Chapter Two

PEOPLING THE LAND

The Origin of Man and the Animals

2.1

A long time ago during a blizzard, a handsome young man entered an igloo. He was welcomed into the bed and slept with the entire family. The next morning when the family awoke, the young man was gone. Seeing only animal tracks outside, the father proclaimed that they had been deceived, and that the young man had been the lead dog disguised as a man. His daughter became pregnant and the father was ashamed of what kind of children she might have. He took her in a kayak to a small island, where he abandoned her. The lead dog kept the girl alive by swimming to the island and giving her tender meat. The girl gave birth to six young. Three of them were Inuit children, but the other three had bigger ears and noses like snouts. The young mother sewed some seal skins into a large slipper, placed the three strange children inside, and pushed them off towards the south. Some say all white men and Indians are descended from those three dog children.

Image by Gilbert Hay

Later the father went in a umiak with some men to take his daughter off the island. A storm arose and the boatmen were afraid that the overloaded boat would capsize. To lighten the load, they threw the daughter overboard. When she tried to climb back into the boat, the father cut off her fingers. These became the seals. She tried again, and he cut off her hands, which became the walruses. She made one last attempt, and he cut off her forearms, which became the whales. She sank to the bottom of the ocean and became Sedna, or Taluliyuk, the woman who controls all the sea beasts.

TOPIC 2.1

Peopling the Land

Why do you think early peoples started moving from Africa to other areas?

How has modern technology influenced the peopling of the land?

Introduction

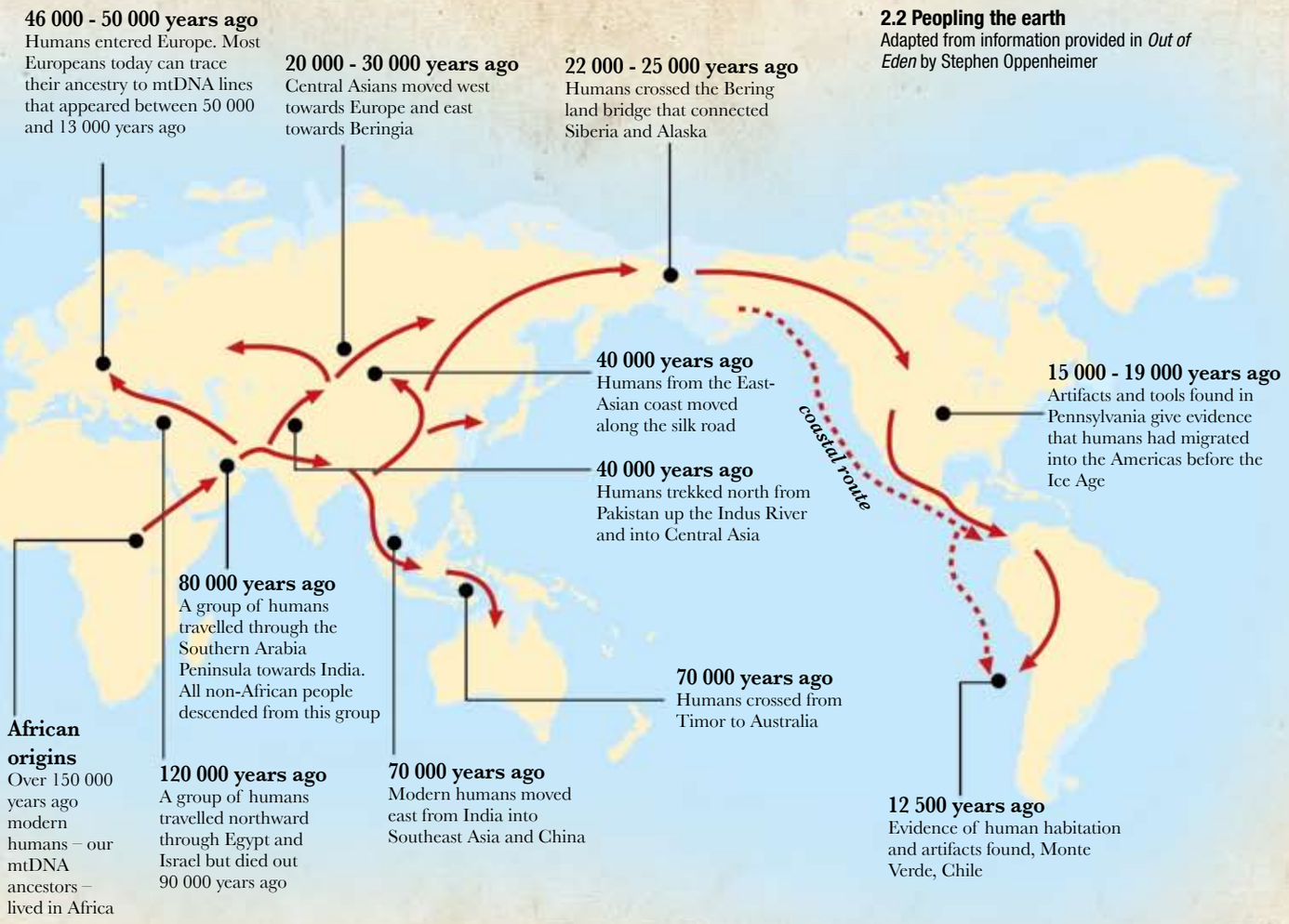
Let's start at the beginning. How did humankind populate Earth? There are many theories about this. Most cultures have creation stories or beliefs that suggest humans are the product of intelligent design. Other people use scientific data to help explain that *Homo sapiens* (humans) first evolved in Africa about 200 000 years ago and then spread around the world.

If we accept the second explanation, a question then arises: how did humans get from Africa to the Americas, which are surrounded by water? One theory is that people migrated across a land bridge called **Beringia**. This land bridge, which is now under water, connected Siberia to Alaska at some point during the last ice age – sometime between 9000 and 50 000 years ago. It is speculated that these people then spread across the Americas, including Newfoundland and Labrador, and diversified into many culturally distinct groups.

Once Beringia disappeared beneath the sea, the Americas were again isolated from the rest of the world. As historian and writer Peter Watson notes, this meant that "… [at] the close of the fifteenth century … there were two huge groups of people, on two vast landmasses … entirely separated from one another and developing side-by-side, oblivious to the existence of each other." Europeans would later refer to these two "worlds" as the "**Old World**"* (the parts of the world then known to Europeans, Asians, and Africans) and the "**New World**"* (the Americas and Oceania).

*These are Eurocentric labels. Before contact, Europeans had no idea that the Americas existed.

2.2 Peopling the earth
Adapted from information provided in *Out of Eden* by Stephen Oppenheimer



Experiencing The Arts

Part of the craft of storytelling is preserving the experiences of our ancestors. Stories from the past are sometimes fictional, while others are more factual. Often, there is a blending of both. Either way, they provide insight into the past.

