ASHUANIPI KUPITAN:
EXCAVATION AT THE FERGUSON BAY 1 SITE IN WESTERN LABRADOR

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Excavation at the Ferguson Bay 1 Site in Western Labrador

By

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A Note on the Title

The title of this thesis, "Ashuanipi Kupitan", was suggested to me by Daniel Ashini, the current president of the Innu Nation, and a man for whom I have great respect. The words are *Innu-aimun* (the Innu language) and many readers who are familiar with Labrador will already be familiar with the word "Ashuanipi" which means "a place to cross" (Daniel Ashini, personal communication 2006). Innu people have been crossing this lake for many years as it is part of an historic travel route through the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. In fact, archaeological evidence from our work at the Ferguson Bay 1 site shows that people were traveling though this area at least as early 1600 B.P.

The word "Kupitan" (pronounced *go-baten*) means "where the lake flows into the river" (Daniel Ashini, personal communication 2006). This accurately describes the position of the Ferguson Bay 1 site on Ashuanipi Lake. This also implies movement and a connection to other places – themes which have been important throughout the course of this research.

Abstract

In this thesis evidence from the Ferguson Bay 1 site (FfDn-01) in western Labrador is presented and interpreted. This is a multi-component site located on the northwestern shore of Ashuanipi Lake and evidence shows that it was used at least as early as 1600 B.P. The site was occupied repeatedly by Amerindian groups since then and historically it is known to have been part of an Innu travel route through the interior of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula. Ashuanipi Lake, and the area around the Ferguson Bay 1 site, continues to be used by the Innu today.

It is argued that the earliest evidence from FfDn-01 shows a relationship with several precontact period Amerindian cultures which have been recognized in other parts of the "Far Northeast". The material culture associated with the earliest known occupation of the site is most similar to that of the FlècheLlittorale and Petit Havre complexes of the Québec Lower North shore. Archaeological evidence also suggests relationships with the people of the North West River phase of Hamilton Inlet, and the Cow Head complex of Newfoundland. There is evidence that a component at FfDn-01 which dates to approximately 1000 B.P. is related to Recent Indian groups who occupied the Labrador coast during the same time period.

The Labrador interior, and western Labrador in particular, have until recently, received less archaeological attention than other parts of the "Far Northeast". This thesis provides archaeological evidence which will help build an understanding of the culture history of interior Labrador.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Plates

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis involves the analysis of cultural materials recovered from the Ferguson Bay 1 site (FfDn-01) which is located on the northwestern shore of Ashuanipi Lake in western Labrador (Figures 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4). The overall objective of this research is to help build an understanding of the cultural history of interior Labrador. Although in recent years the number of interior projects has greatly increased, this immense area has still received far less archaeological attention than the coast. The fieldwork component of this MA project involved the first in-depth archaeological excavation ever conducted in western Labrador. The current understanding of Labrador prehistory is based largely on work which has been done on the coast - this research will help to rectify this situation.

Ferguson Bay is part of an historic Innu travel route through the Labrador interior and the Ferguson Bay 1 site was used at least as early as 1640 +/- 50 B.P. (Cal 1690 – 1660; 1630-1410) (Beta 226315). Evidence shows that this lake and this site have been used more or less continuously ever since.

The location of the site is significant (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). Ferguson Bay 1 is very close to where the lake narrows to become Ashuanipi River (*Kupitan* – see "A Note on the Title of this Thesis, p.iii) and it is adjacent to water that never freezes. It is an area where a variety of resources are available at any given time of the year. The site is also

an excellent area for camping with a sandy beach perfect for landing boats. It is also a place that anyone travelling trough the area would have to pass since you cannot reach Ashuanipi River (which is part of the travel route through the interior) without going through Ferguson Bay, which is quite narrow adjacent to the site (Figures 1.2 and 1.3).

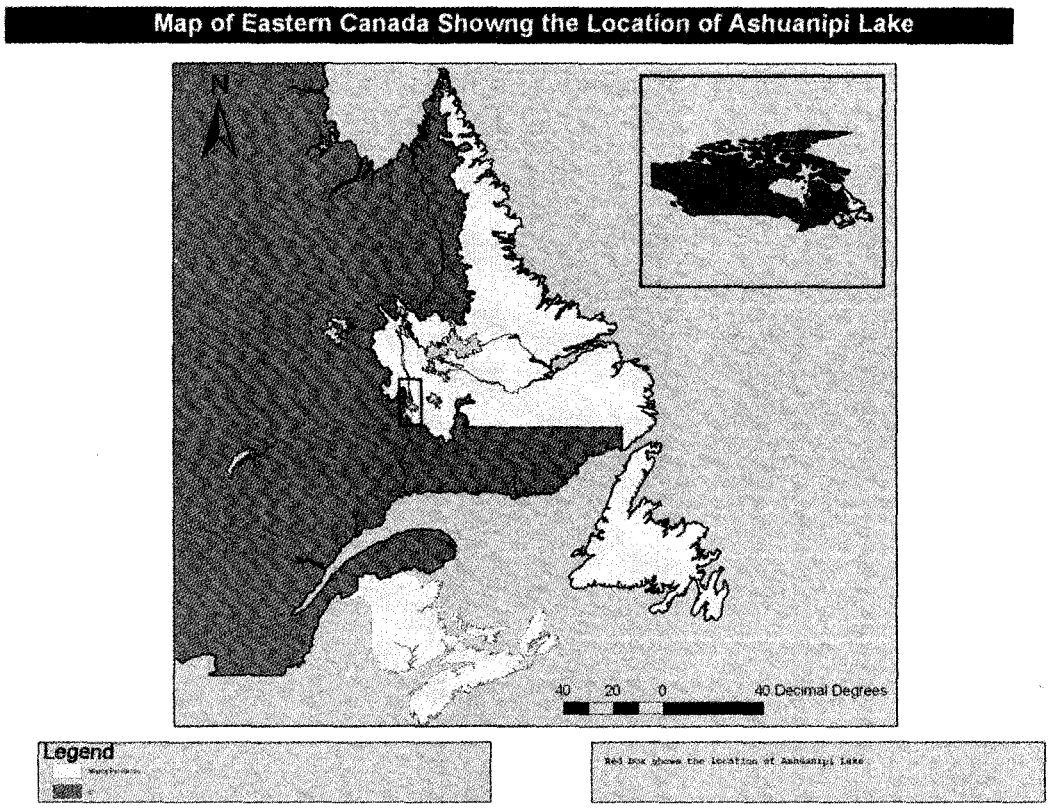

Figure 1.1: Showing the location of the study area (Created in the Queen Elizabeth II Map Library, ArchGIS 9.1, January 2007).

The cultural material dealt with in this thesis was collected from Ferguson Bay 1 during the 2005 and 2006 summer field seasons. We spent some time testing at this site in 2005 as part of a survey of parts of Ashuanipi Lake, Ashuanipi River and Meninhek

Lake (Neilsen 2006a). In 2006, approximately five weeks were spent on Ashuanipi Lake and the excavation team was made up of between two and five individuals. During our time spent on the lake we were able to excavate just over twenty square meters which is only a small portion of the site. Two hearth features were discovered in 2006, one of which (Feature 2) was used several centuries before the other (Feature 1). In and around the older hearth (Feature 2) were thousands of stone flakes as well as a handful of stone tools, almost all of which were broken. Feature 1 appears to have been used in precontact times as well as right through the historic period and up until quite recently. The evidence from FfDn-01 has provided valuable information about the use of this region during the past two millennia. This material has been analyzed and compared to collections from sites in Labrador as well as Québec with a number of research questions in mind. These questions include: 1) when was the site used; 2) what was the site used for, and 3) what cultural traditions can be recognized in the archaeological record at the site. These are basic questions which need to be answered in order to begin building a culture history of western Labrador and the interior of Labrador in general – which is the overall objective of this thesis.

This thesis is divided into six chapters, this introduction being the first. Chapter two puts the data from Ferguson Bay 1 into context by discussing past research in the interior of Labrador in general and in western Labrador in particular. The third chapter discusses the cultural and environmental contexts of the Ferguson Bay 1 site. Chapter four presents the data collected from Ferguson Bay 1 and chapter five is an

interpretation of the meaning of this evidence. Chapter six is an overview and discussion of the proceeding chapters with concluding remarks.

