Hume 1970:121). A more conservative range of 1760-1800 is adopted for the sherd from House 3.

Jackfield Earthenware

The final identified ware type is Jackfield earthenware, represented by three small sherds with a homogenous red fabric and thin black glaze. Produced from roughly 1745 to 1790 by the Staffordshire potter Thomas Whieldon, it was generally made into pitchers and tea and coffee vessels (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab 2015; Noël Hume 1970:123). This use seems consistent with one of the sherds found in House 3. It is small but has a portion of the circular vent found on the lid of teapots. The remaining two sherds have glaze on only one side because of the way they are broken. They likely

originate from the same vessel. The L-shape of one sherd suggests it was part of a flat-bottomed base, possibly of a teapot.

Unidentified Wares

The remaining eights ceramic fragments could not be identified confidently. Five resemble ware types described above and so are not thought to be from separate vessels. They include: one sherd of burnt refined earthenware, likely creamware; a sherd of reddish-orange coarse earthenware, probably Cox-style; two pieces of dark brown glaze, like that found on the Ligurian-style earthenwares; and a single blue and white piece of probable tin glaze.

The three remaining sherds each represent a unique ware type (and vessel), but due to their small size and lack of diagnostic features it was impossible to determine the form of the vessels or their provenance with any certainty. They include: an extremely rough sherd of coarse earthenware with an olive exterior and buff-colored fabric high in inclusions; a very small sherd of a thin-bodied earthenware with a light brown fabric and mottled brown glaze similar to that of clouded or tortoiseshell refined earthenware; and a piece of stoneware which resembles the many fragments of Normandy Stoneware except for its rough brown exterior.

6.1.2.2 Bottles

Nine curved shards of glass are believed to represent at least five bottles based on the various shades – black, dark blue, green, pale blue, colourless – and their thickness. No embossed markings are present to indicate their origin or date of manufacture and with so little of each bottle it is impossible to ascribe a date based on form despite the

recognizable changes that occurred from the late 17th to early 19th century (Noël Hume 1970). A pale-blue square base, likely produced through the use of a dip-mold, hints at the form of one bottle. Its size and slightly arched kick-up is consistent with the 18th-century French square-bodied *flacons* found at the fortress of Louisbourg. According to probate records these bottles generally held various types of oil and food syrups (Harris 2000:235). Square bottles were also produced by the British and Dutch from the 17th through to the 19th century and the process of making bottles with a dip mold dates to a similar time period (Jones and Sullivan 1989:26; Noël Hume 1970).

The remaining bottle pieces are also mouth-blown, possibly with the use of a mold, however they lack diagnostic features. At the very least the range of colors is consistent with the vague age of the 17th to 19th century (Jones and Sullivan 1989:12-14).

6.1.2.3 Tumbler

A single shard of decorated colourless glass was found. It is curved with two ovoid flutes opposite an engraved pattern of wavy lines (Figure 6.2). It resembles the Bohemian-style tumblers common on French sites in North America that were decorated with a molded pattern on the bottom and etched decoration on the upper portion. Without more of the vessel the date cannot be refined further than the 18th or early 19th century when this style, sometimes referred to as “peasant glass”, was popular and copied by French, American, and British glass makers (McNally 1982:38-50).

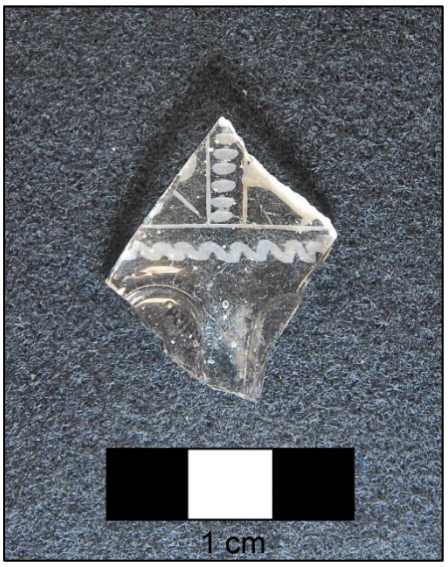

Figure 6.2 Bohemian-style tumbler fragment.

6.1.2.4 *Kullik* (Soapstone Lamp)

The *kullik* was one of the most important possessions of Inuit women and was often passed down from one generation to the next. The Labrador variety is usually concave and semilunar (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:89). Some, like examples found in northern Labrador, have a single ridge in the center for the wick (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:89), but it is believed this feature wasn't common beyond the 17th century (Kaplan 1983:448). Later examples retained the semilunar shape and presumably the placement of the wick was moved to the straight edge.

Two *kullik* fragments were found near the opening of the entrance tunnel, supporting the residual evidence of their use as the primary means of heating and cooking within the house. The first is a small triangular fragment with a thin-lipped edge stained black on the inside surface. Based on the thickness, which increases with distance from the edge, it is likely a rim fragment. A possible drill hole may be the result of an attempt

to reattach it. The second piece, also with dark staining but to a lesser degree, is likely a body fragment. It too has a bowl-shaped profile and a thickness greater on one side than the other. A hole is drilled through the thickest broken edge, presumably for repair.

6.1.2.5 Soapstone Vessels

Soapstone vessels were used for boiling water and food by the Labrador Inuit since their arrival on the peninsula. In House 3, this tradition was continued. Hawkes (2015 [1916]) called the soapstone vessels he encountered "kettles", despite their rectangular shape, likely because they were often used to heat water for stewing meat. When compiling his monograph about the Labrador Inuit, Hawkes was told by hunters that although it took a long time to heat water to the point of boiling the heat retention of the stone vessels was superior for cooking (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:89-90). A common feature of these vessels is drill holes around the circumference of the rim used to suspend it from a rack over a lamp. The two rim sherds from House 3 exhibit these holes.

Two rims and a base were found in House 3 and represent the remains of at least one soapstone pot. The base fragment is L-shaped with portions of base, wall, and the 90˚ junction. The thicker portion is believed to be part of the vessel wall as it is similar in thickness to the rim sherds not to mention a thinner base would transfer heat more efficiently. The smaller of the two rim sherds is triangular, broken on one edge, and has a drilled hole in each corner. On either side of one of its holes a groove is present. This could be the result of friction from the cordage used to suspend the pot or part of a mend in the hopes that the lashing would sit flush with the surface. The larger rim fragment is

rectangular with three broken edges and one smooth edge believed to be the rim. A drill hole appears to have been started in one corner but wasn't completed.

6.1.2.6 Cutlery

A single pewter spoon bowl is the only type of cutlery in the artifacts from House 3. It is degraded, particularly where the common delamination of pewter has led to the loss of the edge. On the back there is a small amount of embossed floral decoration which appears to have covered part of the bowl and handle where the two meet. Without a clear indication of its design, and without the handle, a date cannot be assigned. On the east coast of Hudson Bay and in the Ungava Bay region, spoons were reportedly melted down and formed into ornaments with the use of a soapstone mould and then hung on jackets as jingles (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:39). There is also evidence that spoon bowls were perforated and attached to clothing as pendants with examples found at nearby Eskimo Island as well as in House 2 at Double Mer Point (Bohms 2015:95; Fay 2016:226). The bowl from House 3 shows no sign of being altered. That said, the handle may have been removed in preparation for its use as a pendant of some sort as it has been suggested with similar examples (Fay 2016:226).

6.1.3 Clothing

Those artifacts which are associated with clothing or its production include beads, buttons, a hair band, textiles, footwear, and a thimble (see Table 6.5). Like the artifacts in the other categories, most were manufactured in Europe. Articles of clothing made from the skins of seal, caribou, and other animals are likely underrepresented because they are less likely to preserve.

Table 6.5 Artifacts associated with clothing.

Artifact Type	House 3 Count	House 3 %(House 3)	House 3 Midden Count	House 3 Midden %(Midden)	Total Count	Total %(Total)
Bead	**823**	***37.9%***	**63**	***18.4%***	**886**	***35.2%***
bead	670	*30.8%*	63	*18.4%*	733	*29.1%*
microbead	152	*7.0%*		*0.0%*	152	*6.0%*
venetian bead	1	*0.0%*		*0.0%*	1	*0.0%*
Button	**2**	***0.1%***		***0%***	**2**	***0.1%***
Hair band		***0%***	**1**	***0.3%***	**1**	***0.0%***
Textile	**4**	***0.2%***	**2**	***0.6%***	**6**	***0.2%***
Thimble		***0%***	**2**	***0.6%***	**2**	***0.1%***
Footwear	**2**	***0.1%***		***0%***	**2**	***0.1%***
Total	**831**	***38.3%***	**68**	***19.8%***	**899**	***35.7%***

6.1.3.1 Beads

Glass beads outnumber any other artifact type found in or around House 3 at a total of 886, or just over 35% of the entire assemblage. Their presence is not surprising as they were commonly traded for use on clothing, jewellery, and even dolls during the historic period (Fay 2016:219). Examples of how they were used on women's clothing survive in the few portraits of Inuit from the 18th century which show they prominently adorned clothing such as the *kulitak* (woman's parka) and were strung from lappets (Stopp 2016). Beads appear regularly at historic Inuit sites in Labrador (Fay 2016:219-220; Kaplan 1983).

A variety of different colours and bead styles were found. They are divided by class and type in Table 6.6 following the classification initially put forward by Kidd and Kidd (2012 [1970]) that has been elaborated on by Karklins (2012). In total, 38 unique bead types were identified. A small number of their colour descriptions are adopted here,

but general colour descriptions are used in most cases to account for the variation that exists with some beads that belong to the same class and type. A representative sample of the beads that were found are shown in Figure 6.3. Each bead is labelled with a letter that corresponds to its class and type listed in Table 6.6.

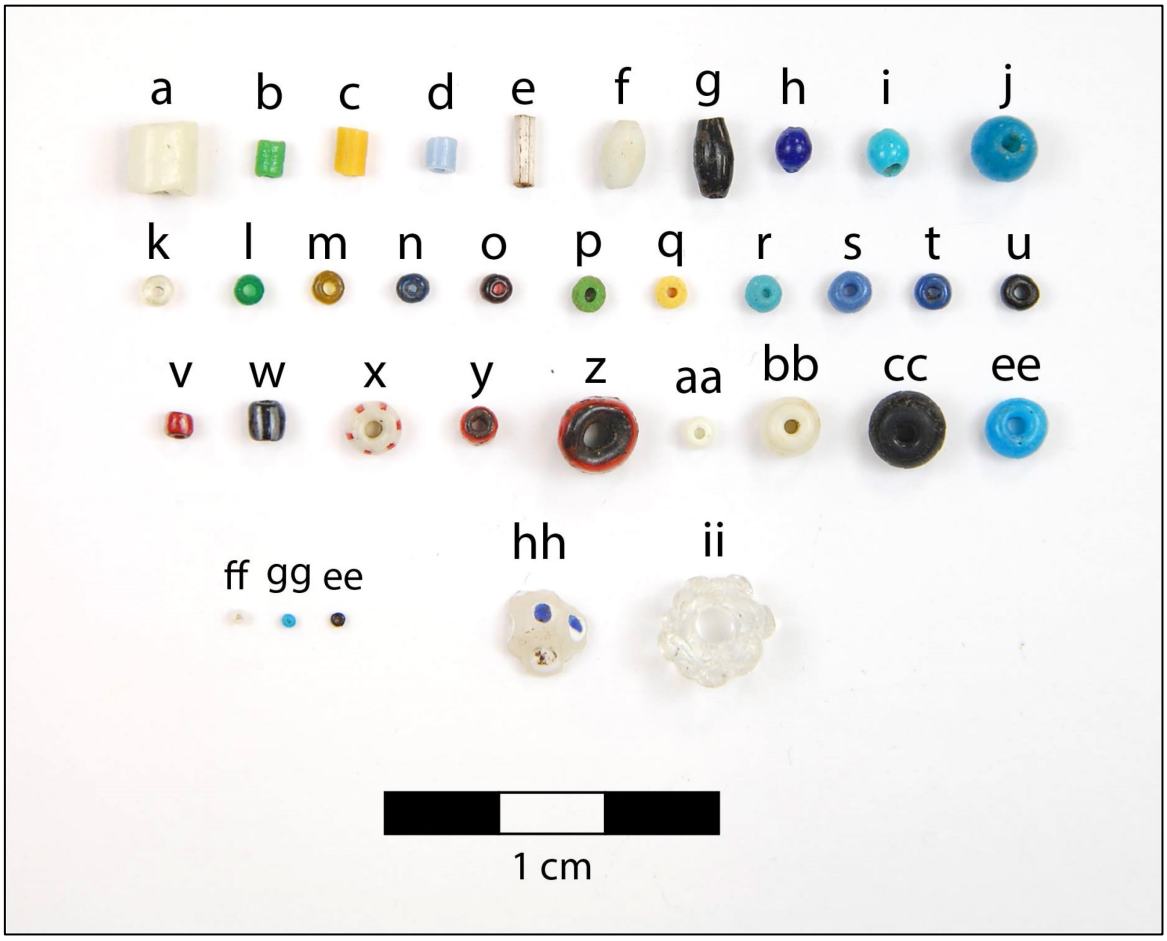

Figure 6.3 Representative sample of beads collected from House 3 and its associated midden.

Table 6.6 Representative sample of beads from House 3 and its associated midden.

Type	Description	Colour	Size*	Diaphaneity	Shape	#	Photo Ref.
Class I. Tubular Beads with simple (Monochrome) Bodies							
Ia	Undecorated	Green	S	Opaque	Tube	1	b
		Light blue	S	Translucent	Tube	1	d
		Pale yellow	S	Opaque	Tube	1	c
		Off white	S	Opaque	Tube	2	e
Class II. Non-tubular (heat-rounded) Beads with Simple (Monochrome) Bodies							
IIa	Undecorated	Red	S	Opaque	Round	1	
		White	VS (139), S(324), M(13)	Opaque	Round	476	ee
		White	L	Opaque	Oval	1	
		Yellow	VS(1), S(8)	Opaque	Round	9	q
		Yellow	S	Translucent	Round	2	m
		Apple green	S	Opaque	Round	12	p
		Green	S	Translucent	Round	1	l
		Olive green	S	Translucent	Round	1	
		Blue-green	S(1), M(1)	Translucent	Round	2	
		Light blue	VS(1), S(6)	Opaque	Round	7	
		Light blue	VS(1), S(23)	Translucent	Round	24	s, t
		Turquoise	M(1), L(1)	Opaque	Round	2	
		Turquoise	VS(5), S(66), M(5), L(1)	Translucent	Round	77	j, r, dd, ff
		Blue	S	Transparent	Round	3	
		Dark Blue	VS(1), S(36), M(6)	Transparent	Round	43	n
		Burgundy	VS(4), S(8)	Translucent	Round	12	o, gg
		Black	VS(5), S(38), M(3)	Opaque	Round	46	u
		Colourless	S	Transparent	Round	9	k
IIb	Decorated with straight simple stripes	Dull Black with 5 white stripes	L	Opaque	Round	1	
		Black with alternating white and red stripes	S	Opaque	Round	1	w
Class III. Tubular Beads with Compound (Multi-layered) Bodies							
IIIa	Undecorated	White with white core	L	Opaque	Tube	1	a

Type	Description	Colour	Size	Diaphaneity	Shape	#	Photo Ref.
Class IV. Non-tubular (Heat-rounded) Beads with Compound (Multi-layered) Bodies							
IVa	Undecorated	Red with translucent green core	VS(1), S(104), M(2), L(1)	Opaque	Round	108	y, z
		White with white core	S(15), M(1), L(1)	Opaque	Round	17	aa, bb
		Red with inconsistent red core	M	Opaque	Round	1	
		Black with black core	L	Opaque	Round	1	cc
IVb	Decorated with simple straight stripes	Red with translucent green core and five white stripes	S	Opaque	Round	12	v
		White with white core and four red stripes	M	Opaque	Round	1	
		White with white core and six red stripes	M	Opaque	Round	2	x
Class WI. Single-layered, Monochrome and Polychrome Beads with Simple Shapes							
WIc	Oval	Black	S	Opaque	Oval	1	g
		Dark Blue	S	Translucent	Oval	1	h
		Turquoise	S	Translucent	Oval	1	i
		White	S(1), M(1), L(1)	Opaque	Oval	3	f
Class WII. Single-layered, Monochrome and Polychrome Beads with relatively Elaborate Shapes formed by pinching, molding, grinding, etc.							
WIId	Raspberry	Colourless	L	Transparent	Round	1	ii
Class WIII. Single-layered, Monochrome and Polychrome Beads with adventitious decoration, and multi-layered beads with or without adventitious decoration or faceting							
WIII h	Multilayered bead with inlaid decoration	Light grey with blue and white eyes	N/A	Opaque	Round ?	1	hh

*Sizes: Very small (0-2 mm), Small (2-4 mm), Medium (4-6 mm), Large (6-8 mm)

Eight hundred and seventy-eight of the 886 beads are drawn beads produced by the method which saw heated tubes of glass stretched and then cut into consistent sections (Karklins 2012:63-64; Kidd and Kidd 2012:40-41). Although they account for 32 of the 38 different types of beads, over half of them are white round beads (476 monochrome, 17 white-on-white). Like the second and third most numerous types of beads – turquoise and red-on-green round beads – they cover all the size grades represented; from very small beads (0-2 mm in length and diameter) sometimes called microbeads, to large beads (6-8 mm in length and diameter).

Blue beads are the next most common color of bead (turquoise beads included), numbering 157. They represent the variety of bead shapes, colors, and diaphaneity (or level of transparency) that is found in the collection. There are seven different types of blue beads and even within those categories there exists a spectrum of their shared attributes. Beads "s" and "t" shown in Figure 6.3 illustrate the range of shades even within the light blue category. The other 22 beads in that category fall somewhere in between. Generally, blue beads make up roughly half of all beads at Labrador Inuit sites and white only about a quarter (Fay 2016:220-224). Those numbers are reversed for House 3, possibly because they are more likely to be seen and therefore collected, as has been previously suggested (Fay 2016:225). However, it is interesting to note that the ratio of white to blue beads of House 3 is more in line with the 19th-century fur trade sites from the plains that Fay cites in her discussion of Labrador Inuit sites (Fay 2016:223-225).