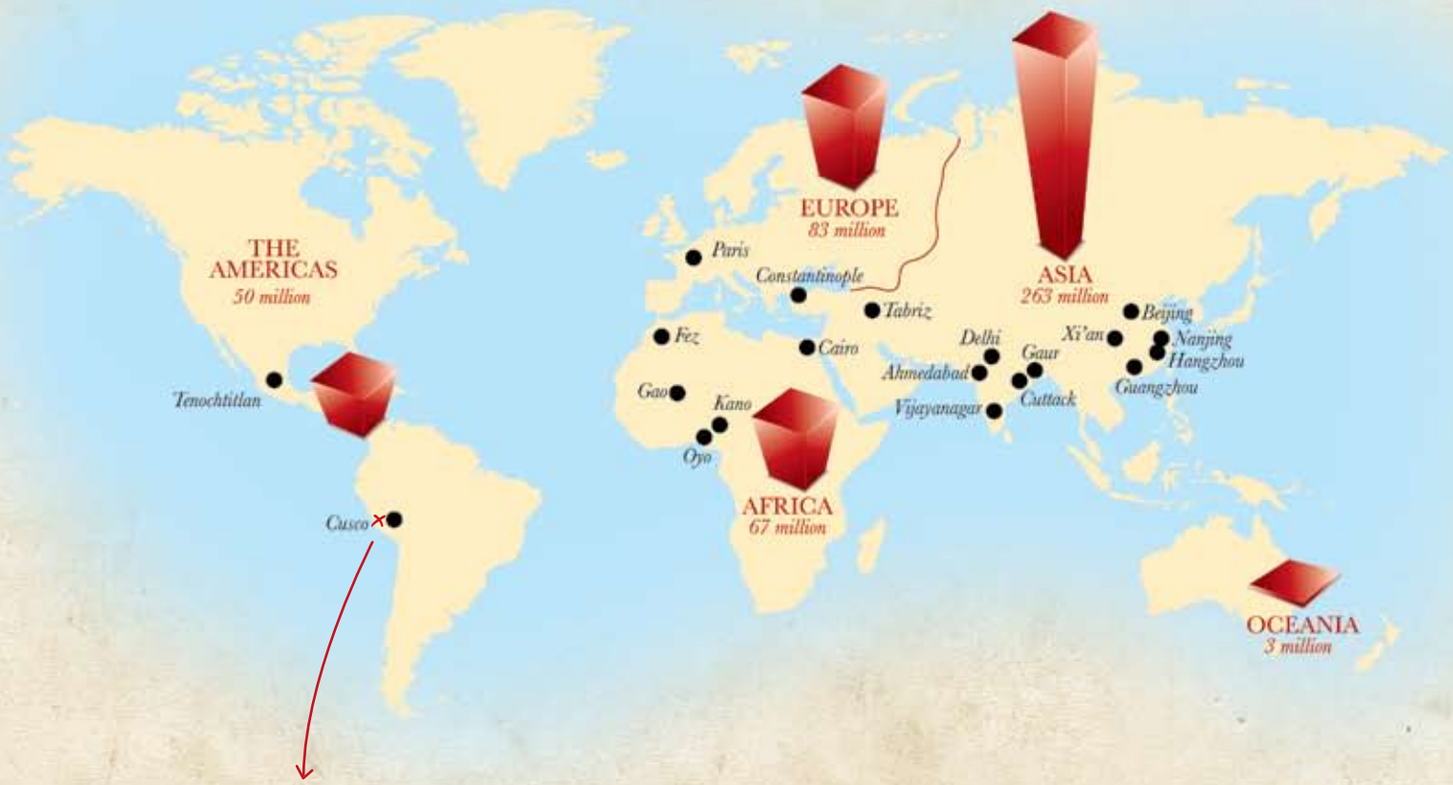
Much of this section of the chapter is about the distant past. What we know of this period is limited. It is difficult to conduct a detailed understanding of the distant past because there is a limited amount of archaeological information available.

The same is often true about our own personal histories. We most likely know a fair bit about our parents or guardians, but know less about our grandparents, and less again about our great-grandparents. Much of what we do know has likely been passed on through family stories.

In this series of exercises, you will need to use your tools as an artist (and historian) to construct a story about a part of your past that you wish to explore. By the end of the chapter, you will be asked to share that story with close family or friends as part of the private tradition of storytelling.

For this exercise, compile a list of questions about your personal past that you would like to have answered. Keep the list in a convenient place so that you can add to it when you get an idea. (Remember, inspiration can come at any time or in any place.)

2.3 World population by continent including world's largest cities, 1500 CE
Statistics for this period are approximations. Historians' figures can vary widely – particularly for Africa and the Americas. The data given above is based largely on the work of Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones, and William Denevan.



2.4 Although most of the people in the Americas in the 15th century lived an agrarian lifestyle, there were also larger, sophisticated centres of civilization such as the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan (in Mexico) and the Inca city of Machu Picchu (in Peru). Shown here are the ruins of Machu Picchu. Built in approximately 1430 it was designated a World Heritage Site in 1983 for being "an absolute masterpiece of architecture and a unique testimony to the Inca civilization."

2.5 Various Aboriginal groups of the Americas
This illustration first appeared in the Swedish encyclopedia Nordisk Familjebok in 1904.

