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Cover Page Footnote

A version of this paper was presented in the Peripheral Spaces in Historical Places session at the annual CNEHA conference, on October 20th, 2018 in Halifax, NS. Fieldwork undertaken since then has allowed for the exploration and refinement of key ideas, and the revised version is presented here. I would like to thank Barry Gaulton for organising that session, and to Barry and Maria O'Donovan for organising this thematic issue of NEHA. Three anonymous reviewers provided feedback that greatly strengthened this paper. Financial support for this project was provided by the Northern Scientific Training Program, the Provincial Archaeology Office of Newfoundland and Labrador, the J.R. Smallwood Foundation, and a Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship (Doctoral) to the author. Valuable in-kind support was provided by the Hopedale Inuit Community Government and the Moravian Church. Special thanks are due to boat drivers and bear guards Albert Tuglavina and Reuben Flowers, and to the crew of the Agvituk Archaeology Project.

Inuit Land Use Patterns in the Hopedale Region

Deirdre A. Elliott

This article presents preliminary insights from an exploratory archaeological survey of the Hopedale region, Nunatsiavut. Despite its continued importance—from the 17th century as an Inuit whaling community to the late 18th century with one of Labrador's first Moravian missions, to today as the seat of the Nunatsiavut government—Hopedale has seen relatively little archaeological activity since the 1930s, and most of the islands and bays near the town had never been surveyed. A brief survey in the summer of 2018 recorded nearly 30 precontact, historical, and ethnographic sites, affirming the Labrador Inuit Association's 1977 statement: "Our footprints are everywhere." The majority of these sites are the remains of short- and long-term summer habitation sites and speak to the extensive and intensive use of Hopedale's outer coastal region by Labrador Inuit since the 16th century. Here I explore what this land use meant in terms of Labrador Inuit lifeways and mobility, and the intersection of Inuit and European presences (both transient and permanent) that these spaces represent. I thus demonstrate that, in addition to being on the periphery of many worlds, Hopedale has a long history as a nexus of economic and social activity.

Cet article présente les résultats préliminaires d'une étude archéologique exploratoire de la région de Hopedale, au Nunatsiavut. Malgré son importance continue, du 17e siècle en tant que communauté baleinière inuite, à la fin du 18e siècle avec l'une des premières missions moraves du Labrador, jusqu'à aujourd'hui en tant que siège du gouvernement du Nunatsiavut, Hopedale a connu relativement peu d'activités archéologiques depuis les années 1930, et la plupart des îles et des baies proches de la ville n'avaient jamais été étudiées. Une brève recherche à l'été 2018 a recensé près de 30 sites préhistoriques, historiques et ethnographiques, confirmant la déclaration de 1977 de la Labrador Inuit Association : « Nos empreintes sont partout ». La majorité de ces sites sont les vestiges de sites d'habitation d'été occupés à court et à long terme et témoignent de l'utilisation extensive et intensive de la région côtière extérieure de Hopedale par les Inuits du Labrador depuis le 16e siècle. Ici, j'explore ce que cette utilisation des terres signifiait en termes de modes de vie et de mobilité des Inuits du Labrador, et l'intersection des présences inuites et européennes (à la fois transitoires et permanentes) que ces espaces représentent. Je démontre ainsi qu'en plus d'être à la périphérie de nombreux mondes, Hopedale a une longue histoire en tant que plaque tournante d'activités économiques et sociales.

Introduction

Labrador has long been viewed as being on the periphery of several worlds. At the edge of the Arctic Ocean, Labrador has typically been viewed by Arctic archaeologists as at the periphery of an imagined "core" Arctic world. At the margin of the European, American, and Newfoundland migratory and shore-based cod, whale, salmon, and seal fisheries since the 16th century, Labrador is often consigned to the feathered edge of the European world. Finally, Inuit archaeology is often relegated to the periphery of historical archaeology literature because Inuit histories are traditionally oral, experiential, or are held in landscapes, rather than written histories that are readily accessible. As I seek to demonstrate in this article, however, there is a flip side to these viewpoints: the margins of worlds might be better understood as a nexus, a place where these worlds meet, mingle, exchange, and give way to one another in various ways.

In the summer of 2018, I conducted an exploratory archaeological survey of the greater region of Hopedale in Nunatsiavut, Labrador, in order to complement concurrent archaeological investigations of Agvituk, the original Inuit winter settlement that later became the town of Hopedale (FIG. 1). This article summarizes the results of that fieldwork, which substantially increased the archaeological record of Inuit summer-use sites in the region and puts them in context within the history of the region and, more broadly, within the history of coastal Labrador and interactions among cultures.

Figure 1. Hopedale 2018 survey location. (Base Map by CARTO; map by Deirdre Elliott, 2022.)