Eight wound beads make up the remainder of those collected. Six are oval beads similar to the drawn beads and the other two are unique in the collection. One is a colourless raspberry bead named so because of the glass nodes added to the bead at the

second stage of production after it was formed. These beads are among those that have been found at late 17th- and 18th-century Dutch sites, suggesting they were an item often carried by Dutch traders and possibly even one that was manufactured in the Netherlands (Karklins 2012:82). A raspberry bead was also found in an Inuit winter sod house at Pidgeon Cove that was occupied for several seasons between 1725 and 1775 (Rankin and Crompton 2016). The second unique wound bead is an "eye bead" named for its compound dots that resemble eyes (Kidd and Kidd 2012:78). Only a fragment of the bead was found, but it has two of the diagnostic inset eyes and a concave gouge where one eye is missing. The eyes are made up of a white background and dark blue pupil, like those with 12 to 15 eyes of multiple colours that are listed in a mid to late 19th-century Venetian bead catalogue (Karklins 1985:55-56). However, eye beads were manufactured for multiple centuries making it impossible to date accurately (Karklins 1985:81). This was a theme repeated with nearly every bead that a date could be found for. At best, nothing contradicts a mid-18th to early-19th century date for the beads. Bohms (2015:99) reached a similar conclusion with the beads recovered from House 2 as she found that together the ranges of all but one bead spanned the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries.

6.1.3.2 Buttons

Two examples of European clothing items that were not produced in large quantities for trade are two metal buttons: one made of copper-alloy, the other pewter. The copper-alloy button is a flat disc approximately 15 mm in diameter with the cone-style shank common in the second half of the 18th century (White 2005:51). Both the face and back are tin-plated giving the undecorated button a look of silver. The wire loop of

the shank is missing, but the molded cone of metal the wire was inserted into is still present on the back of the button.

The pewter button shown in Figure 6.4 is a solid die-cut button with a visible seam running the length of the back where the shank is absent. Its condition is generally poor with most of the edge broken off. After undergoing conservation treatment, the face decoration became visible. It is the distinct "fouled anchor" design used by the British Royal Navy which depicts an anchor stock slanted to the right with its rode wrapped loosely around the shaft (Bingeman and Mack 1997). Solid die-cut type buttons were officially introduced to the Royal Navy uniform in 1774 and were possibly used until 1860, though shell-type buttons were adopted for British Naval garments in 1827 (Barker 1977:376). The "fouled anchor" design was generally believed to have been adopted at the same time that solid die-cut buttons were officially introduced, but the discovery of numerous "fouled anchor" buttons on the wreck of the *Invincible* that sank in 1758 demonstrates that the design and solid die-cut buttons were worn well before 1774 (Bingeman and Mack 1997:44). From the introduction of the "fouled anchor" design several of the design components underwent significant changes including the anchor centerpiece (Barker 1977). The anchor version displayed on the button from House 3 consists of a short stock sitting at a pronounced 45-degree angle (to the right) with acutely-angled arms and broad flukes. When compared to examples from the 18th and 19th centuries (Barker 1977), the anchor most closely resembles buttons dating earlier than 1830, before the introduction of shell-type buttons to naval uniforms. A seemingly identical button found on the *Invincible* (Bingeman and Mack 1997: Figure 2(20)) requires that the estimated date range begin at 1758.

Figure 6.4 Fouled anchor design of the British Royal Navy.

6.1.3.3 Textiles

Six pieces of woven fabric believed to be wool were found in and around House 3. Three of these were recovered in a deteriorated state during regular excavation. Without more its impossible to say if they are from the same piece of cloth and whether it was clothing or a blanket since both articles were likely traded during the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century (Crompton 2012). The remaining three were recovered during the fine screening of sediments and are only small pieces of woven thread.

6.1.3.4 Footwear

Inuit footwear, like other articles of traditional clothing, was made from sealskin or a combination of seal and caribou (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:41-46; Turner 2001 [1894]:213-219). The sealskin *kamik* (boot) was prized for its waterproof properties and differed in design from contemporary European footwear. Whereas European footwear had a top-down approach with the leggings and side pieces pulled down around a foot to be attached to a thick flat sole, Inuit footwear was generally made with a bottom-up

approach. An oval piece acting as a sole was stretched up around the foot and then sewn to the upper leg section and tongue where they met at the top of the foot. Interestingly, examples of both were found in House 3 despite the popularity of sealskin footwear even into the 20th century.

The remains of at least two pieces of footwear were found in various states of decay. One is a European piece of footwear represented by a thick leather insole and a portion of the heel made of two pieces sewn together laterally to create a butt seam. Part of the sole's toe has been cut away and there are shallow residual cut marks on one side which suggest the leather was possibly repurposed at some point as a cutting surface. No reference could be found about the trade of European footwear during the 17th, 18th, or 19th century.

The Inuit-made footwear includes the toe portion of a sole and an unknown part. The sole has the distinct design of Inuit footwear with its oval shape that worked to protect both the bottom and side of the foot. The thread holes are still visible on what remains of the ruffled edge. Based on ethnographic examples it may have been part of a *kamik* or possibly a slipper worn as a liner inside a boot (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:41-46, plate vii).

6.1.3.5 Thimble

At least one European thimble was recovered from House 3. It consists of an insert made from a sewn leather strip which fits in a copper alloy shell with a dimpled exterior. The insert was found in remarkable condition, far better than the metal exterior.

The portion found surrounding the leather was extremely degraded and many small pieces believed to belong to it were found in bulk sediment samples as they were fine screened.

6.1.3.6 Hair band

A common accessory seen in the handful of historic Labrador Inuit portraits is the copper hair band worn by women (Stopp 2016). One half of a composite copper artifact was found in the midden just east of the entrance tunnel and it is believed to be one of these adornments. It consists of a curved band with a narrow, rounded end opposite a wider square end where a section of a second missing band is still held in place by two metal rivets. Presumably it was made of two similarly-sized bands which overlapped near the crown of the head when worn. Those seen in portraits appear to be solid bands. Nevertheless, the curved nature, tapered and round end, and overall delicate nature suggest it was a hair band worn by Inuit women during the historic period and not a metal tool.

6.1.4 Recreation

Only two types of artifact are associated with recreational activities: a jaw harp and multiple pipes (see Table 6.7). Use of this category comes with a sense of trepidation because of the nature of these items. Both were introduced by Europeans and appear to have been quickly adopted within the personal and social spheres of Labrador Inuit society.

Table 6.7 Artifacts associated with recreational activities.

Artifact Type	House 3 Count	House 3 %(House 3)	House 3 Midden Count	House 3 Midden %(Midden)	Total Count	Total %(Total)
Jaw harp	**1**	***<0.1%***		***0%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Pipe	**57**	***2.6%***	**2**	***0.6%***	**59**	***2.3%***
Bowl	27	*1.2%*		*0%*	27	*1.1%*
Stem	26	*1.2%*	2	*0.6%*	28	*1.1%*
Unidentified	4	*0.2%*		*0%*	4	*0.2%*
Total	**58**	***2.7%***	**2**	***0.6%***	**60**	***2.4%***

6.1.4.1 Jaw Harp

The only musical instrument recovered from House 3 is a single jaw harp sometimes referred to as a Jew's harp, or mouth harp. It is 6.7 cm long, 3.7 cm wide, and devoid of a tongue. Hudson Bay records show that jaw harps were a profitable trade item in the eastern Arctic as early as 1738 and they are listed among the items brought by ships sailing for Hudson Bay for trade with the Inuit of the Hudson Strait (Barr 1994). All of the recorded jaw harps found in Labrador date to the late 18th or 19th century suggesting they were an item acquired through organized trade. In fact, they are the most commonly found instrument in the Labrador Inuit archaeological record. Because of this, it has been argued their presence represents the compartmentalization of Inuit music that occurred during the historic period (Whitridge 2015).

Whitridge (2015) argues the introduction of brass instruments and organized religion by the Moravian missionaries forced a division in music to that which had a decidedly ecclesiastic tone and was meant for a large theatre, and music that was reserved for the domestic domain. The music produced by the jaw harp fell into the second category along with the *tautirrut* (an Inuit-made string instrument believed to mirror the

fiddle) and the harmonica. In more than one way it was akin to Inuit throat singing performed by women. In addition to its portability, the jaw harp also used the mouth as a resonant chamber making it generally no louder than the spoken voice and well suited to the setting of a sod house (Whitridge 2015).

6.1.4.2 Pipes

Fifty-nine kaolin clay pipe fragments were associated with House 3. A representative sample is shown in Figure 6.5. All but two of these were found inside the house. Twenty-seven are bowl fragments, 26 stem fragments, and four are unidentified fragments.

Four of the pipe fragments are decorated with the same simple designs as those found on the pipe fragments of House 2 (Bohms 2015). They include two stem sections and two bowl portions. The stem pieces have geometric patterns rouletted around their circumference. One has a combination of small dots and triangles, the second has short, connected flutes. Decoration on the bowl fragments is less obvious. The smaller of the two fragments has two raised parallel lines. The larger bowl fragment has a naturalistic motif consisting of thin plant stems and leaves running vertically on either side of the seam (see Figure 6.5). The same motif was found on two bowl fragments from House 2 which appear to date to 1780-1820 (Bohms 2015:119). A raised maker's mark consisting of two initials is also present on the spur of one complete bowl. It consists of an "I" on the left side and "D" on the right. In the 18th century when maker's marks moved to this position on the pipe the letter "I" was also used to represent "J" (Bradley 2000:116). This ambiguous use of the letter makes it difficult to determine the origins of the pipe.

Other characteristics of the pipe fragments hint at the way they were used and how some were discarded. Fragile and generally cheap, clay pipes were a disposable item for most, but this does not mean that they were not modified. One stem from House 3 has been whittled down at one end to produce a new mouth piece, presumably after the original mouthpiece was broken off. The break may have been either accidental or intentional. The exteriors of four pipe fragments are extremely burnt suggesting that when pipes did eventually become unusable, they were sometimes discarded into a hearth or fire.

With regards to further refining the 1780-1820 date of the pipe fragments inferred from the foliage decoration, there are limited possibilities. The low number of pipe stem fragments constitutes a sample too small for the standard method of bore diameter measurements originally outlined by Harrington (1954). Having been developed for sites that have a large number of pipes that have accumulated over a long period of time, it is ill-suited for the context of an Inuit sod house occupied for a relatively short period and only during the colder months of the year. This leaves the only the morphological changes to pipe bowls and spurs. There are two unique bowl types from House 3 which match examples of English pipes categorized by Atkinson and Oswald (1969) and later reproduced in Mallios (2005). The first type is represented by two bowls: the complete bowl with the makers mark and a bowl fragment missing its base. They closely resemble a pipe style with a square-shaped spur and steeply angled back and front produced from 1700-1770. The second type is represented by the only other nearly complete bowl. With a more dramatic curve and narrower, pointed spur it more closely resembles pipes from the 19th century, specifically 1820-1840. These dates do not contradict a 1780-1820 date

for the majority of the pipes but suggest a more conservative range of 1770-1830 may be appropriate for the assemblage as a whole.

Figure 6.5 Representative sample of pipe stems and bowls.

6.1.5 Transportation

Items related to travel were not numerous, yet they indicate marine and terrestrial modes of travel, new and old. The evidence for *komatik* use is convincing; wooden boat use less so. The six artifacts that belong to this category are listed in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Artifacts related to transportation.

Artifact Type	House 3 Count	House 3 %(House 3)	House 3 Midden Count	House 3 Midden %(Midden)	Total Count	Total %(Total)
Palm thimble	**1**	***<0.1%***		**0%**	**1**	***<0.1*%**
Block (from block and tackle)	**1**	***<0.1%***	**2**	**0.6%**	**3**	**0.1%**
***Komatik* (Sled) Shoes**		***0%***	**2**	**0.6%**	**2**	**0.1%**
Total	**2**	***0.1%***	**4**	**1.2%**	**6**	**0.2%**

6.1.5.1 *Komatik* (Sled) Shoes

Central to winter travel was the *komatik*, or sled, historically pulled by five or more dogs (Whitridge 2016). Those recorded in Labrador during the early 20th century are of a simpler but more robust design than those from other northern regions with only three principal components (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:64-68). Two runners made of wood or whale bone were the largest pieces of the *komatik* and they were fastened together with numerous parallel wooden crossbeams that extended past the outside edges to make securing loads easier (Whitridge 2016). To prolong the life of the runners, rectangular pieces of bone, ivory, antler or baleen called "shoes" were pegged to their base to act as a buffer between them and the surface of the snow and ice (Whitridge 2016). In the midwinter, the shoes would be covered with a reindeer moss worked into a paste then formed into a bevel shape and lastly covered with a thin layer of ice. A new layer of ice would have to be applied to the runners daily, but the sheer surface created by the process significantly reduced friction making travel easier (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:65).

Two *komatik* shoe fragments were found in the midden deposits of House 3. Both are made of whale bone and are of a similar size and rectangular shape. However, one is

in far better condition than the other. The well-preserved shoe is flat on one side and convex on the other with closely-spaced parallel tool marks visible on both. On the convex side they are worn down and smoother as this was the side that was in contact with the ground. Three metal pegs in an evenly-spaced row running down the center of the shoe are still present. They are worn down on the side which contacted the ground but broken off inside the predrilled holes on the other. The second shoe is broken in half lengthwise along a line of at least two drill holes. Both were likely discarded once they were worn down and then replaced by new shoes.

6.1.5.2 Palm Thimble

An area of cultural transmission which has not received as much attention as it deserves is the adoption of sail technology that accompanied the introduction of European wooden boats. Sail technology was likely mastered by the Inuit early in the 18th century, if not earlier, as highly-prized wooden boats were acquired from seasonal European fishermen sometimes in violent ways (Crompton and Rankin 2016; Rankin and Crompton 2016). When Louis Jolliet sailed the Labrador coast in 1694, he noted the use of double-masted *biscayner* ships by the Inuit of southern and central Labrador which were used alongside the traditional kayak (which he referred to as one-man canoes) (Delanglez 1948). His journal entries indicate that by the time of his voyage, Inuit had fully incorporated wooden boats into maritime travel and with them the use of sails. As he travelled north along the Labrador coast to fulfill his reconnaissance mission, boats with sail capabilities appeared regularly with the Inuit groups he encountered with at least two

of the groups owning three or four boats. Adoption of sail technology into the Inuit maritime tradition would have also brought with it the toolkit needed to maintain it.

Among the most disposable pieces of equipment needed for harnessing the wind was the cloth used for sails. Moravian records describe the want of sailboats along with all their rigging in the mid-18th century (Taylor 1973) and sailcloth was likely obtained through formal and informal trade. Ship captains engaged in the seasonal fisheries regularly stocked sailcloth for repairs and may have exchanged it along with other surplus materials in incidental trade (Crompton and Rankin 2016). Sails are also listed by the independent trader George Cartwright as an item well-suited for trade (Stopp 2008:178). Unfortunately, evidence of sail use is limited in the archaeological record and is only visible in the tools needed for maintenance.

Found in the doorway of the entrance tunnel was a flat thimble like those used in the past by sailmakers and still used today for emergency repairs (Barnes 1988:163). It is circular with an inlaid checkered pattern on one side and three tangs evenly spaced around the circumference used to secure it to a leather strap worn around the hand and thumb (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6 Palm thimble.

6.1.5.3 Block (From Block and Tackle)

Also found were three iron artifacts believed to be the parts of a composite tool called a block used for lifting or dragging heavy loads. They include a substantial wrought iron hook, which weighs 3.6 kg and measures 12 cm long by 5.5 cm wide, and two iron rings with raised edges, one slightly larger than the other with a diameter of ca. 4.2 cm and 3.6 cm respectively (Figure 6.7). Their identification is based on two antique examples found in the Netloft Museum in Rigolet. If from a system of similar design, the hook would have been attached to a wooden shell by a metal strap. The two metal rings may have been metal sheaves contained within the shell, but their size is closer to thimbles of antique blocks which hang below the unit. Blocks were often used in a system called a block and tackle which acted as pulleys affording more purchase for the lifting or pulling of loads. Their utility meant they were common on ships and the mention of

blocks listed between cordage and anchors in Cartwright's list of trade goods suggest they were used this way by the Inuit (Barnes 1988:166; Stopp 2008:178).

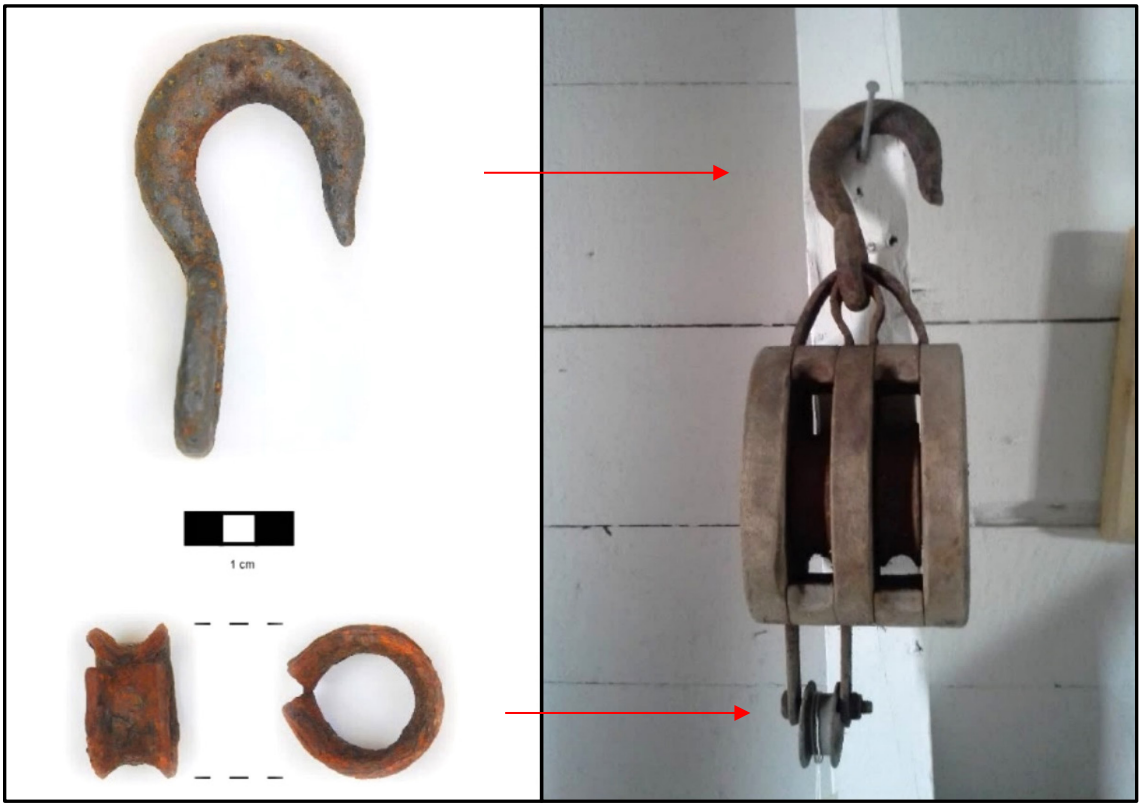

Figure 6.7 Iron hook and one iron thimble beside example of block and tackle at Netloft Museum, Rigolet.

