

After Red Bay: A Basque and Inuit Joint Venture on the Quebec Lower North Shore

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1. Introduction

Nearly forty years have passed since Selma Huxley Barkham and James Tuck searched the shores of Red Bay for archaeological confirmation of Barkham's archival discovery of 16th century Basque voyages to *Gran Baya*. Both arrived from different scholarly directions. Barkham had been Librarian at the Arctic Institute of North America in Montreal, and Tuck was an archaeologist at Memorial University with a background in Indian prehistory. Barkham had spent the previous five years researching Spanish Basque archives where she discovered records of a little-known chapter in Canadian history (Bélanger 1971); Tuck had recently completed excavations at the 4,000 year old Port aux Choix Maritime Archaic cemetery in Newfoundland and with Robert McGhee had reconstructed an 8,000-year culture history for the Labrador coast of the Strait of Belle Isle. Neither Barkham nor Tuck imagined the extent of Basque archeological remains that were soon to be revealed throughout the Gulf of St. Lawrence from northern Nova Scotia to Newfoundland and from southern Labrador nearly to Quebec City.

The discoveries at Red Bay stimulated a decade of archaeological surveys, mostly along the Strait of Belle Isle and southern Labrador as far north as Chateau (Azkarate *et al.* 1992). Tuck began major excavations at whaling stations at Red Bay, known to Basques as Butus or Buitres (Barkham 1987), uncovering trywork ovens for processing whale blubber, cooperages, wharves, and a cemetery with 142 interments (Tuck and Grenier 1989; Curtis 2009). In the 1570s as many as 15 ships and 900 men hunted and processed whales yearly at this location (Loewen 1999). Barkham's studies also revealed the tragedy of the *San Juan*, a whaler that was driven ashore and sank in 1565 as it was about to embark with 1,000 barrels of whale oil. Parks Canada teams meticulously excavated and recorded this vessel and a *chaloupa* found beneath it in the late 1970s and early 1980s, eventually publishing a four volume study of the ship and its contents (Grenier *et al.* 2007). While these studies were progressing, Barkham wrote a series of papers based on her archival studies (Barkham 1977, 1978, 1980, 1984, 1989) and produced an illustrated multi-authored monograph (Barkham

1987). Meanwhile several historical studies appeared providing wider context for Basque whaling and cod-fishing in the Northwest Atlantic (Proulx 1986, 1993, 2007; Turgeon 1986, 2000).

Recognition of the distinctive features of the 16th century Basque archaeological complex soon resulted in Basque sites being recognized as far north as Chateau in southern Labrador, in southeastern Newfoundland, and in Cape Breton. By 1630 their distribution had expanded to include the Magdalen Islands, Chaleur Bay, eastern Gaspé, and locales along the Quebec Upper North Shore, especially around Tadoussac and Sept Isles (Figure 1). Most of these were whaling sites that were recognized by the presence of ovens; only a few of these sites have been excavated and most have limited artifact collections other than the ubiquitous roof tiles. Loewen and Delmas (2011, 2012:240) have outlined in great detail what is known about the history and economics of the Basque occupation of these regions between 1530 and 1760 and have divided this era into four periods: (1) The Basque gateways period of 1530-1580 in which Basque whaling and cod-fishing was conducted primarily in the eastern Gulf and Strait of Belle Isle, with few European competitors; (2) The western expansion period, from 1580 to 1630, which saw a decline in Basque dominance and resulted in an open access zone in the St. Lawrence Gateways region during which Basque operators established whaling and fishing stations in the western Gulf amidst growing competition from other European competitors, especially the French, whose Quebec colony had by this time been established. During this period trading also became a feature of Basque activities while whaling declined and cod-fishing became increasingly dominant; (3) A third period from 1630-1713 saw Basque captains retreat from whaling and Native trade and begin to focus almost exclusively on the cod fishery, in three regions: Placentia Bay, occupied by both French and Spanish Basque fishers; the southern Gulf, attended by Lapurdians and French Basques; and western Newfoundland and the Quebec Lower North Shore, which attracted Gipuzkoans and Bizkaians; (4) The fourth and final period, 1713-1760, is characterized by fish and commodity traders and was initiated by the Treaty of Utrecht which restricted Bizkaians and Gipuzkoans from landing on Newfoundland. French Basque Lipurdians continued to fish on Newfoundland's western and northern "French shores," but gradually they were replaced by French vessels from north of the Basque homelands. Basque activities continued in the Cape Breton region, but their activities tended more toward mercantile trade and cargo transfer than fishing (Loewen and Delmas 2012; Mimeault 2011). By the end of this period Basque activities were no longer originating from their homelands and had become connected with political and economic systems based in Quebec City.

Loewen and Delmas elaborate this chronology with a discussion of the economic and political forces in Europe and the Gulf region that shaped these periods. They inventory and discuss the distribution of Basque sites of the different periods and present synopses of archaeological features and finds. Special attention is given to ceramics, since these remains are crucial for dating archaeological sites, few of which, as yet, have specific historical documentation. Other archaeological

materials, such as stemware, clay pipes, glass beads, and various types of metal implements are noted but are not discussed in detail, in part because the material has not yet been analyzed (beads), fall too late in the chronology to be useful (clay pipes), are too poorly preserved (iron and wood implements), or have not yet been researched sufficiently (ceramics and glass).

During the past decade it became evident that a focus on 16th century Basque whaling had eclipsed nearly two centuries of subsequent Basque activities that followed the whaling heyday that ended ca. 1580. The reasons for this bias are easy to discern. It was relatively easy to identify Basque whaling sites by the prominent shore-side oven piles and conspicuous roof tiles and whale bones. Many of these sites are known in modern times as places that still have Basque-derived names and continue to be frequented by whales. Once the origin of the tiles had been identified as Basque, sites began to be found in many locations, and it was assumed that all belonged to the 16th century. Basque archaeology was known primarily from only two sites: Red Bay (Grenier *et al.* 2007) and Stage Island in Chateau (Azkarate *et al.* 1992). These mid-16th century sites have served as the only land-marks for comparison, so when furnaces and tiles were found elsewhere they were assumed to be part of the same Gran Baya Whaling complex.

In fact, by the 1990s historians were pointing out that Basques had a much longer history in Newfoundland, the Straits, and Gulf (Turgeon 1986, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2000). And while a major decline occurred for a number of decades after 1580, by the early 1600s small numbers of Basque vessels were returning again, not only to Grand Bay but to the northern Maritimes and central and western Gulf as well.

Loewen and Delmas have summarized what is known about Basque sites dating to the Western Expansion phase, 1580-1630. Excavations have taken place at several sites in the western Gulf near the mouth of the Saguenay. Three sites have been excavated at Île au Basques (Gaumond 1961; Lalande 1991; Turgeon 1998). One of these, Hoyarsabal, produced ovens and deposits with tiles, fat, and food remains, and artifacts including coarse Red Bay (RB2,3) earthenware types from Portugal and/or southwestern France, blue-green bottle glass, musket balls, a harpoon head, and glass beads that excavators date to ca. 1580-1630. On the north side of the estuary the L'Anse à la Cave site at Bon-Désir produced ovens, a cooperage, and artifacts including several types of Red Bay earthenware (RB3, RB4, and RB7) made in southern France, southwestern France, and either Spain or southern France, respectively (Lalande 1989; Loewen and Delmas 2012:237), and gunflints, musket balls, glass beads, glass stemware, and a knife suggested dates of 1585-1630. Further east, on Île Nue in the Mingan Islands, Drouin (1988) reported several single and double-hearth ovens, and excavations recovered nails, an RB3 earthenware cooking pot, and blue-glazed and green-glazed majolica. Later a clay pipe was also found, suggesting a date after 1630 (Loewen and Delmas 2012:239). The material culture from these sites is very limited; site reports were prepared before publication of the