Population Distribution

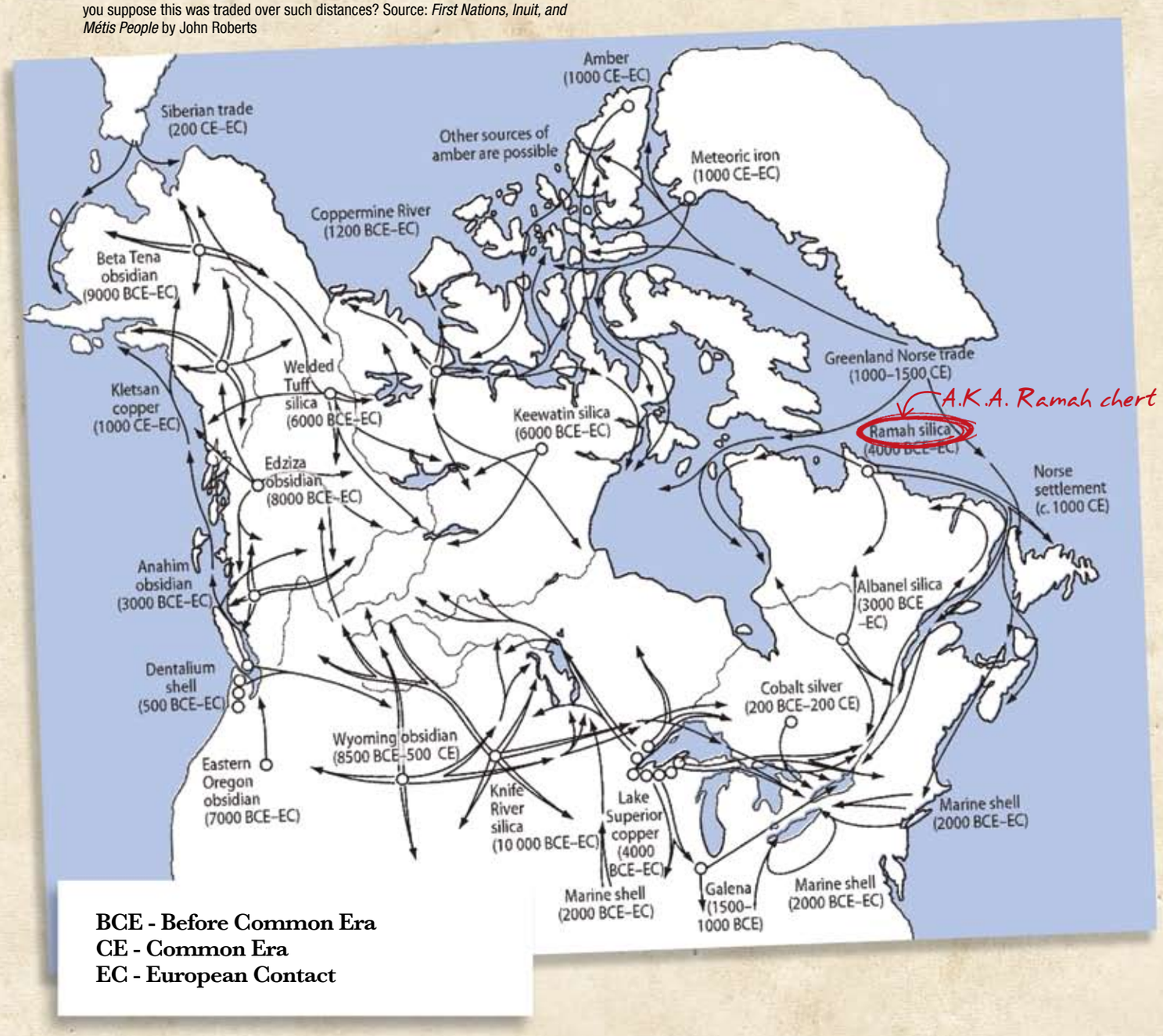
At the close of the fifteenth century, there were approximately 40-60 million people living in the Americas (although estimates vary widely on this number). The most densely settled parts of the Americas were the modern-day sites of Mexico and Peru. These areas were largely **agrarian** with a few large centres, such as the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City). In 1500, approximately 250 000 people lived in Tenochtitlan, making it larger than any European city at the time. In the other parts of the Americas (especially modern-day Brazil, Canada, and the United States), the population consisted mostly of hunters and gatherers.

It has been estimated that a **hunter-gatherer** in the Americas needed about 10 square kilometres of land to provide him with enough resources to survive. Once the population density exceeded this, some of the hunter-gatherers had to move to find new resources. This, along with conflict between different groups and changes in environmental conditions, may explain why groups spread out across the Americas.

Although some farming was practised in North America prior to European contact, much of North America's population belonged to hunter-gatherer societies. There was an extensive trade network between many of the groups. Trade allowed these groups to acquire resources not found in their own environment and to build alliances with neighbouring groups. Goods traded included food (such as dried fish, maize, and beans), raw materials (such as obsidian, **chert**, and shells), and manufactured items (such as pottery, knives, and needles).

2.6 A Labrador Archaic arrowhead

2.7 Trade patterns in North America
What was traded from Newfoundland and Labrador? How far was it traded? Why do you suppose this was traded over such distances? Source: *First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People* by John Roberts



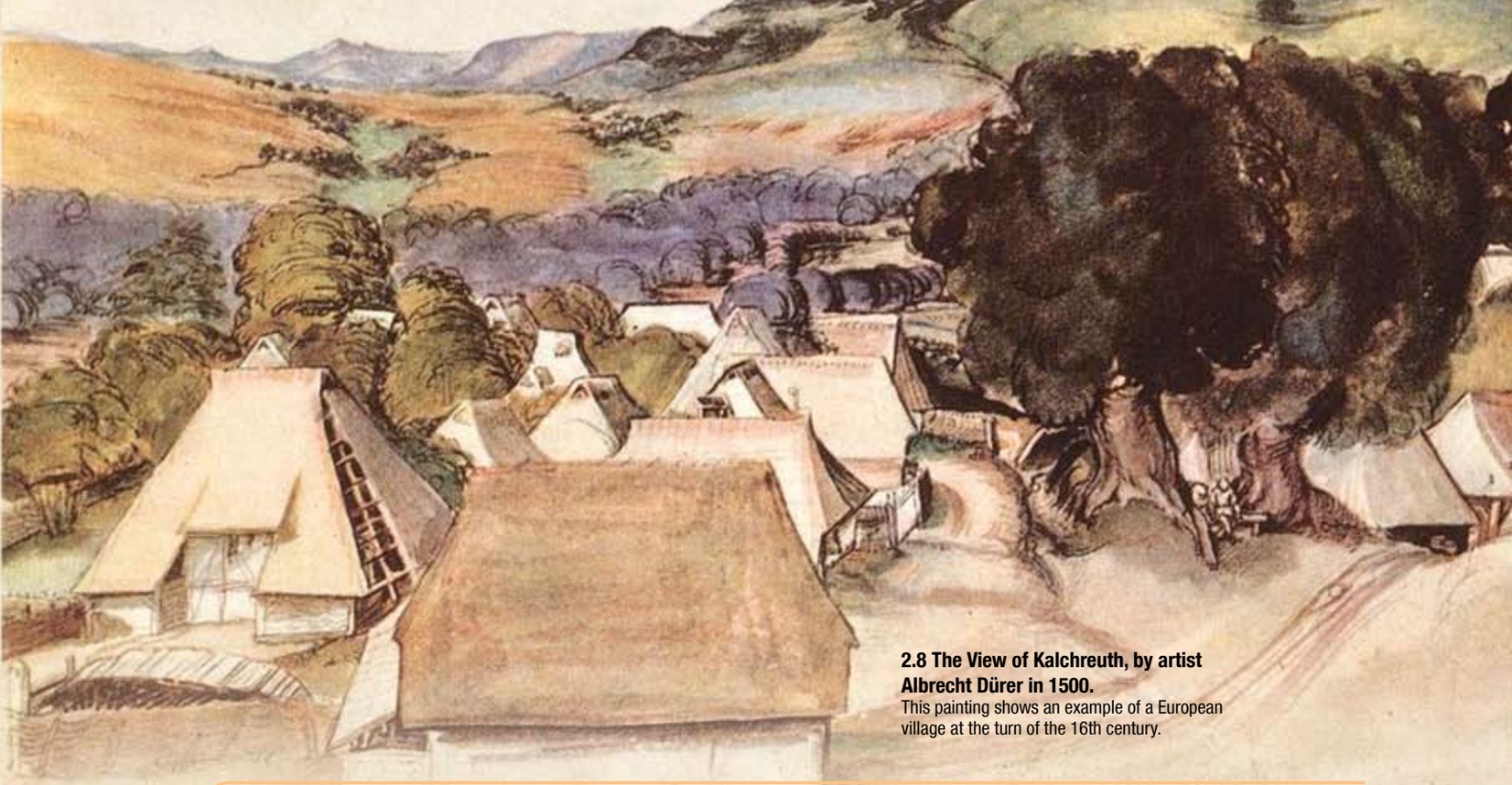
BCE - Before Common Era
CE - Common Era
EC - European Contact

After agriculture, the fisheries employed the most people in medieval Europe.