6.1.6 Hunting / Conflict

Items associated with hunting and/or conflict demonstrate the use of technologies new to the Inuit toolkit in the 18th century, as well as the continued use of more traditional technologies which took advantage of new materials. Gunflints, fishing gear, and lead projectiles show the adoption of firearms and nets, and the lone projectile point that was found is a product of the tradition of cold-hammer manufacture practiced by the Inuit (see Table 6.9).

Table 6.9 Artifacts associated with hunting/conflict.

Artifact Type	House 3 Count	House 3 %(House 3)	House 3 Midden Count	House 3 Midden %(Midden)	Total Count	Total %(Total)
Gunflints	**11**	***0.5%***	**2**	***0.6%***	**13**	***0.5%***
Fishing Gear	**10**	***0.4%***		***0%***	**10**	***0.4%***
Fishhooks	6	*0.3%*		*0%*	6	*0.3%*
Lead Weights	4	*0.1%*		*0%*	4	*0.1%*
Lead Projectiles (firearms)	**22**	***1%***	**3**	***0.9%***	**25**	***1%***
Projectile Point	**1**	***<0.1%***		***0%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Total	**44**	***2%***	**5**	***1.5%***	**49**	***1.9%***

6.1.6.1 Gunflints

Firearms were introduced to Labrador as a trade item in the 18th century and their distribution became a point of contention between Moravian missionaries and southern merchants for over a decade (see chapter 3). In the end, the Moravian Church capitulated rather than risk alienating the Inuit population they were trying to win over in the face of what they believed was a foregone conclusion (Rollmann 2011). The Inuit wanted firearms and after the Moravian decision they were openly traded from 1786 onwards.

Their presence at House 3, however, can often only be seen in the lead projectiles and gunflints necessary for their use.

Nine complete gunflints and four fragments were found in association with House 3 (see Figure 6.8). It was previously believed that the age and provenance of a gunflint could be accurately determined by its design and the visible characteristics of the stone. These earlier conventions are no longer thought to be ironclad so Ballin's (2012) adaptation of de Lobiniere's 1984 typology is adopted here. Of the nine complete gunflints eight are what is commonly classified as gunspalls having been produced by the earliest method of production resulting in a wedged-shaped profile. All eight have obvious bulbs of percussion. Four of the spalls were further worked beyond the initial knapping stage on the heel and sides in the characteristic style of D-shaped spalls which were produced in England until the end of the 18th century (Ballin 2012:132). The other four are worked to some degree on the heel, but the sides are left untouched past their distinct lateral arises.

The remaining complete gunflint is of the blade style which began to be produced at a large scale in France around 1740. It has a flatter profile and no bulb of percussion, two hallmarks of blade-style manufacture which offered significant advantages over spall gunflints. With blade style production multiple gunflints could be produced from a single large flake thus greatly reducing the material waste seen in gunspall production (Ballin 2012:133-134; Kenmotsu 1990:99). The innovation also produced two working edges owing to the flat symmetrical design (Ballin 2012). The closely-guarded technique allowed France to maintain a monopoly over the gunflint market until just before 1800

when the British learned of the specific methods used by the French and began to produce their own (Ballin 2012:133-134; Kenmotsu 1990:99).

Every complete gunflint exhibits the signs of continued use with many seemingly discarded once they reached the point of exhaustion. Before that occurred, it seems that many of the strategies used to prolong the life of a gunflint were employed. Turning the gunflint to use an edge other than the original working edge is one strategy known to have been practiced in the past and the visible traces it leaves can be seen on those from House 3 (Kenmotsu 1990:112). Four of the complete gunflints exhibit the step fractures attributed to regular use on two or more edges. Furthermore, in at least five cases step fractures are found on both sides of the gunflint, likely a result of it being turned over or retouched with a billet. Both strategies were used to rejuvenate an edge for future use (Kenmotsu 1990). The most extreme example of these strategies is the blade gunflint which is worn down through bifacial flaking on three sides. While all other gunflints retained an overall square or rectangular shape, its two longest edges are concave giving it an hourglass shape. This may be a result of how the parent material naturally fractured. Alternatively, it shows that it was reworked for a different purpose altogether once it could no longer function efficiently as a gunflint.

Lastly, if the early assumptions of provenance based on the visible characteristics of material are found to hold some truth there are two colour groupings. The first, which includes all the spall gunflints, covers a broad range from translucent mottled greenish-grey to an opaque chalky white. Its possible these originate from quarries in England, particularly the white gunflints which have been noted to come from the flint deposits of Dover (Kenmotsu 1990:94-96). This would run counter to the fact that French gunflints

are the most common on American Revolution sites whether associated with British or French troops and the belief that many English quarries weren't opened until 1790 (Kenmotsu 1990:96). The single blade gunflint aligns far better with the perceived French origins. It is a translucent honey color like other examples from France. This French provenance is further supported by the fact that it was the only region where gunflints of that style were produced for the better part of the 18th century (Ballin 2012; Kenmotsu 1990; Noël Hume 1970:220).

Figure 6.8 Gunflints collected from House 3.

6.1.6.2 Lead Projectiles

The second type of artifact that demonstrates the people of House 3 had firearms are the 25 lead projectiles.

Twenty-four of the 25 lead projectiles are small spherical balls generally called "shot" or "bird shot" because of their use for hunting fowl. Unfortunately, many crumbled when excavated. Those in better condition exhibit the typical asymmetrical shape of moulded shot. They range in calibre from 0.13 - 0.27 in. (3.4 to 6.9 mm) which today spans nine size categories. Much of the variation is likely due to the degraded state of the artifacts, but there is a noticeable difference between the three largest balls of shot that are the size of modern buckshot and the smallest examples. The local production of lead shot is another plausible explanation for the variation, one which is supported by the many pieces of lead waste.

A single moulded musket ball was also found with a diameter of .648 in. (16.6 mm). According to the writings of George Cartwright it would fall between what he describes as an all-purpose round and a slightly larger round (24 to the Pound) large enough for hunting caribou (Stopp 2016:86-87). It too may have been personally moulded as this was common practice in the 18th and 19th centuries (Noël Hume 1970:221-222; Sivilich 2005). Bullet moulds made of metal and steatite are common even at colonial sites in the United States of America and similar examples have been found at Inuit sites in Saglek Bay and the Nain area in Labrador (nlarchaeology 2015; Sivilich 2005).

6.1.6.3 Projectile Point

A single iron projectile point was also found. It measures 7.5 cm long with a lanceolate point that tapers into a square tang twice the length of the point. It resembles the many modified nails Jordan (1978) found at nearby Eskimo Island and is believed to be part of the same tradition. An x-ray of the object (see Figure 6.9 below) shows how the nail was elongated most likely by cold-hammering the section of shaft just below the nail head (see Section 6.1.7.2 for a description of the process). The point bears a resemblance to one classified as an arrowhead found in neighbouring House 2 in 2014 (Bohms 2015:85-86). Its size suggests it was also used as an arrowhead even with the absence of barbs found on other projectile points in Hamilton Inlet (Bohms 2015; Jordan 1978).

Figure 6.9 Cold-hammered projectile point.

6.1.6.4 Fishing Gear

Ten artifacts from House 3 are associated with the harvesting of fish and possibly seal. Many were first introduced by the seasonal fishing industries.

Six of the ten artifacts are fishhooks. Four are weighted "cod jiggers" and two are standard hooks. The jiggers are composite fishhooks made of two or three individual iron hooks bound together by a piece of lead crimped around their shanks. They vary in length from 8.3–13.3 cm. Most are severely corroded and missing their bend or points. The best-preserved jigger has two nearly complete hooks pointed in opposite directions in a typical double hook fashion. The only other discernable configuration is a three-hook variation where two hooks are staggered but facing the same direction opposite of a third hook. As part of the toolkit of the cod fishery which developed alongside the 16th- and 17th-century whaling industry, hooks of this kind would have been commonplace as European fishermen continued to visit the coast of Labrador seasonally in the 18th and 19th centuries. The other two hooks are standard barbed fish hooks with round shanks and flattened ends for attaching a line. One is much longer than the other despite missing its bend and point. It measures 9 cm long, the complete hook only 3.8 cm.

Four lead weights were also found, each of a different design. Two of the weights have small eyes to feed a line through; one is shaped like a pendulum, the other is round and was originally mistaken for a musket ball. If used for the purpose they were manufactured for, they would have served as line sinkers when fishing with unweighted hooks, like the two previously mentioned. There is also the possibility that the weights were sewn onto clothing as pendants as the Labrador Inuit were known to do (Fay 2016:225-226). The third weight is a curled lead cylinder like those found on the jiggers,

only smaller. It was likely used as a line weight. However, the size of the weight may have allowed it to be used as a net weight.

The fourth weight is ovate and hollow measuring 4.5 cm long with a diameter of 2.8 cm. It resembles those used on fishing nets today and likely served a similar purpose in the past. No later than the 17th century, nets would have been a common sight on the north shore of the Strait of Belle Isle brought by the burgeoning seal fishery which worked to intercept the migrating harp seal and the complementary salmon fishery (Stopp 2008:61-62). The rate at which European nets were adopted as the fishing industries moved north is unclear. A net was noticed at an Inuit dwelling in southern Labrador by Louis Jolliet in 1694 (Delanglez 1948: 218), but Taylor (1974:37) believes the use of gillnets, at least in northern Labrador, wasn't until much later. He cites the first mention of them in Moravian records in 1786. The development of the salmon and seal fisheries in Hamilton Inlet and neighbouring areas to the south probably facilitated an earlier adoption there, perhaps the middle of the 18th century.

6.1.7 Tools and Manufacturing

The search for goods played a large role in the development of trade between Inuit and Europeans, and as it progressed new items and materials became a part of the Inuit toolkit. Iron was a material long sought after by the start of the 18th century and had been readily incorporated into regular use alongside animal skins, bone, antler, baleen, and wood. Tools, the items used to maintain them, and the refuse created from the working of materials demonstrate the diversity of the toolkit of House 3's occupants and the commonplace activities associated with manufacturing. Knives, ulus, a punch or drill, a

plumb bob, and a saw fragment are discussed in the subcategory of hand tools before the remaining items listed in Table 6.10. Those items which couldn't be identified follow in turn.

Table 6.10 Artifacts associated with maintenance and manufacturing.

Artifact Type	House 3 Count	House 3 %(House 3)	House 3 Midden Count	House 3 Midden %(Midden)	Total Count	Total %(Total)
Knife	**7**	***0.3%***	**2**	***0.6%***	**9**	***0.4%***
Ulu	**2**	***0.1%***		***0%***	**2**	***0.1%***
File	**2**	***0.1%***		***0%***	**2**	***0.1%***
Punch or Drill	**1**	***<0.1%***		***0%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Plumb Bob		***0%***	**1**	***0.3%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Saw	**1**	***<0.1%***		***0%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Modified Nail / Spike	**7**	***0.3%***	**4**	***1.2%***	**11**	***0.4%***
Chain	**1**	***<0.1%***		***0%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Brick / Tile	**25**	***1.1%***	**8**	***2.4%***	**33**	***1.4%***
Whetstone	**2**	***0.1%***		***0%***	**2**	***0.1%***
Pyrite Ball	**5**	***0.2%***		***0%***	**5**	***0.2%***
Total	**53**	***2.4%***	**15**	***4.4%***	**68**	***2.7%***

6.1.7.1 Hand Tools

Sixteen iron hand tools were identified in the House 3 assemblage. Although some are fragmentary, they don't appear to have been modified in any way.

Knives

Nine knife pieces represent several of the all-purpose iron cutting tools of the time. Knives were a popular trade item among the Inuit (Stopp 2008; Taylor 1973) and those found associated with House 3 represent the breadth of knife types that were brought to Labrador and their usefulness for a variety of tasks.

Only a single knife was found with handle and blade intact. The remaining eight are partial knives with portions of the blade, tang, handle, or some combination thereof. The complete knife is a clasp knife, a type commonly found at Inuit sites (Kaplan 1983). It measures 18 cm long with a blade just under half of the total length. The handle appears to be made of whale bone and is shaped in the "pistol-grip" style common to cutlery in the 18th century until 1780 (Dunning 2000:36). The thin tang extends the length of the handle following the curve at the end to provide the space needed to house the blade.

The only example of a handle without a blade has a similar pistol-grip but was not designed for a folding knife. Instead, the square cavity in the middle of the handle shows it was made for a blade with a partial straight tang. The handle also has three pairs of metal rivets which fasten the two halves together.

The remaining seven knife pieces are blades representing at least four distinct blade types. Three are point style blades with flat unsharpened spines. A fourth blade with a complete tang is also likely this type, but its tip is missing. At the base of the blade, near its junction with the tang, a maker's mark consisting of a single "W" can be seen with the help of an x-ray scan. Unfortunately, no reference could be found to indicate where it was made or who may have brought it to Labrador.

The other three blades each represent a unique style different from the others. The most complete of the three is broken near the base of the blade but both pieces were recovered. It is ovate and at 16.8 x 3.9 cm it is the largest. It is believed to be a flensing knife. A similar example, with a complete handle, was found in between Houses 1 and 2 in 2016. The second is a small and greatly corroded rounded blade tip resembling those of the 18th- and 19th-century English cutlery when curved spines and rounded upturned tips

were common on table knives (Dunning 2000). The final blade resembles those used for whittling or carving as recorded by Mathiassen in the fourth volume of his Fifth Thule Expedition (Mathiassen 1976a [1928]:103-105). It is a short (6.9 cm long and 2 cm wide at its base), triangular, single-edged blade.

Ulus

With a wide distribution stretching from Alaska to Greenland (see Mathiassen 1976c [1927]:84-89) the *ulu* is perhaps the most iconic Inuit tool as well as one of the most gendered. Its design is not unique to the Inuit culture, but it is well-suited for the tasks often performed by women. The semilunar blade was traditionally only sharpened on one side so as not to harm hides while removing fat. The shape of the blade also provided a longer and more manageable working edge for the tailoring of clothes than a straight bladed knife.

The two fragments recovered from House 3 are the modern form of the *ulu* where metal has replaced slate as the blade material and there is a tang for attaching a horizontal handle (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:95). It is safe to say they are European-made because as early as 1765 they were mentioned as trade items (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:95; Taylor 1973:140). The more complete fragment consists of a nearly complete metal blade approximately 7 cm long with remnants of its wooden handle still on the tang. It is worn down from use giving it an irregular shape and was possibly discarded as a result. The second fragment is a bone handle with part of a metal tang.

Saw

An iron saw blade fragment is a rare example of a European carpentry tool imported to the central coast of Labrador and used by the Inuit. Handsaws are mentioned

among the items to be obtained for trade by Cartwright's agent (Stopp 2008:74-75), but the example from House 3 is closer to the design of a pit saw based on its four large teeth nearly 2 cm long and 2 cm wide at their base. Pit saws are also mentioned by Cartwright as a trade item and his notes indicate they were used for the cutting of bone rather than wood (Stopp 2008:178), a conclusion he likely came to from his personal observations. No saw pit was found at Double Mer Point, or has been at any other 18th-century Inuit sites, though they were common features around settler houses in the 19th and 20th centuries (Beaudoin et al. 2010).

Punch or Drill

A cylindrical iron artifact thought to be a punch or drill bit was found in House 3. It is 14 cm long with a circular cross-section that tapers to a sharp point. The opposite end is square, likely for the fitting of a handle. Cartwright also mentions drills were used for the working of bone (Stopp 2008:178).

Files

Two triangular files were also found no thicker than 1.5 cm. One is 6.5 cm long, the other 9 cm. Desired by the Inuit (Taylor 1973), they probably served a multitude of uses one of which, like saws and drills, was the working of bone (Stopp 2008:178).

Plumb Bob

An artifact so far unrecorded on Inuit sites of the 18th century is a lead plumb bob of European manufacture. It is a tool designed to provide a perfectly vertical, or "plumb", reference line making it useful in a variety of tasks. The design is simple and includes only a fixed line and a weight. The teardrop shape of the plumb bob resembles historic examples of non-pointed weights. A small portion of line used to suspend the weight is

still present at the wider end in the center of a circular lip. The plumb bob measures 8 cm long, 3.7 cm wide at its widest point, and weighs 304 grams. Unlike other European items, no reference to plumb bobs could be found to provide insight as to how it was obtained and for what purpose.

6.1.7.2 Modified Nails

In addition to the nails that are believed to be associated with the construction of House 3 (see section 6.1.1.3) are 11 nails/spikes that have been modified for unknown purposes. They are obvious examples of the reworking of iron that was commonly practiced by Inuit until modern times. The Inuit process of nail modification at Double Mer Point seems to have been the same as that of the Beothuk at Boyd's Cove in Newfoundland (Pastore 1992:30-31). The shafts of many modified nails and spikes from House 3 were hammered flat into an ovate or rectangular blade below the nail head, sometimes with a slight curve. The nail head was removed during the process, giving the final product the look of iron chisels or gouges. They may have served as tools for the shaping of wood or bone, or as a sort of multitool. The removed head of the nail may have also been a tool used for the scraping of hides (Pastore 1992:31).

6.1.7.3 Brick or Tile

Thirty-three fragments of red tile and brick with black inclusions were found. Its presence is often attributed to the ovens that rendered whale oil so integral to the Basque whaling industry of southern Labrador that brought hundreds to southern Labrador annually (Auger 1991).

Fragments have been recorded at Eskimo Island and Hopedale (Kaplan 1983:448-449), far outside of the area where they originated, and were presumably used as abraders for the working of materials. In some cases, it was possible to tell whether a fragment was part of a brick or roofing tile, despite the fact that all but two are smaller than 5 x 5 cm. Four are brick, five are roof tile, and the other 24 could be either.

6.1.7.4 Whetstone

Two rectangular whetstones used for sharpening various hand tools were found in House 3. One is sandstone, like the one found at Eskimo Island (Jordan 1978:179), only smaller. The other is slate and roughly three times larger (12.7 x 3.3 x 2.6 cm).

6.1.7.5 Chain

A single iron chain was found near the entrance tunnel, its use unknown. It is approximately 40 cm long with a single hook at one end no larger than the individual links.