Hopedale, Nunatsiavut, Labrador

The community of Hopedale has a storied past. As an Inuit settlement, it was first occupied around 1600, at what came to be known as the village of Agvituk (Rollmann 2013: 154; Taylor 1974: 13). At the time, and continuing in many ways today, Agvituk was primarily a winter settlement where the fluid community congregated in about October, dispersing again in the spring (Taylor 1968: 143–166). In the late 1600s and throughout the 1700s, where previously they had typically lived one family to a house, Inuit lived more communally, in large houses with multiple sleeping platforms housing anywhere from a dozen to 40 people, often, but not always, closely related (Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1972, 1976; Taylor 1968, 1974). Given the tumultuous, uncertain, and even dangerous interethnic relations of the time, these imposing houses were perhaps effective defensive or deterrent structures and were certainly well suited to the production of surplus goods through sealing and whaling, and to the participation of certain family members in the pan-Labrador Inuit coastal trade network, which was then hitting its peak (Kaplan and Woollett 2000, 2016). Trade consisted of whale baleen and oil from the north (primarily from Nachvak, Saglek, Kangerdluksoak/Hebron, Okak, and perhaps Killinek and Agvituk/Hopedale) and seal furs and oil from everywhere in exchange for European goods from the south, such as ceramics; metals, especially nails, which were easily and quickly repurposed; firearms and ammunition; boats; trinkets; and later, trade beads (Rollmann 2013: 161–162; Taylor 1972, 1974: 33).

After a failed attempt in 1752 near the present-day community of Makkovik, Moravian missionaries, funded by the British government, established a station at Nain, then an Inuit summer settlement, in 1771, following from their Christianization efforts among the Inuit in southern and western Greenland (Hiller 1977: 83; Taylor 1972: 142). This had the effect of creating another entry point for the trade of European goods, albeit not the full desired suite, as the Moravians refused to sell firearms or ammunition until 1786 (Hiller 1968: 129; Rollmann 2011: 5). In 1776 they established a second mission north of Nain, at Okak, and a third mission station was established near Agvituk in 1782. This they named "Hoffenthal," or Hopedale. As their Inuit following grew, the village of Agvituk was depopulated, as converts moved to be closer to the mission station. Though this distance was not far, the mission strongly encouraged a change from multi- to single-family households, requiring the building of new homes in any case. Today, partially due to the closing of more northern mission stations and forced resettlement of Inuit families, the town has expanded greatly, once again covering the land on which Agvituk once sat.

But the history of the people of Hopedale, of Hopedalimiut, is only partially held in the history of that small patch of land. Agvituk was primarily a winter settlement, as was Hopedale, a stone's-throw away. From spring to late autumn each year, most families dispersed into the surrounding region (Rollmann 2002: 150; Taylor 1968). Among the important summer places away from Hopedale that are known are Uviluktok, also known as "Double Island" or "Mussel Island," the site of the first Inuit-erected Moravian church in Labrador (Rollmann 2010: 9), and Multa, an island well known for its excellent fishing, where, until recently, there existed a dock for mooring multiple motorboats. Though many places and islands around Hopedale bear names that hint at their history of Inuit use and occupation, few of these islands and places had ever been surveyed archaeologically or tied into the history of Hopedalimiut that is written and broadcast to the wider world. As noted by Kleivan (1966: 28) and Arendt (2010), echoing the sentiments of the missionaries, though it was occasionally the wish of the church to keep Inuit near the mission year round and therefore away from influences contrary to its cause, the seasonal distribution of work and necessary resources did not permit it. It is in these peripheral spaces around Hopedale that the research discussed here developed.

My own interest in the archaeology of Hopedale began with a name. "Arvertok," the name of the original village site, translates to "place of whales" and refers to bowhead whales specifically (*apvik* or *arvik*—discrepancies in spellings exist due to variations in transcriptions, and though "Arvertok" is the name that appears most frequently in historical accounts, the preferred Inuttut spelling, "Agvituk," will be used henceforth). But even

within the context of Inuit whaling in Labrador, Hopedale can be considered a peripheral space. Lacking the deep, narrow fjords of far northern Labrador, Hopedale was the least productive active whaling community, in terms of captured whales, for which there is documentation during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Taylor 1988: 124). Among communities for which drift whales were recorded, Hopedale was also the least productive; though the relatively unique combination of captured and drift whales gave Hopedale middling status in terms of total whale resources when it is taken into account that captured whales were of far greater utility than salvaged ones (Taylor 1988). Perhaps whaling was more successful at Agvituk in the times before there are written records, though it was likely never as successful as places farther north. Given that long-distance travel between communities, including between Agvituk and the most successful whaling communities to the north, was frequent, it is unlikely that Agvituk residents thought of their region as truly the best for whales. Instead, the name "Agvituk" may reflect another important function of the community. Agvituk, and later—after the establishment of a Moravian mission station just a few hundred meters away—Hopedale, functioned as a gathering or a stopover place for hunters from the north and Inuit middlemen who traded with Europeans to the south. The single most important Inuit-harvested good that exchanged hands here was baleen from the bowhead whale (Rollmann 2013; Taylor 1976, 1988).

Though Agvituk translates to English as "place of whales," it may, in the historical period at least, be better thought of as the place where whale products were traded. This is not to discount the possibility of more intensive and dedicated whale hunting prior to Moravian recordkeeping. Prior excavations by Junius Bird in 1934 and by Beatrix Arendt from 2007 to 2009 revealed that sod houses in the region were constructed from sod, stone, and timber (as opposed to the whale bones used more heavily north of the tree line), but incorporated whale elements in the dwelling, such as vertebrae used as work surfaces (Arendt 2013: 312), pointing to the habitual use of whale remains and the history of whaling in the area. However, Moravian records indicate that, by the later 18th century, active whaling in the Hopedale region was in decline in terms of both attempted and successful hunts, hinting strongly at the decline of the bowhead whale population in Labrador as compared to whaling areas farther north (Taylor 1988).