The map above shows some of the known established trading networks. Archaeologists have been able to learn about these trading routes through the discovery of artifacts in sites other than those from which they originated. For instance, projectile points made from minerals found in Labrador have been found in the St. Lawrence Valley.

Meanwhile, across the ocean, there were approximately 80-100 million people living in Europe. Although the population distribution varied throughout the region, it was largely rural and agricultural. Most groups in Europe and Asia practised farming and had some domesticated animals. Experts suggest that in 1500 only about one out of every 10 Europeans lived in a town with a population over 5000.

At this time Europe was undergoing rapid population growth. An increasing population meant a need for larger food supplies. To meet the demand, more lands were brought into production. Nevertheless, there still remained a demand for inexpensive sources of protein to feed the masses. Europe began to look outward for resources.



2.8 The View of Kalchreuth, by artist Albrecht Dürer in 1500.
This painting shows an example of a European village at the turn of the 16th century.

Questions:

1. The area of Newfoundland and Labrador is 405 720 square kilometres. Based on the information in the text, how many people could survive in modern day Newfoundland and Labrador as hunter-gatherers? Is this a realistic figure, given the geography of the province? Explain.

2. Assuming that humans migrated into the Americas via Beringia, why do you think most peoples continued the migration south? Why might some have stayed in the north?

3. Describe the pattern of distribution of cities throughout the world c. 1500. What inferences can be made, based on the population distribution for each continent?

4. What would be the relative advantages and challenges of living in:
   a. A hunter-gatherer society versus an agricultural society?
   b. A rural area versus an urban area?

2.9 In the 16th century, most of the world's largest and grandest cities lay in Asia.
This diorama shows Peking (now known as Beijing) in the late 15th century. It is believed that Peking was the largest city in the world from 1425 to 1650.

TOPIC 2.2

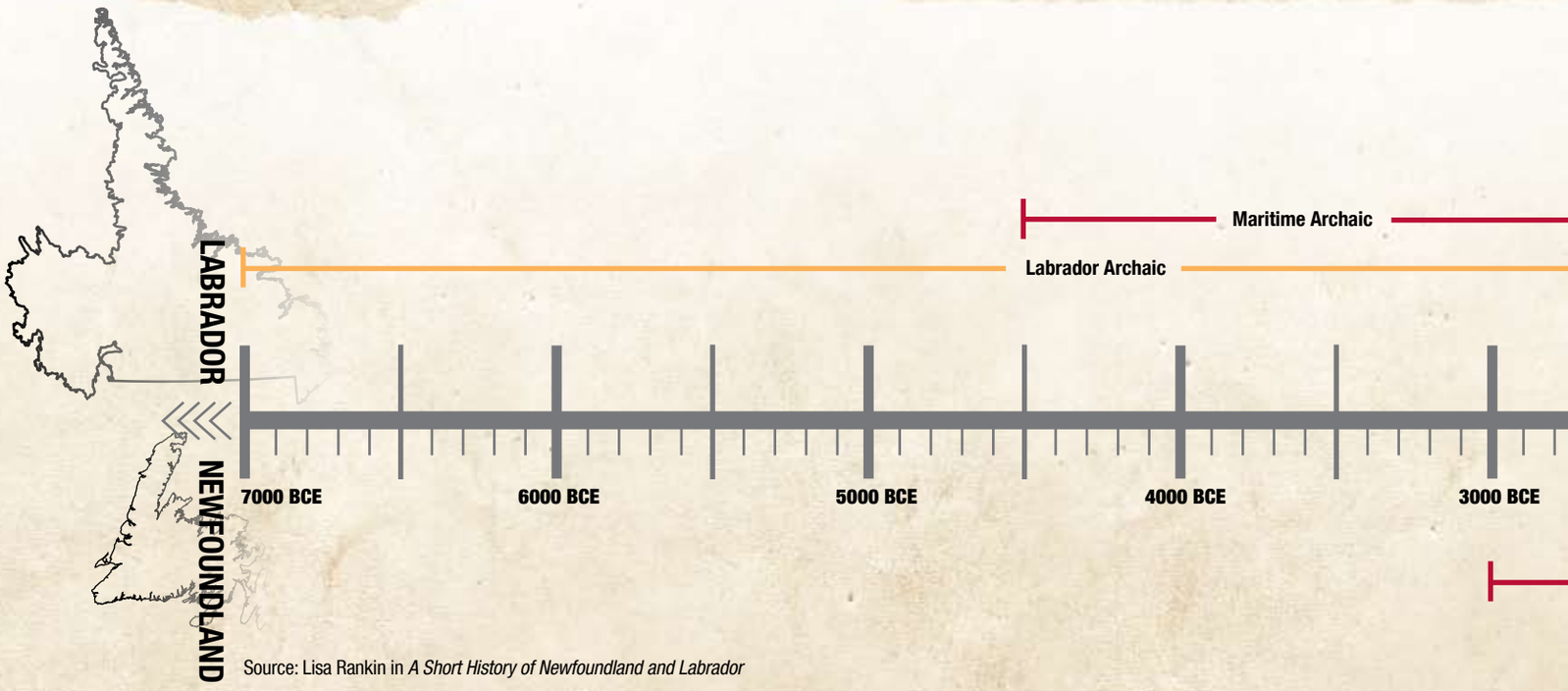
Who Was Here

Were prehistoric technologies primitive?

Were all residents of Newfoundland and Labrador originally immigrants?

Introduction

While Aboriginal people assert they have always been here, archaeologists estimate that the first human residents in our province arrived about 7000 BCE in Labrador. Several thousands of years later, they were followed by other groups – some of which lived here for only a few hundred years before disappearing. Who were these people? Where did they live? While we cannot answer all of these questions, we know that there were several waves of migrations in Newfoundland and Labrador by different groups of **AmerIndians** and **Paleo-Eskimos**. These groups were later followed by the Thule and the Norse. Some of the groups probably interacted and this may have affected where certain groups settled.



Source: Lisa Rankin in *A Short History of Newfoundland and Labrador*

2.10

MEANWHILE ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD ...

