

On the Track of the Thule Culture from Bering Strait to East Greenland

Proceedings of the SILA Conference
“The Thule Culture – New Perspectives in Inuit Prehistory”
Copenhagen, Oct. 26th-28th, 2006.
Papers in Honour of Hans Christian Gulløv

Edited by
Bjarne Grønnow

SILA – The Greenland Research Centre at the National Museum of Denmark



PNM

Publications from the National Museum
Studies in Archaeology & History Vol. 15
Copenhagen 2009

Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The Less “Invisible” Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec

William W. Fitzhugh¹

INTRODUCTION

Labrador and Greenland offer similar frameworks for studies of migration, adaptation, contact, and culture change. Unlike the Central Arctic with its matrix-networked field of resource and human populations, the geography of Greenland and Labrador prescribe linear population and communication systems (Fitzhugh 1997) with entry at an arctic portal and subsequent expansion into subarctic lands and waters (Laughlin & Jorgenson 1956; Meldgaard 1977; Fitzhugh 1972, 1977). In Labrador, these expansions required accommodation with pre-existing Indian cultures whereas in Greenland encounters were with resident Eskimo peoples, Norse, or later Europeans. While these historical events were initiated from the same cultural foundation (i.e. ASTt, Independence II, Dorset, or Thule), once in place their subsequent development was largely independent, providing opportunities for “controlled” historical comparison. In this paper I review the evidence for Thule and Labrador Inuit groups living in southern Labrador and nearby Newfoundland and Quebec, including their relations with other groups. While studies of the southern Labrador Inuit have been undertaken previously (e.g. Martijn & Clermont 1980; Stopp 2002), new data and ways of thinking about the Labrador Inuit venture to the south are beginning to re-shape the debate away from issues of territorial claims and settlement *per se* to processes of change and kinds of interactions with European and Indian groups. While this paper is a step in this direction, I hope it also serves as a small step toward comparative exploration of Labrador and southern Greenland Inuit migrations, contacts, and scenarios of culture change.

Southern Labrador, like southern Greenland, has a complicated culture history involving Inuit culture contacts with Europeans and other native groups

and adaptations to milder climate and more open water environments than found elsewhere in the Arctic. The expansion of Labrador Inuit from central Labrador into the Strait of Belle Isle, northern Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, like the East Greenlanders’ contacts and migrations into Southwest Greenland, was motivated primarily to gain access to European goods and trade. Both involved incursions by people who previously had experienced little direct European contact, and both began as seasonal forays and ended with varying degrees of acculturation and residency within a region of intensifying European settlement. While the analogy is not perfect – Central Labrador Inuit did not have a subsistence need to move whereas East Greenlanders did; the Labrador Inuit southern movement failed to establish a population base whereas the East Greenland migration was a success, etc. – the many parallels inspire comparative study.

As Hans Christian Gulløv has shown in this volume and in earlier papers, such a study cannot be undertaken without a solid foundation of the pre- and post-migration history and environment. Gulløv has spent much of his career investigating the East Greenland migration circumstances. Assembled from a lifetime of studies of ethnology, oral and documentary history, archaeology, exploration accounts, and environmental data, his reconstruction of the East Greenland migration is the most detailed anthropological analysis available on a self-initiated arctic population movement. We are not at that level of understanding yet in Labrador, and therefore, this paper represents a step toward future studies of these two historic Inuit population encounters with Europeans and other social groups.

During the recent historical period the geographic boundary between Inuit and Indian groups

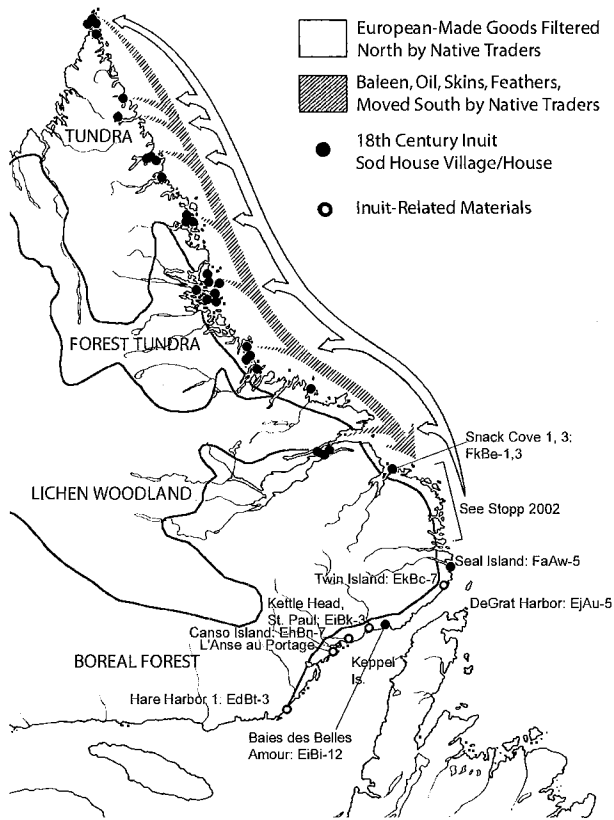


Fig. 1. Map of study region (modified from Kaplan 1985a: fig. 4).

overlapped on the Central Labrador coast, with the southernmost Inuit settlement being in Groswater Bay and the northernmost coastal Innu settlement at Davis Inlet (Nataushish). However, historical information documents permanent Inuit settlement in southern Labrador in the vicinity of Cape Charles in the late 18th century (Taylor 1977: 50), while sporadic settlement, seasonal use, and hunting and trading excursions occurred in northern Newfoundland and west of Blanc Sablon in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Taylor 1984: 508). The dating, nature, and geographic extent of southern Inuit settlements and excursions has been in question for many years due to ambiguities in the historical record, and since 1980 archaeological research has offered the best hope for information on the “invisible” Inuit (Taylor 1979) of southern Labrador, the Strait of Belle Isle, and the Eastern Gulf of St. Lawrence (Fig. 1). This paper reviews the historical and archaeological evidence for southern Inuit and presents research results from the Smithsonian’s St. Lawrence Gateways Project on the Quebec Lower North Shore (LNS) from 2002-2007.

INUIT-INDIAN CONTACT ISSUES

As archaeological evidence of Labrador Inuit sites accumulated in central and northern Labrador in the 1970-80s, the southern boundary of Inuit culture remained poorly understood. Research over the past fifteen years has shown increasing evidence for more southerly settlement by Inuit, evidence that now reaches as far south and west as Petit Mécatina near the modern settlement of Harrington Harbor. Prior to 1990 research on the Labrador side of the Straits produced little evidence of Thule or Labrador Inuit occupation, even though Richard Jordan had found Basque artifacts in 17-18th C. Inuit sites at Eskimo Island in Hamilton Inlet and James A. Tuck had found a reworked fragment of an Inuit slate endblade and a soapstone vessel in a Basque or contact Inuit site at Twin Island 3 in Red Bay (Tuck 1984, 1985; Pastore & Auger 1984). Despite frequent mention of “Esquimaux” in early documents, there was no archaeological confirmation of the James Cook accounts of Inuit visits to northern Newfoundland (Lysaght 1971), and the Quebec shore west of Brador was still largely unstudied.

Inuit settlement of Labrador offers an interesting case study in population expansion, environmental adaptation, cultural accommodation, and multi-ethnic contact. Thule culture appeared in the Killinek region about 1250, soon after their arrival in the Eastern Arctic, and rapidly expanded down the Labrador coast, replacing or absorbing resident Late Dorset people in northern Labrador. As the Thule whale-hunters expanded into the central coast ca. 1400-1450 they also met and displaced late pre-contact Point Revenge Innu culture. By 1500 Thule occupied winter villages in Voisey Bay and by 1550 were established in Hopedale, Makkovik, and Hamilton Inlet (Kaplan 1983, 1985b). Tuck’s Twin Island soapstone find suggests Thule people had already ventured into the Straits by this time, and upon discovering Basque stations began making periodic voyages to scavenge or pillage these sites and may have conducted a limited direct trade (Barkham 1980). European ceramics, iron, and Basque roof tiles begin to appear in Labrador Inuit sites at Eskimo Island 3 in Hamilton Inlet in the late 16th C. (Jordan 1978; Jordan & Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1983, 1985a). Following the departure of most Basque vessels after 1600 (Barkham 1980; Turgeon 1994), Inuit expanded their settlement area to Cartwright

and began more regular seasonal raiding and trading voyages into the Straits and may have established settlements in southern Labrador, northern Newfoundland, and the LNS. Inuit depredations in the south during the 17-early 18th C. were so severe that the French built a fort at Brador in 1705, but this did not entirely eliminate Inuit incursions, which continued into the mid-18th C., prompting Governor Palliser of Newfoundland to grant the Moravian Brethren a charter for missions that began to be established on the central and north Labrador coast in 1771. Despite these actions, Inuit continued to maintain a sporadic seasonal presence in the Straits and LNS, and during the period 1840-60 several Labrador Inuit families settled in St. Paul River, Old Fort, and St. Augustine (Charest 1998). Apart from these outliers, by 1900 the southern limit of Inuit settlement in Labrador was at Island of Ponds south of Cartwright, with reports of Inuit-related people even further south (Marianne Stopp, pers. comm.). Nevertheless, the Inuit occupation of southern Labrador and the LNS had made its mark, and even with the departure of a permanent Inuit population (if there ever was one), since the 1700s Europeans and Innu along the LNS have used Inuit harpoons, dog sleds, ulus, sealskin boots, kayaks, and other Inuit items in their basic subsistence technology (Fig. 2). The question of the origin and maintenance of the Inuit cultural legacy in southern Labrador, Newfoundland, and northern Gulf is a fascinating issue of cultural transfer for which there is little direct knowledge or research.

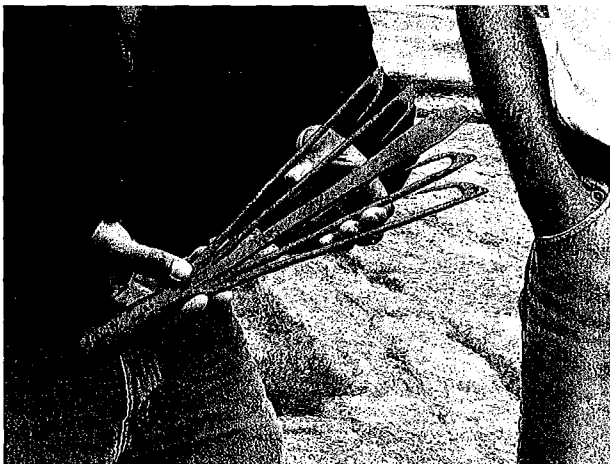


Fig. 2. Inuit artifacts adopted for use along the Quebec Lower North Shore include this iron fish spear found in Baie du Mouton, from a private collection.