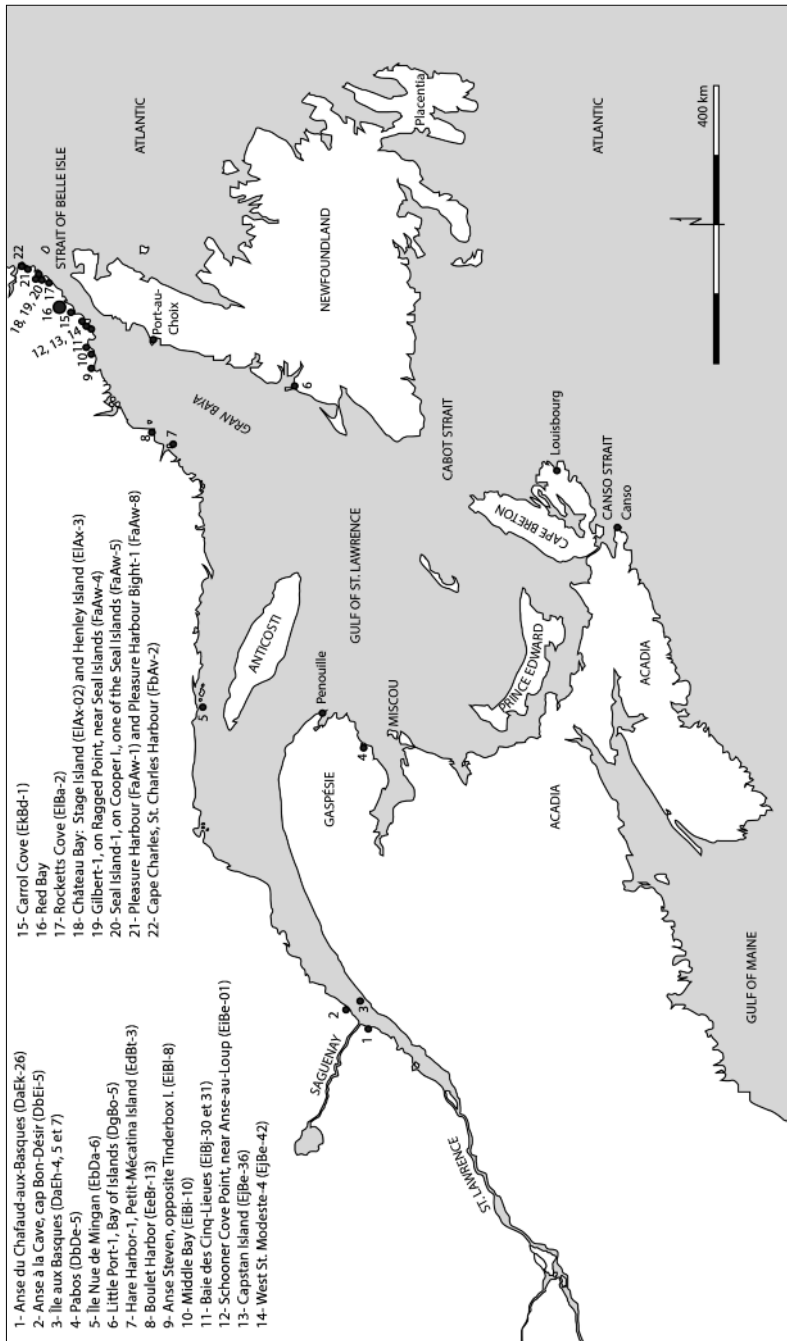


Figure 1. Map of the Quebec Lower North Shore (after Loewen and Delmas 2012, Fig.1)

Red Bay data; and few European collections were available for comparison. Given the small number of beads and other diagnostics, dates from these sites can only be considered approximations.

The few sites known from the Eastern portion of the Quebec Lower North shore had a slightly different character. At Cinq Lieues (EiBj-30, 31) tiles and nails have been found (Niellon 1986; McGain 2004), and in 2014 a single set of ovens came to light. A few kilometers further west, excavations at Middle Bay (EiBi-10) produced a double oven, a probable cooperage floor, a tile storage area, shore structures, whale bones, earthenware types RB1-4, 7, Normandy and Béarn stoneware (RB 13, 16), lusterware and monochrome majolica, stemware, nails, and other material. All of these features and artifacts were comparable to Red Bay finds, prompting the excavators to propose dates between 1575 and 1620 (Niellon 1986; Niellon and Jones 1984; Niellon and McGain 1987, 1989). Another site, Baie Stevens (EiBi-8), west of Middle Bay near Vieux Fort (Niellon 1986; McGain 2004), was found to have an oven and RB3-5 earthenware ceramics. These sites are located in the area near Brest which was occupied by Gipuzkoan fishermen in the 1590s (Azkarate et al. 1992:88; Loewen and Delmas 2012:238). Limited testing at Boulet Harbor, between Baie de Mouton and La Tabatière (Fitzhugh and Gallon 2002), produced roof tiles stratified beneath 18-19th C. ceramics.

The past thirty years have brought to light new information on Basques in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Provinces. James Tuck's field reports from the 1980s in *Archaeology of Newfoundland and Labrador* and his joint book with Robert Grenier in 1989, *Red Bay: World Whaling Capitol 1550-1650*, promoted the previously unrecognized importance of Basque whaling in the early development of the Western North Atlantic fishery. Selma Huxley Barkham's and Michael Barkham's (2000, 2009) papers made major contributions, and Selma's induction into the Order of Canada brought added attention. In Canada appreciation for this new chapter of early history was enhanced by a permanent exhibition in the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now re-named Canadian Museum of History). The crowning achievement came in 2013 when Red Bay was listed by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. The subject is less well-known in the United States, where the Basque footprint was virtually non-existent until after the California Gold Rush, which attracted South American Basques who later became sheepherders in the Rocky Mountains (Douglas and Bilbao 2005). Today large Basque populations are still found in Nevada and in Idaho, where a whaling exhibition produced at the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise revived interest in the early maritime chapter of Basque New World history. The story of courageous Basque whalers has even penetrated young adult literature through books like *The Whaler's Forge* (2009) authored by Christine Echeverria Bender.

2. Research themes

The whaling chapter of Basque history has captured the imagination of scholars of New World History, the general public, and Basque heritage populations scattered throughout the Western Hemisphere. What has been lost in this oversimplified view are the equally important historical threads of Basques as cod-fishermen and Native traders in the rough-and-tumble world of the early Canadian Maritimes. As Barkham has demonstrated (1980) and the archaeology of Red Bay supports, Basques probably had limited contacts with Native Americans during the heyday of their whaling era; Indian and Inuit groups probably avoided the Gran Baya (western Newfoundland, the Strait of Belle Isle, and Quebec Lower North Shore) region during the summer and fall seasons when heavily-armed Basque crews were present in nearly every cove and harbor. However, this may not have been the case during the initial decades of the 16th century. Tuck's excavations of a shallow pond at Twin Island found Inuit and Basque materials including a fragment of a ground slate endblade, a chert or nephrite drill bit, a soapstone pendant, and a quantity of harp seal bones closely associated with nails and items of European origin, without clear stratigraphy separation (Tuck 1985). While these finds could indicate contact between Basque and Labrador Thule culture, they also could be the remains of spring Inuit visits to Red Bay to scavenge iron, hardwood, ceramics, and possibly to obtain cached Basque chaloupas. The presence of harp seals suggests an Inuit occupation during late fall or early spring, when these animals migrate south at freeze-up and north after whelping in the late spring and early summer, before the Basque vessels arrived in mid-summer for the early fall whaling season. A piece of a soapstone lamp was also found in the sod in a post-Basque context at Red Bay on Saddle Island, suggesting at least intermittent Inuit visits. Similarly, a single collared rimsherd from an Iroquoian ceramic vessel was found below the roof-fall of a Basque shelter at Saddle Island Area C tryworks (Tuck 1985:233), either a Basque souvenir or indication of a brief Indian visit to check out the Basque operation and obtain European materials.