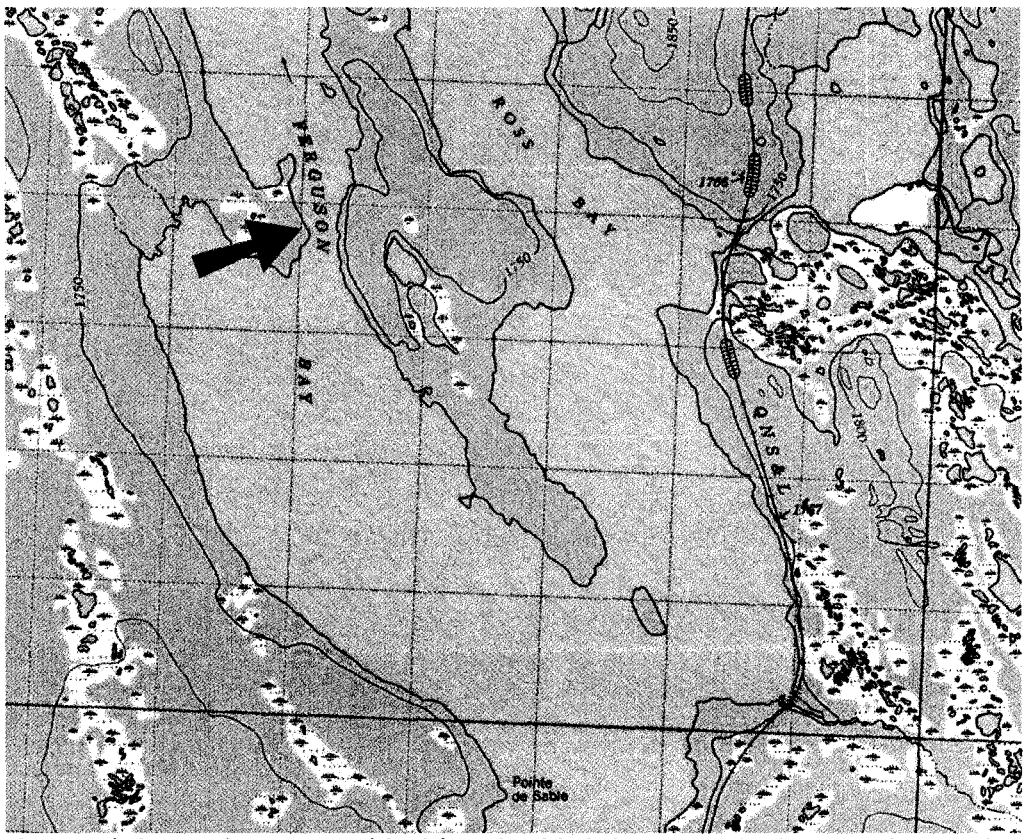

Figure 1.2: The location of Ferguson Bay 1 (FfDn-01) on Ashunaipi Lake (Department of Environment and Conservation, Crown Lands Administration Division, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador).

Figure 1.3: Arial photograph showing FfDn-01, the archaeology field camp, and the Ferguson Bay dock (Department of Environment and Conservation – Crown Lands Administration Division).

Figure 1.4: View of Ferguson Bay 1 (FfDn-01) from Ashuanipi Lake, looking west.

Chapter 2: Background

2.1 - Culture Context

Labrador Prehistory

The prehistory of Labrador has been divided into an early, an intermediate and a late period (Fitzhugh 1973). In the following paragraphs I will discuss the Amerindian cultural groups that have occupied Labrador. Figure 2.1 shows the places mentioned in the text.

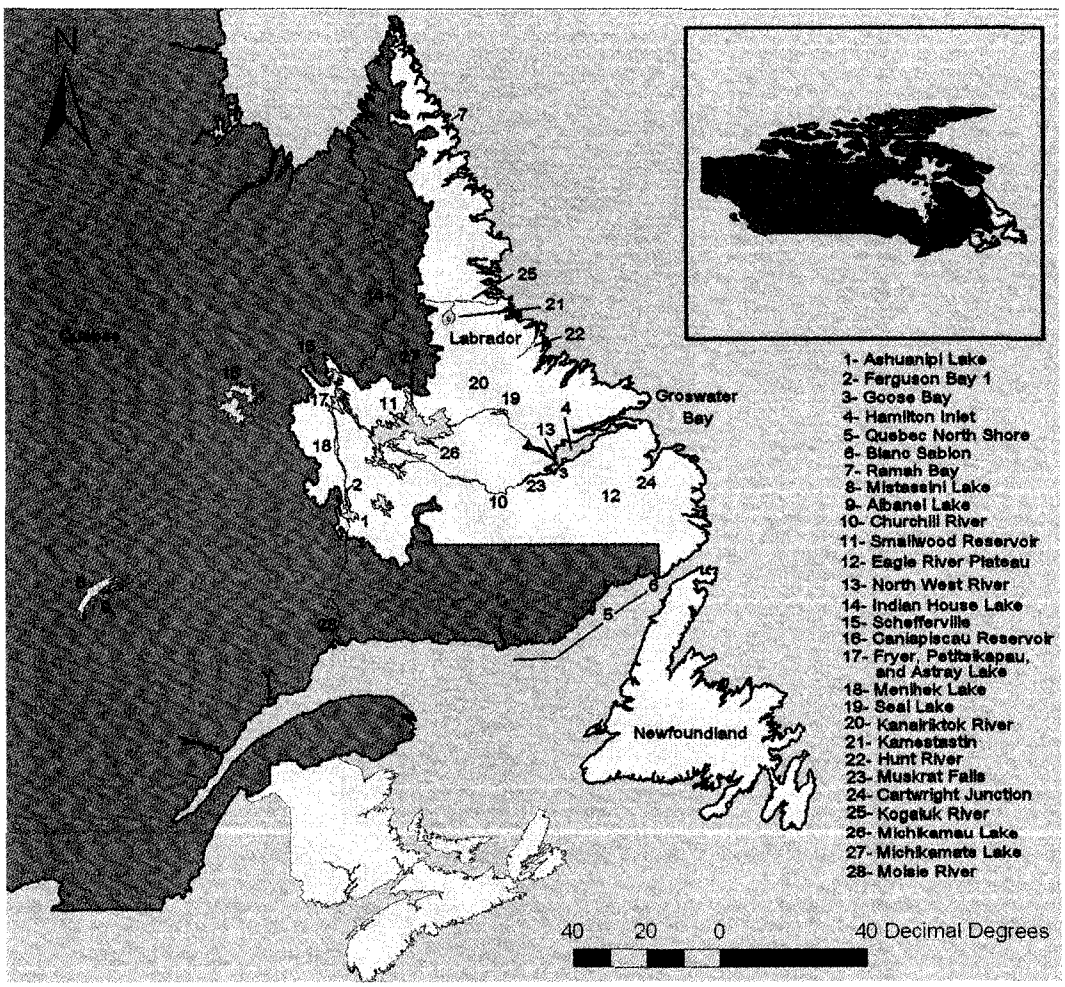

Figure 2.1 - Map showing places mentioned in the text

2.1.1 - Terminology

Before a discussion of Labrador prehistory can begin it is first necessary to provide definitions for three terms which are used by researchers when referring to different archaeological units in this area: *phase*, *complex* and *component.*

Willey and Phillips (1958: 22) define a phase as "... an archaeological unit possessing traits sufficiently characteristic to distinguish it from all other units similarly conceived, whether of the same or other cultures or civilizations, spatially limited to the order of magnitude of a locality or region and chronologically limited to a relatively brief interval of time". A component, for Willey and Phillips (1958:21) is "... the manifestation of a given archaeological phase at a specific site." It is important to note that in this model, phases and components can be understood in a wider context through the concepts of *horizon* and *tradition*. An horizon is the continuity of a culture through space (i.e. across the land), whereas a tradition is the continuity of cultural traits though time. It is also important to note how these terms are meant to represent real social units. For Willey and Phillips (1958) a phase represents a society (or archaeological culture), whereas a component represents a village, neighborhood or band.

William Fitzhugh (1972) originally defined many of the cultural units which will be referred to in this chapter, and much of his terminology is still used by researchers who are writing about these cultures today. Fitzhugh (1972) uses the terms phase, complex and component and for him they are hierarchical, with phase being the highest. He uses the term phase in a similar to Willey and Phillips (1958) and defines it

as "... a cultural historical unit which can be inferred from the information obtainable from the excavation of a large site which together with a number of smaller related sites gives a reasonably complete picture of the culture involved" (Fitzhugh 1972: 112). The term complex is in the middle of the hierarchy and refers to a cultural unit that is reasonably well known. Fitzhugh writes that "... the cultural content of the category may be as complete as that for a phase; however in this case either a large type site is unknown or insufficient samples are available to define the range and variation of the assemblage, and the formal procedure of phase definition awaits further information" (1972: 112). Finally, a component is the least well understood cultural unit of the three. He uses this term in two ways, the first being the same way that Willey and Phillips (1958) use it. He also uses this term when a cultural unit is recognized from a single site with "... a small sample but one distinctive enough to indicate it probably represents a separate cultural period" (1972: 113).

Most of the cultural units referred to in this thesis which were defined in Québec are complexes and researchers in Québec use this term in a similar way to Fitzhugh (1972). One exception would be Martijn and Rogers (1969) who use the terms complex and phase in the opposite way that Fitzhugh does, i.e. a complex encompasses more than, and is better understood than a phase.

2.1.2 - The Maritime Archaic Period

During the early period (approximately 8000 – 3500 B.P.), Labrador was occupied by people referred to as Maritime Archaic Indians. Archaeologists recognize regional variations within this culture, but at that time, groups of people who had a similar maritime oriented way of life occupied a very large area from northern Labrador to the Gulf of Saint Lawerence, the Island of Newfoundland, the Atlantic Provinces and the state of Maine in the U.S. (Bourque 2001; Fitzhugh 2006; Hood 1993; Spiess 1993). Within Labrador, archaeologists refer to a northern and a southern branch of this culture (Hood 1993). Northern branch groups in Labrador are now being referred to as "Labrador Archaic" groups (Bourque 2001; Fitzhugh 1975, 1978a, 1984, 2006; Hood 1993; Sanger and Renouf 2006; Speiss 1993; Tuck 1975; 1976).