THE "ESKIMO" PROBLEM

Historical accounts are specific about Inuit presence in southern Labrador and the Straits in the 17th C. (Martijn & Clermont 1980; Stopp 2002, see also secondary sources: Hind 1863; Packard 1885, 1891, Gosling 1910; Hawkes 1916; Tanner 1944; Jenness 1965, 1967). Martijn (1980a, b) notes references by Champlain, Thwaites, Biard, and others of the depredations of Inuit ("Esquimaos") on Basque whaling stations in the Straits, and Selma Barkham (1980) cites the sporadic appearance of hostile Inuit who began appearing in the Straits in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. By 1620 the decline of the Basque fishery had removed the major obstacle to Inuit penetration of the Gulf region (Trudel 1978), and it is during this period that Jesuit Relations and other historical sources begin to refer to places with names like "Rivière des Esquimaux" (St. Paul River), and by the late 17th and early 18th C. reports by Jolliet, Courtemanche, and Brouague speak of Inuit activity around Brador and the eastern LNS and note that Inuit were wintering and not just appearing seasonally, as in earlier years. The most complete account of Inuit references in these early accounts is that compiled by Martijn for the LNS and by Stopp (2002), whose emphasis is on the Straits and southern Labrador and whose compilation and translation of source data is an important contribution.

While these reports clearly refer to Inuit, 'Esquimaux' place names like "Pointe des Esquimaux" reinforced the idea of Inuit occupations as far west as the Mingan Islands. It now seems clear (Taylor 1978; Maihot 1978; Maihot et al. 1980; Martijn 1980b) that the term 'Esquimawes' (first used by Hakluyt in referring to natives of the "Grande Baie" in 1584) was being used indiscriminately to refer to natives of the greater Gulf region, including southern Labrador by early chroniclers writing about both Algonquian-speaking people, especially the Montagnais of the northern Gulf, known in some reports as "Aeyshimeu," as well as Inuit, who were also increasingly present in the Straits after 1600 (Goddard 1984). A degree of clarification was not to come until the 17th C., when writers like Le Clercq began distinguishing "Petit Esquimaux", the Algonquian-speaking Montagnais living around Mingan, from "Grands Esquimaux", the Inuit of the eastern and northern coasts.

In 1978, a lively controversy broke out among ethnohistorians dealing with the Gulf region in the 16-18th centuries. Were Inuit occupations seasonal, short-term, or permanent? What types of interactions did they have with European and Indian groups? And when did they withdraw? The controversy was presented in the 1980 issue of *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2). Garth Taylor (1974 et seq.), drawing heavily on the Inuit ethnography and Moravian historical reports, saw Inuit activities south of Cartwright as seasonal raiding (16th C.) and trading (17-18th C.) ventures with little or no long-term settlement. Norman Clermont argued for permanent Inuit settlement in southern Labrador and the Straits after 1550, perhaps extending as far west as Mingan and lasting for nearly 300 years, with gradual integration into the dominant and growing European population. Charles Martijn maintained a position in the middle-ground, citing evidence of a limited 16th and more extensive 17th C. Inuit presence, and with permanent settlement in the St. Paul-Tabatière region in the 17th C. Francois Trudel took a similar position centered on the economy of Inuit-French relations in the period 1690-1760, a period in which Inuit raiding and trading was commonplace and relationships between the Inuit and the French were too unpredictable and violent to regularize through any type of imposed management policy. A related and even more contentious series of arguments arose over the historical use of ethnonyms and their origins, referents, and linguistic associations. More recently Stopp (2002) and Rankin (2006) have sought archaeological evidence to resolve part of this controversy, finding evidence of both cold- and warm-season Inuit occupations between Hamilton Inlet and the Straits.

SOUTHERN INUIT ARCHAEOLOGY: INVISIBLE, UNRECOGNIZABLE, OR NON-EXISTENT?

In contrast to the limited historical documentation on Labrador Inuit (apart from Moravian records), archaeological evidence of Inuit occupations in central and northern Labrador is extensive (Hantzsch 1930; Bird 1945; Schledermann 1971, 1976; Fitzhugh 1972; Jordan 1977, 1978; Jordan & Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1980, 1983, 1985a, b; Woollett 1999, 2003, 2007; Kaplan & Woollett 2000; Stopp

2002; Rankin 2006). Jordan and Kaplan recognized three phases in this occupation sequence based on excavated collections from Inuit winter houses and middens on Eskimo Island. These included: (1) a 17th C. period of sporadic raiding and trading with Europeans, predominantly in the Straits, during which most traditional elements of Inuit society and culture were maintained; (2) an 18th C. communal house phase dominated by formalized European trade, both in the Straits and southern Labrador, and from posts and mission stations on the central and northern coasts, conducted within a highly structured Inuit social hierarchy; and (3) a 19th C. trapping, trading, and European post phase in which communal living and whaling declined at the same time as access to European goods increased and became available directly to individual nuclear families without passing through an Inuit 'big man' social hierarchy.

Although the central and north coast archaeological record does not provide direct insight into Inuit activities in the European zone to the south, the historical stages and adaptive patterns from the central coast emerged as a response to changing interactions and materials that became available to Inuit during different stages of European use of the southern lands and waters. Unable to settle central and northern Labrador until 1771 because of Inuit hostility, Europeans remained focused on seasonal exploitation of the marine resources in the South. As the European powers and economies changed, Inuit contacts and tactics towards Basques, French, English, and their subgroups gradually shifted from scavenger to raider, trader, ally, guide, employee, and others.

Stopp's and Auger's research in southern Labrador has filled an important gap in knowledge of this still poorly known region. Auger's (1991, 1993, 1994) excavations at Seal Island on the north side of Chateau Bay identified the first archaeologically verified Inuit winter site from the Straits region, and Stopp's (1997, 2002) survey of the coast between here and Cartwright documented Inuit constructions like cairn burials, fox traps, tent rings, sod houses with entrance passages, located isolated artifacts in private collections, and noted the possibility that at least some of the many boulder pit structures and sod house foundations without entrance passages, similar to the Seal Island dwelling, might be of Inuit origin.

Most scholars have imagined that if Inuit were present even sporadically in southern Labrador or nearby regions their sites should be recognizable from their distinct architecture. Such was the beguiling allure of the "elusive" Landry site hoax of northern Gaspé (McCaffrey 2002). Following the 1980 *Études/InuitStudies* volume, I too thought finding archaeological confirmation of Inuit presence should be a relatively easy task and made a brief survey of northern Newfoundland and the Quebec coast as far as Vieux Fort in 1982 (Fitzhugh 1983). Wintemberg's (1939/40; Harp 1951, 1964) claim for "Inuit" pithouses at Keppel Island near Port Saunders, Newfoundland, and his "Inuit" nangissat (hopping stone) alignment at Morue Spit (Wintemberg 1939/40: 86) both seemed to be definite evidence of Inuit presence; but my visits to these locations left me unconvinced. During this survey we also found numerous Dorset and 18/19th C. French fishing sites between Cape Riche and Cape Norman, but nothing of certain Inuit origin. The beaches and headlands between Cape Norman and Great Sacred Island produced no diagnostic Inuit tent rings. However, at Degrat Harbor-1 on the eastern side of Quirpon Island at Cape Bauld, sod house foundations lacking entrance passages and sleeping platforms but containing 18-19th C. European materials looked like promising candidates for "acculturated" Inuit structures, primarily because of their location at a rough, exposed outer-coast location. Later, Reginald Auger (1991) excavated these houses and determined they were European fishing cabins dating to ca. 1800 AD. Despite Captain James Cook's expedition having encountered Inuit in this vicinity in 1766 (Lysaght 1971), surveys by James Tuck, Priscilla Renouf, and others have also failed to find Inuit sites.

These negative results soon began to inspire theories seeking explanations for the "missing" Inuit sites in the south: (1) The ephemeral nature of *raiding and trading* from base-camps on the central Labrador coast during the summer months may have left few material traces; (2) Use of *boulder pit houses* during Inuit southern voyages might have masked Inuit presence since many such features have never been excavated, and some that have been contained Inuit artifacts; (3) Inuit presence might also have been masked by Inuit use of boulder-walled *rectangular dwellings* which were used by 17-18th C. Inuit in central Labrador coast Inuit sites and might

easily have been mistaken as European dwellings in southern regions; and (4) Mis-attribution might have resulted from *European acculturation* of southern Inuit who adopted European-style dwellings and material culture.

THE INITIAL SEARCH

A more concerted effort at locating southern Inuit sites was instigated by Charles Martijn in 1962 when the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Affairs began promoting surveys on the Quebec North Shore and in 1963 supported work by Michel Gaumond at Brador and Old Fort and by René Levesque in Brador between 1964-1969 (Pintal & Martijn 2002). In 1971-72 these surveys were expanded to include Old Fort, St. Paul's River, and Salmon Bay and offshore islands (Martijn 1974; Martijn & Clermont 1980b). This region has stories of Inuit battles and several Inuit place-names of probable 17-18th C. age, including "Eskimo Bay" and "Eskimo Island," long before the mid-19th C. immigration of several Inuit families here from central Labrador described by Charest (1998). Although no Inuit winter sod houses were located, an Inuit-style bone snow-knife, a bone arrow or lance foreshaft, an iron spike, a few rolls of birch-bark, and a human mandible were found associated with pits excavated into a boulder field near Kettle Head site (EiBk-3) on Grand Island near St. Paul River. The mandible and artifacts were unquestionably Inuit and appeared to date to the 17th C. Although the context and function of the site is unclear (such structures may have functioned as cache pits, graves, or house foundations), this was the first early Inuit site of certain Inuit origin south of Hamilton Inlet. Martijn & Clermont, taking a poke at Garth Taylor's 'raider' theory, described the finds as evidence of "something more than transient visitors" (Martijn & Clermont 1980b: 132, see Taylor 1980: 187).