Considering the limited areal extent of excavation at Saddle Island, and the large number of Basque stations known from the Straits region, we should expect more archaeological evidence of interaction with Indian and Inuit visitors than suggested by the historical records summarized by Barkham (1980). We shall have to await more precise dating of the Inuit sites recently excavated on Saddle Island, and winter settlement sites in Cartwright and Hamilton Inlet (Kaplan 1985; Rankin 2012) to determine whether the European materials found in these dwellings and middens date to the 16th or 17/18th centuries. Preliminary studies indicate quantities of glass beads, clay pipes, and Normandy stoneware, suggesting 17-18th C. scavenging or trade. The relative absence of early faience, coarse earthenwares, and glass beads also supports the general scenario of limited 16th century Inuit contacts and an absence of active Amerindian trade in the Straits at this time. Historical and linguistic evidence shows that Basque interaction with

Newfoundland Beothuk and Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick increased greatly in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, when a Basque-Mi'kmaq pidgin trade language also emerged (Bakker 1989).

A second theme that has been lost in the whaling-focused view of recent Basque research is the awareness of the importance of cod-fishing throughout the Basque resource zone era. Given the small areas of underwater deposits excavated in the vicinity of the *San Juan*, and a single shore trench (Grenier et al. 2007) in which cod bones were found, one cannot really assess the extent of the cod-fishing economy at Red Bay, let alone at other sites. However, new data from Petit Mécatina (see below) indicates that a market fishery for cod may have been an important ancillary activity at 16th and 17th century sites. With the decline of whale availability in these waters after 1580 (Loewen 2009) cod became an important element in the Basque fishery.

A third theme to emerge in recent years is recognition that many of the putatively 16th century Basque sites may actually date after 1600. Most of the land excavations at Red Bay produced 16th century assemblages, but Area M produced Normandy stoneware, glass beads, and small glass ointment jars suggested a 17-18th century French component which was also associated with a thick, ten-meter wide layer of charcoal (Tuck 1986). Only a few of the eleven tryworks and shops on the eastern side of Saddle Island have been excavated and found to date to the 16th century. Knowledge of the extensive Basque components on the mainland shore east of Saddle Island have not been explored and are likely to reveal a longer and more complicated Basque history than presently known on Saddle Island. Red Bay is certainly the 'type-site' for 16th century Basque whaling, as recognized by its World Heritage designation in 2013; but almost certainly Red Bay holds more surprises, as indicated by the discovery in recent years of additional Basque galleon wrecks.

Another difficulty in recognizing post-1600 Basque sites, besides the paucity of excavated locations, is the nature of the artifact record. Many of the most common Basque material culture finds often are not diagnostic. Hand-wrought nails, from large spikes to small nails, often dominate 16th to early 18th century collections but are useless for dating. Knives and other bladed tools are usually too poorly preserved to be diagnostic. The ceramics from these sites have large amounts of earthenware and some stoneware for which Gusset (2007) has assigned 'Red Bay' type numbers. Only recently have studies been initiated to date and prove these types with more precision (Loewen and Delmas 2012; Barrachina and Ruiz 2011; Chrestien et al 1995; Herzog 2011; Myles 2007; Solaun Bustinze and Ruiz 2006). Some of the faience and plain earthenware types known from Red Bay appear to have long stylistic continuity and production histories that extend into the 17th and 18th centuries, and only a few, like the Muel glazed porringers from shops in Aragon, at present have known production centers and dates. These problems have contributed to the current 'collapsed' view of Basque history. As a result post-1600 single-occupation sites with earthenware, stoneware, beads, and clay pipes may have been interpreted as mixed multi-component oc-

cupations when they actually may represent single contexts. The number of glass beads collected from most of these sites has been too small to accurately indicate the full range of occupation, and thin soil development on many sites has contributed to problems recognizing stratigraphy.

3. The St. Lawrence Gateways Project

In 2001 The Smithsonian Institution began archaeological surveys along the Quebec Lower North Shore (LNS) from Blanc Sablon to the Mingan Islands. The purpose of the Gateways Project was to determine cultural boundaries and relations between this region and the Labrador coast over the past 8,000 years (Fitzhugh 2006). Within the first few years of the project we determined that Maritime Archaic cultures had occupied the LNS for the first half of the Holocene, until about 3,500 years ago. These cultures were closely related to the Labrador Maritime Archaic and used similar chipped and ground stone tools, practiced identical 'red paint' mortuary rituals, and had a maritime economic focus that included seals and walrus. The presence of Ramah chert from northern Labrador in LNS sites and cemeteries indicated long-distance cultural connections throughout the coastal regions washed by the cold Labrador Current. Around 2400 years ago Groswater Paleoeskimo peoples migrated into the LNS from Labrador during the cold Sub-Boreal climatic period. After a few hundred years, they vanished and Indian cultures re-emerged, while in Newfoundland, Dorset culture, a Groswater successor, appeared and occupied the entire island of Newfoundland between AD 0-600. After that, Eskimo peoples disappeared from these subarctic regions until the Little Ice Age, when a new Eskimo incursion stimulated by climate change and European arrival brought Labrador Inuit to the LNS between 1600-1750, where they settled as far west as Cape Whittle, 300 km west of the Strait of Belle Isle. Our surveys on the Quebec Lower North Shore located sites of all of these cultures. In addition, we found several previously unknown Basque sites. One of these, Hare Harbor-1 (EdBt-3), at the southern end of Petit Mécatina Island between the English-speaking town of Harrington Harbor and the French community of Tête à Baleine, became the centerpiece of the Smithsonian's Gateways Project from 2002-2013.

3.1. Hare Harbor-1 (EdBt-3)

When we discovered Basque roof tiles eroding from the bank in a small cove at the northeastern corner of Hare Harbor, which was known previously to French-speaking residents of Tête à Baleine as "Baie des Esquimaux," we imagined the site would be another 16th or early 17th C. Basque whaling station. In fact, identification of this very site at the southern tip of Petit Mécatina Island had been proposed nearly a century and a half earlier by Samuel Robertson (1843:28). Petit Mécatina –an island semi-attached to the mainland to the north– extends 15 kilometers into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and is known for its fine cod, mackerel,

halibut, and herring fishing on the banks south of the island. In fall it has a strong harp seal run, and from spring to fall, several species of whales feed or pass by during their annual migrations. Ducks and seabirds abound, and on the mainland caribou and moose, bear, wolf, fox, marten, lynx, and beaver were once plentiful. While the Island and headlands along the LNS carry tundra vegetation due to the chilling influence of the cold Labrador Current, the bays and river valleys are forested, and today one can harvest white spruce with trunks up to 60 cms in diameter.