What these records indicate instead is a bustling economic nexus. At any time, the population of Hopedale consisted not only of Inuit whose regular homes were there, but also Moravian missionaries, European settlers, as well as any number of Inuit whaling/trading crews or whole families on their way north or south to hunt whales or to trade (Hiller 1968; Kleivan 1966; Taylor 1976).

This fact is reflected in late 18th-century Moravian accounts of the comings and goings in Inuit life along the Labrador coast. Especially before the mission stores began selling firearms and ammunition to Inuit, but even afterward (in order to trade for prestige goods not sold in the mission stores or to avoid the Christianization efforts of the missionaries), Inuit from northern Labrador—primarily from Agvituk—routinely traveled en masse to southern Labrador, stopping at the mission stations along the way to visit kin and to trade, and then on the return traveling farther north to the whaling communities at Kivalekh/Okak, Kangerdluksoak/Hebron, Saglek, and Nachvak (Hiller 1968: 130; Rollmann 2011, 2013; Taylor 1974). In 1765, missionaries scouting for locations at which to erect mission stations recorded 300 people in the vicinity of Chateau Bay traveling south from Hamilton Inlet and Agvituk in order to trade and obtain quality wood for arrow shafts (Hiller 1968: 131; Taylor 1972, 974: 7). Few of these families and/or trading crews overwintered at Chateau Bay, choosing instead the relative safety and resource richness of Sandwich Bay/Netsektok and Hamilton Inlet/Aivektok/Aivertok. This pattern of movement continued for some time, despite the dangers inherent in the journey. In 1772/1773, 200 people who traveled south did not return and are presumed to have perished in the dangerous storms, by sickness or hunger (Rollmann 2013: 163), or in conflict, frequent at that time, with Europeans or another indigenous group (Rollmann 2015). Illustrating this high degree of mobility that characterized Inuit life is the

following passage by Taylor (1974: 8), taken from the Nain mission diary entry for August 13, 1880:

> Two boatloads of Eskimos from Arvertok arrived at Nain in 1780, and stayed for a five-day visit. Before returning south they told the missionaries that they had spent the past three years in the Hamilton Inlet area. The winter before that had been spent on an island near the Inlet, and in the spring they had visited Europeans in Sandwich Bay. (Taylor 1974: 8)

This picture of the Hopedale region as the center of Labrador trade networks is somewhat more tentatively seen in earlier Inuit winter house sites (FIG. 2). The greater Hopedale region is unique in Labrador for its relatively high number of presumed 17th-century sod house structures, which for reasons not yet clear are rare in Labrador relative to 16th- and 18th-century houses (Kaplan 1983: 310, 326–327). Unfortunately, many of these were fully excavated by Junius Bird in 1934 and yielded few artifacts or faunal remains from which to better understand that period. However, recent research in Hamilton Inlet and in southern Labrador have increased the numbers of known 17th-century Inuit sod houses, and comparison among these sites — particularly with respect to house architecture in light of the paucity of artifacts recovered from the Hopedale houses—may shed light on the murky history of 17th-century Labrador Inuit life (Elliott 2020; Rankin 2014, 2015; Rankin, Beaudoin et al. 2012; Rankin and Crompton 2016; Stopp 2015). These sites will be important in deciphering past Inuit lifeways, given later accounts of Inuit habitually stopping in the region on the way north or south, and because these sites give some of the first glimpses of the Inuit-driven acquisition and use of foreign material, and of the emergence of the enigmatic "Communal House Phase," tantalizingly hinted at in transitional house forms (Rankin 2015: 101).

The site of Karmakulluk, which translates as "place of low walls of old houses" (Bird 1945: 163), located 6 km northwest of Hopedale, likely predates the settlement of Agvituk by approximately 100 years. Its eight or nine sod houses were all fully excavated by Junius Bird in 1934. What relatively few artifacts were recovered suggest the houses, which do not seem to have been inhabited simultaneously, date to the late 16th through early 18th centuries (Bird 1945; Kaplan 1983: 452–453). Though the numbers of recovered artifacts were reportedly scanty, they included fragments of soapstone vessels, several objects made of whalebone, several nails and spikes, and traditional Inuit tools made of slate, as well as one or two of iron, presumably reworked using iron acquired from Europeans or from European habitation sites (Bird 1945). Reexcavation at this site and excavation of an in situ house wall and midden deposits in 2017 augmented this collection and contributed the addition of a small number of glass beads. Though typically viewed as a formal trade good, beads in such small quantities (three in total) are more likely the result of chance finds by Inuit from either abandoned European sites or in encounters, direct or indirect, with other indigenous groups in possession of trade beads. Such encounters are known to have occurred along the Labrador-Quebec lower north shore and in the Strait of Belle Isle during the 16th and 17th centuries, though the identities of the respective parties are not always clear (Barkham-Huxley 1980; Pope 2015).