The Maritime Archaic Culture is characterized by distinctive hunting technology including stemmed points, often made out of Ramah chert, harpoons, and ground slate spears or lances. This culture is also associated with woodworking tools such as gouges, adzes, celts and axes, which are usually made from ground stone. Maritime Archaic people are also associated with the remains of very large structures (many of which have been interpreted as longhouses (Fitzhugh 1984, 1985, 2006; Thompson 1984a; 1986; Hood 1981; 1993; Sanger and Renouf 2006) and complex mortuary practices (Tuck 1976; Hood 1993; Sanger and Renouf 2006). Organic remains found in Maritime Archaic

sites, as well as tools and symbolic representations of animals from grave sites, all strongly suggest a focus on the sea (Tuck 1975; 1976; Hood 1993).

2.1.3 - The Intermediate Period

Following the Maritime Archaic period in Labrador is the Intermediate period (3500-2000 B.P., although in central Labrador it lasts until around 1500 B.P.) which is the most poorly understood period in Labrador prehistory. This is due to the fact that archaeological components which date to that time are generally small, there are few artifacts, there is considerable diversity in lithic technology, and relatively few Intermediate period sites have been excavated so far. Indian groups who lived in Labrador during this period are often referred to by researchers as "Intermediate Indians".

Much of what is known about the Intermediate Period is based on work done by William Fitzhugh, of the Smithsonian Institution, who began a major archaeological project in central Labrador in 1968 (Fitzhugh 1972). At this time Fitzhugh worked in Hamilton Inlet, which has both coastal and interior zones. This area includes the land around North West River, which is located approximately 100 kilometers from the open ocean. In the North West River region Fitzhugh found archaeological evidence which shows that Indian groups have been using that area for approximately 3600 years (Fitzhugh 1972).

Fitzhugh defined two cultural components, three complexes and one phase that are relevant here based on the archaeological evidence from Hamilton Inlet: the Little Lake component (3600-3200 B.P.), the Brinex complex (3200-3000 B.P.), the Charles complex (3000-2700 B.P.), the Road component (2700-1800 B.P.), the David Michelin complex (2300-1800), and the North West River phase (2500-1400 B.P.) (Fitzhugh 1972). Figure 2.2 shows the sites which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

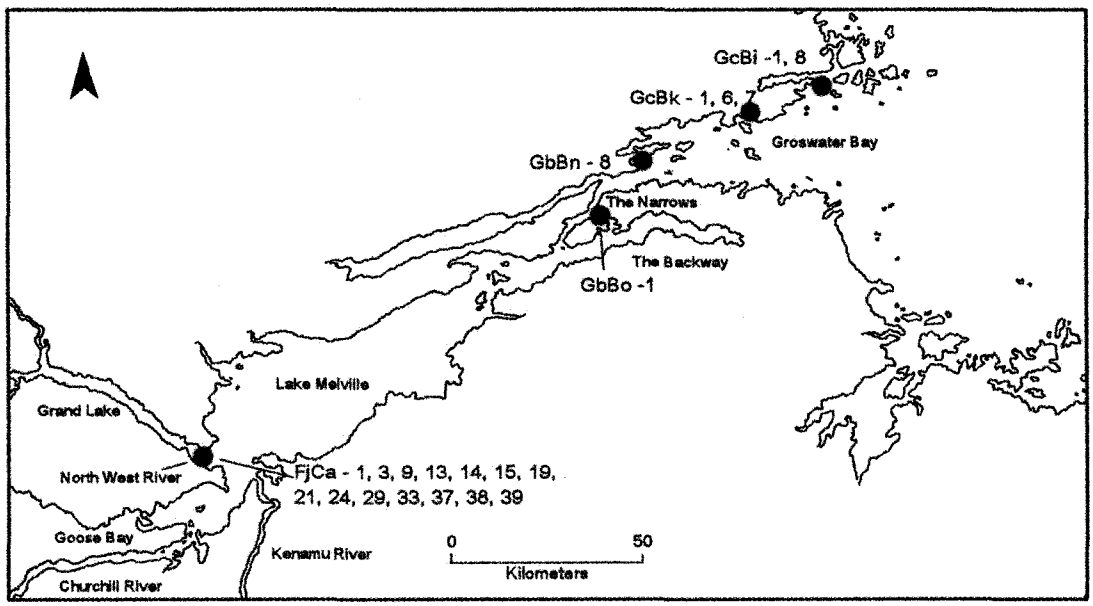

Figure 2.2 – Map of Hamilton Inlet showing the sites mentioned in the text (based on Fitzhugh 1972: 144, 146, 148, 152, 153).

First of all, it should be pointed out that the oldest cultural component discovered by Fitzhugh in North West River, the Little Lake component, was defined based on very little evidence. This evidence includes just one large stemmed bifacial point made of quartzite, for which the exact context is not known, and a small artifact

assemblage from one site (the cookery site [FjCa -3]) in North West River. Several biface fragments, a leaf-shaped biface, a tongue shaped knife and a number of preforms are present in this collection. Fitzhugh argues that this culture differs from other Indian cultures recognized in the archaeological record in North West River based on site elevation (the Cookery site is on a higher and older terrace), in the raw materials used in the manufacture of stone tools as well as the presence of unfamiliar tool types at the Cookery site (Fitzhugh 1972).

Fitzhugh defined the Brinex complex based on evidence from four sites in Hamilton Inlet (FjCa-33,38; GbBo-1; GcBk-6) two of which are in North West River (Figure 2.2). Much of the material culture that this complex is based on was collected by a Mr. Charles who lived in the area. Because of this, the exact context that much of this material came from is not known. Bifacially worked projectile points and knives are associated with Brinex complex sites. One drill and numerous scrapers have also been found in Brinex sites. Raw materials used in stone tool manufacture include Saunders cherts, believed to come from the interior[1], quartz as well as white and red quartzite. It should also be mentioned here that red ochre was found in Brinex complex sites in North West River (Fitzhugh 1972).

[1] These cherts were originally thought to come from the Seal Lake area (Fitzhugh 1972; Nagle 1978), however, work done by McCaffrey, Loring and Fitzhugh (1989) suggests that this is unlikely. They argue that the Pocket Knife Lake area just to the east of Seal Lake may be the source of these materials (1989:131).

The location of Brinex complex sites, and the ecology of these areas has been used to make inferences about Brinex complex economic adaptations. A generalized hunting and fishing way of life is suggested by Fitzhugh (1972). He also suggests that people belonging to this culture may have fished and hunted small game during the summer months on Lake Melville as well as on the coast – and they might have hunted caribou in the interior during the winter. Fitzhugh noticed an apparent lack of Ramah Chert (which comes from Ramah Bay in northern Labrador (Figure 2.1)) and based on this he argues that the coast must not have been used very intensively by these people (Fitzhugh 1972:145).

The Charles complex was defined by Fitzhugh based on evidence from five sites (FjCa-1,9,13,39; GcBk-7) (Figure 2.2). A major difference between Charles complex and Brinex complex sites is the lack of red ochre found in Charles complex sites. Unifacial and bifacial stone tools are associated with this culture and raw materials used in their manufacture were usually cherts, but banded lavas were used as well. The main tools found in Charles complex sites are large bifacially worked knives, bifacial tool blanks, as well as flake tools and unifacial scrapers. Fitzhugh (1972) suggests that Charles complex groups had a similar economy to Brinex groups. This involves a generalized hunting and fishing way of life with summers spent on Lake Melville or on the coast, and winters spent hunting and fishing in the interior. The nearly exclusive use of Saunders cherts appears to show the importance of the interior to Charles complex groups (Fitzhugh 1972).

Evidence from a single site at North West River, the Road 2 Site (FjCa-14), was used by Fitzhugh (1972) to define the Road component (Figure 2.2). Road component artifacts, Fitzhugh (1972) argues, are different from Brinex and Charles complex artifacts. He explains that Road component artifacts are smaller than those from the two earlier complexes and they also appear to have been very carefully made. Other tools found at the site include scrapers which had been made out of triangular flakes. Several different types of materials were present at the Road 2 site. These include quartz, quartzites, fine grained volcanic stone and several varieties of chert including Ramah chert. The fact that Ramah chert was present at the Road 2 site suggests that the people who left this material culture had contact with the coast. There is very little known about the economic adaptations of the people who used the Road 2 site in the past. Fitzhugh (1972) suggests that they may have had similar settlement and subsistence patterns to Brinex and Charles complex groups. He bases this suggestion on the location of the site. He also points out that this culture seems to have had more ties to the coast, either using that region themselves or trading with people who did. This argument is based on the fact that Ramah chert was recovered from the Road 2 site (Fitzhugh 1972).

Two sites, the David Michelin site (FjCa-19) (in North West River) and the Hound Pond 1 site (GcBi-8) (in Groswater Bay) were used by Fitzhugh (1972) to define the David Michelin complex in Hamilton Inlet (Figure 2.2). Collections from these sites include scrapers, utilized flakes, large bifacial knives and stemmed points. A similar economy to

Brinex and Charles complex groups is suggested for this complex as well. Fitzhugh (1972) makes the argument that winters were likely spent hunting caribou in the interior while rivers, lakes and the coast were utilized for hunting small game, birds, perhaps seals, and for fishing during the summer. Saunders cherts, were the most common material used in tool making at these two sites, however they were not the only types of chert present. Once again, Ramah chert was also recovered suggesting contact with the coast (Fitzhugh 1972).

Nagle (1978) points out that the material culture from the Hound Pond 1 site is now believed to belong to the Archaic Period rather than to the Intermediate Period. Because of this he suggests that researchers should refer to the "David Michelin component" rather than the "David Michelin complex" since so little data is available for this cultural unit. The Hound Pond 1 site is located on the outer coast and is very close to many Archaic sites.