The second half of my 1982 Straits survey covered some of this same ground in Quebec and included Île du Bassin, Middle Bay, and Vieux Fort (St. Paul River). Everywhere we found abundant evidence of prehistoric and historic European sites, but no sign of Inuit summer or winter sites, which, given Martijn's results, I had expected in the outer islands in the St. Paul archipelago, especially at Île

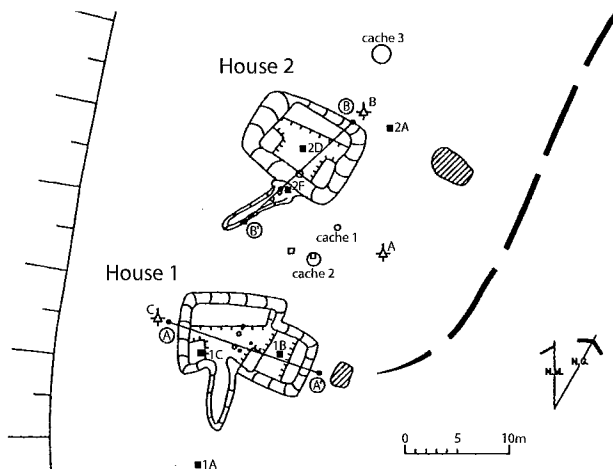


Fig. 3. Baies des Belles Amours Inuit winter village EiBi-12 site (Dumais & Poirier 1994).

de la Baleine and Île de la Baie. Inuit had been here, but unlike central and northern Labrador, their sites were certainly not prominent.

Building on his earlier survey, Martijn organized broader field studies from Blanc Sablon to La Tabatière between 1983 and 1990. These were the first systematic surveys and excavations conducted on the eastern LNS, and they revealed large numbers of prehistoric and historic sites as well as private collections, all of which contained Indian or European materials (Groison et al. 1985; Pintal 1998). Discussion with local residents indicates that this section of coast has a long tradition of use by Innu people who regularly traveled between the coast and interior seasonally and were in frequent contact with Europeans, as noted in early documents. Although no Inuit finds were made in the western part of the survey, an Inuit site (EiBi-12; Fig. 3) was located during the summer of 1983 at Baie des Belles Amours, between Brador and Middle Bay consisting of two rectangular semi-subterranean house pits with 5-6 meter long entrance passages and rear and lateral sleeping benches (Dumais & Poirier 1994). House 1 had a room extension for a second sleeping platform. The site was not excavated but few test pits included 13 forged nails, two metal points (identified as harpoon points), 12 metal fragments, 5 ceramic sherds, one piece of glass, a piece of a broken Inuit soapstone cooking pot, and a number of caribou and seal bones. The artifacts were not easily datable, but the soapstone pot and the architectural plan suggested a late 17th or early 18th C. date. The size and style of

the dwellings would have accommodated 10-15 individuals, and if both were occupied simultaneously the settlement might have had 25-30 people, enough to provide defence, subsistence independence, and trade relations with the Europeans who were by this time beginning to settle permanently in the Brador region.

In 1983-84 Reginald Auger (1987, 1991, 1993) began searching for Inuit sites in the Straits region of Newfoundland and Labrador. Auger excavated two sod house sites, the house at DeGrat Harbor on Quirpon and the house on the Seal Islands in Chateau Bay. The DeGrat Harbor site lacked Inuit artifacts or architectural features and contained two European components dating to the 17th and 19th C., leading Auger to conclude it was an early European fishing station. The Seal Island sod house on the other hand, also located in a wind-swept coastal skerry, had a rectangular 12x6 meter plan, 1.5m high sod and rock walls, a doorway but no entrance tunnel or cold trap, and raised sleeping benches along four sides, one of which was paved with stone slabs (Fig. 4). Its assemblage of 18th C. artifacts included clay pipes, an Inuit bone harpoon, a soapstone pot fragment, and a seal tooth pendant. Except for the absence of a passage entrance, the house resembled 18th C. Inuit dwellings of the same period in central Labrador, and Auger interpreted it as a communal-style winter dwelling occupied for at least one winter season.

Auger's analysis of peat-walled houses in the Strait of Belle Isle (Auger 1994) illustrates the problem we were beginning to recognize: the difficulty of identifying Inuit sites from survey projects in a post-1700 European settlement region. Of the twenty-two sod houses tested during extensive sur-

SEAL ISLANDS (FaAw-5)

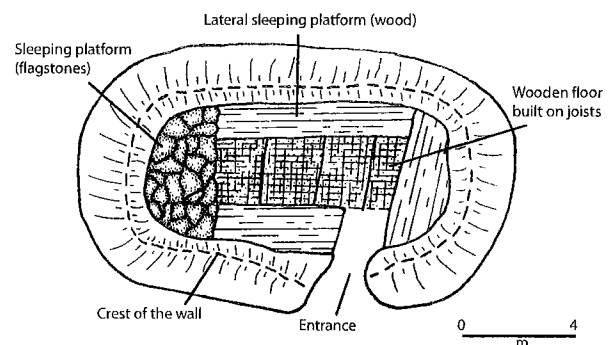


Fig. 4. Inuit winter dwelling plan from Seal Island site, Chateau, Labrador (Auger 1994: fig. 4).

veys between Red Bay and Chateau, many had walls that were too poorly preserved to identify distinctive Inuit style. Only the Seal Island house contained diagnostic Inuit material culture and architecture; but even here, Inuit identity became evident only after full excavation. Auger's attempt to attribute sod structures to English, French, or Basque, or other ethnic origins by material culture alone proved difficult, and the dating of assemblages was usually too imprecise to assign structures to less than a century unless large samples of clay pipes were available. His analysis did not bode well for refining problems of ethnicity and chronology during different phases of Inuit-European contact.

ADVANCES IN SOUTHERN LABRADOR

In the 1970s it was supposed that Thule expansion into the central Labrador coast occurred about the same time that Europeans arrived in the Straits, ca. 1500, and that a chain of early historic Inuit settlements, each dating slightly later than the one to the

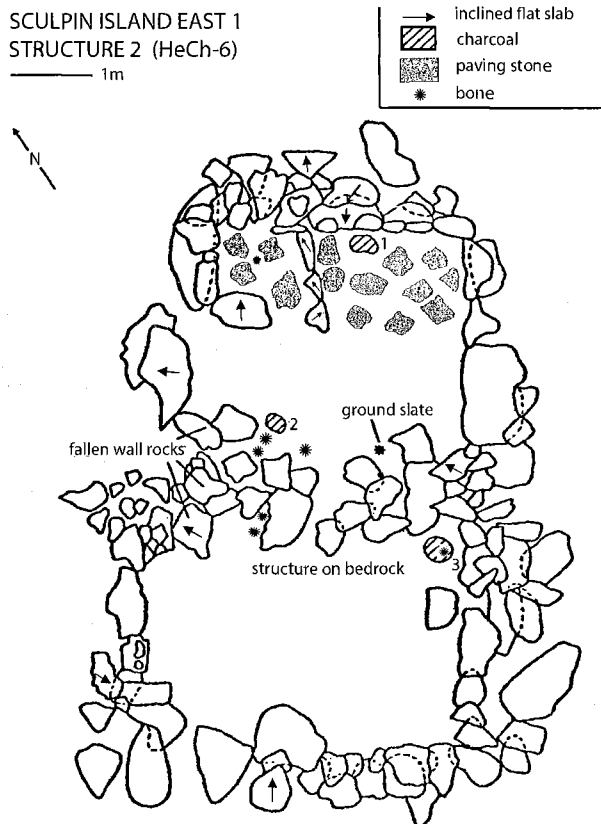


Fig. 5. Plan of Sculpin Island East 1, Structure 2 (Kaplan 1983: fig. 119).

SCULPIN ISLAND EAST 1 (HeCh-6)

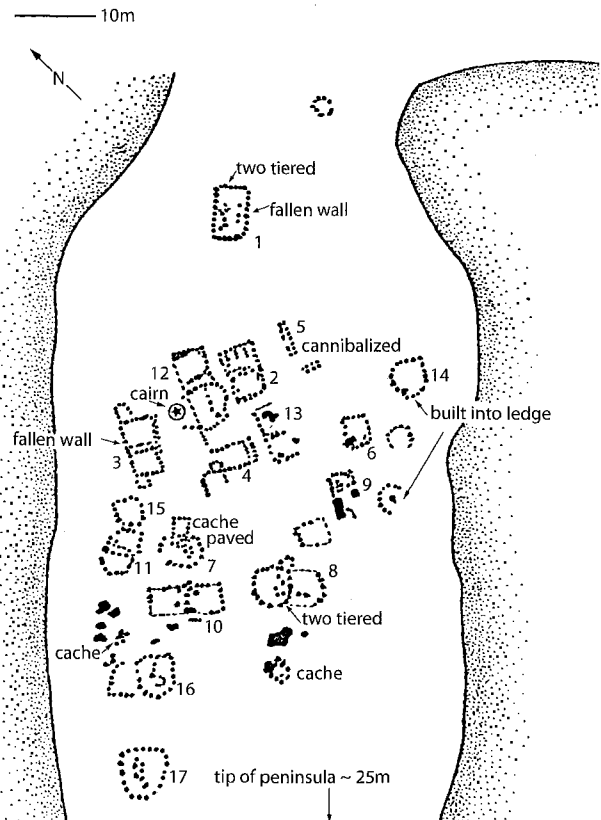


Fig. 6. Map of Sculpin Island East 1, Nain area, Labrador (Kaplan 1983: fig. 117).

north, would be found between Hamilton Inlet and Chateau. In 1986, at the suggestion of Doris Saunders, our Smithsonian survey team visited Snack Cove on Huntingdon Island, near Cartwright, where we found two rectangular tent-rings and other Inuit-like stone structures on exposed cobble beaches (Fitzhugh 1987). The tent 'rings' at Snack Cove 1 were similar to structures at Sculpin Island near Nain and had the same U-shaped standing slab hearths we had found at other sites with rectangular tent-rings on the central coast (Fig. 5 and 6). These northern sites dated to ca. 15-17th C. and often contained slate tools and debitage, but no iron (Kaplan 1983: 226, 500-508). Snack Cove 1 Houses 1 and 2 (Fig. 7 and 8) had dimensions of 5x10 meters and 6x4 meters, respectively. A charcoal sample from beneath a hearth slab in Area 1, House 1 produced an older date than we expected: 360±100 B.P. (2-sig. cal. 1396-1686 AD; B-22400). At Snack Cove 3, near an old vegetable garden, we found the settlement's probable winter component in the form of two well-preserved Inuit sod-walled