Summer 2018 Fieldwork

The Hopedale regional survey took place over the course of seven days in July 2018. The purpose of the survey was to investigate high-potential areas not previously visited by archaeologists, with the goal of documenting sites and features in order to contribute to the knowledge of the history of the greater region. A secondary goal was to visit six previously documented Inuit sod house sites for monitoring and to gain personal experience with the sites to aid in a later, broader analysis of Labrador Inuit lifeways in the past. All six of these sites were revisited (FIG. 2), and most were found to be in relatively stable condition, despite the previous extensive excavations at some (Arendt 2011, 2013; Bird 1945). The former village site of Agvituk is thought to have been nearly completely built over in the course of Hopedale's expansion, especially pronounced since the 1951 construction of an American radar station nearby, which brought many temporary jobs to the town, and the un-/resettlement of families from Hebron in 1959

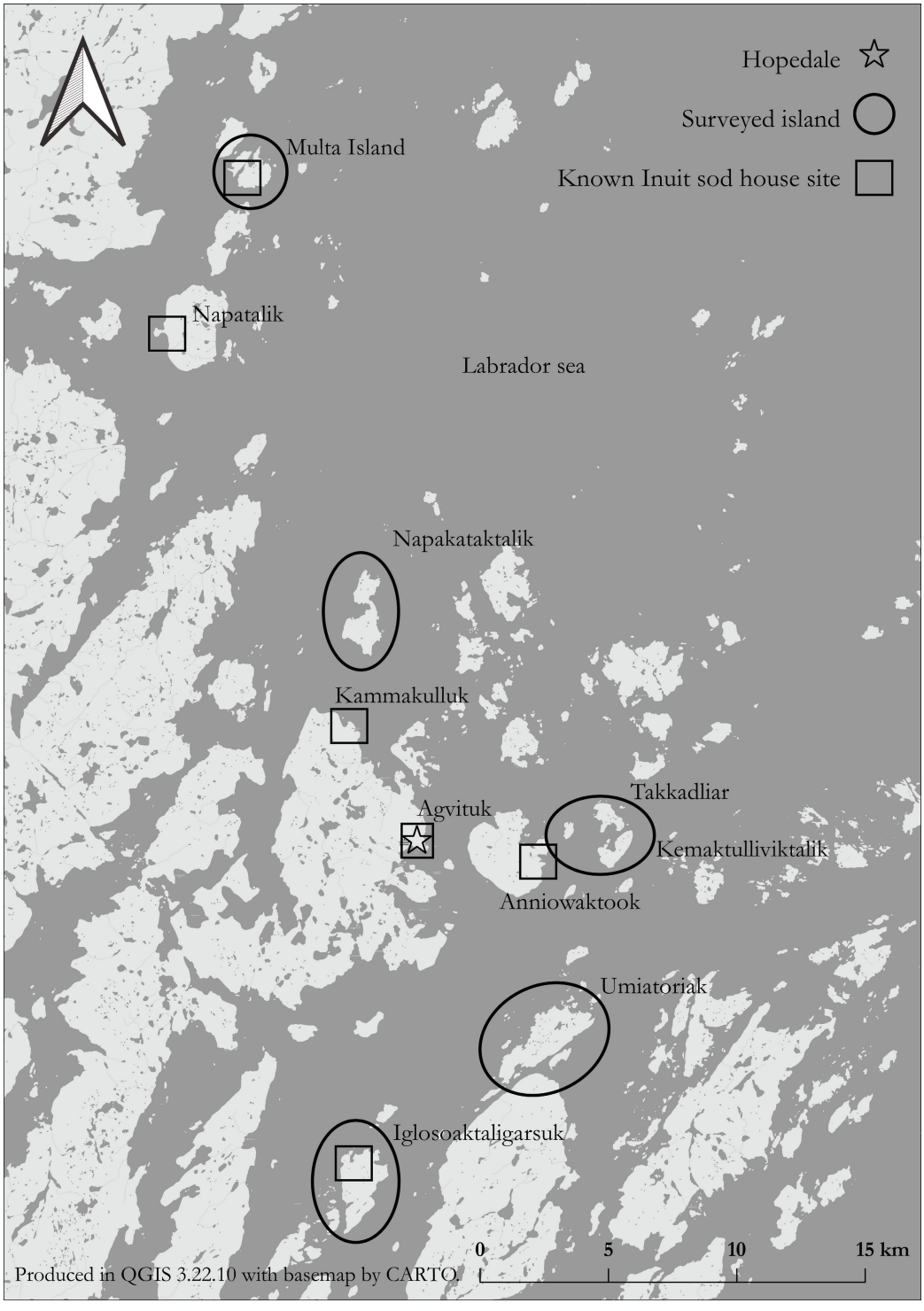

Figure 2. Locations of surveyed areas and revisited Inuit sod house sites. (Base map by CARTO; map by Deirdre Elliott, 2022.)

(Brice-Bennett 1977: 111; Rankin et al. 2019). At Igluksoaktulligasuk ("place with small sod houses"), where Bird excavated 3 sod houses in 1934, only 6 or 7 of the reported 12 could be re-located, owing to persistent snow cover along the northern margin of the site. However, Igluksoaktulligasuk houses, like those at Karmakulluk, are consistent in construction and in artifact types (again, scanty numbers), with brief occupations in the 17th or early 18th centuries. Unlike at Karmakulluk, where many of the houses were bilobed or contained multiple sleeping platforms in a rounded house, the houses at Igluksoaktulligasuk are rectangular in outline and appear to possess two or three sleeping platforms. A test pit was placed in the entrance tunnel of an unexcavated house with two visible platforms, yielding a square-shafted wrought-iron nail; two small fragments of very thin, green-tinted glass; two fragments of soapstone; and very decayed seal remains, all consistent with an occupation during the time in which Inuit were obtaining European goods indirectly, though it is too small a sample to rule out a later, trading-period occupation.