8000 BCE
Earliest permanent farming villages in Fertile Crescent

4500 BCE
Plow is introduced in Europe

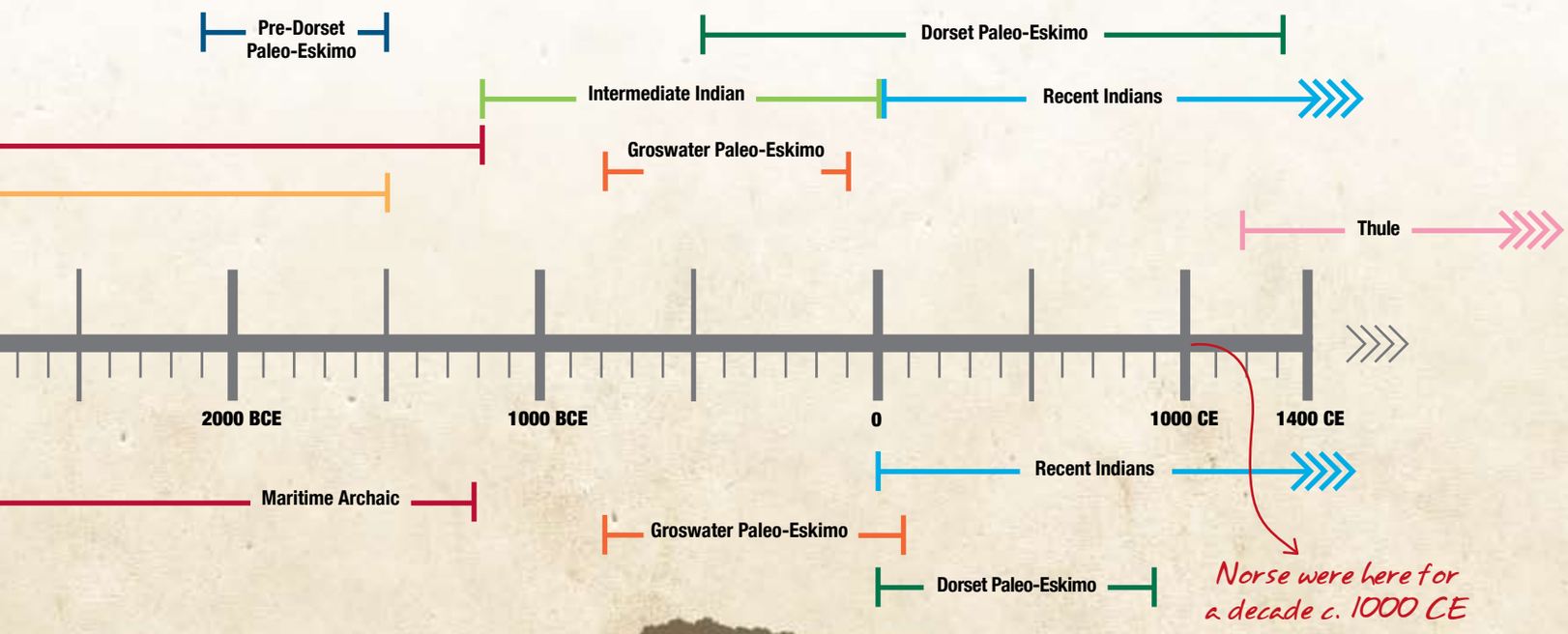
3100 BCE
Work begins on earliest phase of Stonehenge

2150 BCE
Work begins on the first pyramid (the Step Pyramid at Saqqara)

AmerIndians

According to many archaeologists, AmerIndians are the descendants of the people who migrated across the Beringia land bridge that connected Siberia to Alaska during the last ice age. There have been several different cultural groups of AmerIndians who settled in Newfoundland and Labrador prior to contact with Europeans. These include Labrador Archaic, Maritime Archaic, Intermediate Indians, and Recent Indians. It is not known what happened to cause the disappearance of each of these groups. In some cases, a group may have died out because of a lack of food resources. It is also possible that one group evolved into another.

2.11 These bird-shaped pebbles were found in a Maritime Archaic cemetery in Port au Choix. They may have had a religious function or have been used simply for decoration or as toys.



776 BCE
First Olympic Games held in Greece

51 BCE
Cleopatra becomes the ruler of Eygpt

0
Approximate date given as birth of Christ

225 CE
Early form of gunpowder invented in China

868 CE
First known printed book, the Diamond Sutra

2.12 Artist William B. Ritchie's conception of House 55, a Dorset Paleo-Eskimo structure located at Phillip's Garden, Port au Choix. The reconstructed archaeological site of this Dorset house can be seen at Port au Choix National Historic Site.

Paleo-Eskimos

About 2100 BCE a new people, Paleo-Eskimos, moved into northern Labrador – perhaps from Greenland or the high Arctic. ("Paleo-Eskimo" literally means "old Eskimo.") These people were culturally different from the AmerIndians. The first group of Paleo-Eskimos, known as "Pre-Dorset," tended to live in sheltered inner areas along the north Labrador coast. This group seems to have experienced a population decline starting around 1500 BCE. By 800 BCE, a new group called the "Groswater Paleo-Eskimo" was living at various sites throughout our province. They resided here until about 100 BCE in Labrador and 100 CE in Newfoundland. About 500 BCE a new culture, the Dorset Paleo-Eskimo, arrived in Labrador from the north. At the beginning of the Common Era, Dorset sites were distributed along the entire Labrador coast and on the island of Newfoundland. By 900 CE the Dorset had disappeared from the island of Newfoundland, and by 1300 CE had mostly disappeared from Labrador. As with the early AmerIndians, we can only hypothesize why the different groups disappeared.

2.13 Migration patterns in eastern North America
Based on information from *Historical Atlas of Canada – From the Beginning to 1800, Vol. 1* by Cole R. Harris

Experiencing The Arts

Learn about another side of artist William B. Ritchie on page 642 and look for other images of early peoples in this chapter by this artist.

DIMENSIONS OF THINKING

EVIDENCE

In order to construct an understanding of the past, you need information. Information becomes evidence when used for a particular purpose, such as answering a question, supporting a position, or interpreting the past.

The degree to which a question can be answered, or a position supported by evidence, is a function of the quantity and quality of the information available. In order to construct an interpretation of a past event it is useful to have many sources. Each source needs to be examined in terms of its quality. For example, some sources may be biased and provide a limited or even distorted account of an event – intentionally or not.

Archaeology is the study of the past cultural behaviour of humans through the material remains, or artifacts, that people leave behind. Besides studying these artifacts, how objects were grouped when they were found can provide insight into their use. The oldest known grave in the Americas, and possibly the world, is a 7500-year-old Labrador Archaic burial mound located in L'Anse Amour, Labrador. A Labrador Archaic adolescent was buried at this site in a ceremonial manner. The body was wrapped and placed facedown in a pit and then a large flat stone was placed on the lower back. Archaeological evidence indicates that food was cooked on fires that were lit around the body. Weapons and tools were placed in the grave, possibly as offerings, and then it was covered with a large mound of rocks. The manner in which this youth was buried suggests that he or she may have had an important role within the tribe or that his or her death had a special significance.

2.15 Labrador Archaic artifacts
Shown above are some of the items found in the grave: a whistle made from bird bone; a whetstone used for sharpening tools; a worked walrus tusk; and an antler pestle, which was possibly used for grinding graphite to mix with red ochre to make paint.

Question:

Besides archaeological evidence, what other sources could you use to find evidence?

2.14 Maritime Archaic stone axe head

2.16 Thule artifacts
(below left) A handle and circular blade from a Thule knife known as an ulu, c. 1550.
(below right) A polar bear tooth that was likely worn as a Thule amulet or for decoration.