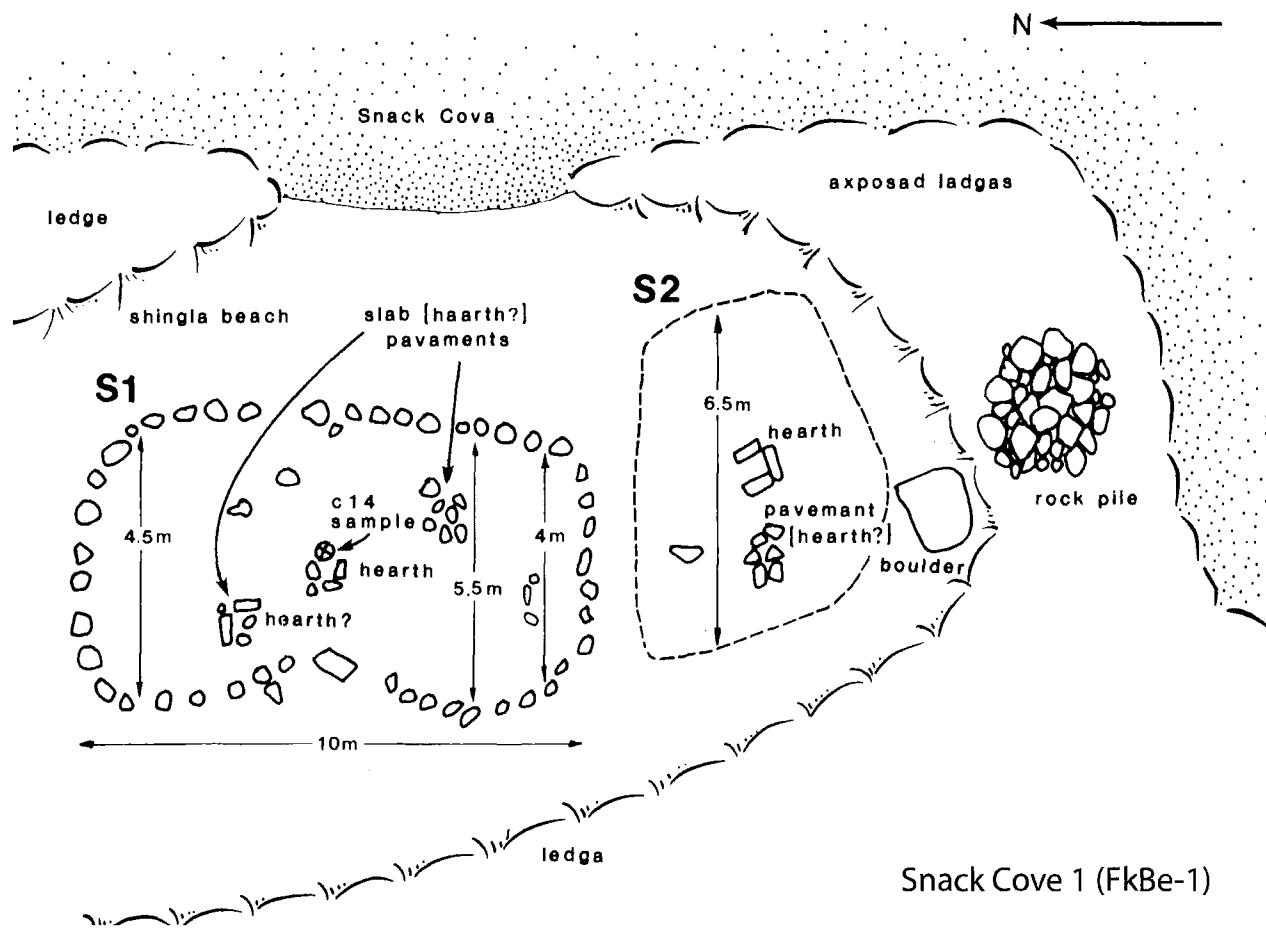


Fig. 7. Rectangular Inuit tent structures at Snack Cove 1, Area 1, Huntingdon Island, Cartwright (after Fitzhugh 1989: fig. 5).

rectangular dwellings (6.8x4.3 meters with a 6 meter long entrance passage for House 1, and 5x6 meters with a 4 meter long entrance passage for House 2) with entrance tunnels and unpaved rear and side sleeping platforms. Test pits revealed intact roof and floor timbers and well-laid slab pavements in the entrance passage and house floors. Artifacts included clay pipe bowls, European crockery, glass, iron spikes and nails, and other materials associated with the Inuit occupation, overlain by a distinct upper level containing 19/20th C. artifacts. Sea mammal bones were abundant, but the deep organic external middens found at the Eskimo Island sites in Central Labrador were missing. However, John Davis mentioned that there were places here where "the old people" had stored whale meat in cache pits in the ground. In 1987 we returned and expanded our test pits in House 1 to 1x1m, prepared maps and profiles of the excavations, and received a radiocarbon date of 300±80

B.P. (2 sig. cal. 1437-1690 AD; B-40401) from charcoal and wood. We also discovered a second Inuit tent-ring site, Snack Cove Island East, at the east end of a small island in the entrance to the tidal flat west of Snack Cove, on a point facing towards Snack Cove. Three sub-rectangular tent-rings roughly 4x8 meters in dimension were present, each with a south-facing U-shaped hearth in the center of each double-room structure.

Recently Lisa Rankin (2006) and students from Memorial University excavated the two Snack Cove 3 winter houses, finding Inuit-style slab-paved entrance passages and floors, wood-planked sleeping platforms, and a wide range of Inuit and European materials, as well as an excellent faunal collection. Rankin suggests a date of late 17th/early 18th C. for the dwellings.

Snack Cove is at present the southernmost year-round early Inuit settlement in Labrador, and until the Baie des Belles Amours site is excavated gives

our best view of a late 17th/early 18th C. Inuit community south of Hamilton Inlet. With the limited information presently available from our surveys and Rankin's recent excavations it appears to fit the pattern established by previous work in Central Labrador – that is, of a fully Inuit culture and settlement type adapted to increased access to European materials obtained by trade and contacts to the south. Quite likely this is not the southernmost Inuit winter settlement as there are reports of others between Cape Grady and Spotted Island, either not yet located, or possibly identified by Stopp (2002: 91) but not excavated.

Apart from such highly distinctive Inuit settlements, other more problematic types of sites are known from the southern Labrador coast. Along the geologically-uplifted coasts of Labrador, northern Newfoundland, and Quebec raised boulder beaches often occur in high-energy outer coastal locations at elevations ranging from the modern shore to the upper marine limit. Boulder beaches are excellent locations for building meat caches and have been so used for thousands of years. Most caches are 1-3 meters in diameter and when opened have conical pit chambers. Some of the larger boulder features have flat paving slabs or

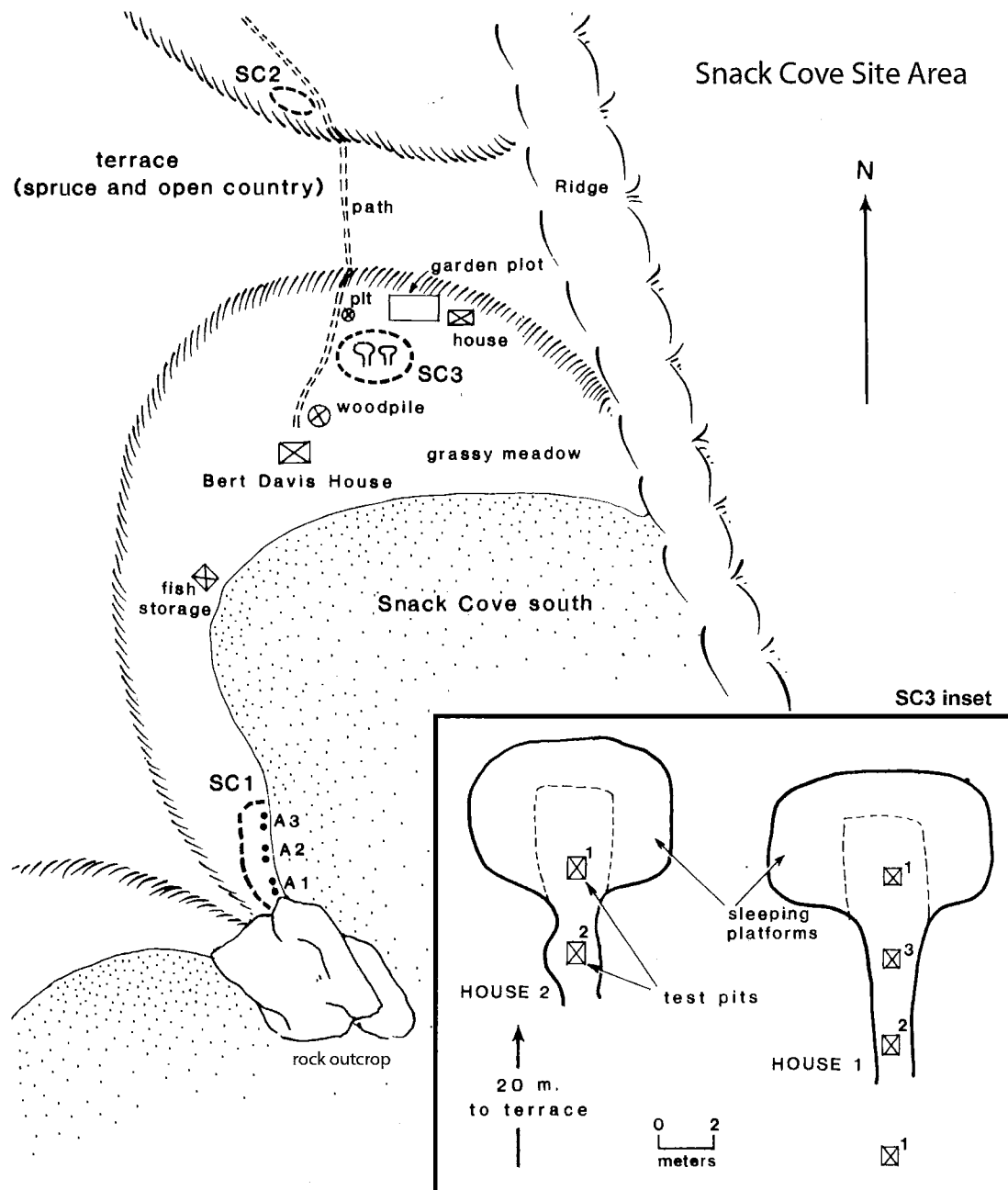


Fig. 8. Inuit open-water and winter season settlements at Snack Cove 1 and 3, Huntingdon Island, Cartwright, tested in 1986 (Fitzhugh 1989: fig. 4).

internal structures that indicate use as dwellings, but few have culturally diagnostic architecture. They rarely contain artifacts or remains other than fragments of food bones or birch bark, and when they do, one cannot tell if the material is a primary or secondary deposit. Many such boulder houses and pit structures from central and northern Labrador have been attributed to Inuit origin (Kaplan 2006).

Marianne Stopp (1994, 2002, 2006) believes some of the low-elevation pit features in southern Labrador and western Notre Dame Bay may also be Inuit sites, but unlike Martijn's Kettle Point site in St. Paul, Quebec, so far none has been associated with diagnostic Inuit material. Despite these possible Inuit attributions, the absence of positive evidence is difficult to rectify with the extensive historical observations of Inuit presence along this shore for at least two hundred years. Even granting the difficulties of locating sod winter structures in the more forested region of southern Labrador, why is it that so little certain archaeological evidence of Inuit

settlement sites has been found? The most likely explanation is that archaeological investigation simply has not yet brought it to light.