The rest of the 2018 fieldwork consisted of a boat-and-foot survey of several islands, during which 29 new sites were recorded and the records for 8 more were amended to include features not previously recorded (Elliott 2019). Surveyed areas are highlighted in Figure 2. Some of the newly recorded sites likely predate Inuit settlement in the region, but most are composed of features, such as stone caches and stone markers, that might date to almost any time in Labrador's human history. Several are uniquely Inuit, such as stone graves. Others still stretch into the ethnographic period and continue to see use today, including hunting blinds at prime hunting locations and a series of quasi-natural caves used for camping out or for getting out of the weather. The vast majority of recorded features, however, were tent rings.

Of the several dozen tent rings recorded in 2018, few could be definitively classified within the typologies outlined by Tremayne (2017) and Kaplan (1983: 247). As they point out, in the Arctic, description and classification of tent rings without full excavation are complicated by a number of factors. These include the partial burial of architectural stones by vegetation, particularly the flatter paving/bench stones of tent interiors; the reuse of tent rings through time; the reuse of architectural stones in later structures, in some locations resulting in "fields" of tent rings in various stages of dismemberment; and the subjectivity inherent in the identification of such ephemeral and often ambiguous features (Kaplan 1983: 246; Tremayne 2017; Whitridge 2016). In large part because of their exposed nature, tent rings are often nearly devoid of preserved cultural materials, and assignment to a particular cultural period is often difficult even with testing or complete excavation (Brake and Davies 2017; Jordan 1977; Rankin 2015). Disregarding these challenges, the majority of recorded tent rings appear as rough circles of semi-regularly spaced cobbles a single course in height and ranging between 2 and 5 m in diameter. Deviations from this simple pattern include the presence of: a central or off-center cluster of cobbles interpreted as small hearth features or lamp stands (the presence of charcoal in some of these supports this interpretation); a straight line of tightly spaced cobbles running through the center of the ring, possibly pole supports or a partition; a second, larger ring of cobbles encircling the inner ring, the outer ring being interpreted as stones to hold guy lines or perhaps to support addition structures; a second lobe (a bi-lobed tent ring) or a square/rectangular shape instead of round (FIGS. 3, 4). Tent rings were typically located on low-elevation flat areas with low vegetation in sheltered, sandy coves and are frequently associated with one or more small caches. A small number of tent rings recorded during this survey were located in less clearly favorable locations—at higher elevations and away from sheltered harbors. These may represent occupations by earlier pre-Inuit or maritime Archaic peoples when sea levels were higher and maritime landscapes were quite different.

Echoing reports of other regional archaeological surveys of Inuit settlement and land-use patterns, tent rings occasionally were found singly, but more frequently occurred in pairs or small groups, and sometimes in large concentrations whose continual reuse hampers any attempt at forming a feature count (Kaplan 1983; Tremayne 2017). Sites with the highest numbers of tent rings and/or evidence of frequent reoccupations were those with

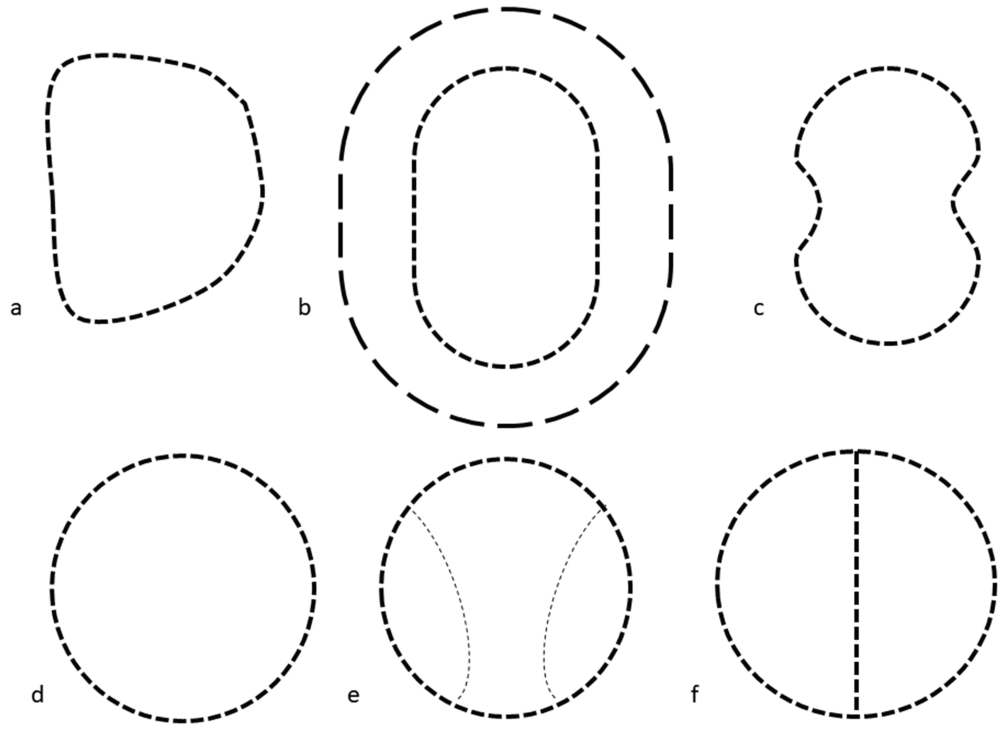

Figure 3. Schematic diagram of tent-ring forms encountered in 2018: (*a*) square or D-shaped single ring of cobbles; (*b*) circular or ovate ring with a secondary outer ring; (*c*) "waisted" single ring, sometimes approaching a figure eight in appearance; (*d*) circular or ovate single ring; (*e*) circular ring with internal demarcations (with flatter stones); and (*f*) circular single ring with central line of cobbles. Any of these forms may be found with or without an internal cobble feature (pole support or activity area). (Figure by Deirdre Elliott, 2020.)