Thule

About 800 years ago, a people known as Thule reached northern Labrador and began their migration south along the Labrador coast. This group originally came from northern Alaska and ultimately spread across the Canadian Arctic and Greenland. As Thule adapted their lifestyle to fit the Labrador environment, they became a distinct cultural group known as "Labrador Inuit." (Archaeologists tend to use the term "Thule" for this group until about 1550 CE.) Thus, Thule are the direct ancestors of Inuit in Labrador today.

Prehistoric technologies

The early peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador developed technologies, some quite sophisticated, to be able to survive in their environment. The tools they developed were made with materials they found at hand – stone, wood, or animal products. When animals were killed, there was little waste. In addition to eating the meat from an animal, needles and other tools were made from the bones, and clothing was made from the hide.

2.17

Maritime Archaic toggling harpoon

This was the ultimate in sea-mammal hunting technology. A line would attach the tip to the shaft. Once the tip entered the animal, it separated from the shaft and twisted, or "toggled," in the wound as the line tightened, making it virtually impossible for the animal to escape. Thousands of years after the Maritime Archaic used these, American whalers reinvented the same technology.

2.18

Maritime Archaic needles in carrying case

These bird-bone needles have eyes of less than one millimetre wide, indicating they were probably used for fine needlework. Eight such needles were found in this needle case, made from a caribou bone, at a Maritime Archaic cemetery in Port au Choix.

Dorset soapstone pots These were used both for heat and for cooking. The replica set up below shows how the pots were used.

2.19

2.20

THE PROCESS FOR MAKING SOAPSTONE* POTS

1. The weathered surface of the soapstone cliff was removed by pounding it with large cobble hammerstones.

2. The outside of the pot was shaped by carving a groove in the cliff face.

3. The pot shape was then removed from the cliff by chiselling and prying.

4. The inside was hollowed out and finished with scrapers and smoothing tools.

*A major soapstone quarry was found at Fleur de Lys on the Baie Verte Peninsula. It has been designated a National Historic Site.

Groswater Paleo-Eskimo knives and scrapers

These tools were shaped from **chert**. The scrapers had a converse edge for scraping hides and other materials. The ridges on the edges were probably used to make grooves in bones and antler. The knives were attached to wooden handles with sinew. While it is rare for wooden artifacts to survive from this far back, wooden handles could be preserved by permafrost conditions.

2.21

Questions:

1. Between 7000 BCE and 1000 CE, Newfoundland and Labrador was inhabited by several groups of people.
    a. How many groups inhabited Labrador?
    b. How many groups inhabited the island of Newfoundland?
    c. Give two reasons that might explain this difference.
    d. What might be some implications of multiple groups inhabiting the same area at the same time?

2. Considering site and situation, what would have been three advantages and three challenges of:
    a. living in Labrador c. 100 CE?
    b. living on the island of Newfoundland c.100 CE?

3. Which of the prehistoric technologies illustrated do you think shows the most ingenuity? Explain.

2.22

FIRST EUROPEANS IN THE NEW WORLD: THE NORSE

According to a thirteenth century Norse saga, the first person from the "Old World" to reach North America was Leif Eriksson, a Viking explorer who lived from 975-1020 CE. Five centuries before Columbus made his historic voyage, Eriksson sailed west from Greenland and reached a new land that he called "Vinland." Soon other Norse explorers followed. On one of these voyages, the explorers settled for a time at a site on the tip of Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula.

This place, now called L'Anse aux Meadows, was discovered in 1960 and radiocarbon dated to 1014 CE. The first authentic Norse site discovered in North America, it was declared a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1977. Artifacts found at the site include a spindle whorl (used in spinning) and a copper alloy dress pin. Although the Norse were traditionally farmers, the evidence at L'Anse aux Meadows points to the site being used for ship repair and possibly as a gathering point for goods going north. Archaeologists tell us the site was occupied for short periods for over a decade and then abandoned.

2.23 *Portage on the Moisie* by William Hind

TOPIC 2.3

Life circa 1400

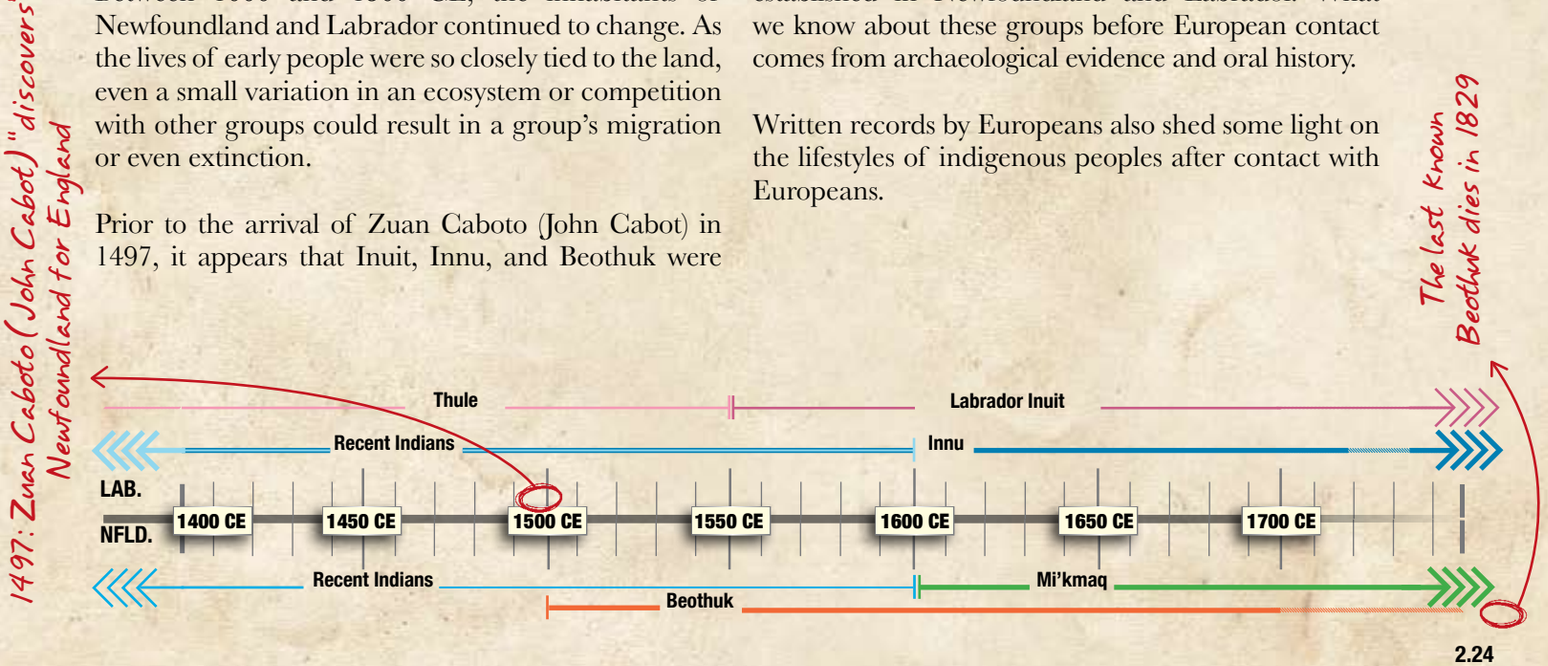
Why were there differences in the ways of life among First Nations and Inuit?