Neilsen (2006b) writes that there are visible differences between the earlier Intermediate period Amerindian material culture and the David Michelin component, but that the differences between the David Michelin component and the North West River phase "...are less apparent" (Neilsen 2006b:32).

Fitzhugh (1972) defined the North West River phase based on archaeological evidence from eight sites he had examined in Hamilton Inlet (FjCa-15,21,24,29,37; GbBn-8; GcBk-1; GcBi-1) (Figure 2.2). Of these eight sites, the Sid Blake site (FjCa-24),

which is located in North West River, is the most important. Four more of these sites are close to the Sid Blake site in North West River and the other three are in Groswater Bay (Figures 2.1 and 2.2) on the Labrador coast. Fitzhugh (1972) suggests that North West River phase people may have made many of their tools out of bone which has not survived in the archaeological record. He makes this argument because he sees the lithic technology as being quite simple (Fitzhugh 1972). Artifacts recovered from these sites include flake tools, core scrapers, asymmetric bifaces and stemmed bifaces. Raw materials used in manufacturing these tools included red quartzite, quartz, banded lava, and Ramah chert, but by far the most commonly used material was local quartzite. Once again, a settlement and subsistence pattern involving fishing during the summer and hunting in the interior during the winter months is suggested. Fitzhugh (1972) argues that North West River phase people led a way of life that involved use of both the coast and the interior.

Since Fitzhugh's work, other researchers have argued that the Brinex and the Charles complexes should be seen as the same culture that changed through time (Nagle 1978; Neilsen 2006b). After examining fourteen Intermediate period Indian sites on the central coast of Labrador, Nagle has suggested using the term "Saunders complex" instead of "Brinex complex" or "Charles complex" in that region (Nagle 1978). Neilsen, who recently excavated two Intermediate Indian sites near Goose Bay, has suggested that Nagle's (1978) terminology should be used in Hamilton Inlet as well (Neilsen 2006b). Neilsen has gone a little further by arguing that the Road component

could also be included as a Saunders complex group (2006b). He explains that the Road 2 site (which the Road component is based on), was badly disturbed by a bulldozer. The Road 2 site is quite close to a major Charles complex site and the bulldozer may have moved material from the Charles complex site to the Road 2 site (Neilsen 2006b).

Intermediate period sites have also been found on the south coast of Labrador (Madden 1976; McGhee and Tuck 1975). Based on excavations at two of these sites, Madden (1976) has argued that "The Strait of Belle Isle... witnessed an almost continuous and uninterrupted occupation by maritime adapted peoples for over 8,000 years..." (Madden 1976: 115). This argument is based on the evolution of stone point styles used in the area throughout this long period. McGhee and Tuck (1975) had previously argued for cultural continuity from 8000-4500 B.P. based on stone point styles and the changes observed in them over time. Madden (1976) looked at the period after 4500 and suggested that more recent point styles appear to have developed from older ones in this part of Labrador.

2.1.4 - The Recent Period

The Recent Indian period (approximately 2000-350 B.P.) is the most recent period of prehistoric occupation in Labrador (Loring 1989; 1992). This cultural tradition has been divided into an early and a late period (Hull 2002), and it is believed that early Recent Indians were the direct ancestors of the Late Recent Indians, and archaeological

evidence suggests that the late Recent Indians were the ancestors of the Innu who live in Labrador and Québec today (Loring 1992; Hull 2002). Researchers refer to the early Labrador Recent Indians as belonging to the Daniel Rattle complex which dates between approximately 2000 and 1000 B.P., and the late Labrador Recent Indians are referred to as belonging to the Point Revenge complex which dates from approximately 1000 – 350 B.P. (Hull 2002; Loring 1989, 1992). These two Recent Indian periods are closely related and these terms (Daniel Rattle; and Point Revenge) are mainly used to refer to the different time periods when these people lived rather than differences between the cultures. In Labrador, the terms "early" and "late" Recent Indians can be used interchangeably with "Daniel Rattle complex" and "Point Revenge complex" (Hull 2002).

Based on evidence such as the types of raw material used for stone tools, the location of sites, faunal remains as well as types of stone tools present in these sites, the Labrador Recent Indians fit into what Fitzhugh (1972) called the "modified interior" pattern of settlement and subsistence (Fitzhugh 1972: 159). The modified interior pattern involves a generalized hunting and fishing way of life which included use of both the coast and the interior. Recent Indian sites have been found deep in sheltered bays, in exposed outer coastal areas, on islands, and in boreal forest regions in Labrador. Faunal remains in these sites have included many species such as seal, caribou, fish, bear, duck, and walrus (Loring 1992).

Stone tools associated with early Recent Indian sites in Labrador include large lancolate bifaces with square bases, projectile points which are broad and side-notched, and side scrapers and end-scrapers which were unifacially worked. These tools are very similar to late Recent Indian tools which seem to evolve into smaller forms with some changes. The late Labrador Recent Indians used small triangular bifaces, small corner-notched projectile points and flake points later on, and very small scrapers which are referred to by archaeologists as "thumbnail scrapers". Some tool forms are found in both early and late Labrador Recent Indian sites such as celts made of ground slate, and the spalls which are produced in order to manufacture these tools. It is also important to note that Ramah chert was used extensively by Recent Indian groups in Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972, 1978b; Hull 2002; Loring 1989, 1992).

The most common features found in Labrador Recent Indian sites are hearths which are generally either a small ring or cluster of stones, or a large and long type of hearth that is usually described as being somewhat rectangular or oval in shape. The first type of hearth is usually less than a meter across and the latter type is sometimes raised slightly higher than the rest of the ground around it (Fitzhugh 1978b; Hull 2002; Loring 1992). Structural remains have also been found in both early and late Recent Indian period sites in Labrador. Some of these structures are described as being oval shaped and all have interior hearths. Some have one linear hearth inside them, and others have several smaller hearth features within. These relatively large structural remains have been interpreted as being multi-family dwellings or possibly ceremonial

structures where things like feasting would have taken place (Fitzhugh 1978b; Hull 2002; Loring 1985, 1992; Samson 1976). Smaller structural remains, which are believed to represent dwellings similar to historic tipis, have also been found in Labrador Recent Indian sites. These structures are generally 3 – 5 meters across and are interpreted based on a ring of rocks believed to have been used to hold down the coverings of these dwellings, a mound of soil which would have served the same purpose, or on a concentration of cultural materials found within a couple of meters from what is believed to be a central hearth feature (Hull 2002; Loring 1992).

2.1.5 – Archaeological Evidence from the Québec Lower North Shore

It is also essential to discuss precontact Indian cultures that have been recognized in the archaeological record on the Québec Lower North Shore (near the Labrador border) because of their relationships with the precontact groups of Labrador and Newfoundland. Research in this area, close to the present day town of Blanc-Sablon, has revealed evidence that Amerindian and Paleoeskimo groups had been using this territory for thousands of years (Pintal 1989, 1990, 1992, 1998, 2001). Pintal (1998) has defined five late precontact Amerindian complexes based on archaeological evidence from this area. These cultural units include the Flèche Littorale complex (2500-1500 B.P.), the Petit Havre complex (1500-1200 B.P.), the Longue Pointe complex (1300-1100 B.P.), the Anse Lazy complex (1200-1100 B.P.), and the Anse Morel complex

(1000 B.P. – present) (Pintal 1998: 169-257). The late precontact Amerindian sites of the Québec Lower North Shore are shown on Figure 2.3.

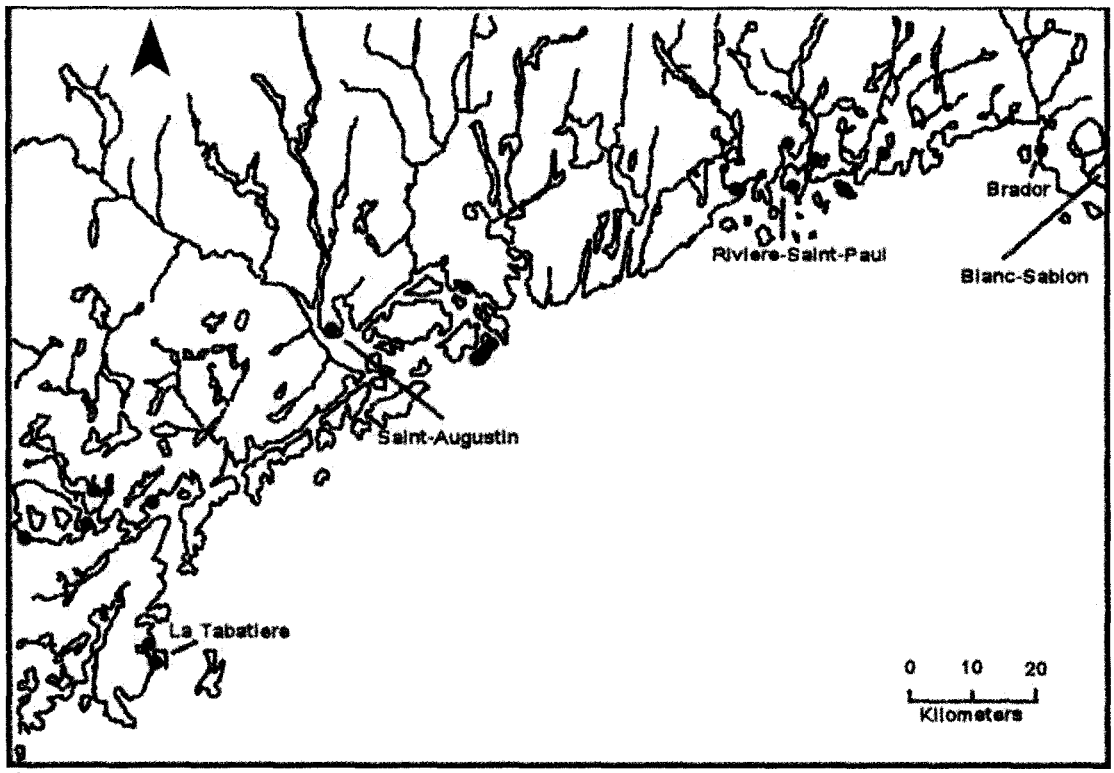

Figure 2.3 - Late precontact period Amerindian sites on the Québec Lower North Shore (based on Pintal 1998:205, 245).