easy access to key resources—especially seals in the spring, but also mussels, migratory-bird nesting sites, and prime fishing spots. Some of these locations, particularly those with higher numbers of tent rings, appear on historical land-use and place-name maps and lists (Brice-Bennett 1977: 196; Wheeler 1953), and relate to historical and recent land use, and likely earlier and continual land use as well. Others more likely relate to earlier land-use patterns, and others still, particularly those that occur singly and show no signs of reuse, may relate to exploratory land use by new Hopedale residents or temporary camps of Inuit passing through the area. Elsewhere in Labrador, dense concentrations of tent rings, including buried tent rings and evidence of heavy reuse and dismantling, have been associated with reoccupations spanning up to several centuries (see, e.g., Rankin [2015] and Whitridge [2017]).

Without excavation it is difficult to assign a tent ring to a particular time period based on size or the presence of internal features because these reportedly varied with personal preferences—e.g., preference for the *kudlik* (traditional oil lamp) inside or outside the tent, or ownership of a stove—and group size (Balikci 1970; Savelle 1987). While early historical Netsilingmiut summer tents are described as possessing a single, central pole, Nunatsiavummiut tents from the late 19th and early 20th centuries appear to have been constructed using several poles arranged radially, sometimes with the addition of two poles crossed to form a triangle for the door, onto which animal skins were stretched (seal or caribou, depending on what was most available).

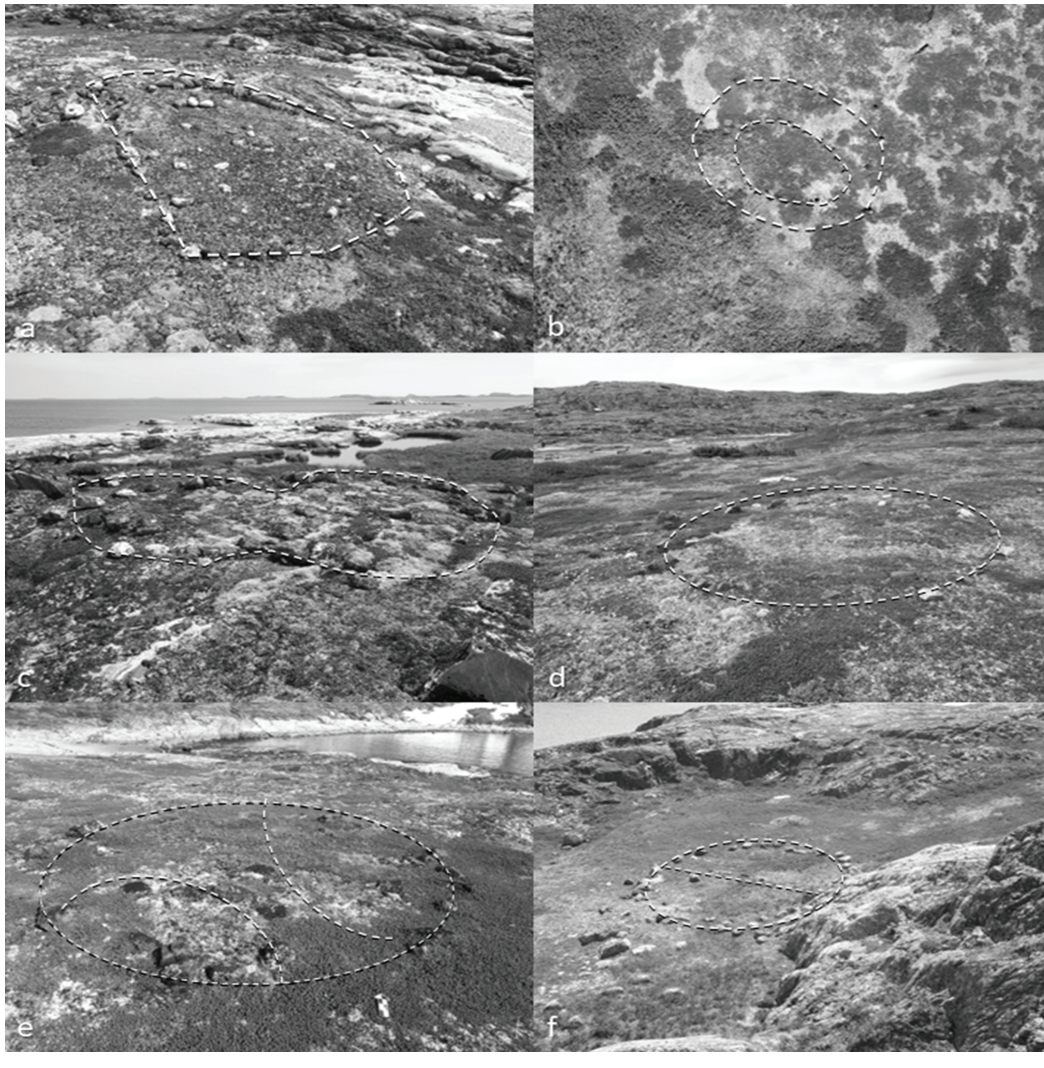

Figure 4. Sample of tent rings photographed in 2018. As in Figure 3: (*a*) D-shaped, this example ~2.5m in length; (*b*) ovate with secondary ring (UAV photo), this example ~7 × 4 m in inner ring; (c) "waisted" (highlighted in white), this example ~2m in width and 4m in length; (d) circular, this example ~4m in diameter; (*e*) circular with internal demarcations (highlighted in white), this example ~3m in diameter; and (*f*) circular with central line of cobbles, this example ~5m in diameter. (Photos by Deirdre Elliott, 2018.)