RECENT EVIDENCE FROM THE QUEBEC LNS

The Smithsonian's St. Lawrence Gateways Project targeted the Lower North Shore between Mingan and Blanc Sablon with the aim of investigating a broad range of culture history, but with particular attention to searching for Palaeoeskimo and Neoeskimo sites. In addition to discovering Late Maritime Archaic longhouses and Groswater Palaeoeskimo occupations as far west as Cape Whittle (contra Pintal 1998: 166; Fitzhugh 2006), new information on Inuit settlement has been found. Survey was directed primarily at likely Inuit settlement locales such as outer coast islands, headlands, narrows and tickles with harp seal runs, and places where walrus or whales could be hunted or bird eggs collected. We surveyed the Mingan

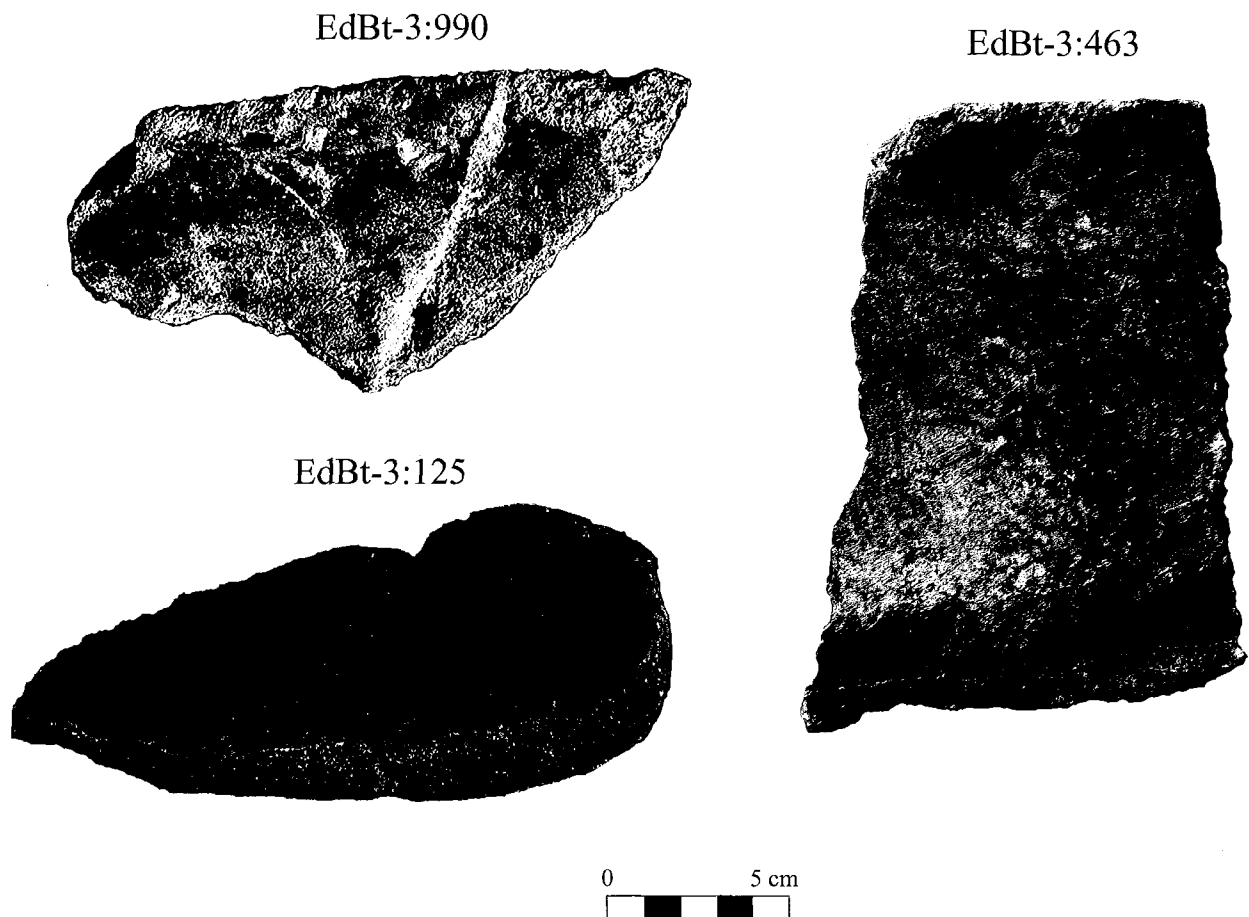


Fig. 9. Inuit soapstone lamp and pot fragments from Hare Harbor 1 site on Petit Mécatina, Quebec.

Islands for a week in 2001, with disappointing results, despite Wintemberg's reports of likely Eskimo settlement. Other than Basque and Jolliet historic sites and prehistoric Indian sites on the mainland, we found the Mingan Islands nearly devoid of archaeological traces. However, a site at Cap Seche on Niapiskau Island exhibited a rectangular 4x8 m tent-ring reminiscent of early Labrador Inuit structures, with a central vertical slab hearth. We mapped the structure, finding nothing diagnostic, but did not have time to excavate; overall, it seems an unlikely candidate for an Inuit site.

Farther east, near the southern tip of Petit Mécatina, between Harrington Harbor and Mutton Bay, we discovered a 17/18th C. Basque site at Hare Harbor. In succeeding years as we excavated its cookhouse and blacksmith shop, we found glass trade beads and four pieces of worked soapstone, three of which are fragments of Labrador Inuit rectangular pots or lamps (Fig. 9). The lamp fragment was found first, near a circular charred blubber stain at one end of the cook-house floor which yielded iron spikes, Normandy stoneware, clay pipes, glass beads, and many other materials of European derivation. In the two years that followed we found two non-fitting fragments of an Inuit rectangular soapstone cooking pot, and a small unidentifiable fragment of worked soapstone pendant or ornament. These materials were unequivocally part of the Basque cultural deposit and were not pre- or post-Basque intrusions. Since it is highly unlikely that Basques brought fragments of Inuit pots and lamps to Mécatina from other locations in the Straits or Labrador, I believe they represent activities of an Inuit woman or family employed as cooks or helpers for the Basque fishery operation. The rim style of the pot fragments suggests a 17th or early 18th C. date, conforming with the beads, clay pipes, and other artifacts (Fitzhugh 2006). This surprisingly late date for a Basque site places it at the end of the second phase of Basque occupation in the Gulf, following a long hiatus after the close of the 16th C. whaling period and before exclusive control was established by the French and English in the early 18th C. (Turgeon 1994; Belvin 2006).

Although we do not yet have an historic Basque record for Hare Harbor, the nearby French-speaking community of Tête à Baleine knows the location by an older name: "Eskimo Harbor." The presence of Inuit here was also documented by Innu who

informed Jolliet in the summer of 1694 that three Inuit families were wintering in the Mécatina region. Martijn (1980b: 119 and f.n. 23) speculates this location may have been the bay on Petit Mécatina known to Robertson (1843: 28, cited in Martijn above) as "Eskimeaux Harbor on Petit Mécatina." Mécatina features again in a report from 1729 when Martel de Brouague writes that two Inuit families living at Mécatina were killed by a party of French and Indians (Martijn 1980b: 120). Other Inuit winter dwellings were observed near Tabatière (Gros Mécatina) in Baie des Ha! Ha! by Courtemanche in 1702 (Stopp 2002: 83). The maritime outer coast aspect of this location would not have attracted Innu (Petit Esquimaux) but is quite suitable for a traditional Inuit adaptation. It is therefore possible that these reports document the Inuit presence seen archaeologically at the Mécatina site and may explain the fate of the site and its Inuit residents after the Basque operators departed in the fall².

So far we have found no Inuit indications at Gros Mécatina (Tabatière) or St. Augustine, both of which are noted as locations frequented by "Esquimaux." However, we obtained oral history and archaeological information about Inuit presence further east, in Jacques Cartier Bay, at the summer fishing settlement of L'Anse à Portages, where Nicholas Shattler of St. Augustine told us about the grave of an old Inuit woman supposedly buried with a stone lamp or pot in a cleft or cairn above the shore-side cliff a few hundred meters south of the settlement. Local people had opened the grave and found the pot, which was later given or sold to an American collector. The same story is reported by Charest (1998: 27), who dates the collector's transaction to 1950 and notes that the bones of the deceased were then still visible at the grave site. Believing that the American might have been William F. Stiles, an associate of Frank Speck who collected for the Heye Foundation (now the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian), I tried unsuccessfully to locate an Inuit soapstone vessel in the Stiles collection at NMAI. It is possible, if Stiles was the collector, and the dates are appropriate, that the piece went to his Canadian benefactor, William H. Coverdale, owner of the Canadian Steamship Lines, who may have used it in his Thousand Islands Club museum display of Indian materials. If so, it may have been lost when

he disbanded and sold his collection (Hammel 2003). However, Coverdale died before 1950, and Stiles then continued working for the Heye, so further search is warranted. Shortly before his death in March of 2007, René Levesque told me of another American collector named Snow who was active along the LNS about this time.

In August 2004, across Jacques Cartier Bay from L'Anse à Portages, we found a set of boulder meat caches on the southeastern end of Canso Island (Fig. 10). Next to these pits were three Inuit-style stone traps with narrow chambers and slots for sliding trap-doors. The traps were too narrow for fox and may have been for mink or other small furbearers attracted by the meat caches. One of the traps was in prime condition and the others were slightly deranged, but all were uniquely Inuit in design. I am not aware of Inuit stone traps being made by other people, so they probably are the work of a local Inuit, possibly the person buried in the grave across the bay. The age of the traps could not be determined, but they were well encrusted with lichen.

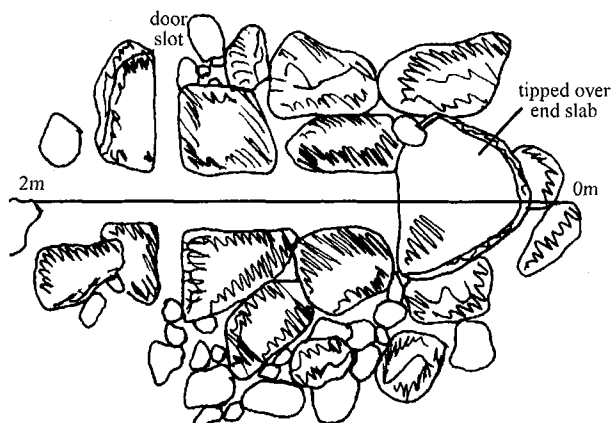


Fig. 10. Canso Island Inuit-style stone traps, Jacques Cartier Bay, Lower North Shore, Quebec.