6.1.7.6 Iron Pyrite Balls

Five iron pyrite balls were found in House 3. Historically, they were used as fire starters either by striking two together or one with a flint or a rock with similar properties to chert (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:97; Rast 2011). A Moravian missionary reported that Inuit in Chateau Bay: “find it where they hunt deer and use it as we do a Flint to strike fire with” (Taylor 1973:139).

6.1.8 Unidentified Objects

Lastly, 15% of the artifacts associated with the Inuit occupation of House 3 could not be identified. Because the majority were found in a highly fragmented state and lacked any discernable features, they are categorized and discussed by material type (see Table 6.11). Those few exceptions that are unidentifiable and are unique or in better condition than most are mentioned separately at the conclusion of the section.

Table 6.11 Unidentified artifacts by material.

Artifact Type	House 3 Count	House 3 %(House 3)	House 3 Midden Count	House 3 Midden %(Midden)	Total Count	Total %(Total)
Animal Skin	58	2.7%	21	6.1%	79	3.1%
Baleen	3	0.1%		0%	3	0.1%
Glass	50	2.3%	5	1.5%	55	2.2%
Mammal Bone or Antler	14	0.6%	11	3.2%	25	1%
Metal	127	5.9%	18	5.3%	145	5.8%
Stone	4	0.9%		0%	4	0.2%
Wood	2	0.1%		0%	2	0.1%
Total	258	11.9%	55	16%	313	12.5%

Metal is the most abundant material with 120 fragments of iron, 18 of lead, four of pewter, and three of copper or copper alloy. Their fragmented condition is believed to be the result of the poor preservation at the site, as well as on-site metal working. The iron fragments include examples of both. Based on their small size, condition, and the fact that they were recovered in clusters in the field, the majority are believed to be deteriorated portions of larger artifacts that have degraded. One such cluster was thought to be a pot, but it was too fragmentary to tell for certain. Other fragments show signs of being worked. Five pieces of barrel strap, for example, were found with worked edges making it

possible that some of the smaller iron fragments are debris produced during the repurposing of iron. The 18 lead fragments are a clearer sign of metal work. They resemble the irregular shape and various sizes of waste produced from the melting and casting of lead, two activities Inuit are known to have taken part in to produce ammunition and ornaments to decorate clothing (Hawkes 2015 [1916]; nlarchaeology 2015) The copper and pewter fragments are believed to be from the buttons and spoon discussed above.

One hundred and nine pieces of organic material were collected and categorized as artifacts because they showed signs of being worked. In nearly every case the poor preservation of soil at the site is believed to have played a large part in their highly fragmented state. Many of the fragments are thought to be waste by-products from the manufacture or mending of items. Evidence of this work that included carving, cutting, and drilling can be seen on the animal skins, bone/antler, baleen, and wood. In fewer cases, it seems some were worked for an intended purpose but not finished. The 20 pieces of worked whale bone show this rare occurrence; many are extensively planed, cut, and drilled, but were still discarded.

Glass artifacts preserved well but were often found in small fractured pieces. The 55 unidentifiable sherds that were collected appear to be from unknown vessels both thin and thick-walled. One or two small pharmaceutical bottles are believed to account for most of the thin-bodied fragments and the rest are likely from larger bottles.

The unidentifiable stone artifacts include two soapstone fragments and two unmodified Labradorite stones. The broken edges and curved profiles of the soapstone fragments suggest they originate from the same *kullik* and kettle described above, but

with no discernible features they are included here. The presence of the Labradorite stones is more mysterious for reasons described below.

Of the 313 unidentifiable artifacts there are four that deserve individual attention due to their uniqueness. The first two are palm-sized Labradorite stones. Unworked and the only examples of this type of stone found in House 3, they likely originated from the Nain area 300 km to the north. Both were found on the sleeping platform in the northeast corner of the house suggesting they held some significance. The third artifact is a small piece of worked whalebone that resembles a sort of plug. It has an hourglass shape and is finely made with a hole drilled into one end and a rounded point at the other. It is 2.7 cm long, 1.6 cm wide, and 1.1 cm thick. The fourth artifact is believed to be a snow beater used to knock the snow from clothing before entering a house. It was pieced together from four worked whale bone fragments which together measure 26.5 cm long. Based on its curved shape and size it appears to be made of a rib that was planed on one side and roughly carved at one end to make a handle.

6.1.9 Artifact Discussion

The artifacts associated with House 3 suggest it was occupied during the latter part of the 18th century and abandoned during the first decade of the 19th century. This period of occupation does not contradict earlier research at Double Mer Point (Bohms 2015; Fitzhugh 1972; Jordan 1974,1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Rankin 2014a) but does suggest that the site was occupied past 1800. This period in Labrador history preluded significant European settlement in Hamilton Inlet and the social, economic, and religious changes that came later in the 19th century. The greatest sign of change in the

artifact assemblage of House 3 is the large percentage of European-produced goods, which indicate the occupants of House 3 were fully engaged in formal and informal forms of trade. When the trade goods are placed in a larger context that considers the domestic setting of the house and the activities they were a part of, it seems House 3 was abandoned before European groups gained a foothold in the region.

6.1.9.1 Assemblage Age

The European-manufactured artifacts offer the best estimate when it comes to the occupation of House 3. Unfortunately, the artifact classes that number the highest in the assemblage have broad age ranges due to consistency in early manufacturing techniques. The 886 beads found in House 3 were common throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, although they became more frequent in the latter two centuries. The 477 nails and spikes have an even longer age range having been mass-produced in Newfoundland well into the second half of the 19th century, brought to Labrador as early as the 16th century, and possibly curated for decades. Even the kaolin pipes which would have had a much shorter lifespan are of little help. The stem-and-leaf pattern on some of the pipe fragments has a common date range of 1780-1820, only a single pipe has a maker's mark that was common throughout the 18th century, and one pipe bowl appears to date from 1820-1840. The vague age of these and other artifact classes forced a collective approach for dating House 3 where the age of artifacts with coarse ranges were compared to those that are finer; specifically, the various ceramic ware types and the two buttons. It revealed a conservative window for the occupation of House 3 which spans from 1760 to 1810 (see Figure 6.10).

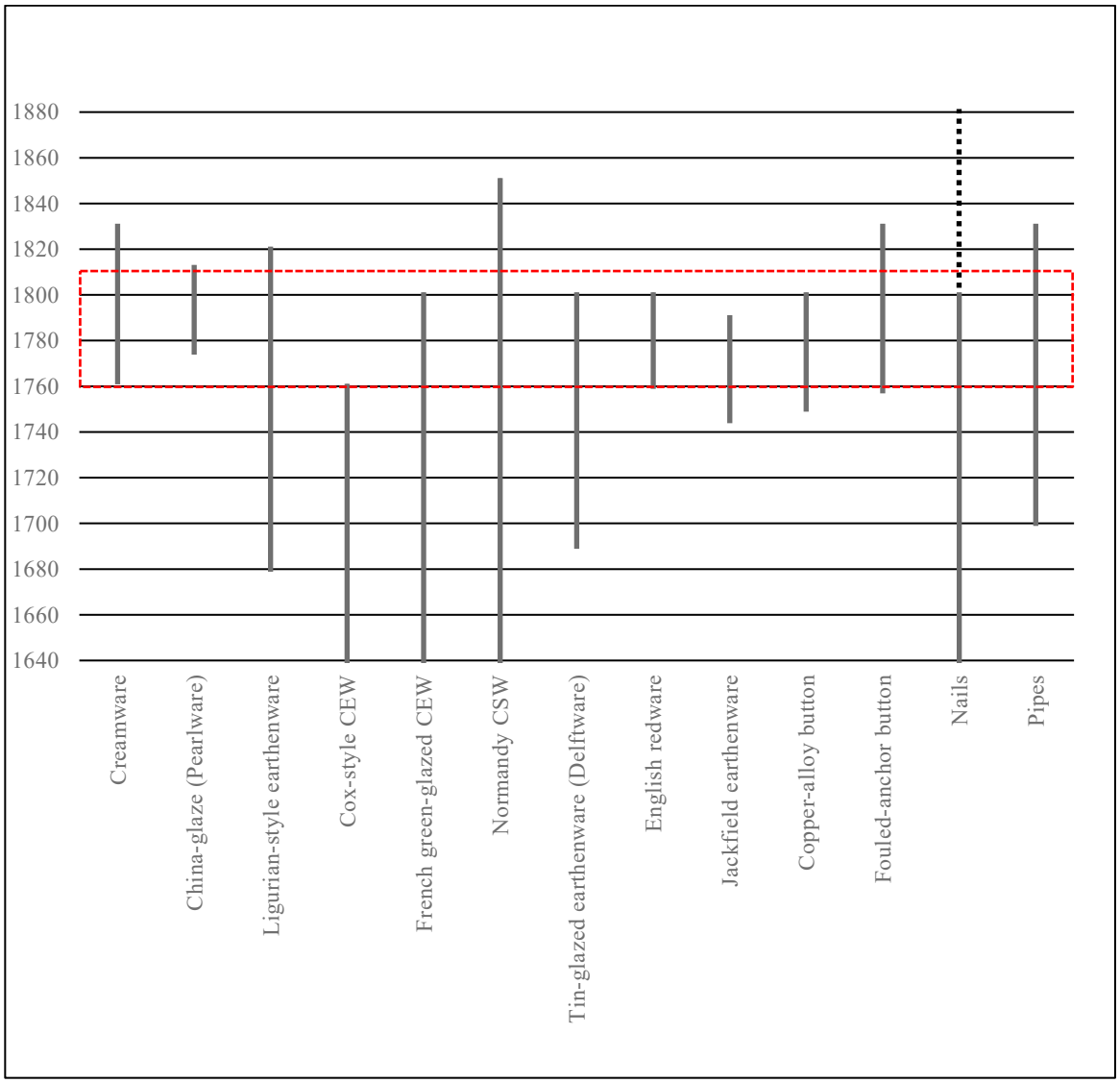

Figure 6.10 Approximate age range of artifact types.

This 50-year occupation range seems an appropriate estimation for House 3 based on the artifacts of House 3 and those found in other houses at Double Mer Point. Although some of the date ranges for artifact types in Figure 6.10 suggest the occupation of House 3 may have extended later into the 19th century, a pre-1810 abandonment seems far more likely. Support for this comes from the artifacts present, but also from the absence of numerous artifacts that date to the War of 1812 or later like those found in House 1 (Laurence Pouliot, personal communication 2019). Presently, the artifact assemblage of House 1 suggests it was occupied from approximately 1750 to at least 1830 (Laurence Pouliot, personal communication 2019). In contrast, only a single artifact from House 3 – a pipe bowl resembling those dated to 1820-1840 – has a production range that dates post 1810. Collected in the northwest corner of the house, adjacent to midden deposits and less than 10 cm below the surface, it seems unlikely that it is associated with the occupation of House 3. It is far more likely the pipe bowl was discarded after House 3 was abandoned. The fact that Bohms (2015:79-80) encountered midden deposits in the northeast corner of House 2 supports this theory. If House 1 continued to be occupied until at least 1830, there would have been ample opportunity for items to be discarded in a collapsed House 3.

The presumed occupation range for House 3 is also broad enough to account for the possible time that separated the acquisition of items and when they were ultimately discarded. Without the aid of historic documents to determine who lived at Double Mer Point, and for how long, a more refined date will only be possible when the lifespan of trade items is better understood. This would require knowing the forces that affected the arrival of goods to Labrador, as well as how they were used once they exchanged hands

and entered Inuit use. Both circumstances would have impacted the type of goods and their age when discarded.

Much is unknown about the ceramics which are drawn on heavily to reach the occupation period of House 3. It is likely they came from trade with both seasonal fishermen and merchants. While the end result of exchange was the same in both cases, the type of ceramics that were brought by each group may have been different. Merchants may have sourced ceramics that were cheap and available in large quantities, while sailors may have brought used wares from home giving them a second life with their new Inuit owners. A combination of both sources would create an eclectic collection of ceramics like that of House 3. On a larger scale, the level of trade with these two groups may have also fluctuated in the 18th century as supply chains were likely disrupted by the Seven Years War and possibly the American Revolution. Labrador was not excluded from these world events, and its coastal waters were regularly contested. There is perhaps no better documented example of these conflicts spilling over into the commerce that Inuit took part in than the great losses felt by George Cartwright when his holdings in Sandwich Bay were attacked by privateers in 1778 (Stopp 2008:27).

Questions also surround the use of ceramics once they entered the household. If some of the more robust earthenwares and stonewares were used for cooking and others for storage, they would have different lifespans than those used as tablewares. Within the context of European colonial households, a period of 15 to 20 years has been offered as an average lifespan for ceramics when unknown factors surround their acquisition and use (see Adams 2003). The representation of the ceramic wares with shorter dates of production (ca. 30-40 years) – creamware, China glaze, English redware, and Jackfield

earthenware – suggest the lifespan of ceramics deposited in House 3 may have been similar. The mid-ranges for the production of the four ceramic wares, which span from 1767 to 1795, suggest a lifespan of around 15 years. That said, the production ranges of each ware type leaves open the possibility of longer lifespans that would not contradict the 50-year occupation period of 1760 to 1810.

The only drawback to the estimated broad occupation of House 3 is that it leaves the question of annual versus intermittent occupation open ended. The nearly 80 cm thick deposit of animal refuse found in the midden to the east of the entrance tunnel suggests it was occupied for more than a few winters, but there are no metrics that have been proven to show the amount of animal waste a household of that time would produce. Making matters more difficult is the lack of separation between the deposited midden materials. Because Inuit would have been away in the summer, refuse would not have been continuously deposited. However, there is no clear evidence of annual breaks or those of longer periods, just mixed deposits of materials sometimes in pockets. The slow natural deposition at the site is likely to blame for the state of deposits. Its possible that even if the house sat vacant for five years there would be no visible signs in the midden deposits. At this point, its possible that House 3 was returned to for several successive years within that date range, or that there were multiple intermittent occupations that lasted for shorter periods.

In a bid to gain a second source for dating the occupation independent of the artifact assemblage, a caribou metacarpal was sent to Beta Analytic Inc. in Miami, Florida to be radiocarbon dated. It was the best preserved of the eleven caribou bones that were recovered from inside the house and not the entrance tunnel or obvious midden contexts.

However, due to the depth it was recovered from (ca. 20-30 cm below the surface) and its location at the back of the sleeping platform in the northeast corner of the house, it is possible that it was associated with the refuse that surrounded the house and slumped into the interior after it was abandoned. It returned a conventional radiocarbon date of 90 +/- 30 BP, which when calibrated to two sigma (95% probability) produced two date ranges. There is slight overlap between the 1760 to 1810 occupation range gained from the analysis of the artifacts and one of the radiocarbon date ranges, but both mainly fall on either side of it at 1685 to 1735 (Cal BP 265 to 215) and 1805 to 1930 (Cal BP 145 to 20). The mismatch between the dates is likely a product of the inherent difficulties of radiocarbon dating young sites. A better measure of the accuracy of the presumed occupation of House 3 is that of neighbouring House 2. Bohms (2015:132) states the artifacts of House 2 suggest it was occupied between 1760-1790 but goes on to suggest that abandonment occurred before or soon after 1800. The latter of Bohms' ranges overlaps very closely with the estimated occupation of House 3, far more than the two date ranges provided by the radiocarbon dating of the caribou bone. A slightly later abandonment of House 2 seems likely based on the analysis of many artifacts found in both House 3 and House 2. The mixed foundations of Houses 2 and 3, as well as the similar ages of their artifact assemblages suggest the two households were closely associated.

6.1.9.2 Character

Although European settlement in Hamilton Inlet did not really occur until the end of the 18th century, there were European merchants who made significant inroads into the

area as early as the 1770s. They did not command large operations, but their supply chains meant improved access to trade goods for the Inuit. The overwhelming number of European-manufactured items in the assemblage of House 3 is evidence of the desire for foreign goods these merchants fulfilled and how readily items were incorporated into nearly every aspect of daily life. European trade items commonly found at 18th-century and 19th-century sites such as iron nails, glass beads, ceramics, clay pipes, glass bottles, red brick/tile, fishhooks, knives, cutlery, and other hand tools are abundant, as is evidence of items more difficult to acquire. Gunflints and lead projectiles demonstrate the use of firearms, lead weights the presence of nets, and a block-and-tackle and sailmaker's thimble – two maritime tools – suggest the use of wooden boats. Together with personal items like the two buttons found, these items suggest regular trade occurred in formal and informal settings.

While the trade goods in the artifact assemblage demonstrate European items which were available to the Inuit of House 3, the characteristics of certain artifact types indicate how those items fit into the Inuit toolkit of the time. In most cases, the broad 50-year occupation period of the house leaves room for more than one interpretation. For example, the presence of gunflints indicate firearms were available to the Inuit of Hamilton Inlet at some point during the occupation of Double Mer Point; possibly from merchants in the immediate area or perhaps through independent traders to the south, like George Cartwright, who sold and even loaned them out freely before the Moravians began to sell firearms in 1786 (Rollmann 2011:14). Nine complete gunflints and four fragments suggest that at least the disposable parts needed for firearms were available. A closer analysis of their state when discarded, however, leaves room for alternative

conclusions. The extensive signs of wear show that everything that could be done to prolong their life was. One possibility is that gunflints weren't readily available and those found in House 3 had accumulated over a long period of time. House 3 was occupied during the winter and supply ships could only travel during the warmer months of the year. Another possibility is that gunflints were readily available, but not for the people of House 3 because of cost. Equally plausible perhaps, is that the exhausted state of gunflints is simply the result of a shared desire to use tools until they could no longer function. Similar uncertainties can be raised for most other items associated with House 3 making it difficult to draw any firm conclusions about its occupation with a narrow focus on single artifact types. A broader context is more useful.