Most of the sites belonging to the Flèche Littorale (**coastal arrow**) complex have been found on the western bank of the Blanc-Sablon River as well as on nearby lakes and rivers. Evidence suggests that these people lived using the resources of the interior as well as the sea in a way which would fit into Fitzhugh's (1972) modified interior system (Fitzhugh 1972: 159). Oval hearths which contain seal bones, beaver bones, and mussel shells, are common in sites of this complex. Pintal (1998) has argued that many of these hearth features, and the flakes and artifacts that are found within and adjacent

to them, represent the remains of oval or elongated dwelling structures. These structures are believed to have been approximately five meters across. Stemmed points, leaf-shaped bifaces and relatively large scrapers are associated with this complex. Ceramics have sometimes been recovered from these sites as well (Jean-Yves Pintal, personal communication 2006). Although quartz, Ramah chert and cherts from Newfoundland are present in most sites, the main lithic raw material found in Flèche Littorale complex sites is local quartzite (Pintal 1998: 172-178; personal communication 2006).

The Petit Havre complex is based on two sites near Blanc-Sablon – EiBg-85 and EiBg-86. Pintal (1998) has suggested that these people used oval shaped dwelling structures built around elongate hearth features as well. This is based on similar evidence to that described above for the Fléche littoral complex dwellings. Tools from Petit Havre complex sites include asymmetric bifaces, leaf-shaped bifaces, triangular bifaces and scrapers. Once again, local quartzite makes up the majority of the lithic raw material found in these sites. Ramah chert, Newfoundland cherts, and quartz are also present, and Petit Havre complex people appear to have used a greater proportion of these cherts than Flèche Littorale groups. The increased use of materials from Newfoundland and Labrador suggests increased contact with Amerindian groups living in those areas at this time (Hull 2002; Pintal 1998). Two small ceramic sherds were recovered from EiBg-85 and one notched projectile point made of Mistassini quartzite

was found at EiBg-86. These artifacts suggest contact with people living west and north-west of Blanc-Sablon (Hull 2002; Pintal 1998:178-189).

The Longue Pointe complex (1300-1100 B.P.) is based on evidence from one site near Blanc-Sablon – EiBh-109. This complex differs from the previous two just described in that these people were relying almost completely on lithic raw materials from Newfoundland and Labrador instead of local quartzites. This change in use of raw materials occurs at approximately the same time that the Dorset Paleoeskimo left the island of Newfoundland. Pintal (2001) has suggested that the change in raw material usage during the Longue Pointe period happened because Paleoeskimo groups were now no longer in the area and therefore the Amerindian populations were able to gain access to tool making stones from Newfoundland and Labrador (Hull 2002; Pintal 1998, 2001).

Stone tools associated with the Longue Pointe complex include triangular asymmetrical stone knives, similar to those found in the Daniel Rattle complex of Labrador (Hull 2002: 44-45; Loring 1989; Pintal 1998), scrapers, an axe made of schist, as well as a side-notched, leaf-shaped biface. The tools, as well as the raw materials of this complex seem to demonstrate that there was a relationship between these people and the Recent Indians of Newfoundland and Labrador (Hartery 2001; Hull 2002; Pintal 1998: 190-192).

Excavation at EiBh-109 uncovered two hearth features which were characterized by coarse sand which had been heated, charcoal and calcined bone. One of these hearths was approximately five centimeters thick and about one meter across, and it contained heated stones which Pintal (1998) suggests may have been used to boil water. The other hearth feature at this site was approximately 1.2 meters from north – south, and was about twice as thick as the hearth just described. Analysis of bones recovered from the larger hearth has shown that the people of the Longue Pointe complex were hunting birds, seals, and porcupine, they were catching fish, and they were collecting clams (Pintal 1998:190-192; Hull 2002:44).

The next complex defined by Pintal (1998) in this area is the Anse Lazy complex (1200-1100 B.P.). The tools and features of this complex are different from the earlier ones, but the settlement and subsistence pattern is still the same. This complex is based on evidence from the EiBg-01D site, although there are many sites belonging to this culture in the area. At the EiBg-01D site, stone tools, flakes and clam shells were found in and around a linear hearth which has been interpreted as a five by six meter dwelling structure. It is important to note that more than 80% of the debitage from this site is Ramah chert. Once again, it is suggested that the access to this material was facilitated by Dorset groups abandoning this area. Tools associated with this culture include flake scrapers, utilized flakes, bifacially worked leaf-shaped knives, and side-notched bifacial points. The forms of the tools associated with this culture, the types of hearths found in Anse Lazy complex sites, and the fact that Ramah chert was the main raw material used

by these people all provide strong evidence for a relationship between these people and Recent Indian groups who were living in Newfoundland and Labrador at the same time (Hartery 2001; Hull 2002: 45-46; Pintal 1998:192-202). The Anse Lazy complex appears to be most closely related to the Point Revenge complex (late Recent Indian) of Labrador (Hull 2002: 47-48; Pintal 1989:44).

The last precontact Amerindian complex defined by Pintal (1998) based on evidence from sites near Blanc-Sablon is the Anse Morel complex (1100-400 B.P.). The archaeological data shows that there were very close relationships between Indian groups living on the Québec Lower North Shore and Recent Indian groups living on the island of Newfoundland (Hull 2002: 46; Pintal 1998:211-248) during this period. Heavy reliance on chert from Newfoundland, and especially the use of side notched, and corner notched stone points by Anse Morel groups, provide powerful evidence for this relationship. Other tools associated with the Anse Morel complex include scrapers, utilized flakes, pieces of polished stone tools and stone knives with convex or straight bases. Hearth features belonging to this culture are usually around one meter across and often have faunal remains in them. The bones of many species including cod, seal, red fox, sea gull, tern, plover, duck or goose, and porpoise or dolphin have been recovered from Anse Morel complex sites. Some of these hearth features have been interpreted as having been inside dwelling structures (Hull 2002: 47-48; Pintal 1998: 211-248, 1989).

Pintal (1998) argues that each of these five complexes are related to each other even though differences are observed between them. He sees the period from 2500-1100 to be a time of transition and cultural realignment (Pintal 1998). He argues that during the early part of this period Amerindian groups had to adjust their way of life since Paleoeskimo populations were moving into the Strait of Belle Isle region at that time (Pintal 1998). The contact between different Indian groups living in this area appears to have been undergoing changes from approximately 2500-1100 B.P. Archaeological evidence suggests that the first two of Pintal's complexes are related to the Cow Head complex of Newfoundland as well as North West River phase groups of Hamilton Inlet (Fitzhugh 1972; Pintal 1998). The Cow Head complex was once thought to be ancestral to early and late Recent Indian groups (Tuck 1988) of Newfoundland, but it has recently been argued that this is very unlikely (Hartery 2001; Hartery and Rast 2001; Hull 2002).

2.1.6 – Archaeological evidence from the Québec Middle North Shore

Daniel Chevrier (1977) presents the results of a salvage archaeology project that took place in the Moisie River region of the Québec Middle North Shore from 1972-1974 which resulted in the location of 17 archaeological sites, three of which were excavated. It is important to note that the Moisie River is connected to Ashuanipi Lake and is part of the travel route that was used historically by Innu groups.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the Moisie River area was used by aboriginal groups as early as approximately 6000 B.P. The material culture recovered from two of the three excavated sites is similar to Maritime Archaic Indian material culture from Labrador. Specifically, the site EbDj-4 revealed stone tools similar to those of the Sandy Cove complex (4800 B.P.) from the central coast of Labrador, and the material culture from the EbDj-3 site is quite similar to Rattlers Bight complex (4000 B.P.) material culture which was also defined based on evidence from the central coast of Labrador (Chevrier 1977: 115; Fitzhugh 1972). Both of these sites were located approximately 1 kilometer from the coast.

There is a gap in the archaeological data from approximately 2500 – 1500 B.P. from the Moisie River area, however, Chevrier (1977: 123) believes that sites belonging to that time period do exist in the area and that they just happened to not find any.

The site EbDj-2, which is located approximately 200 meters from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is argued to have been occupied between approximately 1500-1000 years ago (based on isostatic rebound information) and then again during the historic period. The oldest material culture from the site was recovered from level C and a few stone tools are somewhat similar to "Orient phase" stone tools from New England and New York (Chevrier 1977: 115-116; Ritchie 1969). However, the similarities are not striking and the Orient phase is believed to have ended around 1500 years prior to the time when level C of EbDj-2 is believed to have been occupied. Chevrier (1977: 116) points

out this as well as the great geographical distance between New York and the Middle North Shore and explains that the typological comparison is precarious.