The immediate surroundings of the site are notably dramatic. In 1833 the famous ornithological artist John James Audubon visited Hare Harbor while observing, collecting, and painting birds of the Lower North Shore in the schooner *Ripley*. On 14 July, the schooner approached Petit Mécatina to seek refuge during a storm in a small harbor near the southern tip of the island. The following excerpt describes Audubon's reaction to what is now called Hare Harbor:

July 14. The wind blew cold and sharp from the northeast this morning, and we found ourselves within twenty miles of "Little Macatine"...We doubled the cape and came to the entrance of the Little Macatine harbor, but so small did it appear to me that I doubted if it was the harbor; the shores were terribly wild, fearfully high and rugged, and nothing was heard but the croaking of a pair of Ravens and their half-grown brood, mingling with the roar of the surf against the rocky ledges which projected everywhere, and sent the angry waters foaming into the air. The wind now freshened, the "Ripley's" sails swelled, and she was gently propelled through the water and came within sight of the harbor, on the rocks of which we stood waiting for her, when all of a sudden she veered, and we saw her topsails hauled in and bent in a moment; we thought she must have seen a sunken rock, and had thus wheeled to avoid it, but soon saw her coming up again and learned that it was merely because she had nearly passed the entrance of the harbor ere aware of it. Our harbor is the very representation of the bottom of a large bowl, in the centre of which our vessel is now safely at anchor, surrounded by rocks fully a thousand feet high, and the wildest-looking place I ever was in. (from *The Journals of John James Audubon*, by Marie Audubon 1897)

Audubon's description is not a romantic's dream, but the record of an artist-ornithologist. Hare Harbor has a narrow entrance that is obscured by cliffs and hills, making it nearly invisible to passing traffic. Its seaward location is beyond the range of local Indian travel routes, and one needs local knowledge to recognize its hidden entrance. But once inside, the harbor opens up into a 1.5 km long bay served by a fresh-water stream at its west end and with high hills on both sides protecting it from all but the worst northeasterly storms (Figure 2). Paralleling the north side of the harbor entrance, behind a small ridge, a raised beach rises from a deep-water cove in the harbor's northeastern corner. To the north, a 300 m high cliff with a 20 m deep overhanging shelter at its base borders the beach terraces, which are covered with high grass, ferns, and Canadian burnette. When we arrived in 2001 pockets of alder were growing in the middle of the meadow and dense stands of tangled black spruce and bogs bordered the clearing to the east. An intermittent stream carried runoff through the middle of the site from the surrounding country.



Figure 2. Hare Harbor site (Petit Mécatina) viewed to the east

When we first landed, roof tiles were eroding from the northern edge of the cove where a large rock-fall from the cliff above had reached shore. The impact of tons of falling rock had crushed the raised beach deposits beneath the cliff, and mixed into the sand and clay beneath some of the large fallen blocks we found roof tiles, nails, and charcoal. At first we suspected tryworks had been located here along the shore and were buried under rock-fall, but we found no indication of charred or blubber-stained rocks or tiles, or any sign of ovens. These same materials –tiles, nails, and charcoal– were found everywhere throughout the site area beneath the shallow sod and turf layer. During excavations over many years only a few pieces of poorly preserved whale bone and baleen were recovered from the land site; acid soils had removed all other organic remains, leaving only charcoal and small patches of calcined bones in hearth deposits. Excavations began in 2002 and continued for two or three weeks each summer, through 2013. By this time, we had excavated large areas of the terrace site (Figure 3), discovering two roughly-paved Basque atelier floors (S1, a kitchen or wash-house; S2, a blacksmith shop); two Inuit winter dwellings (S3, S4); a partially constructed Inuit house (S5); four Basque middens (A2, A3, A5, A10); two Basque charcoal production areas (S7, A7); a mixed Inuit and Basque midden (A8); and a large Basque hearth (A9). During the initial investigation of the site in 2002, underwater reconnaissance revealed large rock-piles and Basque deposits in the cove immediately adjacent to the land site. In the underwater excavations that followed from 2003 to 2013, a team of student divers from the University of Montreal, under the di-

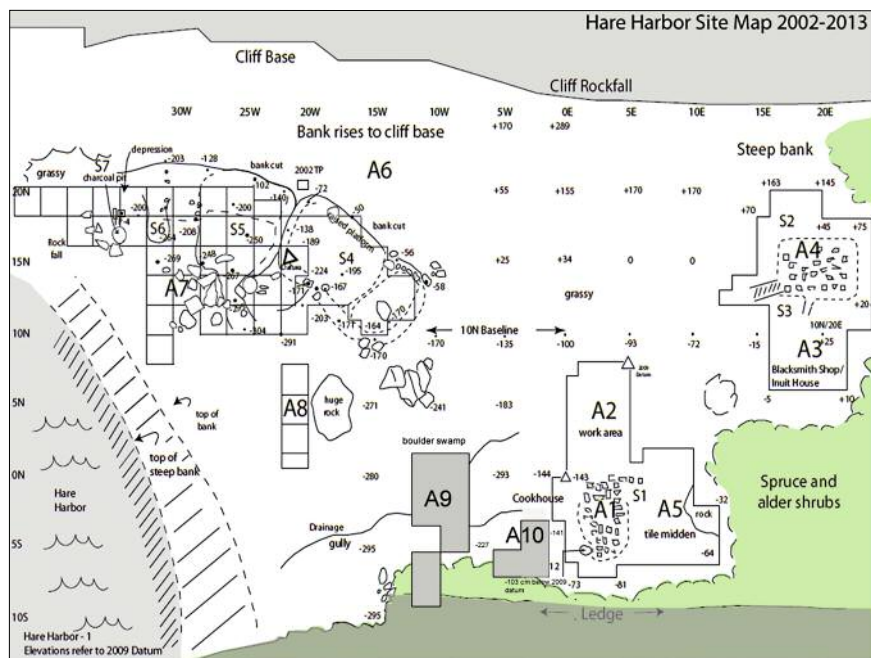


Figure 3. Hare Harbor-1 and excavation map

rection of Erik Phaneuf, recovered large amounts of well-preserved remains including shoes and fabrics, rope, a wide variety of ceramics, wood artifacts; whale, fish, mammal, and bird bones; a killek anchor, and many other items. All of these materials came from identifiable stratigraphic contexts. Strangely, not a single Inuit artifact was found in our underwater excavations.

3.2. Underwater Excavations

Exploratory dives initially revealed eleven oval or lenticular-shaped ballast piles distributed in a 50 x 100 meter anchorage area (Figure 4). Four large piles, each roughly 5 x 10 meters in dimension, were located in the center of the anchorage flanked by several smaller piles. The size and arrangement of the ballast dumps suggested the anchorage had been used over a number of years. In some years several vessels of different sizes were present at the same time, accounting for smaller out-lying piles, with the larger piles representing larger ships whose ballast had accumulated over several voyages; over time these central piles grew in size and began to overlap. Water depths drop steeply from the shore to 15 m just 30 m from the shore, resulting in a steeply-inclined bottom. It has been suggested that these piles may have been wharf foundations; however, no post remains are present and there is no evidence of post-holes. Further, some of the

piles are positioned at cliffs that have no shore access. It appears that this very small cove required ships to moor alongside each other, ‘Mediterranean-style,’ with their bows nearly touching shore and their sterns secured by anchors out in the harbor. Most of the ballast rock is non-fossiliferous limestone of undetermined origin, but almost certainly European.

Twenty 2 x 2 m units have been excavated to sterile sand in the vicinity of the central piles. Cultural deposits range in thickness from a few cms around the margins of the stone piles to as much as 2 m in the central areas, and a consistent stratigraphy prevails throughout most units. Above the basal sterile sand there is a cultural layer containing clumps of peat mixed with charcoal and roof tiles. A second cultural layer contains masses of axe-cut wood and wood chips. A third cultural layer had whale bones, and a fourth is packed with fish bones, mostly cod-fish, and bones of mammals and birds. The upper layer is composed of sand, silt, ballast rock, and tile, which are also present in other layers. Excavations at the northern ends of Stone Piles 4 and 6 produced a large dump of cobble ballast, probably from a chaloupa. The sequence of layers suggests a site history beginning with land clearance by burning followed by grubbing out stumps and roots, which resulted in masses of peat being washed into the harbor. This was followed by timber preparation and shed construction, and then whaling and finally, fishing. Peat stratigraphy on land in the center of the site shows up to 15 discrete occupation episodes identified by alternating bands of clean peat (indicating undisturbed sod growth) and trampled layers with embedded charcoal