When the artifacts are considered in their broader categories, the impact of trade goods on daily life seems small. The nature of their incorporation was largely to replace Inuit-manufactured items which in itself did not alter the activities they were associated with. The items that centered around the preparation and consumption of food articulate this point well. The most represented type of artifact within the category is ceramics. They range from thick-walled stoneware common to 17th- and 18th- century French fishing sites in Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John 2011, 2013), to a highly decorated type of English protoporcelain called "China glaze" (Miller and Hunter 2001), and even include the remnants of at least one tea or coffeepot. In total, there are at least seventeen vessels which suggest they had largely replaced those made of wood, seal skin, and baleen. However, a broader view of that setting informed by the less represented artifacts shows little change. The traditional construction of the house and the presence of soapstone *kullik* fragments are proof that food was still centered on open flame cooking

that relied on seal or whale oil. As for the manner it was prepared, the soapstone kettle fragments suggest the boiling of meat was still common practice, something the charring on the outside of some of the more robust ceramic vessels also supports. There is evidence of new additions to the food system. The presence of ceramics used for tea and coffee suggest that both beverages were consumed. There is also the rare discovery of the remains of the insect *L. minutus* which is associated with mouldy cereals in Canada (Lalonde 2016:26). It may have been transported to the house in flour or possibly in other trade goods that brought the more adventive species found in House 3 and Houses 1 and 2 (Lalonde 2016). However, the integration of foreign foods would have been limited by supply. Considering the broader context of food consumption provided by midden refuse at the site (see section 6.2), local animals were the main source of food. The impact of other artifact types also seems minor when the broader context of activities is considered. The replacement of traditional vessels for those made of ceramic seems less significant when food and the way in which it was prepared went unchanged. The nails and glass used in the construction of the house provide another example. If they were incorporated for their convenience and durability only replacing components of an otherwise traditional semi-subterranean home made of a sod, their overall impact was low.

There is the possibility that the prestigious value of incorporated European goods was equal to or outweighed their functionality. A comparison of artifacts from Houses 2 and 3 certainly suggest there were unequal levels of status and wealth between the two households (see Section 7.2.2). The two houses share many of the same types of artifacts, but there are none from House 3 that carry with them the prestige likely held by the Turkish *chibouk* (pipe) and glass inset that were found in House 2 (Bohms 2015).

Although they likely post-date the occupation of House 3, the Shako plates found in House 1 and the coin found between House 1 and 2 are other examples of prestigious items found at Double Mer Point. Firearms and wooden boats are two items from House 3 that may have held an inherent level of prestige, but not enough is yet known to tell whether they were common or not for Inuit households near end of the 18th and start of the 19th century. It seems there were prestigious items available and that the lack of those items in House 3 is more likely a result of the level of household wealth or power. This point is discussed further in Section 7.2.2.

Overall, the artifact assemblage demonstrates the Inuit of House 3 were fully engaged in trade and that the items they acquired were readily incorporated into daily life. The structure of that life, however, remained much the same even with the addition of these goods.

6.1.9.3 Distribution

The distribution of artifacts in House 3 lacks any noticeable pattern when organized by categories traditionally used by archaeologists or those that were chosen for those discussed in this chapter. As already mentioned, the material culture of the Inuit who occupied House 3 was overwhelmingly comprised of items manufactured in Europe or perhaps European colonial contexts in North America. Plotting the distribution of these items alongside those manufactured by Inuit shows how far along the incorporation of Euro-American goods was in House 3 (Figure 6.11). They were found in every corner of the house, even if the beads and nails are excluded. Inuit-manufactured goods were concentrated mainly on the periphery of the house, largely because of the nature of past

refuse disposal rather than anything else. Faunal remains (see Section 6.2), cut or otherwise worked, were often found in the midden units. Inuit artifacts such as iron pyrite balls, soapstone fragments, mica and worked whale bone were found inside the house.

A division of artifacts along the categories of House Construction, Food Preparation and Consumption, Clothing, Recreation, Transportation, Hunting / Conflict, Tools and Manufacturing is seemingly random. Figure 6.11 illustrates the distribution of the artifacts with precise provenience data (ca. 5 cm) except for beads, nails, and knapped stone artifacts which were found in large numbers. For example, those artifacts belonging to the category of Food Preparation and Consumption are not clustered around the areas where soil staining, fats, and the house architecture suggests hearths were located. Rather, they are scattered throughout the house like the artifacts included in other categories. One possible explanation for the seemingly random distribution of artifacts is that House 3 was abandoned before Houses 1 and 2 and then used as a dumping ground. This would explain a small number of the artifacts which may postdate the occupation that are likely associated with the continued occupation of House 1 until at least 1830. However, beyond the possible accumulation of waste in the northwest corner of the house, the distribution of artifacts and faunal remains suggest there was no significant accumulation of waste in House 3 after it was abandoned. Artifacts are distributed rather evenly throughout the house and there are no obvious concentrations of faunal remains other than those around the periphery of the house. Even if the artifacts recovered from the upper strata (first 5-10 cm) are removed from the equation, the random distribution of artifacts remains true. Either the interpretation of the house layout based on the architecture is wrong, or the distribution of artifacts reflects the reality of deposition in a tightly-quartered communal

living space. Cleaning episodes would also redistribute items throughout the house, and it is believed that at some point at least one cleaning episode occurred during the occupation of House 3.

When the distribution of artifacts is analyzed outside of their activity categories, beads stand out for how well they align with the interpretation of the interior space based on architectural features. Small and easily lost in a house furnished with furs and spruce boughs, beads trace the movements of Inuit in the house like no other artifact. They are more likely to have been deposited by women who wore beads on their clothing and used them regularly in sewing. However, the distribution of beads also reflects the movement of men and others who would have moved them within the house without directly handling them. It is not difficult to imagine beads being kicked inadvertently throughout the house or even being knocked off clothing in the entrance tunnel before entering the house. When the location of beads with three point provenience are plotted on the floorplan of the house, concentrations are found in the northeast corner covering portions of the sleeping platform, near the horseshoe stone feature believed to have housed a hearth, and adjacent the linear feature that runs along the east wall (Figure 6.12). Together, these concentrations define a focal point of activity in the house, one which supports a division of interior space by the principal components of a single-family home. They demonstrate the use of one half of the house where the three components of bench, corridor, and hearth are found. That same level of activity is not represented in the northwest corner of the house where the same features are present.

How these two similarly laid out but separate areas fit with the composition of the household is still unclear. The significantly higher number of beads in the northeast

corner suggests a gendered division of the house and this remains a possibility. Differences in the age of women in the house, and whether women were married or not, may have also factored into the distribution of beads. However, given that archaeological and ethnographic examples of two-family Inuit homes exist, it is more likely that the division of the house fell along familial lines. If this is true, then the greater number of beads in one area of the house may represent a difference in wealth or even a gender imbalance. It would be difficult to tease out these differences in the context of House 3 if they existed. At present, it is enough to say the distribution of beads supports a division of the house into two semi-private spaces and that those spaces were most likely tied to an individual family unit.

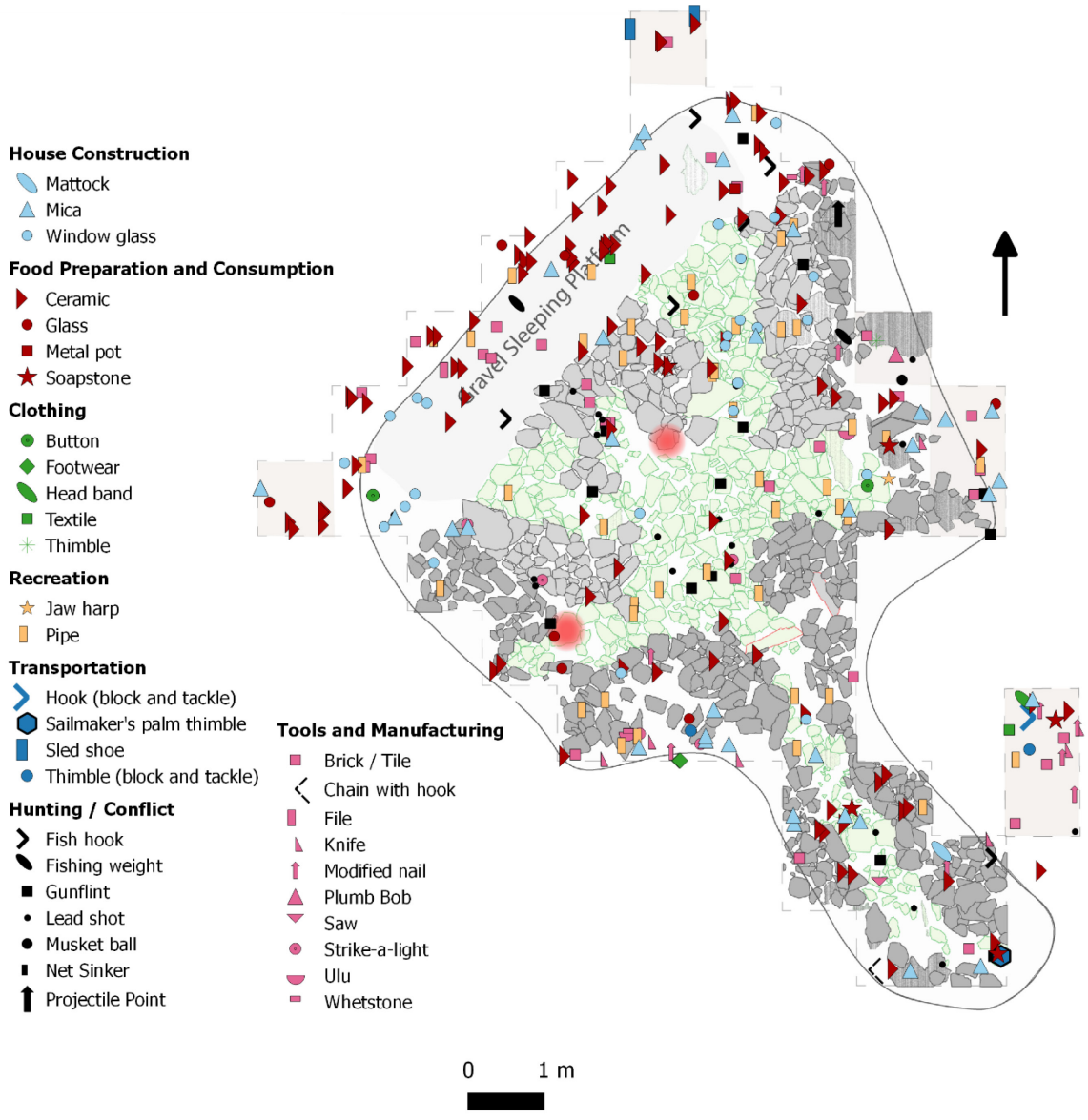

Figure 6.11 Distribution of artifacts (excluding unmodified nails, lithic debitage, and beads).

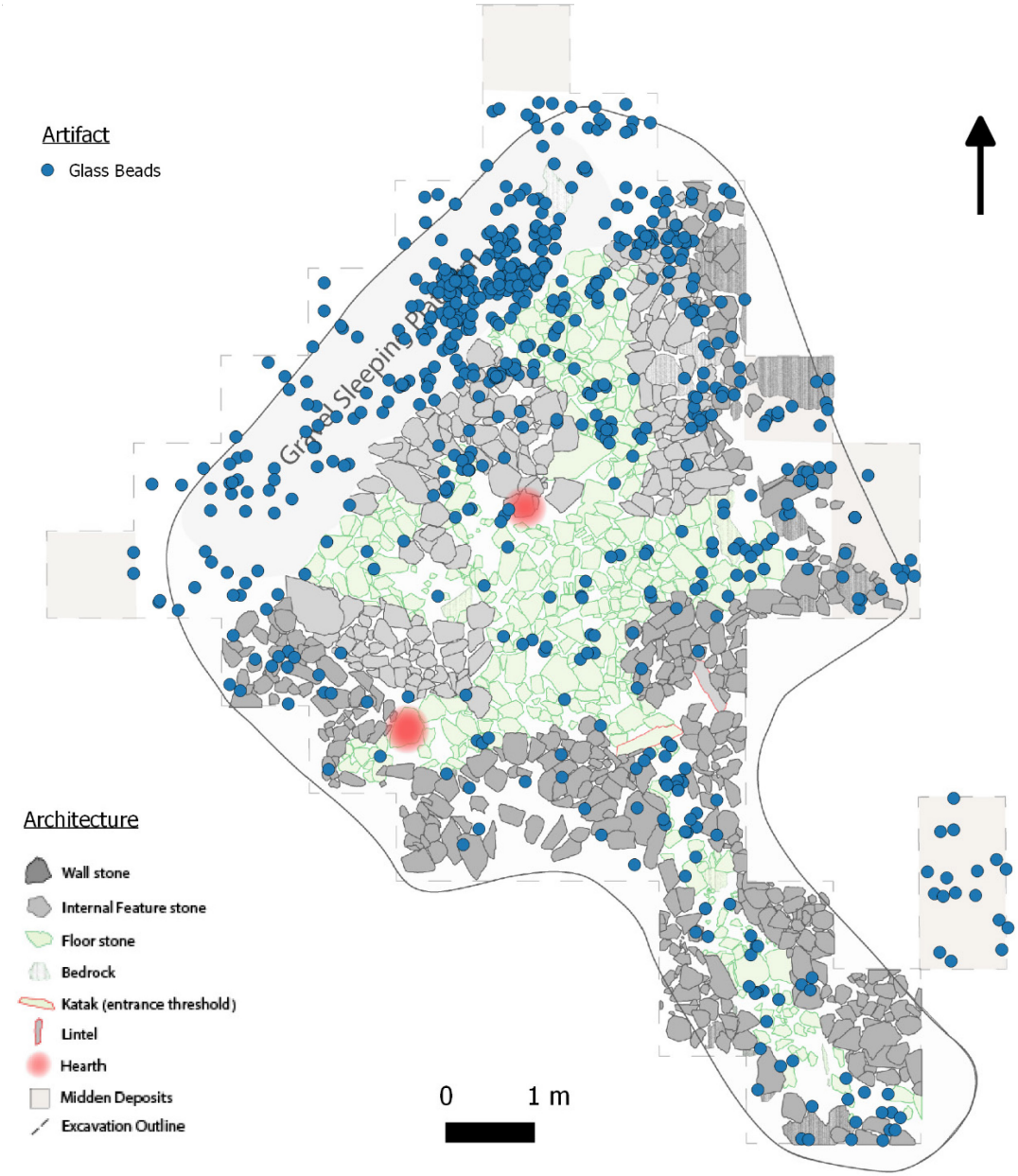

Figure 6.12 Distribution of glass beads in House 3.

6.2 Animal Resources

The faunal materials from House 3 provide information about diet and the activities that occurred inside and out of the domestic setting. In most cases they compliment those conclusions reached from the analysis of the artifacts providing a second source of evidence. The faunal assemblage reported here was collected during the 2015 excavation season and analyzed by Lindsay Swinarton who also analyzed the fauna from House 1, House 2, and the middens excavated in 2016. Like the artifacts, faunal remains were separated into two contexts: those from the interior of the house, and those from the midden deposits around or beside it. However, seven of the 62 excavation units have been excluded (four from the context of the house, three from the midden) as they were analyzed by Deirdre Elliott as part of her M.A. research which focused on faunal materials from Inuit sites that are too small to be caught by standard screening practices (see Elliott 2017). This brings the total number of units from the interior of the house to 51, and the total units from the midden to four.

6.2.1 Faunal Assemblage

The remaining faunal assemblage associated with House 3 consists of 2283 specimens representing at least 14 different species (Table 6.12). Of the total number of specimens only six, or 0.3% of the total assemblage, couldn't be assigned to one of the four classes of mammal, bivalve, gastropod, or bird. The rest could be identified to either the level of species, order, or at a minimum class. Mammal remains account for 97.8% of the remains, most of which is seal. The less represented animals add a breadth to the assemblage more in line with the diverse wildlife available in Hamilton Inlet which

fluctuates with the seasonal migrations of certain species. More importantly, they provide evidence of the many animals pursued for things like food, clothing, fuel, and trade goods.

Table 6.12 Faunal assemblage collected from House 3.

Taxon	House 3		House 3 Midden		Total	
	NISP	%House 3	NISP	%Midden	NISP	%Total
Mammal	**652**	***92.2%***	**1581**	***97.7%***	**2233**	***97.8%***
Seal	**313**	***54.3%***	**1286**	***77.6%***	**1599**	***70%***
Ringed	32	*10.2%*	107	*8.3%*	139	*6.1%*
Harp	22	*7%*	42	*3.3%*	64	*2.8%*
Harbour	2	*0.6%*	16	*1.2%*	18	*0.8%*
Hooded			1	*0.1%*	1	*<0.1%*
Ringed, Harp, or Harbour	169	*54%*	639	*49.7%*	808	*35.4%*
Indeterminate	88	*28.1%*	481	*37.4%*	569	*24.9%*
Canid	**33**	***5.7%***	**43**	***2.6%***	**76**	***3.3%***
Dog	23	*69.7%*	18	*41.9%*	41	*1.8%*
Arctic fox	2	*6.1%*	6	*14%*	8	*0.4%*
Fox sp.	6	*18.2%*	19	*44.2%*	25	*1.1%*
Dog or Wolf	1	*3%*			1	*<0.1%*
Dog or fox	1	*3%*			1	*<0.1%*
Caribou	**17**	***3%***	**19**	***1.1%***	**36**	***1.6%***
Whale	**2**	***0.3%***	**2**	***0.1%***	**4**	***0.2%***
Rodent			**2**	***0.1%***	**2**	***0.1%***
Vole sp.			2	*100%*	2	*0.1%*
Bear	**1**	***0.1%***		***0%***	**1**	***<0.1%***
Indeterminate	**210**	***36.5%***	**305**	***18.4%***	**515**	***22.6%***
Bivalve	**12**	***2%***	**10**	***0.6%***	**22**	***1%***
Mussel	12	*100%*	10	*100%*	22	*1%*
Bird		***0%***	**14**	***0.6%***	**14**	***0.6%***
Duck sp.			3	*21.4%*	3	*0.1%*
Ptarmigan			1	*7.1%*	1	*<0.1%*
Indeterminate			10	*71.4%*	10	*0.4%*
Gastropod	**7**	***1.2%***	**1**	***0.1%***	**8**	***0.4%***
Snail	7	*100%*	1	*100%*	8	*0.4%*
Indeterminate		***0%***	**6**	***0.3%***	**6**	***0.3%***
Grand Total	**595**	***26.1%***	**1688**	***73.9%***	**2283**	***100%***

6.2.1.1 Seal

Seal remains account for 70% of the faunal assemblage and 90.4% of fauna identified to the level of order or lower. Nearly a quarter couldn't be identified beyond the general category of seal, but those that were show a heavy reliance on three species common to the region. Ringed, harp, and harbour seals account for all but one of the identifiable seal remains with ringed seal being the most dominant species. Only a single example of a fourth species, hooded seal, was firmly identified. Little can be said about the age of the seals when killed except that immature remains account for 6.5% of the total amount and foetal/neonatal and juvenile less than 1% when combined. The problem is that only in the case of ringed seals could an age group be linked to a single species; the rest could belong to two or more. The distribution and seasonal patterns of each species are unique, yet all are present during the time that people would have lived in winter settlements and, according to local accounts, were still found near Double Mer Point in the 1970s and 1990s (Ames 1977; Woollett 2003).