Why would Aboriginal peoples choose to inhabit this place?

Between 1000 and 1500 CE, the inhabitants of Newfoundland and Labrador continued to change. As the lives of early people were so closely tied to the land, even a small variation in an ecosystem or competition with other groups could result in a group's migration or even extinction.

Prior to the arrival of Zuan Caboto (John Cabot) in 1497, it appears that Inuit, Innu, and Beothuk were established in Newfoundland and Labrador. What we know about these groups before European contact comes from archaeological evidence and oral history.

Written records by Europeans also shed some light on the lifestyles of indigenous peoples after contact with Europeans.



2.24

2.25 First Nations and Inuit mid-1600s

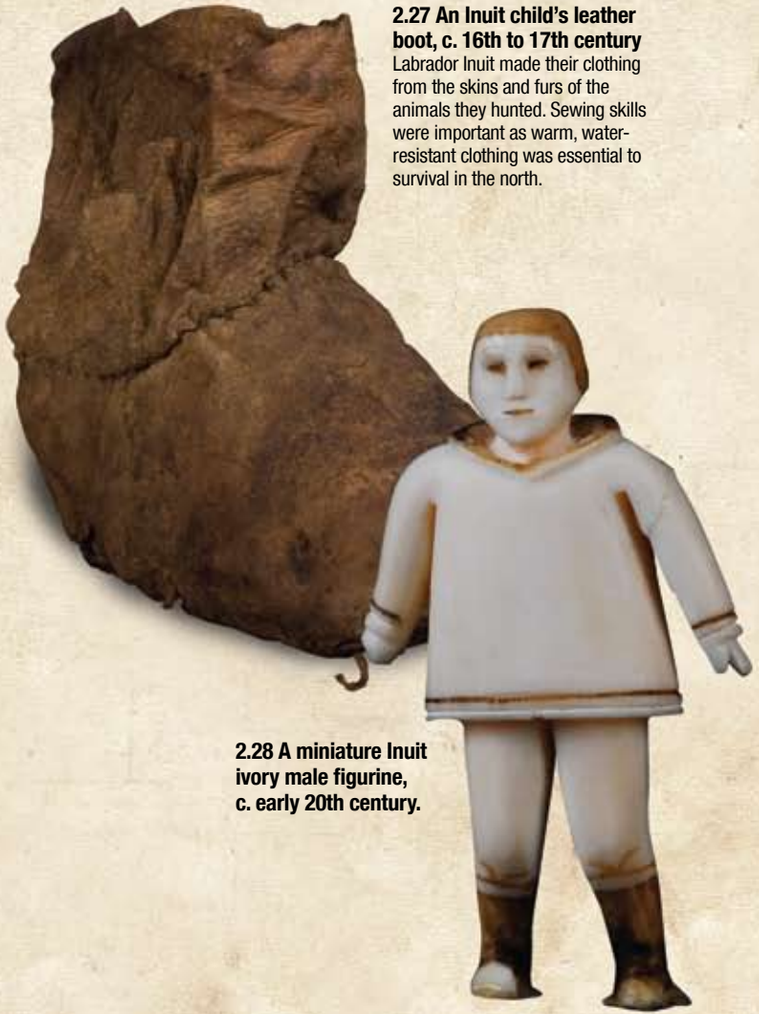
2.26 *Whale Hunting Near Nassaujak,* 1976. Stencil Print by Jeetaloo Akulukjuk and Tommy Evvik
Umiat, which can carry up to 20 people, were used for transportation and for hunting whales. Whales provided Inuit with meat and oil, which could be used in soapstone lamps. In addition, whale bones were used to make tools and as the framework for skin tents.

Inuit

Labrador Inuit are descendants of Thule. Much of what we know about Inuit lifestyle before contact with Europeans is based on oral tradition and archaeological evidence.

Inuit lifestyle involved a seasonal round, with groups moving to pursue resources such as seals, whales, and caribou. Inuit used **umiat**, large open skin-covered boats, for transportation and to hunt large mammals such as whales. They also used one-person **kajait** for transportation and for the caribou hunt. In the winter, dog teams pulled large sleds called **kamutet** to assist travel across the land and ice.

Housing was seasonally adapted. Inuit had summer and winter camps in locations they returned to year after year. Typically people lived in single-family dwellings. Winter houses were earthen huts banked by sods with a roof supported by whale ribs and shoulder blades. The entrance was a long tunnel. These houses were well insulated and efficiently heated with soapstone lamps. In the summer, Inuit lived in skin tents with whalebone frameworks. These were light and relatively easy to set up and take down for travel.



2.27 An Inuit child's leather boot, c. 16th to 17th century
Labrador Inuit made their clothing from the skins and furs of the animals they hunted. Sewing skills were important as warm, water-resistant clothing was essential to survival in the north.

2.28 A miniature Inuit ivory male figurine, c. early 20th century.

Innu

Innu oral tradition says that Innu have always been in North America. Archaeological evidence is less clear. Many **anthropologists** believe the immediate forebearers of Innu were the Point Revenge people who lived along parts of the Labrador coast. About 1400 CE, Innu moved into the interior of Labrador as Thule appeared along the coast.

Like our knowledge of other peoples who inhabited Newfoundland and Labrador at this time, much of what we know about Innu life comes from oral tradition, interactions with Europeans, and archaeological findings.

Innu relied on caribou as a primary resource – using it as a main source of food, clothing, and shelter. Consequently they followed the caribou migration. Innu supplemented their diet with fish and small game like beaver. As part of their seasonal round, some Innu returned to the coast in the summer.

Innu travelled by canoe in summer and snowshoe and toboggan in winter. Because they moved from place to place, Innu lived in **kapminaute** (also referred to as Tshishtuekan-patshuianitshuap) that could be erected quickly. These were made of bent alders, covered in birch bark and caribou hide. Innu took the caribou hides with them and built a new kapminaute frame at their next location.

2.29 This lithograph, entitled *Nasquapees: Otelne and Arkaskhe,* is based on a watercolour done by William Hind in 1861.

2.30 An Innu spike and thimble game, early 20th century.

2.31 A model of an Innu tent, or kapminaute, c. early 20th century. Each kapminaute had a hearth near the entrance with a fire in it that was kept continually lit.

DIMENSIONS OF THINKING

EVIDENCE

When information is used to support an argument, it becomes "evidence". In the excerpt below, Daniel Ashini disputes what some archaeologists cite as evidence. Ashini suggests that the information can be interpreted differently depending on one's viewpoint.

Innu are using the opportunity created by mining exploration to further explore their history. They are looking for new archaeological data to help provide a more complete understanding of their past.

When this article was written, Daniel Ashini was serving as Director of Innu Rights and Environment for the Innu Nation. He has also been involved in archaeological work.

Question:

Does Ashini make a strong case to support his contention that evidence can be interpreted differently, depending on one's viewpoint?

Innu researchers dig into their history

2.32 (Excerpted from an article by Camille Fouillard, 2000.)