Level B of EbDj-2 yielded a fair amount of evidence including lithics, pottery, a copper tool and evidence for four distinct activity areas. These activity areas include a dwelling area, an external cooking area, an area which Chevrier (1977: 81-83) argues was used for smoking fish and an area where stone tool manufacture and maintenance appears to have taken place. Chevrier (1977) argues that this occupation suggests a connection to the west with Middle Woodland groups of the St. Lawrence or the Maritimes. The copper tool suggests contact with the Great Lakes region. The presence of large amounts of Ramah chert, as well as side and corner notched projectile points indicate a connection with the Labrador coast.

2.2 – Research Context

2.2.1 – Archaeology in the Labrador interior

Although most archaeological research in Labrador so far has been concentrated on the coast (i.e. Fitzhugh 1975, 1981, 1978a, 1978b, 1981, 1985; Hood 1981, 1993; Loring 1989, 1992; Madden 1976; McGhee and Tuck 1975; Nagle 1978; Rankin 2004, 2005, 2006; Thompson 1982, 1984a, 1985, 1986; Tuck n.d.; Whitridge 2004, 2005, 2006), in recent years there has been a substantial amount of archaeology done in the interior. Some of this work has been done because of research interest and other projects were done as historic resource assessments. All of this work has led to a better understanding of the use of this region in the past. The following paragraphs provide a very brief overview of the history of research in the Labrador interior.

The earliest mention of an archaeological site in the interior of Labrador was made by William Strong (1930), who in the late 1920s visited a substantial precontact site on the Hunt River in northern Labrador. At the time Strong realized that the lithic artifacts he found were very old, and he attributed them to an "old stone culture", which he believed to have been in Labrador prior to the Innu and Inuit (Strong 1930). Fitzhugh went to this site in the mid 1980s and demonstrated that it was used during the Maritime Archaic period (Fitzhugh 1986).

It was many years before any more archaeology was done in the interior. It was during the late 1960s that Fitzhugh (1972) began his work in the interior of Hamilton Inlet in the North West River Area (discussed above). At around the same time, Donald McLeod did preliminary survey work on Michikamau Lake and Michikamats Lake before the area was flooded by the Upper Churchill hydro project (McLeod 1967, 1968). Historic Innu sites, as well as evidence for precontact use of the area was found at this time, but unfortunately in the late 1960s and early 1970s there were still no laws in Canada which required cultural and environmental resource assessments prior to this sort of development. As a result, this area which had been extremely significant for the Innu people in historic times, as well as to the people who had used the area in prehistory, has been inundated ever since. In 1995, the Innu Nation initiated an archaeological survey of part of the Smallwood Reservoir and: "Nearly everywhere the team surveyed, traces of prehistoric sites (dating to c. 3500 to 2500 BP) and historic nineteenth and twentieth century camping places were encountered testifying to the long tenure of this region by Innu families and their ancestors" (Loring and Ashini 2000: 185; Loring et al. 2003).

Very little archaeology was done in interior Labrador during the 1970s, although survey work by Tuck (1981) did result in the discovery of evidence for precontact use of the Muskrat Falls area of the Churchill River by Intermediate Indian groups.

It was during the 1980s that archaeological activity began to increase in the Labrador interior. Early in that decade historic resource assessments were done on the

Trans-Labrador Highway (Penny 1986; Thompson 1984b), as well as on Sunday Hill and on the Mokami Mountain Trail in the vicinity of North West River (Penny 1988; Thompson 1984c). Later in the 1980s McCaffrey, Loring and Fitzhugh (1989) did survey work in the Seal Lake area in an attempt to find the source of Saunders Chert. McCaffrey (1989) also did archaeology in western Labrador (which will be discussed in more detail below) in order to learn about precontact lithic resource procurement in the Labrador Trough[2]. It was also in the 1980s that Biggin and Ryan located 33 sites while surveying in the Kogaluk River area. Of these sites, twelve are precontact – one most likely belongs to the Maritime Archaic Period, and two are believed to be Point Revenge complex sites. The cultures represented by the other nine precontact sites are currently unknown. Nearly all of the other sites are Innu camps, although a few could be the result of Inuit use of the area (Biggin and Ryan 1989).

In the 1990s archaeology continued to be done in the interior. Niellon (1992) did survey work on Ashuanipi Lake which will be discussed below in the section on research in Western Labrador. McClease (1992, 1993) did archaeological survey work in the Kanairiktok River Basin where he located 36 sites. Of those, 30 are Innu camps, one site is believed to belong to the Saunders complex, and the other five are prehistoric sites of undetermined cultural affiliation. Additional work in the North West River and

[2] The Labrador Trough is a geological formation which stretches from the Ungava Bay to the center of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula. It is over 1000 km long and nearly 100 km wide in some places. The iron ore deposits near Labrador City, Wabush and Scheffervile are part of the Labrador Trough which also has a number chert sources which were used by Aboriginal groups in prehistoric times (McCaffrey 1989).

Sheshatshiu (which is directly across the river) areas was also done during that decade which led to the discovery of a number of new ethnographic and precontact sites (IELP 2003; Schwarz and Schwarz 1997; Schwarz 2000). This work has provided evidence that the North West River precontact site complex area is larger than originally thought (Schwarz and Schwarz 1997; Schwarz 2003).

Survey work was carried out in the Eagle River Plateau region in 1997 where 10 archaeological sites were found (Schwarz 1998, 2007). All have recent Innu components, and some are believed to have been used for a considerable amount of time. One site contained a fairly early contact component (eighteenth or nineteenth century) as well as precontact material culture. The precontact component belongs to the Intermediate period and Schwarz (1998) writes that it is most similar to either the Brinex complex or the North West River phase. He also mentions that it could be comparable to Lower North Shore material (Schwarz 1998).

It was also in the late 1990s that archaeological work began at Kamestastin (often seen on maps as Mistastin Lake). In that area, Innu youth and elders, together with archaeologists, have found evidence for more or less continual use of Kamestastin for over 7000 years. More than 30 sites have been located so far, most representing relatively short term occupations, except for those of the Maritime Archaic period and the historic period when use of the area appears to have been most intensive. It is interesting that some of the oldest Maritime Archaic sites in Labrador have been found

in that area, and in addition, some evidence of Paleo-eskimo use of the interior has been found there (Loring 2007).

From 1998-2000, two large scale environmental/historic resource assessments were done in interior Labrador in the Churchill River area which led to the discovery of many previously unknown precontact sites, most of which belong to the Intermediate Indian period. A Maritime Archaic Indian site was also found at this time in upper Lake Melville (IEDE/JWEL 1999a, 1999b, 2000; JWEL/INEN 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c).

Another large scale assessment was done in 2002 due to the building of the Trans-Labrador Highway from Goose-Bay to Cartwright Junction (IELP 2002). During this work 37 ethnographic and archaeological sites were discovered, many of which are probably less than 50 years old. Most of the sites are Innu, although some Métis sites were also located. Two of the 37 sites found are precontact and belong to the Intermediate period.

In sum, the research that has been carried out in the interior has shown that this region has been used since the Maritime Archaic period, and it has been used by all precontact Amerindian groups. However, most known precontact sites in the interior belong to the Intermediate period (IEDE/JWEL 2000; IELP 2002; Neilsen 2006b). Although more work has been done in the interior in recent years, and although many sites have been found, few have been excavated (other than those in the Hamilton Inlet area (Fitzhugh 1972; Neilsen 2006b)) and there is still far more known about the

prehistory of the coast. There is still little more known about the sites in the interior other than cultural affiliations and possible seasonal occupation (Schwarz 1998:26).

2.2.2 – Archaeology in western Labrador

Western Labrador is one of few places in North America where almost no archaeological work has been done. As of today only seven archaeological projects have been conducted in this region – this includes our survey work in 2005 and the excavation in 2006 (as two separate projects). Three other environmental impact assessments went ahead in western Labrador but neither of these projects led to the discovery of any archaeological sites (McCaffrey 2004; Penny 1986; Thompson 1984b).

Moira McCaffrey visited western Labrador in 1986 with an interest in prehistoric lithic resource procurement. She did survey work on parts of several lakes including Fryer, Petitsikapau, Astray and Menihek (Figure 2.1 and 2.4). During this time she located several precontact sites, the largest of which was found where the Macphayden River flows into Menihek Lake. McCaffrey also discovered several chert sources which had been utilized by aboriginal peoples in precontact times. This project was the first to provide substantial evidence that western Labrador (and the deep interior) had been used and occupied in the distant past (McCaffrey 1989). Prior to this, precontact sites had already been located close by just across the provincial border in Québec (Denton and McCaffrey 1988).