For Nunatsiavummiut tents, cobbles were placed on top of the outer edge of the tent fabric, forming a roughly circular or ovate outline. A wide variety of tent forms were in use during this period, however. The adoption of canvas tent fabric, beginning about the turn of the 20th century, does not appear to have resulted in a significant change in the pattern of stone placement until the mid-20th century, when the use of a lumber frame became commonplace.

Labrador—Hub of Economic Activity

Most European goods from early historical period Inuit sites in Labrador were variously salvaged from abandoned outposts, bartered in sometimes-tense face-to-face interactions, or

stealthily stolen (and it should be noted that theft and violence occurred on and originated from both sides) (Crompton 2015; Pope 2015; Rankin and Crompton 2016). An early Basque shore presence in southern Labrador, beginning certainly by 1540 and lasting perhaps just shy of a century, was a reliable if risky source of these sought-after foreign goods (Barkham-Huxley 1984). Basque ships arrived in the region somewhat earlier, pursuing the lucrative cod stocks, but soon realized the potential of a whale fishery as well, constructing shore stations from the Gulf of St. Lawrence north to Chateau Bay. They hunted the slow-moving bowhead and Atlantic right whales[1] from small *chalupas*, towing the whales into the shallows for processing. This annual hunt took place during the summer and fall, leaving the shore stations abandoned and safe for Inuit to collect materials over the winter, though reports from at least as early as 1588 indicate that confrontations occurred between Inuit and French fishers/Basque whalers during the warm seasons as well (Barkham-Huxley 1984; Pope 2015; Rankin and Crompton 2016; Stopp 2002: 80). Plummeting whale stocks and continued hostilities caused the Basques to abandon the Labrador shore stations by 1630, shifting their dwindling numbers of ships deeper into the St. Lawrence (Barkham-Huxley 1984: 518; Pope 2015). Meanwhile, the French had themselves established seasonal fishing rooms, and though they were not immune to raids by the Inuit, this industry proved much longer lived, and mixed accounts of violence, peaceful trade, and quiet theft continue intermittently until the 18th century, when relations sweetened (Pope 2015: 25).

The Labrador floater fishery began on an industrial scale in 1763 following the Treaty of Paris, in which France relinquished claims to mainland North America—including those it held in Labrador—ceding lands and rights to the UK. This allowed for the massive expansion of the Newfoundland-based cod fishery into Labrador waters, a practice called "going down north" or "down the Labrador" (Bartlett 2006: 86; Black 1960: 267). This "floater" fishery differed from the preceding French operation in that the French, concentrated mostly in the Strait of Belle Isle, practiced a shore-based fishery with permanent or semi-permanent quarters on the mainland—a distant but reliable source of goods (traded or pilfered) for Labrador Inuit (Pope 2015; Rankin and Crompton 2016). Though initially vessels from Newfoundland roamed only as far north as Cape Harrison (the northern boundary of Hamilton Inlet, just south of Makkovik), by 1870 over 500 vessels were fishing at or passing by Hopedale on their way farther north, eventually reaching as far as Ramah Bay (Black 1960: 268; Gosling 1910). Though Sir Hugh Palliser (governor of Newfoundland from 1764 to 1769) forbade participants in the Labrador fishery establishing structures on land, Moravian mission diaries as well as ships logbooks report that Inuit continued to pursue trading opportunities with passing vessels (Kleivan 1966: 117). Missionaries were to ensure the continuance of traditional Inuit lifeways and economic practices, all while spreading Christianity and bringing Labrador Inuit under the jurisdiction of the English government. This, it was argued, could only be accomplished by limiting contact between Inuit and outside colonizing forces, such as these passing ships (Hiller 1968; Kleivan 1966: 124). In time, of course, serious compromises to these goals would have to be made in order to keep up with Inuit demand for the latest trade goods and in order to maintain economic feasibility in the face of the region's highly seasonal and disjointedly patchy resources (Kleivan 1966; Rollmann 2011).