Ringed seal is the smallest, most widespread seal species in the region, and the most common seal found associated with House 3. The range of ringed seal habitat located near Double Mer Point would have likely made ringed seal available year-round. In the winter ringed seals separate into two distinct groups. The mature males and females turn to the fast ice that forms at Double Mer, Backway, the northern shore of Groswater Bay, and eastern Lake Melville where they scrape out breathing holes and live under the ice. The immature and smaller mature individuals take to open water and pack ice areas (Ames 1977; Woollett 2003:220-221). In modern times, the hunting of ringed seal in the winter is done on open water from boats and along the floe edge, while in the spring it

centers on birthing dens and the seals that bask on the nearby ice (Ames 1977:287; Woollett 2003:221). Of the seal remains that could be confidently identified as ringed seal, 4.6% were immature. The presence of both mature and immature remains suggests past strategies for hunting ringed seal resembled modern ones by targeting open water and local fast ice areas depending on the season.

Harbour seals live in both fresh and salt water and are found in concentrations throughout the region at all times of year (Ames 1977:298). In the 1970s, locals listed the spots harbour seals favour as the channel of Groswater Bay in the spring or fall and the floe edge between Black Island and Little Black Island in the winter (Ames 1977:298).

The movements of harp seals differ from that of ringed and harbour seals in that it is governed by their annual migrations that follow the Labrador coast. In the spring, migrating harp seals making their way north would arrive in the Rigolet area in May and June and then again in December and January as they migrated south (Ames 1977:287). An exception to this seasonal variation is found in the area between Black Island and Little Black Island where the formation of the *sina* provides habitat for all three species. Hunters make use of the favourable conditions and hunt from the floe edge in the winter (Ames 1977:287, 298; Woollett 2003:220-224).

6.2.1.2 Canids

Although significantly fewer in number than seal, canid remains are the second most frequent in the assemblage with 76 bone fragments (3.3% of the faunal assemblage). The majority are dog, but fox (including arctic fox) and possibly wolf are also represented. Unlike other animals in the faunal assemblage, the primary importance of

these canine species to the people of House 3 would not have been as a source of food. The principal value of dogs were as animals of traction, although in exceptional circumstances they also became a source of food. The dog remains of House 3 likely represent a larger population kept at the site for travel by *komatik* (sled), a means of transportation supported by the whale bone shoes found. Fox were likely hunted for their fur, for either personal use or trade. Fox fur was used for clothing in historic times, such as for caps (Hawkes 2015 [1916]:52), but was also one of many furbearing animals targeted by trappers once the fur trade was established in the Rigolet area (Ames 1977).

6.2.1.4 Caribou

Caribou is the third most represented animal accounting for less than 1.6% of the faunal assemblage. Prized for its meat and extremely insulating fur, caribou was an important part of Inuit subsistence in the past and continues to hold an important role in Inuit culture despite a significant reduction in herd numbers since the 1990s and an ongoing hunting ban in Labrador. In Hamilton Inlet, there are four main herds of caribou, two of which are near Double Mer Point (Fitzhugh 1972:21). The largest herd is based in the Mealy Mountains where residents from the Rigolet area would hunt caribou from seasonal cabins until hunting was banned in the 1960s (Ames 1977; Fitzhugh 1977:21). The second herd is smaller and traditionally located north of Groswater Bay. Like the caribou of the Mealy Mountains, it follows a seasonal pattern of summering near the coast and wintering inland (Ames 1977:293; Fitzhugh 1972:21). Traditionally, the northern herd was hunted by residents of Double Mer and Groswater Bay. The vicinity of the herd to Double Mer Point would have made caribou a reliable source of food and fur

if they followed a similar pattern when the site was occupied. The Double Mer barrens just north of Double Mer are believed to be where the caribou wintered and accounts of caribou occasionally crossing the ice near Pompey and Big Island would have put the herd movements within 30 km of Double Mer Point (Ames 1977:293; Fitzhugh 1972:21).

6.2.1.5 Additional Mammals

Only small numbers of other mammals were found. They include: four whale bone fragments (0.2% of the total faunal assemblage), two vole bones recovered from the midden (0.1% of the total faunal assemblage), and a single bear femur (<0.1% of the total faunal assemblage). The low representation of these animals in the assemblage can be attributed to more than just the hunting practices of the Inuit who occupied House 3.

The whale bone is only a small portion of the total whale bone from House 3 because they are the only four pieces that were not worked. The importance of whale bone as a workable yet strong material meant most would have been used or traded for consumption in foreign markets where it was in demand, like Europe. The lack of whale bone does not necessarily mean that they were not hunted, but it is less likely considering the focus on seal. Trade with other Inuit is a more likely source for the majority of whale bone from House 3, though some was likely scavenged from dead whales or salvaged from larger items.

The context of the vole remains within the midden suggests they were a product of scavenging activities and likely do not represent food refuse. The food waste that accumulated around the house would have drawn in rodents and dogs. Gnaw marks likely from these animals are visible on roughly 200 bone fragments.

The single bear femur may be from a polar bear or black bear. Both are native to Labrador, but polar bears are generally found farther north while black bears are common in Hamilton Inlet and continue to be hunted in the area (Ames 1977). Cut marks indicate it was likely butchered for food.

6.2.1.6 Bivalve, Bird, and Gastropod

A secondary grouping of animals based on their low numbers includes mussels, multiple species of bird, and snails. They are the smallest animals in the assemblage, but their importance to Inuit diet is likely not accurately represented because their remains do not preserve well in local soils. The seasonal occupation of House 3 and the availability of mussels throughout the year may also be factors in the low representation of mussels.

Presently, mussels are abundant on the rocks found in the intertidal zone immediately south of the site and to the east and west. The 22 fragments (1 % of the total faunal assemblage) that were collected is only a fraction of what was encountered during excavation of House 3. In every case only the periostracum (the outside skin of the shell) were left, and often they were deteriorated too far to consider collecting them to be measured. However, the volume of mussel remains suggest mussels were an important food source while the house was occupied. Fitzhugh (1972) believed they were collected from roughly March to mid-September but based on personal observations in February that window could be extended to include the entire year. Even in the winter the strong tides leave the rocky shore ice-free and exposed at low tide. The same can be said for snails (or whelks), though to a lesser extent. They occupy the deeper waters just outside

of the intertidal zone making them more difficult to gather in large numbers. The eight opercula that were collected suggest they too were a food source.

Bird remains are also likely underrepresented because of the poor preservation at the site and the delicate nature of their bones. They were found exclusively in the midden deposits and represent at least two species. The availability of duck would have depended on their fall and spring migrations. The ptarmigan represented was likely hunted during the fall or winter (Ames 1977).

6.2.2 Animal Resources Discussion

From the first modern archaeological research in Hamilton Inlet came a description of Inuit settlement and subsistence specific to the region. It outlined a system heavily focused on marine resources that also made use of the wider coastal environment.

> Winter ice-hunting techniques are used as well as open-water sealing in the Narrows. Caribou hunting is an important source of clothing and a secondary source of food, but this hunting is done in the coastal environment and not deep in the interior. Fish, migratory birds, berries, and small game are also important seasonally. Sea mammals play the dominant role in the economy throughout the year. Sina hunting for seal and walrus was important during the winter, and use was undoubtedly made of the fall and spring harp seal migrations. The settlement pattern common to Modified-Maritime systems involved large, relatively permanent winter settlements in the Narrows and smaller, seminomadic summer occupations in eastern Lake Melville and Groswater Bay.
>
> (Fitzhugh 1972:161)

Many of the seasonal resources listed above can be seen in the faunal assemblage of House 3. The importance of seal is apparent, as is the continued dependence on caribou, small game, and migratory birds. The faunal assemblage also reflects the circumstances of the historic period which saw changes to animal ranges and the settlement and subsistence strategies of Inuit. When House 3 was occupied Hamilton Inlet

may have still been called the place of the walrus, but seal was the most important animal for Inuit who lived there in the 18th century.

6.2.2.1 Distribution

The distribution of animal remains reflects the normal human factors that influenced the accumulation of refuse in and around sod houses when they were occupied. It also reflects the post-depositional processes specific to House 3 that affected the placement and preservation of refuse after it was abandoned. Only a small portion of the total remains were collected from the house interior, most were located around the perimeter (Figure 6.13).

Over 74% of the faunal assemblage originates from only four midden units east of the house. Since the area around the house would have been a convenient place to discard refuse cleaned from inside, as well as refuse produced outside the house, the deep deposits of bone come as no surprise. When the walls collapsed, some of these midden deposits mixed with structural stones creating a jumble of mixed contexts in some areas just inside the house. This situation is most pronounced near the *katak* where a large accumulation of refuse would have made passage through the narrow tunnel impossible. It also occurred at the rear of the house, but there it is possible some of the bones were wedged into the walls from the inside. As a general seating area near the two hearths of the house, the material would be at hand.

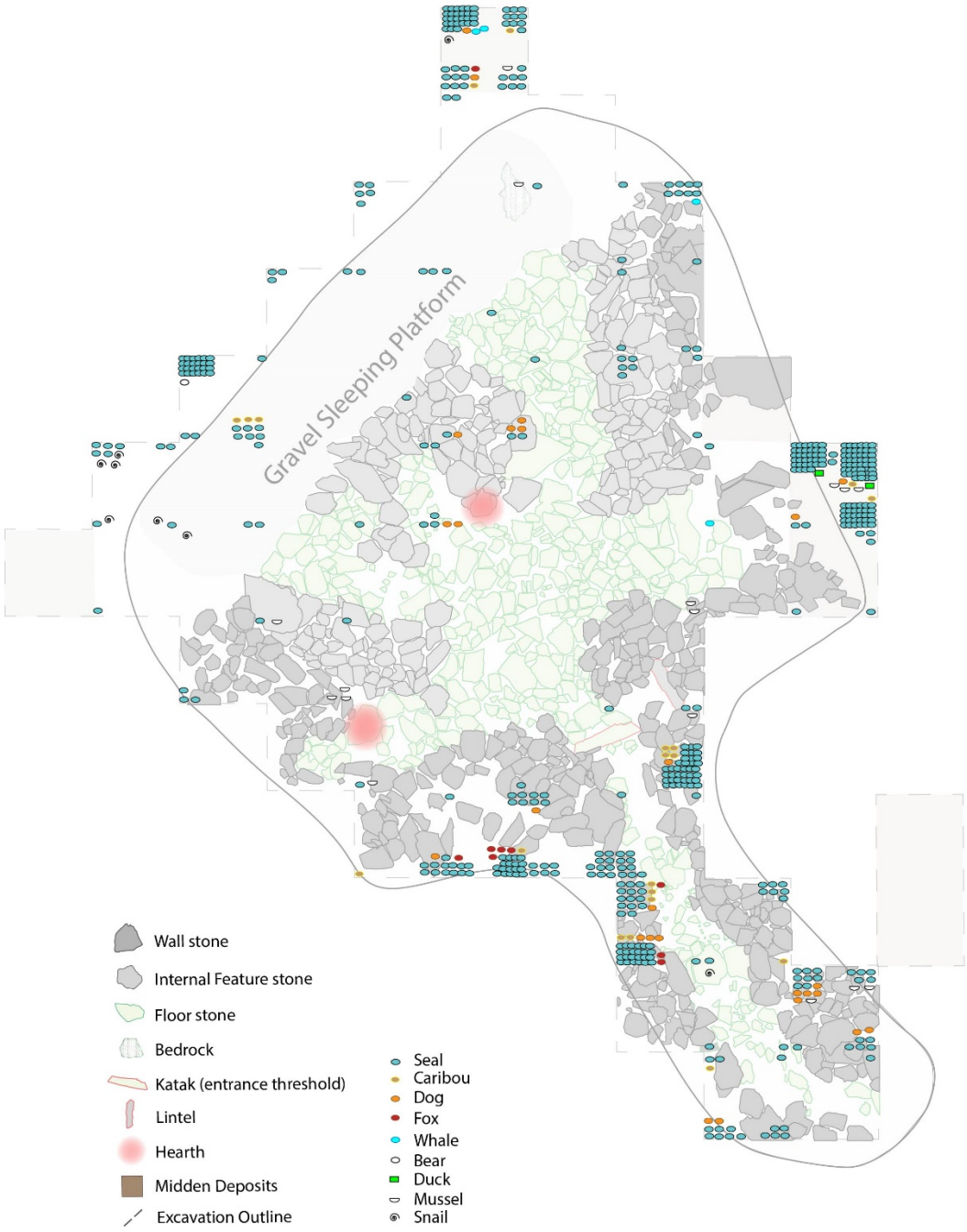

Figure 6.13 Distribution of House 3 faunal remains.

Only a small amount of fauna was recovered from within the house. Most was located on the sleeping platform and features at the rear, with only a small amount found on the floor. The faunal remains from House 3 reported by Elliott (2017), which include those recovered through the fine screening of soil samples, follow a similar patterning to the larger assemblage. A total of 213 specimens originated from the context of the house: 73 from near the wall in the northeast corner of the house, and only three from the floor near the center of the house. The remaining 137 specimens came from a single unit near the south end of the entrance tunnel. Both human activity and poor preservation are believed to have created this patterning. The placement of a boulder in the entrance tunnel suggests a purposeful abandonment took place, as does the fact that there were no complete vessels or objects left behind for re-occupation. The scattered distribution of the artifacts suggests the preparations for leaving House 3 included a cleaning of its interior. The lack of animal remains inside the house support a cleaning episode did occur as it would have relocated a significant amount of material to outside the house. Bones left on the floor would have been trampled and broken by people's movements inside the house unlike those on the internal features. The post-depositional processes that affected the interior of House 3 would have then had a greater impact on the fragmented bones located on the floor. Due to the house construction, water that drains from the high ground behind the house flows south over the bedrock which is directly beneath the floor. Exposure to this wet environment over multiple seasons would have accelerated the decomposition of organic materials. Those on the bench and features would have escaped the water giving them a greater chance to survive. Those bones that were left inside the house did not preserve as well as those in the outside middens.

The distribution of faunal remains makes it difficult to tie any species to a specific location or activity. There are areas where some species are concentrated, such as the fox remains in the southwest corner of the excavation, but overall there are none that stand out. Seal is ubiquitous, and all other species are found in more than one location. Also, the vast majority of animal remains are located no farther than a meter and a half from the house walls. The only exception is the concentrations of dog and seal bones located on and near the central feature. It can't be said for certain they represent animals that were eaten, but their presence near the hearth area cannot be a coincidence. Their placement coincides closely with the charred fat recorded on the stones which supports the interpretation it was an area where food was prepared.

6.2.2.2 Character

The main value of the faunal assemblage is that it lends another layer to the interpretation of House 3 to be used in conjunction to the artifact assemblage and house architecture. Like the artifact assemblage and house architecture, the faunal assemblage has its limitations, the greatest being the small size of some bones and the degree to which all bones were affected by preservation at the site. For example, fish hooks were found in House 3, but fish bones were not. Rock cod (sculpin) was likely jigged for through the ice just as it was farther to the north (Taylor 1974:36), as well as trout and tom cod, but the bones did not preserve if they were. However, the faunal assemblage also brings new information that extends beyond the identification of animals.

In recent years seal remains have come to be viewed as an indicator of more than just a resource hunted for food, oil, and skins as their presence has been cited as evidence

of agency and identity. For example, Beaudoin et al. (2010) suggests that the proportion of seal remains in the faunal assemblages of sod houses can act as an indicator of ethnicity when it comes to differentiating between European, Inuit, and Inuit-Métis households. If seal is the most represented animal and there are few or no domesticates, then the household is likely one of the latter two (Beaudoin et al. 2010). More applicable to House 3 though, is the practice of concentrated seal hunting during the 18th and 19th centuries (Woollett 2007). Seal accounts for 90% of the identifiable remains associated with House 3 which brings it close to other Inuit sites in Hamilton Inlet from the late 18th to mid 19th century that average 95% (Brandy 2013:336). Perhaps with a stable supply of seal in the Narrows, Inuit had the freedom to participate with the emerging economy on their own terms (Brandy 2013a).

6.3 Conclusion

When Double Mer Point was first investigated House 3 was categorized as a large multifamily house of the late 18th century. The analysis of the artifacts and faunal remains confirm the house was likely occupied at the end of the 18th century, but also suggests that it was abandoned in the first decade of the 19th century. At present, the possible occupation period is 1760 to 1810. How long the house was occupied, and whether its occupation was continuous remains unknown. What is apparent, is that the Inuit occupants of House 3 participated in the intensified trade and sealing activities of the time.

House 3 was occupied when merchants began to establish operations in Hamilton Inlet, and the number of trade goods found indicate its occupants made use of their

services. Trade goods would have still flowed through informal channels either with other Inuit groups or seasonal sailors, however formal trade was available and welcomed. In total, imported goods make up more than 90% of artifacts associated with the Inuit component of the site. Most are items common to 18th- and early 19th-century Inuit households such as glass beads, nails, pipes, and ceramics. Yet, there is also evidence of items that were more difficult to acquire. Firearms are represented by gunflints and lead projectiles; nets by lead weights; boats by a sailmaker's thimble and block and tackle pieces. If taken at face value, the incorporation of these goods into every aspect of daily life was a significant development, and in some cases this is true. Firearms, nets, and wooden boats with sails were additions to the Inuit toolkit that changed Inuit life through both their functional and prestigious value. However, these items are outnumbered by the European items which replaced items traditionally made from local materials. Trade was an integral part of Inuit life in Hamilton Inlet from the time Inuit arrived, and the high proportion of goods demonstrate how it intensified at the end of the 18th century.

The faunal assemblage demonstrates a similar intensification. Seal was the focus of a subsistence strategy that continued to make use of both marine and terrestrial resources available in Hamilton Inlet. Caribou was likely hunted north or east of Double Mer, small mammals and birds on the surrounding hills and nearby islands, mussels and snails in the intertidal zones, and migratory birds when they frequented the area. However, with seal accounting for 90.4 % of identifiable fauna, the importance of nearby seal habitat cannot be overstated. Full use was made of the open waters and ice edge of the Narrows, as well as the fast ice of Double Mer. Harvesting such high numbers of seal puts the hunting activities of those who lived in House 3 in line with other sites in

Hamilton Inlet, as well as those in other parts of Labrador (Brandy 2013a; Woollett 2007).