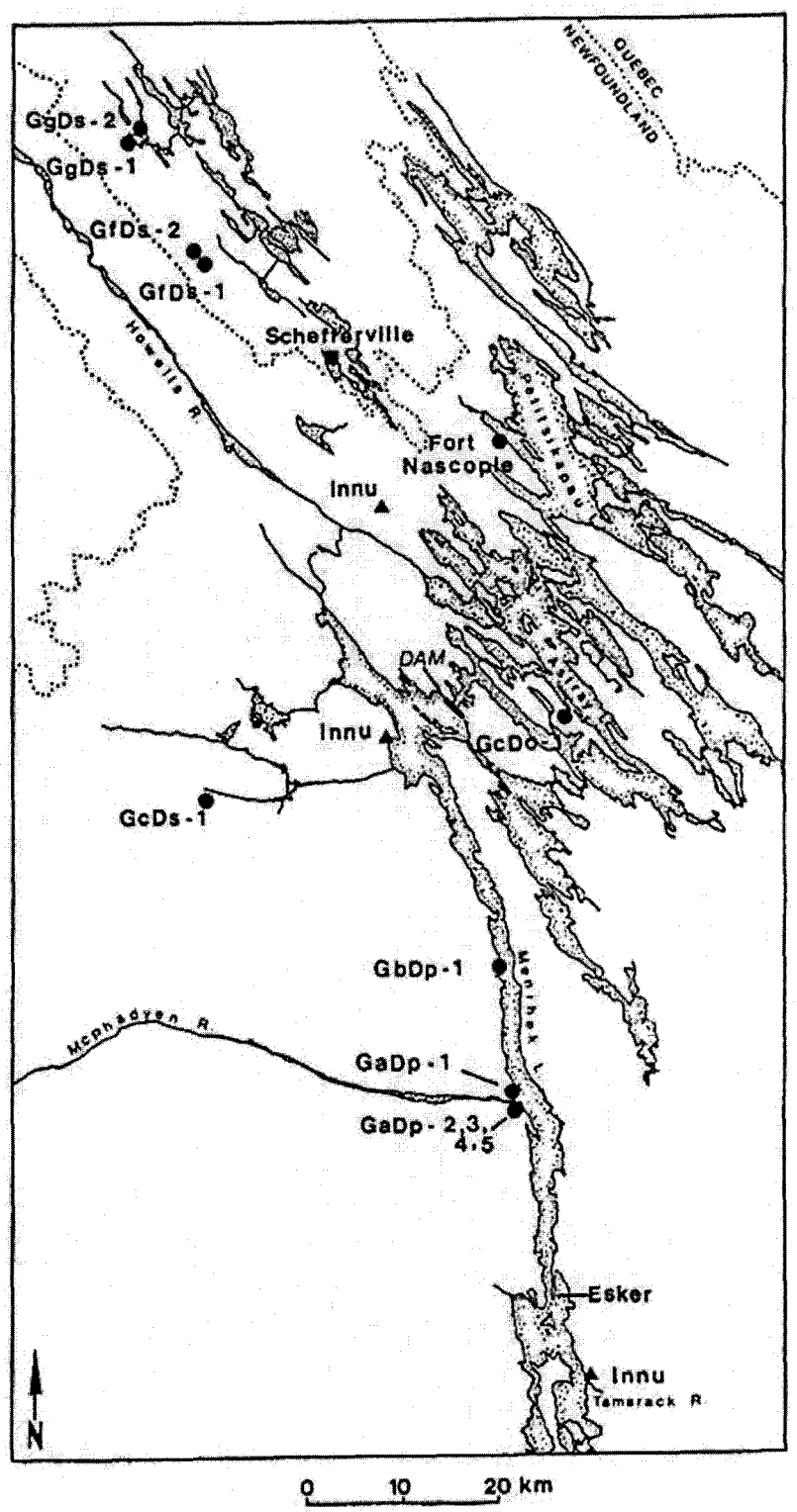

Figure 2.4 – Map showing the locations of sites located in western Labrador by McCaffrey (1989:99)

It should be noted that McCaffrey recovered a biface fragment (of fine-grained red quartzite) from the Macphadyen South Bank site (GaDp-2) which she believes to be a large stem which she suggests could belong to the Late Archaic Period (McCaffrey 1989:86). She points out that large, stemmed bifacial tools have been also found near the mouth of the Moisie river on the North Shore of Québec (this river is part of the historic Innu travel route from Ashuanipi Lake to the North Shore) (McCaffrey 1989). These artifacts have not been dated but it has been suggested that they also belong to the Archaic Period (Chevrier 1977).

During our survey on Menihek Lake in 2005, Scott Neilsen, Jody Ashini and I visited the Macphayden River South Bank site. Large amounts of chert debitage can be seen eroding out of the bank along the lake shore and the river banks at this extensive site. We were also able to find the large chert outcrops at the site which were used by aboriginal groups who had used this site. It has been suggested that the Macphayden River site was used more than 2000 years ago during the Intermediate period, but further research is needed to test this hypothesis (McCaffrey 1989).

2.2.3 - Previous Research at FfDn-01

In 1991, Françoise Niellon, an historic archaeologist who was working with the Labrador Heritage Society, did survey work on Ashuanipi Lake. The aim of that project was to find an historic French trading post which was supposedly set up in the area in order to trade with the Innu during the eighteenth century. Niellon dug a test trench at the Ferguson Bay 1 site which was believed to be the likely location of such a site. The remains of a twentieth century log cabin were found at this time but these are believed to have been the remains of a structure built by a John Ferguson less than a hundred years ago. Beneath the remains of this structure a few stone flakes were found "...probably from Ramah Bay, bearing witness to a prehistoric occupation..." (Niellon 1992:38). The prehistory of the area was not the focus of Niellon's visit to the lake, so she did not go any further with this. When her field work was completed Niellon came to the conclusion that the "trading post" referred to in the eighteenth century by F.C. Cugnet (Niellon 1992) was likely just a place (or places) where people would get together and trade each year rather than an actual building. She also goes on to argue that further attempts to locate such a location are "...doomed to fail..." (Niellon 1992: 42). She argues that even if historic artifacts (such as beads, bird shot or metal items) are found in sites on the lake, without the discovery of a structure there would be no way to prove if these items were acquired through trade which took place on this lake, or if they had been acquired from the coast or elsewhere. She did not find any

eighteenth century artifacts at Ferguson Bay 1 and for this reason, does not believe that this site was not the location of such trade (Niellon 1992).

2.3 - Research near the study area in the Québec interior

2.3.1 - Indian House Lake

During the late 1960s, archaeological work began at Indian House Lake, which is around 250 kilometers northeast of Schefferville. The first work on this lake was an extension of that being carried out by the Smithsonian Institution in Hamilton Inlet. The work on Indian House Lake was then headed by G. Conrad (1972). A little later on, work by researchers from Université Laval, led to the discovery of Algonkian sites in that area (Hamelin 1973). Again in 1973, the Smithonian Institution conducted research on the lake and over the next year they were able to locate an additional 75 previously unknown sites. Thirty of those 75 sites contained evidence for precontact use of this area. More in-depth excavations took place at five of these sites from 1975-1976 (Samson 1978).

Gilles Samson (1978) summarizes the archaeological evidence from Indian House Lake. He writes that sites on the lake are generally small, are often partially exposed on the surface, and have few artifacts (diagnostic artifacts are rare). As with the other sites in Québec that have been discussed so far, preserved organic material has not been

recovered and therefore it has not been possible to radiocarbon date these sites. Samson (1978) has used the elevation of sites, along with stone tool typologies to tentatively date these sites and the material culture recovered from them (Samson 1978). Based on these dates, as well as artifact assemblages from the area, Samson has come up with a preliminary cultural history of Indian House Lake, which will be discussed here (Samson 1978).

The archaeology on Indian House Lake has yielded evidence that this lake was used by aboriginal groups since the Maritime Archaic Period. The lake was subsequently used by Intermediate Indian groups, Recent Indians as well as historically by the Innu. There is also evidence of Paleo-eskimo use the area. Samson (1978) argues that people have been sporadically returning to that lake to hunt caribou for thousands of years. The oldest known sites on the lake are referred to by Samson (1978: 187) as belonging to the "High Quartz complex". This complex is based on sites which are known from surface collections which were discovered on the highest (and oldest) terraces known to contain cultural materials on the lake (between approximately sixteen and thirty-five meters above lake level). The dominant raw material found in these sites is quartz debitage. Tools made of Ramah chert have also been found in these sites, but they are rare. A few slate tools have also been recovered. These tools include stemmed points made from Ramah chert, bi-pointed and ovate bifaces made of Ramah chert and large slate scrapers and knives which are rectangular or ovate (Samson 1978: 187).

There were a number of sites from Indian House Lake that did contain diagnostic Maritime Archaic Indian stone tools. These sites belong to the Rattlers Bight phase which is dated to around 4100-3500 B.P. (Fitzhugh 1975) and which is the last cultural group in the Labrador Archaic tradition. These diagnostic tools include points (and point fragments) with tapered stems made from Ramah chert, ground slate tools which are rectangular or ovate in shape and which have been referred to as ulus, fragments of polished stone celts, as well as large scrapers made of gneiss (Samson 1978).

Samson (1978) also discusses sites on Indian House Lake which are believed to have been used during the Intermediate period (3500-2000 B.P.). He refers to a group of sites which includes HdDe-3, 5 and 7 and HcDe- 6 and 9 (Figure 2.5), as "Low Quartz Assemblages" (Samson 1978: 191). Based on the elevation at which these sites are found (approximately nine – eleven meters above lake level), Samson argues that they are approximately 3000 years or less in age (Samson 1978: 191).