Charest (1998) notes the most recent immigration of Central Labrador coast Inuit onto the LNS west of Blanc Sablon in the 1820-40s (see also Packard 1885; Puyjalon 1894, cited in Charest). These Inuit came south to manage fishing stations for trading posts or to assist at missionary stations at the instigation of whites managing similar facilities on the Central Labrador coast. Some came as women and married local Innu or whites, while others came as males or family groups. The names of more than a dozen Labrador Inuit are known, including "Louis the Eskimo" (St. Augustine), John Louis (Shekatika), Dukes (St. Paul/Vieux Fort), and Pawlo. Today the Inuit ancestry continues in the Nadeau, Driscoll, and Shattler families of St. Augustine; and the St. Paul Dukes and Fequet families. Charest estimates as many as 784 individuals had direct Inuit blood lines in 1980.

A brief visit to the Brador region in 2007 produced more Inuit evidence. In addition to confirming Dumais' and Poirier's ca.18th C. Inuit winter communal houses at Baie des Belles Amours, at the Hart Chalet site near the mouth of the Brador River we found Basque tiles, nails, and ceramics overlain by a Thule or early Labrador Inuit horizon containing harp seal and caribou remains. Among the artifacts were an iron point, a tubular ground stone bead, a whale-bone sled runner, and a walrus ivory needlecase (Fig. 11). Since these data are from a small test pit, the relationship between the Inuit and Basque components are not yet clear, but the site looks large and productive. At a first glance, the finds suggest a contact period Inuit winter settlement with women present, dating to a period when stone beads were still being used, probably in the 16th C.

These archaeological and historical data indicate at least three phases of Inuit occupation in the eastern region of the LNS from Cape Whittle to Blanc Sablon. The earliest is represented by the new finds from Brador, which may represent a Thule or early Labrador Inuit 16th C. foray into the Straits. The second is documented archaeologically at Petit Mécatina, Kettle Head, and Baie des Belles Amours, while the third, documented historically, occurred in the early 19th C. The fate of the earliest penetrations is not known, but Brouague's record from 1729 of killings of Inuit at Mécatina suggests a likely outcome of other early southern Inuit pioneers, considering the dangerous nature of the times and the absence of villages to shelter mixed populations as occurred later in the 19th C.

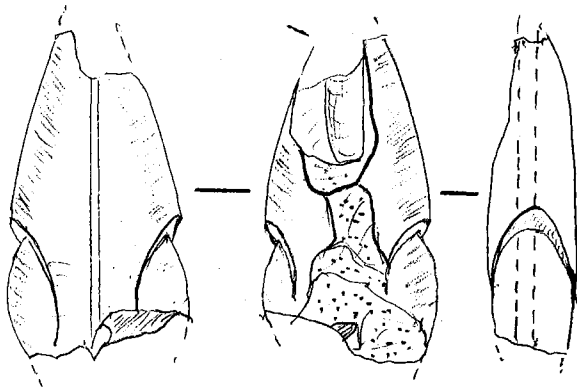


Fig. 11. Hart Chalet (Brador) Inuit ivory needle case.

Whatever the fate of the earliest Southern Labrador Inuit, their legacy is strongly expressed today by various elements of technology and adaptation found throughout the North Shore from Sept Isles to the Straits. The eastern part of the LNS has been known as part of "The Labrador" as early as the mid-19th C. This Inuit-derived heritage included Eskimo and Inuit place names, oral history of battles and conflicts, elements of Inuit technology (kayaks, harpoons, kakivak fish spears, komatik sleds and Eskimo dog traction, ulus, seal-skin clothing), and increasing evidence from archaeological sites. Reported historically and increasingly archaeologically, this legacy was adopted by Innu and Montagnais peoples and became part of their cultural complexes, as is amply documented in ethnological collections (Fig. 12). Nevertheless, Indian groups along this coast never developed a fully maritime capability or adaptation during the historical era. However, there is reason to believe that the situation may have been different in the 16th C., before Europeans began to dominate the coast and its resources. The presence of Ramah chert in late prehistoric Indian sites from the LNS points toward widespread Indian travel and communication with central and northern Labrador, and historical documents suggest a stronger Indian coastal adaptation before the settlement of the Gulf by Europeans.

DISCUSSION

Summarizing the evidence above, we may suggest the following reconstruction for Inuit activity south of Cartwright:

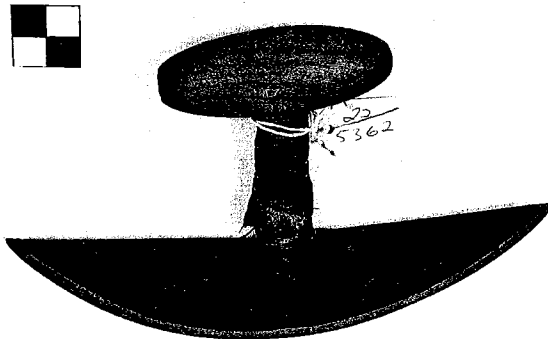
16th C. Exploration and First Contacts. Whale-hunting Inuit advanced south along the Labrador coast in a pioneering movement during which they must have encountered resistance from Point Revenge Innu peoples and by 1550 became aware of European – especially Basque – activities in the Straits. Wary of European weaponry, ships, and larger populations, Inuit probably staged seasonal spring probes or forays into the Straits from permanent winter settlements in Hamilton Inlet and further north. European contact in the south was extremely limited, often violent, and opportunistic. Tuck's Twin Island implements and the Hart Chalet site probably date to this period when Inuit staged raids or scavenging expeditions for metal, boats, and other materials from Basque sites. Winter settlements generally remained north of Cape Charles, and southern forays utilized umiaks as shelters rather than establishing camps with stone structures and tent rings. However, the Hart Chalet site seems to represent a group of Inuit who camped at a Basque site long enough to accumulate a considerable midden. There seems to have been little if any Inuit penetration of the Quebec shore or Newfoundland.

Early 17th C. Raiding and Plundering. Following the disappearance of Basque whalers and their replacement by Dutch, English, and French explorers, traders, fishermen, and initial settlers after 1600, Inuit began to make regular south-bound raiding and trading voyages from winter settlements that by this time extended south of Cartwright. Whales and walrus had become scarce due to European whaling, but Inuit life remained intact on the central and northern coasts. Raiding and burning European establishments supplied Inuit with wood boats, sailcloth, nets, iron, and other implements important in enhancing their subsistence economy. Inuit sites in Hamilton Inlet display the European spoils of this predatory behavior.

Late 17th– Early 18th C. Permanent Settlement and Service. By the end of the 17th C., Inuit had expanded operations west of Brador along the LNS, which was beginning to be populated by French trading and fishing stations. By 1800, despite Innu hostility and establishment of Fort Ponchartrain at Brador and the English Fort York near Chateau, accommodations began to be made with the Europeans by enterprising Inuit families who began to settle permanently near European establishments



NMAI 225, 279, -80



NMAI 225, 362

Fig. 12. Inuit influence on Innu subsistence technology: Innu toggling harpoons from Mingan (NMAI 225,479, -80) and ulu from Natashquan (NMAI 225,362).

here and along the LNS, as indicated by the Joliet, Brouague, and other records and by the presence of Inuit domestic materials at the Hare Harbor Basque site on Petit Mécatina. Traditional Inuit life continued, but with a major introduction of European technology and goods, probably including staples like flour, tobacco, cloth and objects of social prestige like glass beads and ornaments, and ceramic vessels. The LNS Kettle Head and Baie des Belles Amours boulder and winter sod house sites date to this period. Almost certainly the motive behind these settlements was not simply traditional Inuit subsistence – although the traditional Inuit subsistence pattern still persisted – but rather benefits of association with European establishments, not only including material culture transfer but protection, service employment, and social alliance, and other tangible and intangible benefits. There is little demographic trace of these first Inuit settlers on the LNS today, but their cultural legacy may have continued in the form of Inuit material culture

and coastal subsistence adaptations to the harp seal fishery.

Mid-18th C. Accommodation and Cooperation. The Seal Islands winter house at Chateau suggests that by this time some Inuit families were accustomed to living in the northern part of the Straits close to growing European forts, posts, and fishing stations in sod dwellings that no longer have entrance passages but utilized Inuit oil lamps and pots, harpoons, dog sleds and other Inuit implements, while much of their other domestic material is of European origin. These resident Inuit were also probably adopting middlemen status in dealings between Europeans and Central coast Inuit communities and a growing cadre of Central Labrador Inuit “big men.” One also expects there to have been an out-migration of Inuit women who by this time were establishing households with European settlers, and there may also have been mixed households in nearby Inuit communities as well (Stopp 2002: 85). This was a remarkable period for Labrador Inuit as a whole, as its population from the Straits to Cape Chidley included the full range of Inuit historical roles and contact stages: LNS shore pioneers and post-assistants; middlemen settlers in southern Labrador, Hamilton Inlet, and Cartwright; trading tycoons among quasi – Christianized Inuit in Hopedale and Nain; Heathen Inuit in the Torngat region of northern Labrador.

Early 19th C. Re-settlement and Integration. Extensive documentation exists for the second wave of Inuit settlement on the LNS from communities along the Central Labrador Coast. Moving as family groups or as single individuals who then married French settlers (which was the pattern of early French traders in Hamilton Inlet), a strong Inuit component came into existence in LNS settlement areas, where prior traces of 18th C. Inuit settlement may also have been present. The transfer of Inuit technology to Innu peoples (harpoons, ulus, fish spears, dogsleds, etc) probably dates to this period. The extent of this transfer raises questions about whether it resulted from direct Innu contacts with French or with Inuit along the Labrador coast, from the LNS, or from both sources. Many of these Inuit elements were present among 19th and early 20th C. Algonquian Indian groups as far west as Tadoussac and the inner Gulf of St. Lawrence. Another aspect of this period on the LNS was the rapid, direct, one-generational assimilation of Labrador Inuit into the

local French settlement community, which was quite different from the establishment of a distinct long-term Métis "liveyere" society of mixed fishermen-trappers on the central Labrador coast (Charest 1998: 14, 22).