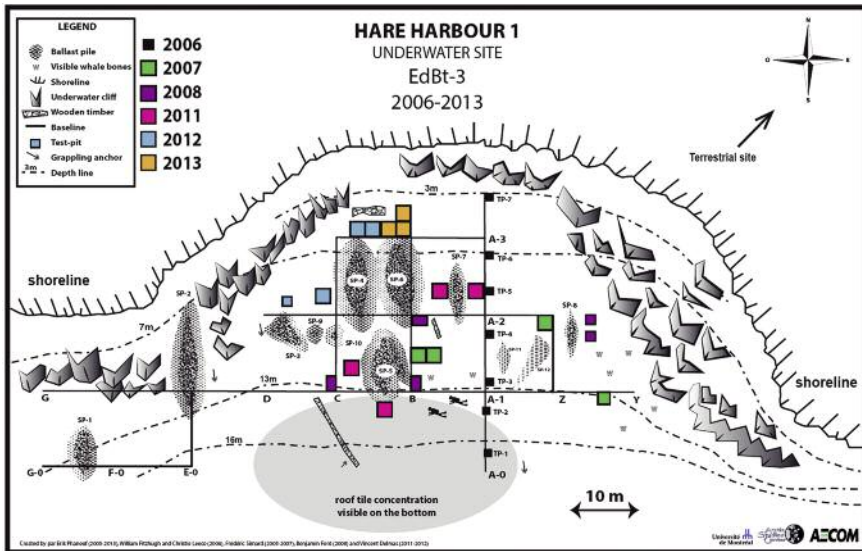


Figure 4. Hare Harbor-1 underwater excavation map. (credit: Erik Phaneuf)

lumps and pieces of roof tile. Some bands are wider than others, marking longer periods of abandonment before a new settlement episode began.

Cultural materials were recovered from all levels of the underwater site, but were concentrated mostly in the middle levels, which contained wood chips and fish bones. Most of the artifact types found on land are also found in the underwater site: lusterware and dual and single color porringers, marmite cooking pots, and a wide variety of other earthenware types. Anja Herzog (2011) has identified 25 distinct earthenware types from both the land and underwater sites. An Iberian olive jar, an intact dual-color faience (Muel) porringer found on top of merged Stone Piles 1 and 2, several nearly intact marmite cooking pots, and a set of nearly complete chaffing bowls are among the more important ceramic finds. Other materials included a stone-weighted killick wooden anchor, rope, woven grass mats, clothing, shoes, barrel parts, gunflints, lead shotgun pellets, wood, glass and ivory beads, tiles, and other items. The absence of stoneware suggests that most of these deposits date to the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Underwater surveys of Hare Harbor outside the anchorage cove failed to locate wrecks or boat remains. However, large whale bones were found partially buried in the bottom sediments at the west end of the bay where they had been dumped after being flensed a few meters east of the ballast piles at the base of a steep cliff. It appears that whales were brought up against this deep cliff-shore and were butchered by men in boats positioned outboard of the carcass. The first task seems to have been to sever the flippers which were allowed to fall to the bottom since they were too small to foul anchors.

Yearly reports of the underwater and land excavations can be found in the *Newfoundland Provincial Archaeology Office* reports, in *Smithsonian Arctic Studies Newsletters*, and in annual project monographs on the Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center website (http://www.mnh.si.edu/arctic/html/pub_field.html.)

3.3. Land Excavations

Excavations were conducted on land every year from 2002 to 2013 (Figure 5). The major structures, features and collections are summarized below:

3.3.1. Structure 1: Cook-house

The first structure we excavated was a paved rectangular floor covered with a 10-15cm thick cultural deposit containing large nails and tiles that accumulated from post-occupation roof-fall. A 60cm thick accumulation of mostly broken tiles resulting from yearly re-tiling events lay east of the floor. Fragments of a grey Normandy Stoneware vessel were found on the floor and in a 2m diameter hearth pit near the south end of the structure. Marmite cooking vessels with vertical cross-hatched roulette bands, green and brown glazed EW, clay pipes, glass beads, and several fragments of Inuit soapstone pots and lamps were also found on the floor. Charred blubber stains on two paving stones marked where Inuit oil lamps had been placed on the pavement. Similar stains are found in Inuit houses on rocks used as lamp-stands. One of the lamps had a hole in its bottom. In a layer strati-



Figure 5. Hare Harbor land site excavations viewed to northwest

graphically below the tile dump (Area 5) we found several cobble hearth circles resting on burned *in-situ* peat. One hearth produced a small iron fish hook while all contained fragments of scorched glazed and unglazed earthenware, mostly marmite cooking vessel fragments. Another hearth was surrounded by a pavement of baleen strips. No stoneware, beads, or pipe fragments were found in these hearths. A similar hearth, also with baleen, was found at the bottom of the Area 10 midden below the west side of S1, overlain by deposits that contained beads, pipes, and stoneware. These hearths are part of Hare Harbor's earliest Basque occupation (Occupation 1); the S1 pavement and its finds are assigned to a later Basque occupation (Occupation 2).

3.3.2. Structure 2, Smithy

Fifteen meters northeast of S1, and linked to the S1-A2 area by a 1.5m wide walkway paved with broken roof tiles, was another rough stone pavement that was probably the floor of a cooperage or smithy. This floor produced a gun frison, an iron hammer, a round-headed ship's bolt or rudder pin, a broken grapnel anchor prong, rod-shaped pieces of iron stock, clay pipe fragments, but no beads or slag and very few ceramics except a yellow-glazed plate or platter with creamy white paste. This find came from slumped hillside deposits a meter north of the smithy floor rather than being on the floor itself. The S2 floor also produced pieces of lusterware and a ship's lead-line sinker. A peat bog south of the smithy yielded several dozen barrel and tub bottoms and staves. The paucity of diagnostic finds (no beads, stoneware, earthenwares) makes the chronology of this structure

uncertain, but clay pipes suggest it belongs with Occupation 2, despite the presence of the early-dating yellow earthenware platter, which may be from an earlier occupation.

3.3.3. Structure 3, Inuit Dwelling

Below the S2 stone smithy floor we found the remains of an Inuit winter house whose central area was paved with barrel staves while its southern portion (a sleeping area?) was paved with twigs and branches. The upper surfaces of the staves were burned, and small patches of unidentifiable burned bone were found on the floor. The large rocks that had formed the south wall of the smithy floor turned out to be the remains of an Inuit 'cold trap' entryway consisting of a stone lintel and doorway posts with a raised threshold stone. Twenty centimeters below the threshold a stone-paved entry tunnel stretched several meters to the south beneath the Area 2 boggy midden. A small European-style wooden workbox made of sawn planks fastened by small wood pegs and iron nails had served as a step from the entryway up onto the inner house floor. Near the threshold stone we found a tiny toy soapstone lamp, a miniature wooden shooting bow only a few centimeters long, and one end of a boy-sized shooting bow. The full extent of the house could not be determined because its floor was preserved only where it was overlain by the smithy pavement; beyond the pavement the two levels merged into a single level resting on charred peat. It appeared that the Inuit house had burned and been replaced immediately after by the smithy since there was no intervening soil or turf development between them. Unlike the S4 Inuit dwelling described below, other than barrel staves and a workbox very few Basque finds, such as ceramics, beads, or pipes, were found.