"This is important work but I have problems with the way archaeologists label different things and with some of the terms they use," says Ashini. "For example, they have given our ancestors different names like Maritime Archaic Indians, Intermediate Period Indians and Point Revenge Indians. These archaeologists only identify a clear tie between the last group and the Innu, as if we were all different and distinct peoples."

Archaeologists claim the evidence is inconclusive and use these different names to interpret information to suit their needs, says Ashini. This is a problem for the Innu during land rights negotiations when governments cite archaeological research to say that the Innu have not been in Labrador for at least the last 8000 years. But Ashini says the archaeologists' theories don't hold up.

"We know these people are our ancestors and just because they used different tools and set up their campsites a little differently, in my opinion that doesn't make them different peoples," says Ashini.

"A people develops and evolves over time from contact with other peoples and adapts itself to different circumstances. Because European people use cars instead of horse and buggy, because they live in different kinds of houses, use tractors instead of manual ploughs, they are not different peoples from their ancestors."

Ashini added that some archaeologists like Stephen Loring (of the Smithsonian Institute) are beginning to see that the labels may be incorrect and don't tell the whole picture. They have begun to reassess their interpretations …

2.33 Beothuk pendants
Among the most striking Beothuk artifacts are carved bone pieces. They have been found in bundles, sewn to clothing, or strung as a necklace. Some of these carvings can be identified as stylized animals or parts thereof and may have been used as amulets.

2.34 Beothuk projectile points

2.35 Gaming pieces
decorated on one side and plain on the other were tossed in the air. Complex scores based on the numbers that landed face up or face down were kept, probably using bead counters.

Beothuk

At the time Europeans arrived in Newfoundland and Labrador, between 500 and 700 Beothuk are believed to have inhabited the island of Newfoundland. As the direct descendants of one of the prehistoric populations that are collectively referred to by archaeologists as "Recent Indians," Beothuk represent the historic period of this native culture. Lists of Beothuk words, obtained from captives, in combination with archaeological findings, have allowed scientists to propose a relationship of Beothuk (i.e., the language) with the Algonquian language family.

Because Beothuk had few interactions with Europeans, our knowledge about their culture is limited. What we know about Beothuk lifestyle, social organization, language, and religion is based on contemporary documents, information obtained from captives, and archaeological findings.

During the summer season small Beothuk family groups or bands roamed along stretches of the coast, harvesting a variety of marine resources, as well as birds and their eggs. In fall they met with other families inland for the big caribou drive, which supplied them with large quantities of meat for the winter. In pursuit of their seasonal round, Beothuk travelled throughout the island employing a variety of hunting and fishing techniques and several methods to preserve surplus food stuff. Several families or bands overwintered together and thereby created opportunities for socializing, storytelling, teaching, and sharing songs. At the end of the winter, they celebrated the ochring ceremony, a 10 day feast at which every member of the assembled group received a new coat of red ochre. The ochre was considered to be a mark of identity and the first coat, applied in infancy, a sign of initiation.

Like other native groups, Beothuk used the resources of their immediate environment for all their needs. Tools, arrowheads, bows and arrows, and cooking pots were made from stone, bone, wood, or bark. Clothing was made from caribou and other animal skins. Summer shelters, known as **mamateeks**, were constructed from wooden poles bound together and covered with birch bark. Winter mamateeks were more elaborate structures, being surrounded by **berms** and covered with many layers of sods for better insulation. Birch bark canoes allowed Beothuk to travel on lakes, rivers, and the ocean. For winter travel they employed sleds and snowshoes, the latter made of wood and rawhide strips.

2.36 The construction of a mamateek

Mi'kmaq

This is the adjective form of Mi'kmaq.

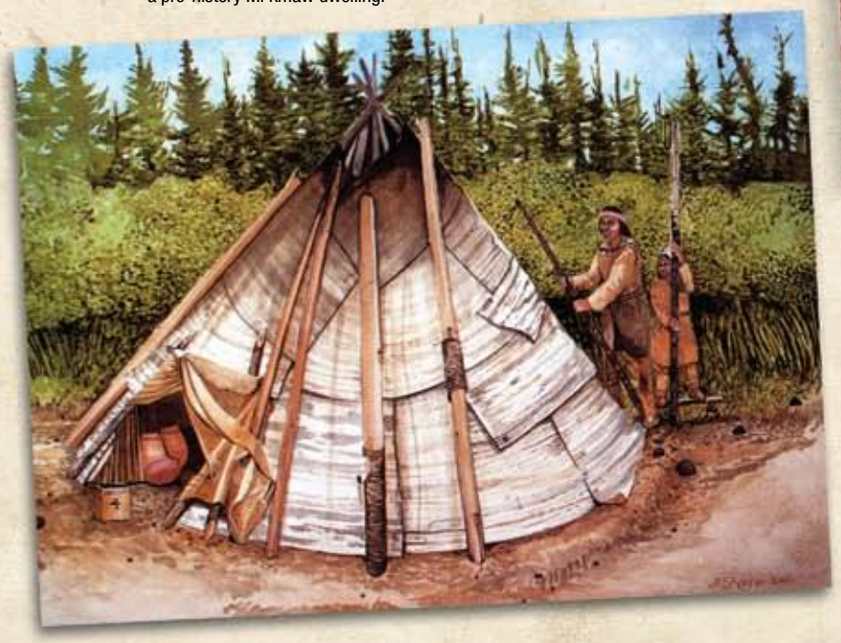
Mi'kmaw ancestral homelands of Mi'kma'ki stretched across much of what is today Atlantic Canada. The name for the Newfoundland part of this territory, **Ktaqamkuk**, means "land across the water." While Newfoundland Mi'kmaw oral tradition maintains they lived in Ktaqamkuk prior to European contact, the first evidence of Mi'kmaq presence in Newfoundland dates from 1602.

Traditional Mi'kmaw life in Atlantic Canada followed a seasonal round. Most of their food came from the sea. Consequently, Mi'kmaq spent from early spring until fall near the shores – harvesting resources of the sea and land as they came into season. This included fish, which they took with hook and line, **weirs**, and spears. A short distance inland, they hunted caribou in their spring migration.

In the fall, many Mi'kmaq moved inland, where they stayed for the colder months. There they hunted large animals like bears and caribou, fished from rivers, and trapped small game like beavers and partridges.

In summer, Mi'kmaq used birch bark canoes. They ranged from 5.5 to 9 metres (18 to 30 feet) in length and were lightweight, making them easy to portage. In winter, snowshoes were used for walking and toboggans were used to transport heavy goods.

2.37 Mi'kmaw dwelling
Shown here is artist William B. Ritchie's interpretation of a pre-history Mi'kmaw dwelling.



2.38

2.39 Mi'kmaw boots
These boots are made from tanned caribou skins that have been stitched together with thread made from deer or caribou sinew.

Questions:

1. Use a graphic organizer to compare the traditional way of life of Inuit, Innu, Beothuk, and Mi'kmaq in terms of food, shelter, and travel at the end of the fifteenth century. What similarities and differences do you note?
2. What are the main sources of knowledge about the lifestyles of First Nations and Inuit who lived in our province prior to European arrival?