While still only a skeletal framework requiring elaboration and refinement, this reconstruction presents a more plausible scenario of Inuit history in the southern regions than former models which assume maintenance of cultural area boundaries, separate settlements, economies, and ideologies; lack of multi-lingual and inter-ethnic families; and absence of hostage-taking, forced service or outright slavery, and indentured or voluntary service. The archaeological information reveals a pattern of Inuit settlement south of Cartwright that conforms roughly to what is known from most Arctic and Subarctic cultural boundary zones throughout the Northern Hemisphere: (a) initial contact in which European technology holds powerful sway over native people; (b) a phase in which natives quickly learn to exploit European vulnerabilities such as inability to travel, hunt, and survive independently, absence of supporting communities, requirement for European foods and tobacco; (c) native intimidation of early European emissaries, explorers, and traders; (d) early trade and accommodation; (e) splits in native populations between "post" and "heathen" natives and establishment of middlemen among both groups; (f) increasing native settlement and inter-ethnic mixing at or around European posts, or European settlement in Native regions; (g) religious conversion and acculturation, and breakdown of native social structure; and (h) various subsequent engagement scenarios. Labrador Inuit seem to have followed a similar path, and because Europeans did not arrive in Inuit communities on the central coast until the mid-18th C. and in northern Labrador until the 1770s, Labrador Inuit culture remained intact and continues strong today, despite traumas of disease, loss of key species like walrus and whales, and nearly 500 years of European engagement along its southern boundary.

The model proposed here resembles historical acculturation models first presented by Richard Jordan and Susan Kaplan for the Central Coast, scenarios outlined by Garth Taylor in the debate over southern Inuit in the 1980s, and Loring's and Cabak's more recent work on the "heathen" Inuit

of northern Labrador (Loring 1998; Cabak 1991). This view suggests a continuum of culture change along the Labrador coast for 500 years driven by two dominant forces: the desire by Labrador Inuit to maintain their culture, independent life style, and traditional economy; and external forces of modernization and innovation that have brought new technologies, economies, and demographics, diseases, and religion into play. For the first three hundred years of contact these forces were focused largely in the south, but their effects also emanated into far northern Labrador. For the past two hundred years external forces were brought into play directly by European involvement within Inuit communities, although many today are still essentially "southern" in origin, operating through Newfoundland and Canadian political processes.

In reviewing the ethnohistory issues of the 1970-80s, current data support elements of all four established positions. Taylor's view of predatory and opportunistic 16-17th C. Inuit excursions to the south finds support from both historical and archaeological evidence, and his position that Inuit did not fully occupy and settle the Labrador coast south of Cartwright seems largely valid based on the continued dearth of permanent Inuit settlement in southern Labrador, the Straits, and Quebec. Clermont's emphasis on substantial Inuit southern settlement, even with the support of Stopp's new evidence, seems difficult to maintain, at least on the strength of the evidence available today. Although some Inuit families maintained households in the south in the 16th to early 18th C., there is little archaeological evidence for substantial or permanent Inuit settlement (as opposed to seasonal, sporadic, or transient "use and occupancy," for which there is extensive historical documentation) south of Cartwright, and certainly not west of Cape Whittle and Harrington Harbor. Martijn's view is reinforced by new data from Hare Harbor at Mécatina, which one can say is "something more than transient visitors" but on the other hand does not indicate a wave of Inuit population expansion and settlement of the sort demonstrated on the central and northern Labrador coast. Rather, it appears to be evidence of opportunistic actions of small numbers of individual Inuit or Inuit families forming alliances with European agents and becoming established near or at posts and stations

that needed assistants, watchmen, laborers, intermediaries, and brokers. This appears to fit well with the ad hoc economic approach taken by Trudel. Continued research will probably reveal more of this pattern from the LNS and areas north of the European zone in the Straits. So far it does not seem that whole new Inuit communities took root in these southern zones but see note 2. Finally, to answer the obvious counter-question to account for records of hundreds of Inuit foraging in the south in the 17th and early 18th C., I believe it is typical Inuit behavior to make advantage of their highly-developed transport technology and adaptations and the bounty of the northern oceans to explore opportunities of all sorts.

CONCLUSION AND TRIBUTE

Migration is an important component of anthropological study as it lies at the heart of culture change, reveals dynamics of culture-environmental interactions, and involves complicated processes of social change between different groups of people. Labrador has proven to be an important research region for such studies owing to its geographical location at the boundary of arctic, subarctic, and temperate zones; its cultural diversity; its history of environmental change; and its one thousand years of European-Native interactions. The southern limit of Inuit culture is only one fascinating subject involving contacts between arctic peoples and cultures and their southern neighbors. While many types of interactions known for Inuit would not have occurred between Dorset, Groswater, or Pre-Dorset and their southern neighbors, many other equally-fascinating phenomena must have occurred during their tenure at this important environmental and cultural interface during the past 4000 years. We may never comprehend more than a few of these encounters and challenges, but just trying enriches our understanding and appreciation for the hundreds of thousands of individuals who called these lands home. Gulløv has succeeded in writing such a chapter for the early historic southern Greenland Inuit. His work inspires us with its rigor, humility, and breadth. We can hope for as much, eventually, for Labrador and its little-known Inuit history.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper owes much to the continuing encouragement and research of Susan Kaplan, Stephen Loring, Selma Barkham, and my late friend René Levesque, who twenty years ago encouraged me to investigate the research potential of Quebec's Lower North Shore. Richard Jordan provided the initial inspiration for new ways of thinking about Thule culture in Labrador, and Jørgen Meldgaard was instrumental in my, Jordan's, and later Susan Kaplan's convergence with the rich Inuit history of Eskimo Island in Hamilton Inlet. Garth Taylor, Charles Martijn, and Marianne Stopp provided much stimulation through their conjunctive approach to ethnohistory and archaeology, and Martijn has been the chief architect for southern Inuit studies of the Quebec shore and a chief resource for its early history. Marianne Stopp reviewed this paper and made several important corrections. Nathalie Hammel and Matthew Bass assisted my museum inquiries about the collections of William Stiles and William Coverdale; and Patricia Nietfeld and Linda Greatorex provided access to collections and archives at the Museum of the American Indian. Christie Leece and Marcia Bakry assisted with illustrations. My largest debt of gratitude goes to H. C. Gulløv for keeping the flame of Thule research burning brightly in Copenhagen, for his many excellent publications and papers (including some early English versions I had the pleasure to edit), and for his inspirational talent as an archaeological artist and illustrator.

REFERENCES

- Auger, R. 1987. Probabilities for a Late Eighteenth Century Inuit Occupation of the Strait of Belle Isle. — *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 11(1): 47-66.
- Auger, R. 1991. Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: From the Written Sources to the Archaeological Evidence. — *Collections Nordicana* 55. Centre d'Études Nordiques, Quebec.
- Auger, R. 1993. Late-18th and Early-19th Century Inuit and Europeans in Southern Labrador. — *Arctic* 46(1): 27-34.
- Auger, R. 1994. Les maisons en tourbe dans le détroit de Belle Isle (1760-1850). — *Recherche Amérindiennes au Québec* 24(1-2): 3-17.

- Barkham, S. 1980. A Note on the Strait of Belle Isle During the Period of Basque Contact with Indians and Inuit. – *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 51-58.
- Belvin, C. 2006. The Forgotten Labrador. Kegashka to Blanc Sablon: a Short History of the Lower North Shore. – Queens University Press, Montreal.
- Bird, J. 1945. Archaeology of the Hopedale Area, Labrador. – *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 39(2): 117-188.
- Cabak, M. A. 1991. Inuit Women as Catalysts of Change: An Archaeological Study of 19th Century Northern Labrador. – Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina.
- Charest, P. 1998. Les Inuit du Labrador canadien au milieu du siècle dernier et leurs descendants de la Basse-Côte-Nord. – *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 22(1): 5-35.
- Dumais, P. & Porrier, J. 1994. Témoignage d'un site archéologiques Inuit, Baie des Belles Amours, Basse-Côte-Nord. – *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec* 23(1-2): 18-30.
- Fitzhugh, W. W. 1972. Environmental Archaeology and Cultural Systems in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador. – *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* 16. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- Fitzhugh, W. W. 1977. Population movement and culture change on the central Labrador coast. – *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 288: 481-497.
- Fitzhugh, W. W. 1983. Archaeological surveys in the Strait of Belle Isle. – In: Sproull, J. & Thomson, C. (eds). *Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador 1982. Annual Report* 3: 118-132. Historic Resources Division, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Fitzhugh, W. W. 1987. Archaeological ethnicity and the prehistory of Labrador. – In: Auger, A., Glass, M. F., MacEachern, S. & McCartney, P. (eds). *Ethnicity and culture*: 141-153. Chacmool Archaeological Association, University of Calgary, Calgary.
- Fitzhugh, W. W. 1997. Biogeographical Archeology in the Eastern North American Arctic. – *Human Ecology* 25(3): 385-418.
- Fitzhugh, W. W. 2006. Cultures, Borders, and Basques: Archaeological Surveys on Quebec's Lower North Shore. – In: Rankin, L. & Ramsden, P. (eds). *From the Arctic to Avalon: Papers in Honour of James A. Tuck Jr.* *British Archaeological Reports International Series* 1507: 53-70.
- Goddard, I. 1984. Synonymy. – In: Damas, D. (ed). *Handbook of North American Indians* 5. – Arctic: 5-7. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
- Gosling, W. G. 1910. Labrador: Its Discovery, Exploration, and Development. – John Lane, New York.
- Groison, D., Litwinionek, L., Pintal, J.-Y. & Perras, S. 1985. Programme de recherches archéologiques, municipalité de la Côte-Nord du golfe du Saint-Laurent, activités 1984-1985. – Rapport déposé au Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Québec.
- Hammel, N. 2003. Notes on William F. Stiles' Work for William H. Coverdale, Collector. – Manuscript available from the author (nathamel@globetrotter.net).
- Hantzsch, B. 1930. Eskimo Stone Graves in Northeastern Labrador and the Collection of Anthropological Material from Them. – *Canadian Field Naturalist* 44(8): 180-182.
- Harp, E., Jr. 1951. An Archaeological Survey in the Strait of Belle Isle Area. – *American Antiquity* 16(3): 203-220.
- Harp, E., Jr. 1964. Evidence of Boreal Archaic in Southern Labrador and Newfoundland. – *Anthropological Series* 61. *National Museum of Canada Bulletin* 193(1): 184-261.
- Hawkes, Ernest W. 1916. The Labrador Eskimo. – Canada. Department of Mines, Geological Survey Memoir 19. *Anthropological Series* 14. Ottawa.
- Hind, H. Y. 1863. Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula: the Country of the Montagnais and Nasquapee Indians. 2 Vols. Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, London.
- Jenness, D. 1965. Eskimo Administration III. Labrador. – *Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper* 16.
- Jenness, D. 1967. Eskimo Administration IV: Greenland. – *Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper* 16, Montreal.
- Jordan, R. 1977. Inuit Occupation of the Central Labrador Coast Since 1600 A.D. – In: Brice-Bennet, C. (ed). *Our Footprints Are Everywhere*: 43-48. Labrador Inuit Association, Nain, Labrador.