3.3.4. Structure 4, Inuit Dwelling

After clearing alders and vegetation from the northwestern area of the site we discovered a second rectangular sod-walled Inuit winter dwelling with a collapsed lintel-and-post cold trap door and a subterranean south-facing entrance passage. The south and west walls of the structure were built of rock, turf, and whale bones that had been set into a matrix of pure charcoal rather than soil. The sleeping platform along the rear side of the house was excavated into the sloping hillside below the rock shelter overhang, and the front interior workspace was paved with flagstones. One of these slabs had a charred lamp stain, and nearby we found a soapstone cooking pot fragment. Earthenware and stoneware vessel fragments were lying on the house floor and on the entrance passage pavement. Among the finds were pyrites nodules, lead sounding weights and home-made lead fishing sinkers; glass beads, glass stemware, charcoal, pyrites fire-starter nodules; a bag of nails and an iron axe similar to one found in the A5 tile midden. The broken remains of several soapstone cooking pots that had been smashed in situ were found outside the rear wall. Many of the the S4 artifacts duplicated materials found in the S1 cookhouse; however, we were unsuccessful in fitting soapstone or ceramic fragments

between S1 and S4. Structure 4 is assigned to Occupation 2 and seems to have been abandoned abruptly, judging from a large bag of nails and an iron axe found lying prominently on the house pavement just inside the door. Northwest of S4 was an entry and lintel structure for a third Inuit dwelling; however this structure was abandoned during construction, probably because it was found to be directly under the cliff's drip-line. Few artifacts were found in this area.

3.3.5. Area 6 and Structures 6 and 7, Hearth and Charcoal Pit

Along the front of the cliff shelter northwest of S4 we uncovered a 1.5 diameter wide raised hearth platform on which a second soapstone lamp was found with a hole in its bottom. Several meters to the west was a 2 m wide, 80 cm deep pit filled with alternating layers of soil and charcoal in which we found a lenticular turquoise glass bead. A few meters south of these features, rock-fall boulders had been gathered together to create a large hearth complex 6-8 m long. The surfaces of the boulders were heat-spalled and the spaces between them were filled to a depth of 50-80 cm with pure conifer charcoal, with occasional fragments of Normandy stoneware present. The pit and A6 boulder cluster had been used for producing large amounts of charcoal, perhaps for the smithy as well as for fueling ship-board tryworks or galley kitchens. These works are part of Occupation 2.

3.3.6. Area 8, S4 Midden

A midden extended south from the S4 entrance passage across the front of the terrace. Many of the finds in this 100 square meter midden duplicated materials from the S4 dwelling and probably resulted from S4 house-cleaning events. Nails, tiles, marmite fragments, and fragments of green and yellow glazed earthenware were common, as were clay pipe fragments, a few beads and pieces of worked soapstone. An unusual find was a ground slate Thule Inuit flensing knife with its blade broken in several pieces that were stacked on top of each other as though they had been discarded inside a pouch. Faience was less common, and most of the midden assemblage is consistent with a post-1650 Late Basque Occupation 2 event.

3.3.7. Area 9, Hearth and Midden

During our last field season (2013) we excavated a swampy area in the center of the site between S1 and S4 and the A8 midden. Here we found a 2.5 m diameter 'outdoor' hearth built of cobbles and slabs with no tile roof or floor pavement; instead, tiles had been laid down helter-skelter to cover the marshy soil. The hearth contained small amounts of calcined bird and small mammal bone, nails of all sizes, pieces of faience porringers, cups and saucers, and the usual marmite and yellow and green-glazed EW. As in other Early Basque Occupation 1 contexts, stoneware, glass beads, clay pipes, lead artifacts, and Inuit soapstone were absent. European flint flakes from fire-starting kits were especially common.

3.3.8. Area 10, S1 Midden

The final excavation was in a midden that accumulated around a cluster of large boulders. Soapstone vessel fragments, large pieces of stoneware and glazed earthenware vessels, and the usual Occupation 2 nails, tiles, beads, and pipe fragments that closely matched the S1 floor finds were found in the upper level. Toward the bottom of the deposit we found a small Occupation 1 Early Basque cobble hearth associated with strips of baleen.

4. Discussion

4.1. Setting

The Hare Harbor land site area is rather small, no more than 75 x 35 meters in extent. Transit from the harbor to the upper site follows a small drainage rill that runs through the middle of the site area. Surface drainage was probably always a problem for the occupants of the site. Our excavations were frequently filled and had water running through them. Winds here tend to be westerly during the summer, and this would have helped keep the site clear of smoke created by the charcoal production activities. While the site is sheltered from wind-storms by the surrounding hills, its use in winter and spring, presumably experienced only by its year-round Inuit residents, would have brought hazards of ice and snow avalanches from the cliff. The greatest hazard, however, would have been in spring when rocks would be dislodged from the cliff by frost. Many of the rocks on the site fell into their present positions, and one huge cliff-fall event reached the northern edge of the anchorage cove during the site's occupation, explaining the presence of crushed roof tiles mixed with marine clay under and around the fallen blocks. This dislodged clay is probably the source of the clay layer observed in several of the underwater excavation pits. This rockfall may have been the event that caused the site to be abandoned.

4.2. Economy

The economy of the two occupation periods (see more below) is difficult to piece together from the land excavations because only a few whale bones and calcined food bones were recovered. However, the underwater site produced excellent collections of bird, fish, mammal, and whale bones (Fitzhugh *et al.* 2011). DNA studies reveal that all but one of the whale bones are bowheads, the exception being a single humpback, the species most common in the area today. Thirty-seven bowhead bones were identified, representing at least seven individuals. The large number of bowheads likely reflects the southward expansion of bowhead range during the Little Ice Age. No Greenland right whales were identified, confirming studies from Red Bay and other locations that this species was not a primary target of Basque hunters in the northwestern Atlantic region (MacLeod *et al.* 2008). A concentrated layer of fish bones found in almost all of the underwater

Table 1. HH-1 artifact finds recorded from major site features and areas

	SW	EW	SS	Bead	Pipe	Sound. Weight	Fish. Sinker	Flint/Chert	Whet Stone	Pyrites	Axe/Adze	Stem-ware	Bottle Glass	Knife Blades	Musket Ball	Nail	Mica	Total	Notes
Little Canso Island EhBn-1	39	6	6	1	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	4	0	8	0	60	0	131	1
HH-1 EdBt-3 S-1 Cook-house	267	234	2	9	26	0	4	54	5	9	1	2	159	129	0	751	10	1662	2
HH-1 A3, S2 Smithy Bog	0	36	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	4	1	7	0	59	3
HH-1 A3 Smithy	0	*11	0	1	7	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	1	24	1	89	3	141	4
HH-1 A3, S3 Inuit House	0	11	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	69	0	93	5
HH-1 A2 Beach	0	25	0	1	6	0	0	40	1	1	0	0	17	36	0	220	10	357	6
HH-1 A4, S4 Inuit House	22	45	2	9	22	3	8	0	6	20	1	5	11	11	2	276	5	448	7
HH-1 A8 Midden	22	234	0	8	23	0	0	29	0	3	0	9	26	12	2	275	1	644	8
Total	350	602	13	29	96	3	14	128	16	38	2	20	220	224	6	1747	29		

* in addition many small fragments of yellow glazed plate.
 1. Whale bone sled runner, harpoon foreshaft, knife handle; 2. baleen (7), iron rod (5), whale bone (5), iron tools (2), iron rings (2).
 2. Baleen (7), iron rod (5), whale bone (5), iron tools (2), iron rings (2).
 3. Wood barrel staves and tub bottoms, soapstone pendant, iron hammer, iron bar stock.
 4. Iron hook, soapstone top lamp, sounding lead, yellow glazed plate, iron ring and staple, baleen, gun frison, gunflint, wood bowl.
 5. Baleen.
 6. Iron oil lamp, baleen (8).
 7. Iron axe, key, boat hook, and rod; folded copper and lead sheet, lead rod and fish jigger, bone arrow foreshaft with iron point.
 8. Artifact counts for Areas 9 and 10 were not available at time of publication.
 SW -stoneware; EW -earthenware; SS -soapstone

squares consisted of 98% cod or other gadid species, together with trace amounts of pollack and haddock. Virtually all of the cod were processed for the commercial market (showing an absence of thoracic vertebrae) rather than for local consumption, in which case all bone elements would have been recovered. Avifauna from both underwater and land contexts included predominantly alcids (auks, murre, and puffins), gulls, kittiwakes, grouse, and smaller quantities of geese, ducks, swans, partridge, and raven. Lead shot, including home-made shot with mold stubs still attached, was also found underwater. Mammals represented in descending order of abundance included whale, ring or harbor seal, canid, domestic pig, wild boar, caribou, cow, fox. Remains of hazel and walnuts were found, and pits of peaches and plums. More detailed results are reported elsewhere (Fitzhugh 2014). Gastronomically speaking, the Hare Harbor Basques were eating very well!