The typical nature of House 3 only comes into question when the artifact and faunal assemblages are considered beside the house itself. On the one hand, the size of House 3 demonstrates a certain degree of conformity with housing practices of the period. It is semi-subterranean and large, which fits with the intensification of sealing and trade demonstrated by the amount of trade goods and seal remains. However, the internal layout of House 3 suggests it was housed by only two families, each with their own space organized in the manner of a single-family home. Small beads not moved far from where they fell suggest the bench was the main sleeping and sitting area, and that it was partitioned into two sections. This difference in design seems minor, until what it represents is considered.

7. **House 3: Big House, Big Ideas**

One of the major themes to overcome in the archaeological research of Labrador Inuit history is the lingering perception of uniformity. When the first serious research began to piece together the history of the Labrador Inuit, academics took a generalized view of history that was necessary to identify long term changes (see Bird 1945; Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Schledermann 1972). They found those changes were visible in the designs of sod winter houses, and believed each different design represented a different period. The ideal communal house of the 18th century was represented by the design of House 8 from Ikkusik with its central communal area, three sleeping platforms, and multiple lamp stands. The reasons behind the use of these large multifamily houses has received a considerable amount of attention from researchers (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Murphy 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1972, 1976a, 1976b; Taylor 1976; Whitridge 2008; Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007; Woollett and Kaplan 2000), and through this body of research much has been learned about the reasons Inuit chose to live in communal houses. However, the variety of communal house designs has been revisited only recently (Kaplan 2012; Murphy 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014). It is now clear there were many communal house designs including those built for two families (Kaplan 2012). The design of House 3 at Double Mer Point likely represents one of many alternative strategies Inuit used to deal with life in Hamilton Inlet during the late 18th century and early 19th century.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first is devoted to the discussion of House 3 – its construction, the interpretation of its design, and how that relates to what is known of Inuit households during the last quarter of the 18th century. The section that follows discusses how that interpretation fits within the wider context of Double Mer Point as a winter community. Although there are two neighbouring houses, the section primarily compares House 3 to House 2. Partly because they are side by side, but also because the analysis of House 1 is not yet published. The final section discusses why the internal layout of House 3 differs from other two-family Inuit winter houses previously recorded in Labrador.

7.1 House 3: Expansion of the Narrative

Although noted in early research (Bird 1945), not much is known about Inuit winter houses designed for two families. This is in part due to the approach early researchers took to interpreting the variation they saw in winter houses (see Chapter 4). Focus was on the creation of a culture-history, and so little attention was given to variability once it was determined houses grew and diminished in size in a linear fashion. For decades this meant two-family houses were believed to have come either before or after the large multifamily houses designed for three or more families.

New research in Labrador (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Murphy 2011, 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014; Rankin 2015) has demonstrated that Inuit housing throughout the early contact period was far from uniform, and that the design and use of a house can provide insight into more than just a house's age, as it is a reflection of the occupants identity and how they organized certain aspects of their lives. In the wake of

this research there has been a noticeable revision to the narrative of 18th-century housing. In Kaplan's classic housing model (Kaplan 1983) houses with two sleeping platforms (two-family households) were confined to the 17th century. She now includes them as a variant of 18th-century housing styles (Kaplan 2012:23-25).

7.1.1 18th-Century Inuit Households

The fascination with communal houses in Labrador has been discussed at length in multiple sections of this thesis (2.3 and 4.2.3). What hasn't been discussed is how this fascination has shaped the perception of the communal winter house.

The establishment of an Inuit coastal trade network by the 18th century is a widely-accepted fact. Inuit-procured commodities like oil and baleen were exchanged for European goods, which were then disseminated to Inuit communities along the Labrador coast (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985; Taylor 1976). Jordan (1978) and Taylor (1976) shared the belief that the wealth and prestige that Inuit middlemen were able to accrue through their trading activities led to the development of large communal households in the 18th century. Despite much of the power resting with the head of the household, the living arrangement was mutually beneficial. Those who joined the household would gain access to the wealth and power of the house leader, and in turn the leader would have a greater labour pool to further their interests. Although middlemen are not believed to be the only agents of change in Kaplan and Woollett's (2000) explanation for the rise of communal houses, they were likely major actors in activities important to Labrador Inuit. The accumulation of wealth, polygynous unions, and whaling enterprises may all be linked to these influential entrepreneurs. As Taylor

(1976:6-7) notes, the benefits of association with these powerful individuals would have been strong incentive for Inuit to move into their households. However, there is still ambiguity as to what the household of an Inuit middleman would have looked like as little is known about the composition of a typical winter household.

The historical documents of the Moravian missionaries remain the primary source of information for Inuit living arrangements in the late 18th century. Study of their records suggest the most common household was composed of a male patriarch and his sons with their wives and children (Taylor 1974:74). There was of course some degree of fluidity to households. To become part of a household one didn't need to be part of the immediate family, a desire to join was enough (Taylor 1976:7). Furthermore, there is no specific reference in the literature connecting the male patriarch with the influential middlemen of the time; it appears they are often just treated as one in the same. It is easy to see how a connection can be made between a household headed by a male patriarch and the typical layout of a communal house like House 8 from Ikkusik (Schledermann 1976a). Communal houses had separate areas for each family, but the internal layout was open. It is possible this layout worked to simultaneously reinforce the communal nature of the living arrangement and the authority of the individual it was centered on.

There are, however, other types of households listed in the Moravian records. They bear a noticeable emphasis on the male relationships and include: father-in-law and son-in-law, brother-in-law and brother-in-law, uncle and nephew, wife's uncle and niece's husband, and the cohabitation of two brothers, which was only slightly less common than households comprised of a father and his married sons (Taylor 1974:74-

75). It is reasonable to assume the difference in the composition of households would be reflected in the internal organization of the house.

7.1.2 The Household of House 3

The design of House 3 is different from the classic example of a communal house (Schledermann 1976a). It has only a single sleeping platform that runs the length of the rear wall and three internal features that divide the interior into separate areas. When the space inside the house is broken down into its principal components, two distinct areas emerge each containing the hearth, corridor, and sleeping platform found in early single-family homes. The northeast corner of the house is the location of one residential area, the other covers much of the west side of the house. Both are comparable in size to a single-family house (see Figure 5.14). In addition to the architecture of the house and the residue left from oil lamps, the distribution of beads seems to support the interpretation that the house was divided into two living compartments within one large house. The lack of any renovation to the house interior suggests House 3 was occupied by the same group of Inuit throughout its use.

The most likely explanation is that House 3 was built and occupied by two families. The fact that both living areas are equally accessible once the house is entered and each area occupies roughly the same amount of space suggests there was not a rigid hierarchy in the household with one family having more power than the other. There are some situations in which such an equal relationship may have existed. During the historic period in Greenland, Inuit families would sometimes extend between households within the same community. The household of an elderly father at the stage in his life when he

needed help with hunting was less hierarchical than that of his influential son in a neighbouring house (Grønnow 2018). A similar relationship may have existed at Double Mer Point between House 2 and House 3. As discussed below, House 2 has the hierarchal layout of a classic communal house, and both houses appear to be contemporaneous. Determining whether these living arrangements were present on the Labrador coast at the end of the 18th century, will require further research. For now, the list of relationships recorded by Moravian missionaries provides two types of households that would have also likely had a less rigid hierarchical structure. The shared living arrangements of two brothers or brothers-in-law seem the best fit for House 3 given its layout and what is known of Inuit households at the end of the 18th century.

7.2 Variation at Double Mer Point

For over 40 years the archaeological interpretation of Double Mer Point as a site remained static. The size of the sod winter houses, their shared row construction, and their similar age gave the community an air of uniformity. In turn, Double Mer Point was considered to be representative of Inuit life in Hamilton Inlet during the latter half of the 18th century. That is how Jordan treated the site when he excavated test pits in all three houses in the 1970s (Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980), how Kaplan saw it when she summarized the archaeological research of the site in her dissertation (Kaplan 1983), and how Woollett (1999, 2003) approached the site when he sampled the animal remains that had been discarded there during the span of its occupation.

With the excavation of all three houses it is clear they are far from uniform. There are differences in their age, associated material culture, construction, and internal

organization. The two most closely related houses are House 2 and House 3 having likely been built and abandoned at the same time, which makes their differences stand out even more. House 2 was built with the layout of a classic communal house and House 3 was not. The number of families who lived in each house, and their associated wealth, can account for some differences between the houses. However, these factors fall short of fully explaining the motivations behind the internal organization of House 3.

7.2.1 The Community of Double Mer Point: Houses 1, 2, and 3

Before the 2014, 2015, and 2016 excavations at Double Mer Point uncovered the remains of all three houses, there was little indication they would vary as much as they do. Preliminary testing of the houses in 2014 hinted at differences in the amount and type of materials that each house contained, but what was visible of the houses from the surface continued to suggest a uniform community comprised of three contiguous semi-subterranean houses. While the occupation periods for the three houses likely overlap during the second half of the 18th century and a small number of years at the start of the 19th century, Houses 2 and 3 are more closely associated with one another than they are with House 1.

With an occupation period that extends past the War of 1812, House 1 has the most complex history of the winter houses at Double Mer Point. Because the analysis of House 1 is incomplete, it is unclear when it was constructed. The house foundation, separate from the overlapping foundation of Houses 2 and 3, only indicates that it is unlikely all three houses were built at the same time. The date range for House 1 artifacts, which begins around 1750 (Laurence Pouliot, personal communication 2019), suggests

House 1 was the first house to be built. If so, House 1 may have been occupied for up to ten years before other Inuit arrived to expand the community and build Houses 2 and 3. Despite these uncertainties surrounding the formation of Double Mer Point as a community, the artifact assemblage of House 1 makes the dissolution of the community much simpler. Military artifacts from the War of 1812 are proof the occupation of House 1 outlasted those of Houses 2 and 3. It extended well into the 19th century, at least past 1830 (Laurence Pouliot, personal communication 2019).

At some point before or after the occupants of House 2 and 3 left Double Mer Point, House 1 was altered. Its walls were modified and features regularly attributed to Inuit houses of the 19th and 20th centuries were added. Wood floor planking was installed in the entrance passage, and a stone platform believed to have been constructed for the purpose of supporting a wood stove was built (Laurence Pouliot, personal communication 2019). It is possible these changes to the layout of House 1 reflect a European influence at the site that is visible in the archaeological record, perhaps the union between a European man and an Inuit woman. Such arrangements began to occur near the end of the 18th century (Campbell 2000; Way 2014; Stopp 2014). More likely, however, is that the house was home to a high-status Inuk, possibly the head of the community. When military artifacts such as those found in House 1 have been recovered at other sites they are often interpreted as prestigious artifacts (see Fay 2016). There is no obvious function for the multiple shako plates of House 1 except as displays of wealth. Many small silver sequins that were found in soil samples from the interior of House 1 are evidence of at least one other decorative item of European manufacture (Dierdre Elliott, personal communication 2019). Though they have not been recorded at other Inuit sites, they likely originate from

a decorated piece of clothing. Traditional Inuit talismans exclusive to House 1 also support the hypothesis that it was a wealthy household. They include a miniature ivory knife, a stylized carving of a whale, and a miniature iron *ulu*. Lastly, the presence of European design features in House 1, the wooden floor in the passage and the wood stove, also suggest a high-status household. Inuit desired these features soon after they were introduced, but only the wealthiest Inuit had the means to acquire them (Kleivan 1966).

The occupation of House 2 is much simpler and more closely aligned with House 3. It was built in the latter half of the 18th century, around 1760, and likely abandoned before or slightly after 1800 (Bohms 2015:132). It does not have any of the architectural features of 19th-century Inuit homes, and is the closest example of a typical communal house at the site. Although smaller than Houses 1 and 3, it is believed to have housed four families based on the presence of multiple hearths and sleeping platforms found on the three interior walls (Bohms 2015:77). In terms of the order of house construction, it seems House 2 and House 3 were built at the same time, most likely after House 1. Unlike the foundation of House 1 that is separate from that of its neighbouring house (see Figure 5.4), the intermingled foundations of Houses 2 and 3 clearly show they were constructed together.

7.2.2 House 2 and 3 Comparison

Built, occupied, and likely abandoned at the same time, Houses 2 and 3 provide clear evidence of household variation during the 18th century. Having a second house at Double Mer Point so closely associated with House 3 also makes it possible to compare

the interiors of both houses to further the interpretation of House 3. Their overlapping foundations and contemporary occupations suggest the Inuit of the two households were close. Having chosen to live together in the community they would have participated in the activities typical of winter communal living. In the case of Double Mer Point, like other 18th-century Inuit communities, sealing was a principal component of winter life. The seal remains from House 2 account for over 85% of the identifiable fauna recovered from inside the house (Bohms 2015:147), a number very close to the 81.3% from the interior of House 3. In contrast, the artifacts and construction of the houses highlight the differences that existed between the two households.

Architecture

An obvious difference between House 2 and House 3 is the size of the floor stones they are constructed with. It is a difference not easily qualified (or quantified for that matter), but apparent nonetheless when seen first hand. The stones used to pave the floor of House 2 are larger than those of House 3 and work together to create a cleaner looking final product. The intrusive bedrock below House 3 may have necessitated the use of smaller stones as large stones may have raised the floor of House 3 to a height inefficient for heating the house. The small stones may have been sourced to build a floor that would correct for the inconsistencies of the bedrock. Alternatively, it is possible the best stones were intentionally chosen for the construction of House 2. If construction began on House 2 before House 3, then the builders may have chosen to use the best materials first. There also remains the possibility that the builders of House 2 had first choice of materials for reasons related to their status or some other unknown factor.

Material Culture

The artifacts recovered from House 2 and House 3 demonstrate that the differences between the households extend beyond the construction of their homes. There are differences in the types of artifacts, as well as the total number of artifacts recovered from each house. The number of people thought to have lived in each household accounts for some of the discrepancies, but not all. Differential access to goods, wealth, and choice are factors also represented in the artifact assemblages.

A clear difference between the material culture of House 2 and that of House 3 is the number of artifacts in each assemblage. A total of 2276 artifacts associated with the Inuit occupation of the site were recovered from the combined 2013 and 2014 excavations of House 2, 188 more than the 2088 artifacts recovered from the block excavation of House 3. The difference in artifact totals seems minor until the numbers are adjusted to account for the size of the houses and the level of excavation each house received. House 2 was not completely excavated. The artifacts were recovered from a 47.5 m^2 excavation area which left a portion of the east wall and bench untouched (Bohms 2015:70). The block excavation of House 3 was greater at 60 m^2. When the artifact totals are divided by the number of m^2 excavated, the resulting number is 48 artifacts per m^2 for House 2 and 35 artifacts per m^2 for House 3. This translates to a 31% difference in artifact density between the two houses. Such a comparison seems valid given that both houses were likely cleaned before they were abandoned, and that the excavations of both houses were conducted with the same methods only one year apart. The significant difference in the number of artifacts from Houses 2 and 3 suggests the

dimensions of the houses had little to do with the amount of goods accumulated by their occupants.

The number of people per household is likely part of the reason there is a difference in artifact totals. After all, a larger group of people should collectively leave more cultural material in the archaeological record if their daily lives are similar. However, that line of reasoning works only if each household had equal access to goods. During the second half of the 18th century, European trade goods were still limited and their distribution uneven. If wealth in the form of material goods was concentrated within communal houses, it stands to reason there would be visible differences between households within the same community. The number and types of artifacts from House 2 suggest it was a wealthier household than House 3. Nails and beads make up the majority of the assemblages from Houses 2 and 3, and both houses share many other types of items including: ceramics, glass fragments, knives/ulus, fishing gear, firearms gear, pipes, *komatik* (sled) parts, tools made of whale bone, and other items (Table 7.1). Differences emerge between the assemblages with the items that either display wealth through their decoration or those that may have held a level of prestige based on their level of difficulty to acquire.

Table 7.1 Artifacts recovered from both House 2 and House 3.

Artifact Type	House 2		House 3	
	Count	%(assemblage)	Count	%(assemblage)
House Construction	**656**	***28.8***	**508**	***24.3***
Mattock	1	*<0.1*	1	*<0.1*
Nail / Spikes	612	*26.9*	477	*22.8*
Window Glass	43	*1.9*	30	*1.4*
Food Preparation and Consumption	**180**	***7.9***	**128**	***6.1***
Bottle glass	10	*0.4*	10	*0.5*
Ceramic Fragments	160	*7.0*	112	*5.4*
Cutlery (Spoons of Forks)	3	*0.1*	1	*<0.1*
Kullik (Soapstone Lamp)	3	*0.1*	2	*0.1*
Soapstone vessel	4	*0.2*	3	*0.1*
Clothing	**702**	***30.8***	**896**	***42.9***
Beads	695	*30.5*	886	*42.4*
Button	1	*<0.1*	2	*0.1*
Tailors thimble	1	*<0.1*	2	*0.1*
Woven cloth fragments	5	*0.2*	6	*0.3*
Recreation	**50**	***2.2***	**59**	***2.8***
Clay Pipe fragments	50	*2.2*	59	*2.8*
Transportation	**1**	***<0.1***	**2**	***0.1***
Sled shoe	1	*<0.1*	2	*0.1*
Hunting / Conflict	**42**	***1.8***	**49**	***2.3***
Fish hooks	7	*0.3*	6	*0.3*
Gunflints	15	*0.7*	13	*0.6*
Lead Net Weights	4	*0.2*	4	*0.2*
Lead Projectiles	9	*0.4*	25	*1.2*
Projectile Points	7	*0.3*	1	*<0.1*
Tools and Manufacturing	**51**	***2.2***	**52**	***2.5***
Brick / Tile	33	*1.4*	33	*1.6*
Knives	12	*0.5*	9	*0.4*
Punch or Drill	1	*<0.1*	1	*<0.1*
Pyrite Balls	2	*0.1*	5	*0.2*
Ulus*	2	*0.1*	2	*0.1*
Whetstone	1	*<0.1*	2	*0.1*
Grand Total	**1682**	***73.9***	**1694**	***81.1***

*Ulus from House 2 are tentatively identified as such

There were more prestigious items found in House 2 than House 3, as well as greater variety in the types of items represented. A single spoon bowl likely used for personal decoration was found in House 3; two were found in House 2. More beads were collected from House 3, but a greater number of bead types were collected from House 2. House 2 also had a greater variety of clay pipes. Both had the standard white kaolin pipe varieties from northern Europe, but an Ottoman-style pipe called a *chibouk* was exclusive to House 2 (Bohms 2015:120-123). Its Mediterranean origins would have made it an oddity in Labrador and bestowed it with some degree of importance above the ubiquitous fixed-stem pipes produced in England, France, and the Netherlands. A gilded glass inset from a necklace or ring with a detailed design showing the crucifixion of Christ (Bohms 2015:101) has no equal in House 3. The intricate detail and distinct iconography would have surely been noticed and would have ensured it was a treasured item. Whether it was obtained through trade or other means, it was likely also associated with wealth and prestige just as the beads, spoon bowls, and *chibouk* pipe were.