Along with the mission's main goals of preserving traditional Inuit lifestyles—albeit Christian ones—came discouraging contact between Inuit and other European influences. This was accomplished in part by the prohibition of fishing vessels landing on the Labrador coast; but, as the missionaries at Hopedale complained bitterly, Inuit were consistently willing to travel vast distances in order to gain access to the products these vessels carried that were not available or were too pricey in the mission stores—notably, firearms and ammunition until 1786, and prestige goods and alcohol thereafter (Hiller 1968: 117, 129; Kleivan 1966: 117, 119; Rollmann 2011). The economic stability of the missions was dependent upon regular trade with Inuit for such products as skins and furs, sea-mammal oil—

1 Both were referred to then as "Right Whales" because, owing to their thick, oil-rich blubber and long, valuable baleen, they were the "right" whales to hunt (Higdon 2010: 185).

further evidenced by the presence of rendering ovens at the mission stations—and fish, which were sent back to England every year on the annual mission ship (Hiller 1968: 112; Kleivan 1966). However, the procurement of these goods took Inuit away from the mission stations for much of the year. In particular, as the Moravians encouraged Inuit to fish for and store cod to guard against winter hunger, the summer cod fishery brought Inuit within easy reach of passing fishing vessels in the 19th century (Kleivan 1966: 119). As attested by the famous captain and Arctic explorer Bob Bartlett, Labrador Inuit in the Hopedale area carried on this practice of opportunistic trade until at least as recently as the late 1800s, when a group of Hopedalimiut visited Bartlett's family fishing station at Turnavik (an island group approximately equidistant from Hopedale and Makkovik) to trade sealskins and furs for tea, flour, and tobacco (Bartlett 2006: 86–87).

During these summers spent fishing away from Hopedale, Inuit would have lived primarily in skin or canvas tents, sometimes reusing the same places from year to year. Other times, especially beginning in the 1860s when vast numbers of schooners arrived annually and raced for the best fishing locations, the floater fishery began to encroach upon places habitually used by Inuit for cod jigging—often the same important Atlantic-salmon- and Arctic-char-spawning rivers at the mouths of bays that had traditionally been and are today held by individual Inuit families (Brice-Bennett 1977: 112, 132). When encroachment occurred, families complained and sought new areas to set their nets, setting up new summer camps, sometimes in subpar locations (Kleivan 1966: 120).

Discussion

The disproportionate representation of summer habitation structures (tent rings) on the islands around Hopedale speaks to the extensive and intensive use by Inuit throughout the past four or five centuries. The variety of tent-ring styles speaks to the time depth of the use of temporary warm-season camps on the windswept islands and may also hint at the possession of different styles of tent by Inuit from different parts of Labrador, though more research is required here to construct chronological and/or regional typologies. As seen through historical accounts from Hopedale and elsewhere, the abundance of temporary camps around Hopedale may also point to the deeper history of the region as a center for trade for all of coastal Labrador. Far from being peripheral, I prefer to see Hopedale as a hub or nexus, a place in which many seemingly disparate threads are woven together.

From the 16th to the 18th centuries, Hopedale was not only a (quasi)permanent home to many Inuit who spent the winters at Agvituk and the summers on the seaward islands in a form of seasonal east–west transhumance, but was also a regular stopping point for those Inuit who practiced a form of economic transhumance from north to south, whaling or collecting baleen in the north to be traded in the south and bringing the trade goods north again (Rollmann 2013; Taylor 1976, 1988). These practices would have left a variety of lightly built structures behind, including caches (the second most abundant feature recorded during the 2018 survey) for storing foods and goods, and rings of stones in a variety of shapes, sizes, and configurations to hold down tents. In the 19th century, the diaries of the Moravian Mission in Labrador and legal documents associated with the church attest to the intrusive floater fishery, as the church attempted time and again to assert its tenuous rights to land and sea in order to oust the fishing vessels. The vessels brought with them what were seen as harmful influences, such as alcohol, and crowded what had traditionally been Inuit fishing places, while the local Inuit at their summer places on the islands sometimes opted to trade for new goods with the fishing boats rather than the mission—all of which were detrimental to the church's spiritual and economic ambitions (Hiller 1966, 1977).

These peripheral summer spaces thus come to represent something that was not only central to the Labrador lifestyle—moving house in order to take advantage of seasonally abundant resources—but also the intersection of different webs of interaction. They were meeting places for Inuit from more distant regions, and they were the sites of interaction (sometimes terse) between Inuit and fishers from Newfoundland

and farther abroad. They were the sites at which Inuit made a living, as cod fishing in the summer provided an income with which to buy winter staples, and by which the Moravian mission, through this trade, kept itself financially solvent. Finally, they were the sites at which missionaries and floater fishers clashed, sometimes directly and at other times through Inuit intermediaries.

It is hoped that these surveys will help to dismantle colonial, European ideas of permanence that have been so pervasive in discussions of Inuit settlement and land use since at least the 1970s (Fitzhugh 1977; Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Taylor 1977). Over a century ago, around the time many of these spaces were likely occupied, Mauss and Beuchat (1904) discussed the ubiquity and necessity of seasonal mobility. As Marianne Stopp (2002) thoughtfully illustrates, Inuit settlement or "permanent" land use should not be defined by the presence of winter houses, which are taken to signify year-round habitation, nor can "regional settlement" necessarily be equated with regional identities or regional permanence of any particular person (Stopp 2002: 94–95). Although a significant proportion of the tent rings in the Hopedale area most likely belonged to Inuit who would have identified as "Arvertormiut" or "Hopedalimiut"—the latter being especially true, as the mission encouraged families to settle and stay in one region—it should also be remembered that Inuit lifeways in the past and even today are characterized by a high degree of seasonal transhumance from outer-coastal to inner-coastal to inland environments, as well as multiyear travel and settlement between north and south; see the example above from Taylor (1974). The ubiquity of a variety of seasonal habitation structures throughout the Arctic attests to the necessity and time depth of this practice (Whitridge 2016).

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