4.3. Chronology

So far no historical records have been found in archives in Spain or Quebec identifying by whom and when the Hare Harbor site was occupied (Memoria Historiens 2013, Oyarbide 2013). Hare Harbor excavations produced information on two periods of Basque occupation (Figure 6a-e). The Early Basque Occupation 1 probably dates to the late 16th or early 17th century and is represented by most of the coarse earthenwares types found at Red Bay (Gusset 2007; Fitzhugh et al. 2011; Loewen and Delmas 2012:244). This Occupation 1 component includes marmite cooking vessels (RB3), tin-glazed (Muel) faience porringers, glazed earthenwares of other types, and thin stemware. These materials are found together with fire kit

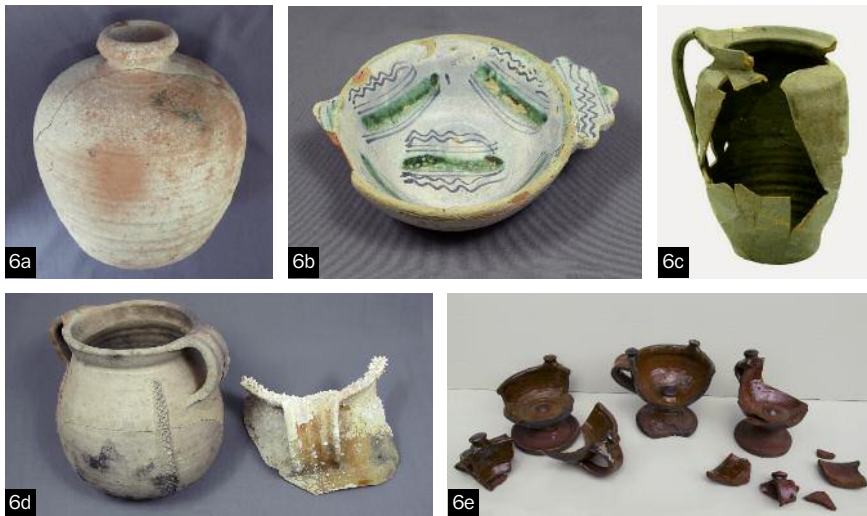


Figure 6a-e. Typical Hare Harbor ceramics: 6a, olive jar; 6b, Muel porringer; 6c, Normandy stoneware jar; 6d, BR3 marmite cookware; 6e, rechauffleur ware; .

flakes of European flint, copious amounts of large nails, tiles, baleen, but with an absence of stoneware, glass beads, lead, and clay pipes. The contexts where this assemblage is found include the lower level of S1, below the Area 5 tile midden, in the low level of the Area 10 midden, and in and around the large hearth in Area 9. Most of the underwater finds also date to this component.

The Later Basque Component 2 dates ca. 1700 and represents the largest amount of activity on the land site; it includes the S1 and S2 ateliers, the upper midden in A10, and most of the lower site areas including the S4 and S5 Inuit houses, the A8 midden, the S6 hearth platform, and the charcoal production features, the S7 pit and the Area 6 boulder charcoal hearths. Diagnostic artifacts from this period include a wide variety of glazed EW types provisionally originating from 'western' Basque sites (Loewen and Delmas 2012:245). Many more types than known from Red Bay collections have been recognized by Herzog in this later Hare Harbor component. Along with these materials come more marmite cooking pots, at least two types of stoneware storage jars (Norman and Béarn), a consistent set of glass bead types dating ca. 1680-1730 (Herzog and Moreau 2004, 2006), pyrites nodules, clay pipes, lead sounding weights, cod jiggers, iron axes and adzes, musket balls and gun parts, green bottle glass, fine stemware, and large volumes of nails, tiles, and charcoal.

4.4. Native Connections

There is no evidence of Native involvement in the Early Basque phase at HH1, although there is ample evidence that the site was occupied by various native groups before the arrival of Europeans. A Labrador Maritime Archaic stemmed point of Ramah chert was found in the west wall of the S4 Inuit house; two small hearth features produced Groswater Paleo-Eskimo artifacts; a Dorset triangular harpoon endblade turned up in the S2 smithy, and pieces of a Thule culture ground slate flensing knife were found in the A8 midden. Other than the Maritime Archaic point, we found no evidence of Indian presence or contact. However, the periodic or seasonal presence on this coast of Indians (Innu/Naskapi, Montagnais, and possibly Iroquois) must have been a constant concern of Inuit residents. A 1729 report by in 1728 on an Inuit family 'at Mecatina' by a party of French and Indians. All of the Inuit were killed except a woman and a young boy, who were sent to Quebec. If the incident does not refer to Gros Mécatina twenty miles to the east, it might refer to the destruction of the Structure 3 Inuit dwelling attested by its burned barrel stave floor and the smudges of burned bone.

The major Inuit component at HH1 is the S4 winter dwelling. Like S3, it was rectangular and had a subsurface entrance passage and contained diagnostic Inuit artifacts, including part of a soapstone cooking pot and a poorly preserved, but identifiable bone arrow foreshaft. Other than soapstone vessels, the most diagnostic types of Inuit material culture are generally made of wood and bone. Poor preservation resulted in the absence of these materials from the HH1 finds. What is most important about the large assemblage from S4 was a near duplication of types of

European/Basque materials found in other Component 2 (Late Basque) structures and middens, especially in the S1 cook-house, whose beads and soapstone vessels must have resulted from the activities of Inuit women. Beads were found at HH1 only in small quantities, never in bulk as would be the case if beads were being used for trade. Rather, all of the beads occurred as isolated and frequently broken finds that had been lost from Inuit clothing or ornaments. The re-working of lead sheet and re-fashioning of lead sounding sinkers into jiggers and fishing weights, found in a cluster in S4, would have been done by Inuit men. Several soapstone pendants were found, and these also are probably male productions, as was the manufacture of soapstone lamps and pots. The large quantity of soapstone vessels that were found broken into many pieces—often as smashed or ‘killed’ vessels—presents an interesting problem for which we have no easy explanation. In some respects these finds suggest ritual behavior. In Inuit society soapstone vessels were treasured by women and were believed to represent household guardians. The destruction of lamps and pots may be linked somehow with the replacement of these traditional Inuit objects by European ceramic vessels.

One thing is abundantly clear: the Inuit family or extended family that lived in S4 had access to large amounts of the same kinds of Basque/European materials that could not have been acquired by scavenging abandoned whaling and fishing stations. How else could so many ceramic sherds have found their way into an Inuit winter house and its midden except as whole artifacts? The hundreds of sherds of various types of vessels were certainly not imported onto the Inuit house floor and middens as broken fragments; they must have originated as finished goods. The manner in which they were transferred was probably in exchange for services like catching and processing whales and codfish, producing charcoal, maintaining a cooking and washing facility, and guarding the station from marauders and poachers when their European patrons were back in Europe during winter and spring. Even though vessel fits have not been found between the Inuit house and the cook-house, the presence of soapstone lamp fragments that never could have been used by Basques, and the same types of beads found in the Inuit house argues for Inuit women working as operators or assistants in a Basque facility. We have no similar Inuit traces on the smithy floor, where specialized knowledge probably precluded Inuit participation. On the other hand, charcoal production—a task that the Inuit would have been well-suited for—may have had Inuit operators or assistants, accounting for soapstone vessels, beads, and stoneware found in these areas, and resulting also in Inuit access to large amounts of charcoal used in constructing the S5 dwelling foundation.