The artifact assemblage of House 3 does include unique items not found in the other houses of Double Mer Point; however, most are common to Inuit sites in Labrador. The brass hair band, for example, is an item known to have been used regularly by Inuit women (Fay 2016). Similarly, at least five other jaw or mouth harps resembling the jaw harp of House 3 have been found in Inuit homes dated to the late 18th or early 19th centuries (Whitridge 2015:26). It seems the only artifacts unique to House 3 are functional in nature, such as the metal files, the saw, and the plumb bob. Except for the plumb bob, these items are mentioned as common trade items in historic documents (Stopp 2008; Taylor 1973). In the absence of any remarkable artifacts, the artifact

assemblage of House 3 has a utilitarian feel, particularly when compared to the artifact assemblages from the other houses at Double Mer Point.

The fact that Houses 2 and 3 were likely built at the same time suggests the Inuit who occupied them were close. Yet, differences between households did exist. The variety of artifacts and types of objects present in House 2 suggest that the occupants of House 2 had greater access to prestige items than the occupants of House 3. This interpretation supports the old assumption that a large household (in terms of people) is likely a prosperous one (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983; Taylor 1976). However, a difference in perceived wealth does not explain why House 3 was organized differently than House 2.

7.2.3 Variation Explanations

Variation between houses in the same community, or houses from different time periods, have been explained in numerous ways. Early research suggested that variation could be explained by access to the materials needed to build a house. Bird (1945:179) suggested that the availability of lumber was a contributing factor to large communal houses. While its true that the trees of Labrador provided a versatile material for building the frames of sod houses, it is unlikely that the availability of materials had any significant influence on the form of House 3. If anything, the wood used to build its frame was available to everyone at Double Mer Point. The stones and sod needed to build a winter house were also available. While it does seem as though the smallest stones were used to construct House 3, the size of stones did not prevent the builders from creating a

functional house. With all of the materials needed to build a house readily available, the design of House 3 must be due to other factors.

More recent interpretations of household variation suggest that the class or prestige of inhabitants influences the final form of a house. Believing those who were successful whalers would be able to invest more into their whale bone houses, Dawson (2001) entertained the idea that the variation he recorded in Thule houses may have been the result of wealth and status. Patton and Savelle (2006) bolster this argument by pointing out that the placement of whale bones in Thule houses held symbolic meaning. However, the Inuit of Double Mer Point were not whalers in the way the Thule were. Also, the materials used at the site for house construction were not difficult to obtain.

If one activity can be said to have taken the place of whaling among Labrador Inuit, and the associated prestige that came with it, it would be trade. Household success in the trade economy would explain why House 2, which contained far more prestigious items than House 3, was occupied by four families, and House 3 was occupied by just two families. Still, a lesser degree of success in the trade economy does not explain the internal layout of House 3. Other two-family house designs that have been recorded on the Labrador coast, none of which resemble the layout of House 3. Bird (1945) recorded a design that includes two platforms that angle away from one another with a hearth in between (see Figure 2.5), and a second design that has two platforms facing each other from opposite walls (Kaplan 2012). It would have been possible to construct either of these designs at Double Mer Point where House 3 was built, even with the bedrock on the east wall. But, the builders of House 3 chose a partitioned layout.

Resistance to European influence has also played a role in the design and use of Inuit housing. When Inuit chose to live in tents outside of Iqaluit in the 1950s rather than take part in the transformation of housing brought by the military base, resistance is believed to have been their motivation (Tester 2006:237). Similar motivations have been used to explain the congregation of Inuit families in communal houses during the 18th century. In addition to being an outward display of wealth and Inuitness, communal living simultaneously reinforced the traditional social bonds of the Labrador Inuit threatened by European religion and settlement (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). The size of House 3 suggests the two families who resided inside may have decided to also take part in the visible display of Inuitness and benefit from the economic and social stability a communal living arrangement provided. Such internal motivations are likely behind the design of House 3.

7.3 House 3: One Step Further

Inuit life was different in Hamilton Inlet than other parts on the coast. Inuit moved into the region sometime in the 16th or early 17th century (Ramsden and Rankin 2013) and over the next 200 years they participated in trade with European fishermen and whalers, as well as the more permanent merchants and sealers who came later. The proximity of Inuit to these European groups, and their willingness to interact with them, is something which differentiates Inuit of Hamilton Inlet from those who chose to remain farther north. Although there are no academic sources that state so, it is fair to assume their position fostered a sense of independence that grew as trade intensified.

Europeans began to expand northwards along the Labrador coast in the 18th century. Pierre Marcoux was trading in Hamilton Inlet in the 1740s (Bohms 2015:186) and Louis Fornel's men established some short-lived trading posts to further his interests near modern day Rigolet in 1743 (Miquelon 1974, 1979). Other Québec-based merchants were likely frequenting the area as well, but European trading and sealing posts stopped short of Hamilton Inlet until the years following the Treaty of Paris. In fact, Hamilton Inlet became something of a refuge for Inuit during the 18th century as it was peripheral to many of the colonial forces at work. It was located north of trade operations but south of the Moravian missions that were initiated among the Inuit in 1771. Concentrating their efforts on the north, the Moravians never got closer to Hamilton Inlet than Hopedale. Because Inuit moved freely along the coast, attacks on Inuit religious beliefs and social institutions would have been felt as keenly as the economic pressures of encroaching trade and sealing ventures, but both were kept at arms length from Hamilton Inlet. Moravians lamented that Inuit would travel to Hamilton Inlet and areas farther south to engage in European trade on their own terms (Rollmann 2011). Even Europeans travelled to Hamilton Inlet near the start of the 19th century to escape the colonial governments' influence (Campbell 2000). It is during this period that House 3 was built and occupied. Its design reflects a layered response in what might be considered independent conformity.

7.3.1 Cultural Production in House 3

Overt shamanistic practices, whaling efforts, displays of wealth, communal living, and the hunting of seal were not new activities to develop in Labrador, but many were

accelerated among the 18th-century Labrador Inuit. Kaplan and Woollett (2000) suggest that the heightened participation might be related to Inuit efforts to resist pressures imposed on Inuit society by Europeans. This theory for Inuit behavior suggests that it was in the practice of these activities that Inuit saw the means to preserve their culture. However, the level that households, families, and individuals participated in these activities would have varied. House 3 suggests the design of a sod winter house can display an Inuit household's participation in these cultural practices at two levels: the external house and the internal house.

The participation of the occupants of House 3 in the accelerated activities associated with communal living seems to lie somewhere between conforming and not. On one level, the household participated in the activities of trade and seal hunting common at the time. Their house is large and multifamily, two aspects of housing that align with the practices of communal seal hunting and trade. In contrast, the interior suggests the participation of the families strayed from the accepted idea that living within a multifamily house meant everything was communal. The two families that occupied House 3 certainly shared some level of connection, but how they organized their internal space suggests they still saw a degree of separation along familial lines that is more divisive than other two-family house designs. The design of the house would have perpetuated this separation as they lived within it. Their more intimate level of cultural production may have been made possible in part by the independent nature of Inuit in Hamilton Inlet.

7.3.2 Regional Implications: Hamilton Inlet

If it is accepted that the interior of a winter sod house reflects not only the number of families in a household but also the way in which they chose to organize that household, then it may be possible to reconstruct the movements of specific households based on the design of winter sod houses. Doing so, however, would likely only be possible if a household moved frequently and/or there was little change to the status or composition of the household. If this were the case for the households of Double Mer Point, the lingering questions of where they came from, and where they settled after they left, may be answered. Research of house designs may also help reveal whether Eskimo Island, Snooks Cove, Double Mer Point, and the newly identified site of Palliser's Point were occupied simultaneously, as Bohms' (2015) suggests they may have been during the late 18th century.

Considering past research of Inuit winter sites in Hamilton Inlet, it seems House 3 is somehow connected to Houses 5 and 6 at Eskimo Island 2. Jordan had trouble placing them in his chronology of Inuit occupation in Hamilton Inlet because he found their interiors to be divided into two rooms by an internal wall (Jordan 1974:85, 1978:181). House 3 does not have an interior wall, but its internal layout suggests a similar division of space within the house. Neither House 5 nor House 6 was completely excavated making it difficult to draw any definitive connections that could be supported by the distribution of artifacts or the placement of internal features. However, it is conceivable that the same household moved between the two locations.

If the design of house interiors were as significant to the occupants as I suspect they were, they may be a useful tool for understanding the movements of Inuit in Hamilton Inlet and other parts of the Labrador coast.

7.3.3 Larger Implications

Moving beyond Hamilton Inlet research on House 3 can provide insight for future work focused on Inuit housing in the past. On the most basic level, House 3 is an example of household variation within an Inuit community. Differences may also be present at other Inuit winter communities composed of closely-associated sod houses.

In the past, the interiors of Labrador Inuit houses were not often the focus of archaeological research and so there is certainly potential for other examples of variation in Inuit households to be uncovered. It may even be possible to link other types of households listed in historic documents to specific houses.

A second way in which House 3 can provide insight for future research is by providing an example of a two-family Inuit sod house. Until quite recently two-family sod houses occupied a very ambiguous place in Labrador Inuit history. Moravian documents list two-family households as a common arrangement in their 18th-century census data (Taylor 1974), but until House 3 was fully excavated there was not a well-documented example of a two-family household from the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It is possible that two-family houses of other designs might date to earlier and later periods, but this will only be determined with further research. What is important now is that House 3 is proof that the size of a sod house does not always reflect the size of the household. This is an important point to consider in future research because of how it

can influence the interpretation of Inuit sod houses. For one, two-family houses will likely have fewer artifacts than houses with three or more families due to differences in the number of people and possible discrepancies in wealth. Large communal houses are believed to have been the product of influential individuals, so they would presumably have more artifacts. In dealing with such discrepancies, a clear picture of how the house interior was organized may make the difference when it comes to understanding a site.

Lastly, there is a hope that future research will tackle the burdensome task of re-evaluating past classifications of Inuit sod houses in Labrador. If the size or composition of households in any way reflects larger economic and social choices – e.g. participation in trade, hunting strategies, or other shared activities – then revisiting assumptions about houses that have been classified in the past seems to be the next logical step of research. An approach which focuses on the interior of houses would be beneficial for the reinterpretation of known Inuit sites. It would require more work overall, but is likely the only approach that will allow for a narrower unit of analysis to explore the activities that Inuit participated in. Otherwise, it will remain at the level of Labrador Inuit society as a whole, perhaps that of a region, and in the best of cases a site.

8. **Conclusion**

The goal of this thesis was to give an accurate description of the occupation of House 3 at Double Mer Point, and in doing so update the current understanding of the communal house phase through the lens of a single house. Sweeping conclusions were not the intent, but the design of House 3 does have important implications for the study of Inuit housing. It suggests that archaeologists must not make assumptions when it comes to interpreting Inuit households. The only way to ensure this doesn't happen, is to fully engage with the house as a physical and social space. This begins with the acknowledgement that the house reflects the people who occupied it as much as it does Inuit society as a whole. This study of House 3 suggests that archaeological research should focus on the internal organization of winter sod houses if they are to continue to be the main source of information in the study of Labrador Inuit history.

8.1 House 3

As one of three contiguous winter sod houses at Double Mer Point, House 3 is an example of one strategy of Inuit housing employed during the latter half of the 18th century and first decade of the 19th century. It is a semi-subterranean house with an entrance tunnel four metres long which leads to a main chamber approximately five by six metres. It was built around 1760 and abandoned sometime between 1800 and 1810, though the extent of its occupation remains unknown. The house may have been returned to for years at a time then left vacant or returned to only intermittently for long periods of time. One certainty is that the design of the house was never changed throughout its use. Those who built it did so to fit their needs.

The material culture left by the occupants of House 3 reveals they were engaged in the activities that have come to be associated with the large communal households of the 18th century. Over 90% of the identifiable faunal remains is seal and it seems that as a community, Inuit at Double Mer Point fully participated in the focused hunting of seals. The overwhelming presence of trade goods demonstrates they also took part in the foreign trade economy that accelerated in the late 18th century, and that the goods that were acquired were incorporated into every aspect of daily life. However, that life was still organized in a traditional manner. The combined economies of the salmon fishery and fur trade had not yet been introduced to Hamilton Inlet, and Inuit life near the end of the 18th century had more in common with life in the previous century than the one to come. Inuit still hunted the same animals, trade was an important part of life, and most importantly they still lived in semi-subterranean sod houses for most of the winter.

The only aspect of House 3 that doesn't resemble typical communal house life is the way in which the interior is organized. In place of raised sleeping platforms on all three walls it has only one that spans the rear wall, which was divided into two separate sections. When the house layout is broken down into its principal components of hearth, floor space, and sleeping platform, it appears the interior was designed for two families; possibly two brothers and their families, each with their own space that followed the traditional layout of earlier single-family Inuit homes.

Although two-family houses were mentioned in Moravian census records (Taylor 1974:74-75), and their use has been noted in archaeological research (Kaplan 2012), the design of House 3 is different than the classic design of an Inuit communal house of the 18th century. The focal point of a classic communal house is an open central space,

whether it be in those with two sleeping platforms on opposite sides of the house or those with sleeping platforms perpendicular to each other. The exclusion of this open arrangement in House 3 is believed to reflect the choice of the two families who shared the house to pool their resources but remain somewhat independent of one another. Through the division of space inside the house the occupants were able to benefit from their partnership while still retaining a degree of separation between the families. Of course, this unique strategy to housing would have been invisible if excavation didn't reveal how the house was organized. Those who studied Double Mer Point in the past were not aware of these internal features, or of the variability of housing styles present at the site (Jordan 1974, 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007).

8.2 Communal Houses and Inuit Housing

More than once Double Mer Point has been a part of research that has sought to explain the rise of communal houses in the 18th century. It was first used to describe the influences of the European trade economy (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980), then to measure the impacts of climate on subsistence hunting (Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007). With the excavation of the three houses at Double Mer Point, the site can now be part of the discussion that explores the ways in which Inuit activities of the 18th century helped combat the stresses placed on Inuit society by Europeans.

Kaplan and Woollett (2000) suggest that the accumulation of wealth and prestige through trade, whaling, shamanistic presentations, sealing, and communal living were activities that Inuit participated in during the 18th century. Not only would these activities outwardly display a sense of Inuitness to Europeans but participating in them also

reinforced Inuit social bonds needed to perpetuate Inuit culture. However, Kaplan and Woollett only refer to Inuit behaviour during the 18th century in general terms that group all Labrador Inuit together. The houses at Double Mer Point suggest that the internal design of sod houses may allow for the analysis of Inuit behaviour at the household level. There are three very different houses present at Double Mer Point: House 1, a house with European design elements that was occupied for longer than the other two houses at the site, which had European features including a wood-planked floor and wood stove; House 2, believed to have been occupied by four families, and organized in the style of a classic communal house; and, House 3, with an interior that suggests it was occupied by two families. The fact that Houses 2 and 3 appear to have been built and occupied at the same time demonstrates there was variety in how Inuit formed and organized their households. Perhaps, in future research that variability can be linked to the choices Inuit made to participate in certain activities during the 18th century.

Lastly, this thesis has emphasized the differences between the households at Double Mer Point, but it is important to not overlook that which they shared. The Inuit at Double Mer Point seemingly organized their lives in different ways, yet they chose to associate with each other and form a community together. As variability in the design of houses will likely be brought to light in the decades to come, it is important to keep this in mind. That idea of community was the motivation behind the illustration presented at the beginning of this thesis (Figure 1.1).

8.3 Directions for Further Research

For a large part of the time that Labrador Inuit housing has been studied by archaeologists, houses have been treated as something representative of Inuit society as a whole. The interpretation of House 3 presented in this thesis, alongside the work of others (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Brandy 2013a, 2013b; Murphy 2011, 2012; Murphy and Rankin 2014; Rankin 2014b, 2015), demonstrates the scale can be narrowed to the level of the household and still be equally, if not more informative. If attention is given to the design and use of houses with this concept in mind, our understanding of Labrador Inuit history will only progress.

Double Mer Point is now known to have been a community comprised of households with varying approaches to housing rather than a uniform community. It is likely that such variability has been overlooked at other sites in Hamilton Inlet. If sites such as Eskimo Island were revisited, their association with Double Mer Point, and more specifically House 3, might be resolved. Furthermore, the strategy of two-family houses needs to be better understood in general. There are many different designs that have been identified (see Bird 1945), and the reasons for the variation should be explored.

Regional comparisons of Inuit winter houses may also provide the needed context to explore influences on Labrador Inuit society in the past. There are numerous locales that offer different histories of contact if the goal is to better understand the influences of European settlement. Southern Labrador in what is today NunatuKavut saw the first wave of permanent European settlement and the first instances of intermarriage between European men and Inuit women. Having been under the influence of Moravian missionaries from the late 18th century, parts of the central and northern coast provide a

context where active efforts were taken to change Inuit behaviour. The most northern parts of Labrador would likely be different as well, having avoided European settlement in the 18th century. For studies with a less Eurocentric tone, comparisons could be made between households for which whaling was a large part of life and those that it wasn't; houses that were the first built when Inuit entered a new area and those that came later; houses above and below the tree line; houses occupied in border regions where Inuit territory bordered Innu territory and those that weren't. The possibilities are as numerous as the factors that influence housing.

The benefit of research that is able to make the theoretical jump and acknowledge the dynamic relationship shared between occupant and house is that it does not have to be restricted to the past. Discussions of housing with Inuit elders could add another layer to the decolonization of archaeological research. Recognition of the occupant/house relationship could also aid Labrador Inuit today who face some of the challenges that Inuit in other parts of *Nunangat* are grappling with in terms of affordable and adequate housing. Programs such as the Housing Repair Program (see the 2018 application for the program at http://www.nunatsiavut.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Home-repair-application.pdf) are designed to combat these problems, but they remain a very real concern. Colonial influences are experienced now as they were in the past. It is possible that the juxtaposition of Inuit housing from the 18th and 19th centuries and the circumstances of housing today may be enlightening and may even lead to some improvements to the current situation. The materials for building houses might now come from distant places but the principles of housing remain the same. Space remains important and people need a house that is suited to their needs.

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