- Jordan, R. 1978. Archaeological Investigations of the Hamilton Inlet Labrador Eskimo: Social and Economic Responses to European Contact. – *Arctic Anthropology* 15(2): 175-185.
- Jordan, R. H. & Kaplan, S. A. 1980. An Archaeological View of the Inuit/European Contact in Central Labrador. – *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 35-45.
- Kaplan, S. A. 1980. Neo-Eskimo Occupations of the Northern Labrador Coast. – *Arctic* 33(3): 646-658.
- Kaplan, S. A. 1983. Economic and Social Change in Labrador Neo-Eskimo Culture. – PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Bryn Mawr College.
- Kaplan, S. A. 1985a. European Goods and Socio-Economic Change in Early Labrador Inuit Society. – In: Fitzhugh, W. W. (ed). *Cultures in Contact: The European Impact on Native Cultural Institutions in Eastern North America, A.D. 1000-1800*: 45-69. Anthropological Society of Washington, Washington.
- Kaplan, S. A. 1985b. Eskimo-European Contact Archaeology in Labrador, Canada. – In: Dyson, S. L. (ed). *Comparative Studies in the Archaeology of Colonialism*. – BAR International Series 233: 53-76.
- Kaplan, S. A. 2006. Boulder Structures: Miscellaneous seasonal occupations or a key to the Labrador Inuit Occupation of the Coast? – Paper delivered to the 39th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, Toronto.
- Kaplan, S. A. & Woollett, J. M. 2000. Challenges and Choices: Exploring the Interplay of Climate, History, and Culture on Canada's Labrador Coast. – *Arctic, Antarctic, and Alpine Research* 32(3): 351-359.
- Laughlin, W. S. & Jørgensen, J. B. 1956. Isolate Variation in Greenland Eskimo Crania. – *Acta Genetica et Statistica Medica* 6: 3-112. Basel, Switzerland.
- Loring, S. 1998. The archaeology of Eskimo Hütte (IkDb-2): Inuit sovereignty in the Torngat. – *Études/Inuit/Studies* 22(2): 53-76.
- Lysaght, A. M. 1971. *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766. His Diary, Manuscripts, and Collections*. – Faber and Faber, London.
- Maihot, J. 1978. Etymologie de "Esquimau:" Revue et corrigée. – *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 2(2): 59-69.
- Maihot, José, Simard, J. P. & Vincent, S. 1980. On est toujours l'Esquimaux de quelqu'un. – *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 59-76.
- Martijn, C. 1974. Archaeological Research on the Lower Saint-Lawrence North-Shore, Quebec. – In: Byrne, W. J. (ed). *Archaeological Salvage Projects 1972. Mercury Series Paper 15*: 112-130. Archaeological Survey of Canada, National Museum of Man, Ottawa.
- Martijn, C. 1980a. The "Eskimaux" in the 17th and 18th Century Cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence: A Preliminary Discussion. – *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 77-104.
- Martijn, C. 1980b. La Présence Inuit sur la côte-nord du golfe St-Lawrent à l'époque historique. – *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 105-125.
- Martijn, C. 1980c. The Inuit of Southern Quebec-Labrador Peninsula: A Rejoinder to J. Garth Taylor. – *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 194-198.
- Martijn, C. & Clermont, N. (editors). 1980. *Les Inuit du Québec-Labrador meridional/The Inuit of Southern Quebec-Labrador*. – *Inuit/Études/Studies* 4(1-2).
- McCaffrey, M. 2002. The Elusive Landry Sties in Newport, Gaspé. – In: Fitzhugh, W. W., Loring, S. & Odess, D. (eds). *Honoring Our Elders: A History of Eastern Arctic Archaeology*: 226-235. Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
- Meldgaard, J. 1977. The Prehistoric Cultures in Greenland: Discontinuities in a Marginal Area. – In: Kylastra, H. P. (ed). *Continuity and Discontinuity in the Inuit Culture of Greenland*: 19-52. University of Groningen, Groningen.
- Packard, A. S. 1885. Notes on the Labrador Eskimo and the Former Range Southward. – *American Naturalist* 19(5): 471-481, (6): 553-560.
- Packard, A. S. 1891. *The Labrador Coast*. – N.D.C. Hodges, New York.
- Pastore, R. T. & Auger, R. 1984. Archaeological Investigations at Red Bay and Black Bay, Labrador. – In: Thomson, J. S. & Thomson, C. (eds). *Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador 1983*: 55-69. Annual Report no. 4, Historic Resources Division, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.

- Pintal, J.-Y. 1998. Aux frontières de la mer: la préhistoire de Blanc-Sablon. – Les Publications du Québec. Dossiers Collection Patrimoines. Municipalité de Blanc-Sablon. Government du Québec.
- Pintal, J.-Y. & Martijn, C. A. 2002. Early Bird Archaeologists Among the Bake Apples. – In: Fitzhugh, W. W., Loring, S. & Odess, D. (eds). Honoring Our Elders: A History of Eastern Arctic Archaeology: 217-225. Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
- Rankin, L. 2006. Venturing South of Groswater Bay: the Porcupine Strand Archaeological Project in Southern Labrador. – Paper delivered to the NABO Conference, "The View From Here: History and Ecology of the North Atlantic Region." September 20-24, Quebec.
- Schledermann, P. 1971. The Thule Tradition in Northern Labrador. – Unpublished M.A. thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.
- Schledermann, P. 1976. Thule Culture Communal Houses in Labrador. – *Arctic* 29(1): 27-37.
- Stopp, M. 1994. Cultural Utility of the Cobble Beach formation in Coastal Newfoundland and Labrador. – *Northeast Anthropology* 48: 69-89.
- Stopp, M. 1997. Long-term Coastal Occupancy Between Cape Charles and Trunmore Bay, Labrador. – *Arctic* 50(2): 119-137.
- Stopp, M. 2002. Reconsidering Inuit presence in southern Labrador. – *Études/Inuit/Studies* 26(2).
- Stopp, M. 2006. Settling a Rocky Shoreline: Possible Inuit Structures in Southern Labrador. – Paper delivered to a NABO conference: "The View From Here: History and Ecology of the North Atlantic Region." Laval University. September 20-24, 2006, Quebec.
- Tanner, V. 1944. Outline of the Geography, Life, and Customs of Newfoundland-Labrador. – *Acta Geographica* 8(1). Helsinki.
- Taylor, J. G. 1974. Labrador Eskimo Settlements of the Early Contact Period: Canada. – *Publications in Ethnology* 9, National Museum of Man, Ottawa.
- Taylor, J. G. 1977. Traditional Land Use and Occupancy by the Labrador Inuit. – In: Bryce-Bennett, C. (ed). *Our Footprints Are Everywhere*: 49-58. Labrador Inuit Association, Nain, Labrador.
- Taylor, J. G. 1978. Did the First Eskimos Speak Algonquian? – In: Cowan, W. (ed). *Papers of the Ninth Algonquian Conference*: 96-103. Carleton University, Ottawa.
- Taylor, J. G. 1979. The Case of the Invisible Inuit: Reconciling Archaeology, History, and Oral Tradition in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. – In: McCartney, A. (ed). *Thule Eskimo Culture: an Archaeological Retrospective*: 267-277. Canada. National Museum of Man. Mercury Series. Archaeological Survey Paper 88, Ottawa.
- Taylor, J. G. 1980. The Inuit of Southern Quebec-Labrador: Reviewing the Evidence. – *Études/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 185-194.
- Taylor, J. G. 1984. Historical Ethnography of the Labrador Coast. – In: Damas, D. (ed). *Handbook of North American Indians* 5. Arctic: 508-521. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
- Trudel, F. 1978. The Inuit of Southern Labrador and the Development of the French Sedentary Fisheries (1700-1760). – *National Museum of Man Ethnology Series Paper* 240: 99-122.
- Tuck, J. 1984. 1983 Excavations at Red Bay, Labrador. – In: Thomson, J. S. & Thomson, C. *Archaeology of Newfoundland and Labrador 1984*: 56-81. Annual Report 4, Historic Resources Division, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.
- Tuck, J. 1985. Excavations at Red Bay, Labrador. – In: Thomson, J. S. & Thomson, C. *Archaeology of Newfoundland and Labrador 1984*: 224-247. Annual Report 5, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.
- Turgeon, L. 1994. Vers une chronologie des occupations Basques de Saint-Laurent du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle – un retour à l'histoire. – *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec* 24(3): 3-15.
- Wintemberg, W. J. 1939/40. Eskimo sites of the Dorset Culture in Newfoundland. – *American Antiquity* 5(2): 83-102, (4): 309-333.
- Woollett, J. M. 1999. Living in the Narrows: subsistence economy and culture change in Labrador Inuit society during the contact period. – *World Archaeology* 30(3): 370-387.

Woollett, J. M. 2003. An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change. – PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, The City University of New York. (UMI Microform 3074693).

Woollett, J. M. 2007. Labrador Inuit subsistence in the context of environmental change: an initial landscape history perspective. – *American Anthropologist* 109(1): 69-84.

NOTES

1. Arctic Studies Center, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, fitzhugh@si.edu; www.mnh.si.edu/arctic
2. Fieldwork in 2008 revealed a charred wood floor made of Basque barrel staves directly below the paving stones of the Hare Harbor 1 Basque blacksmith shop. This floor was found to be the remains of a rectangular Inuit winter longhouse with a stone-lined entrance passage. On the charred floor together with Basque artifacts were toy Inuit soapstone lamps, a child's bow and arrow set, a miniature

bow fragment, and a man's tool box made of sawn planks pegged with wooden nails. The bows had diagnostic Inuit bow string notches (see report in *Smithsonian Magazine* February 2009 issue). Although no human remains were found, we believe it is likely that this house was the site of the attack of 1728 described in Brouague's notes of 1729 (Martijn 1980b:120; see François M. de Brouague 1923: 384, "Divers mémoires de M. de Brouague au Conseil de Marine", *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1922-23*. Québec, Ls.-A. Proulx 356-406). It appears that the Basque returned the following summer and discovering the charred remains of the Inuit house, covered it over with paving stones for their blacksmith shop. Later in the season we discovered the source of the Inuit and Basque materials previously found at the Hart Chalet site north of Blanc Sablon near the mouth of the Brador River: two and possibly three well-preserved Inuit winter sod houses with extensive deposits and middens, explaining the ivory needlecase (Fig. 11) found in 2007. Unlike the nearby Belles Amours winter Inuit site, whose occupation seems to have been brief and dating to the late 17th/18th C., the Hart Chalet site has thick deposits and its material culture suggests a late 16th/early 17th C. Inuit occupation.