4.5. Abandonment

Whether or not the attack on an Inuit family in 1728 reported by Brouague took place at Hare Harbor or a day’s journey to the east at Gros Mecatina, during the early 18th century rising pressure against the permanent Inuit presence on the Quebec Lower North Shore became decisive. French pressure was having a similar

effect on 'Spanish' (i.e. Basque) activities on the LNS. When Joliet explored this coast in 1694 he learned about Inuit from local Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi) Indians:

They told us that several Eskimo had wintered in this place. These Eskimo had built three wooden houses coated with mud, one of which was still intact. They had no fire inside, but had a special place for it in the open. In the autumn they store up seals and game for the winter; and when the snow permits it they hunt caribou...Our Mingan Indians found four Eskimo here last spring and defeated them. It is probable that the others had fled, for they have no firearms, although they are expert bowmen... [Later] we entered a cove of the Eskimo River [St. Paul River]. This river is thus called because the Eskimo used to live here. They left because of the fights they had with the St. Malo fishermen. (Delanglez 1948:213, 215)

It is thus likely that a low level of Inuit activity continued in the eastern portion of the LNS until the latter part of the 18th century. Then, after nearly a century of abandonment, Inuit again returned from Labrador to the St. Augustin and St. Paul River region in the early 19th century, becoming the ancestors of today's Inuit heritage on the Lower North Shore (Charest 1998).

The proximate cause for the abandonment of Hare Harbor-1 may have involved hostilities like those noted above, both against Inuit and Basques, if not resulting from the large rock-fall event. The fear of another such episode may have led to a decision to abandon this location for a more favorable location. Lacking specific historical documentation, such questions remain in the domain of speculation.

4.6. Underwater Excavations

While the land-site produced extensive durable material culture, evidence for two periods of occupation, including Inuit settlement as part of the Later Basque component, the underwater site yielded both organic and inorganic materials that provided a much fuller picture of a single occupation period related to Occupation 1.

The large number of marmites, porringers, rechaufleur warming pots, and other materials similar to finds from Red Bay suggest a late 16th or early 17th C. date for most of this assemblage, a view that is supported by the find of a pre-1610 Muel porringer found resting on the top of one of the central ballast piles. Further evidence for an early period assignment of most of the underwater finds comes from the stratigraphy, which clearly links the lower levels with land site clearance, wood-working, and whaling, while the upper levels reflect a shift to cod-fishing as the dominant activity. In addition, very few stoneware or pipe fragments come from underwater contexts. The wide range of material culture from underwater included a full range of ship-board domestic activity: rope, clothing, shoes, wood tool handles, ceramics of many varieties, food remains, and a wood frame 'killik' anchor. The underwater finds complement the land finds by illuminating many categories of Basque life and activities not represented or preserved onshore. Many of these materials and activities compare closely with Red Bay finds. On the other

hand, they tell us virtually nothing about the Inuit and their relationship as partners during the latter occupation period. Nor do they illuminate the question of the missing tryworks or the purpose of the massive charcoal production operation.

5. Conclusion: basque research themes

In concluding this essay, having outlined new data available from excavations at Hare Harbor on Petit Mécatina, we return to research themes identified at the outset. In recent years, major advances have been made in documenting Basque material culture, navigation instruments, and ship design and architecture through publication of the underwater research at Red Bay (Grenier *et al.* 2007). Selma Barkham's and Michael Barkham's papers and her edited volume (1987) added much needed historical context. Recent work by Loewen (2004, 2007, 2009, 2012) and especially Loewen and Delmas (2011, 2012) provide new information on Basque economy and social and political networks for the 16-18th centuries as well as a detailed review of Basque archaeological data for the Maritimes and Gulf regions. This latter work clarifies the setting in which Basque activities took place and raises important questions that need to be addressed in future archival and archaeological studies. Prominent among these research gaps are (1) archival and historical research dealing with post-1600 Basque operations and the procurement sources and methods utilized; (2) renewed excavations at Basque sites throughout the Basque resource zone, particularly to identify and characterize post-1600 sites and their organization and material culture; (3) typological, functional, and provenance studies of ceramics, glass, and other materials found at these sites; (4) studies of Basque interactions with other European agents operating in the region; (5) research on Basque interactions with Native groups, and (6) increased international scholarly collaboration and conferencing. Excavations at Hare Harbor have advanced several of these agendas by providing new materials that can illuminate Basque provisioning and field strategies and may provide new ceramic dating methods. Given the difficulty in identifying historical information for post-1600 sites, archaeological dating will be crucial for future progress.

Finally, Hare Harbor has also shown that Inuit were not always passive recipients of the Basque entrada into the Gulf region. While this may have been true during the 16th century, during the 17-early 18th centuries, Basques seem to have forged strategic partnerships with Inuit groups who pioneered settlement territories south of their Labrador homelands in a region that had much to offer in terms of subsistence resources during the Little Ice Age as well as access to abundant sources of highly desirable European material culture. But living on the Lower North Shore isolated from the larger Inuit populations in central Labrador also brought new dangers, leaving these families vulnerable to the rivalries among European exploiters and exposing them to attack by the European-armed Innu Indian populations whose lands Inuit had earlier expropriated on the Central Labrador coast. In the end, the Inuit were forced to abandon the Lower North

Shore, and the Basque gradually melted into the new political and economic regimes that emerged as European connections waned and were replaced by growing power centers in the Maritimes and Quebec. Following the Basque trail in this history of the Gulf and Maritimes will produce a fascinating story that will have to come largely from archaeology. Fortunately that future road is marked by those bright red tiles that have done so much to announce the presence of Basques in these new-found lands.

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El bilbaíno Víctor Patricio de Landaluze y Uriarte (1830-1889), perteneciente a una acomodada familia vizcaína dedicada al comercio, tras formarse en la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando de Madrid, se trasladó a Cuba en 1849, donde desarrolló su carrera artística, centrada en la pintura y el dibujo, que le llevaría a convertirse en el impulsor y máximo representante del costumbrismo cubano.

Palabras Clave: Víctor Patricio de Landaluze. Bilbao. Cuba. Pintura costumbrista. Ilustración gráfica. Caricatura. Periodismo. Siglo XIX.

Victor Patricio Landaluze Uriarte bilbortarra (1830-1889), merkataritzan aritutako bizkaitar familia aberats bateko kidea, Madrileko San Fernandoko Arte Ederretako Akademian ikasi ondoren, 1849an Kubara joan zen, non bere karrera artistikoa garatu zuen, bereziki margolaritzan eta marrazkigintzan, Kubako ohitura-margolaritza mugimenduko bultzatzaile nagusia bilakatu arte.

Giltza-Hitzak: Victor Patricio de Landaluze. Bilbo. Kuba. Ohitura-margolaritza. Irudigintza grafikoa. Karikatura. Kazetaritza. XIX. mendea.

Le peintre Víctor Patricio de Landaluze (1830-1889), membre d'une riche famille de commerçants de Vizcaya, après avoir étudié dans l'Académie de Beaux-Arts de San Fernando à Madrid, fixa sa résidence à l'île de Cuba en 1849. C'est là qu'il développera sa carrière artistique – fondée sur la peinture et le dessin – qui fera de lui le promoteur et le plus important représentant du « costumbrismo » cubain.

Mots-Clés : Víctor Patricio de Landaluze. Bilbao. Cuba. Peinture du "costumbrismo". Illustration graphique. Caricature. Journalisme. XIXe siècle.