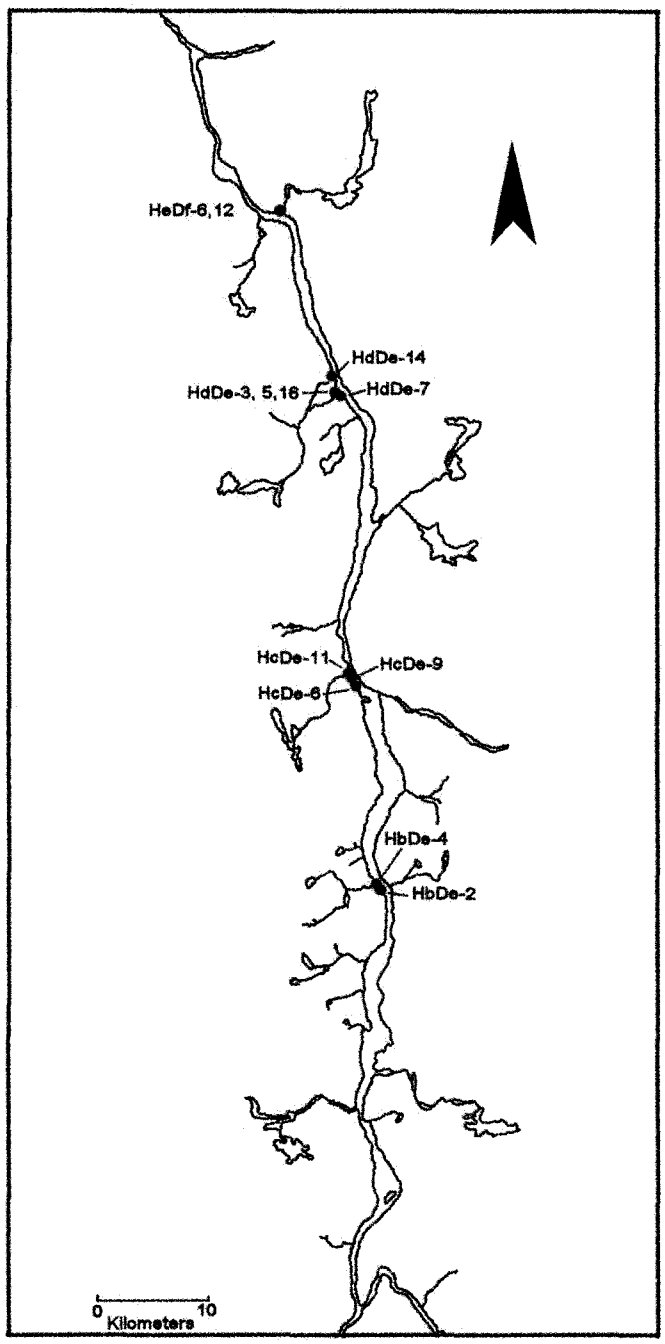

Figure 2.5: Map of Indian House Lake showing the socation of sites mentioned in the text (based on Samson 1978: 189).

Samson (1978) discusses structural remains at one site (HdDe-5) believed to belong to the Intermediate period (Figure 2.4). These remains are described as being "...

an ovoid stone structure measuring about 4 meters long by 3.5 meters wide" (1978: 191). Stone tools were recovered from inside this structure including large quartzite and Ramah chert bifaces, quartz flaking debris (including large flakes), end scrapers and several fragments of ground slate. There was also a depression inside these structural remains which contained calcined bone, and charcoal. Beneath this, an ovate biface was discovered along with red ochre. It is suggested that this site could represent use of the area by Late Archaic groups who were most likely hunting caribou during the fall migration. Samson also argues that the lake may have begun to have been used more intensively after this time (Samson 1978: 191).

A curious assemblage from HdDe-3 is also described by Samson under the heading "Intermediate Prehistoric Manifestations" (1978: 191). No features were found at the site, but a variety of stone tools were recovered including a stemmed point with no shoulders which had been chipped out of quartzite, an ulu which had been ground out of red slate, endscrapers (both triangular and asymmetric), an axe and an adze made out of red sandstone and green slate respectively, as well as large amounts of quartz debitage. Samson explains that some aspects of the chipped stone tools collected from this site resemble Pre-Dorset material culture, while the ground stone tools resemble Maritime Archaic technology. This assemblage is placed into the Intermediate period based on its elevation of 10.6 meters above lake level (Samson 1978: 191).

Other sites on Indian House Lake belong to the Recent Indian period. These sites, which were found between five and ten meters above lake level include HeDf-12, HeDf-6, HdDe-16, HcDe-11, HdDe-14, HbDe-4 and HbDe-2. Ramah chert is the most common material used for stone tools found in these sites, but it seems that other types of cherts began to be used more often during this period. Green, beige-brown, grayish-blue and black cherts are present in these sites as well, along with some quartz and slate. Red ochre was also present in sites belonging to this period on Indian House Lake. Small unifacial and bifacial tools such as side notched Ramah chert projectile points, unifacially worked points made on flakes, retouched flakes, bifaces with square bases made of black chert, endscrapers (triangular) made of quartz and Ramah chert, as well as a pecked stone "pestle" (Samson 1978: 196-200). Hearth features and rings of stone which Samson (1978) suggests represent dwellings are also found in Recent period sites on the lake. Two stone points from HbDe-4 look similar to Point Revenge complex points recognized on the Labrador coast. It is believed that these sites were used by the direct ancestors of historic Innu groups who used the area as well (Samson 1978: 196).

At HeDf-12 (Figure 2.4), on the northern end of Indian House Lake, there is an area which includes two distinct clusters of flaking debris in proximity which are made up of different materials. One cluster contains black chert along with other types of chert and the other contains Ramah chert and quartz. Samson (1978) argues that these two distinct amounts of debitage could have been produced by two groups of Recent Indians who each travelled to different areas during the year and who therefore had

access to different raw materials. He suggests that different groups may have gotten together on the lake at a particular time of year (probably fall). On the other hand, these assemblages could represent the same groups using different materials (Samson 1978: 196).

The majority of cultural remains on Indian House Lake resulted from use of the area by historic Innu groups who are known to have used the area from 1839-1945, and very likely before and after this as well (Samson 1976). Samson refers to this period as the "Mushuau Nipian phase" (Samson 1978:200).

The remains of at least 780 structures in at least 49 sites (with an average of twenty to twenty-five structures at each site) which belong to the Mushuau Nipian phase have been located on Indian House Lake. Most artifacts belong to the late prehistoric period and include things like seed beads, buttons (plastic), nails (wire and square-cut), tobacco stamps (which are heart shaped), lead musket balls, 44-40 caliber bullet shells, percussion caps, pieces of leather, cloth and canvas, as well as pieces of metal and wood. Samson (1978) mentions that no early historic period artifacts have been found in these sites. He suggests that this could mean that this lake was not used by aboriginal groups during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the other hand, it could mean that Indian groups may have continued using lithic technology right up until the nineteenth century in this area (Samson 1978).

2.3.2 - The Schefferville Region

In 1984, Denton and McCaffrey travelled to the Schefferville region of Québec (North of Menihek Lake) in order to identify chert sources in the area. The researchers wanted to see if chert from this region had been used prehistorically by aboriginal groups in subarctic Québec, and in particular, the Caniapiscau Region, which is located in the middle of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Evidence suggests that the Caniapiscau Reservoir has been used by aboriginal populations for the last 3500 years (Denton 1985; Denton and McCaffrey 1988). During their time in the field, Denton and McCaffrey examined a major chert bearing formation in the Labrador trough – the Flemming chert breccia. The largest part of this formation is located just north of Schefferville and is approximately 8 km wide, 68 km long and up to 120 m thick. The researchers were able to identify three sites in this area (GgDs-1; GfDs-2 and GfDs-1) (Figure 2.6) where this raw material had been exploited by people in prehistoric times. Preserved organic remains were not recovered from either of these sites and so it was not possible to obtain radiocarbon dates for them (Denton and McCaffrey 1988).

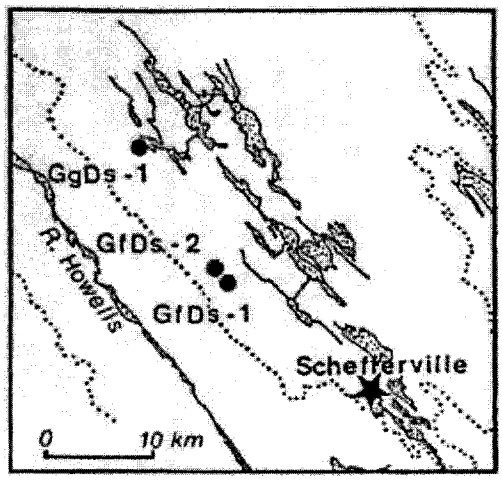

Figure 2.6 - Sites near Schefferville (Denton and McCaffrey 1988: 138).

The first site discovered by Denton and McCaffrey (1988) (GgDs-1) is located about 30 km north of Schefferville, very close to Sunny Lake. At this site many chert flakes were found at the base of a chert outcrop. Test pits were dug in the area, and many more flakes were found in these. A number of retouched flakes were found at the site, but no other tools or retouched flakes, or features were found at the site. The authors suggest that this was a small workshop site likely used by a single knapper. They argue that this individual was probably working on a small number of bifacial preforms which were not completed there. The presence of utilized flakes suggests that other activites may have taken place there as well. These tasks could have involved work on wooden or bone implements (Denton and McCaffrey 1988).

The two other sites discussed by Denton and McCaffrey (1988) (GfDs-1 and GfDs-2) were found in the same area and provide more substantial evidence than the one described above. Both sites are referred to as "major archaeological sites" (1988:142)

and one is interpreted as a workshop and the other is believed to have been used as both a quarry and a workshop. They are located approximately 20 km northeast of Schefferville and are around five km away from the nearest river or lake. The chert found at these sites is described as being grey, green and beige (all colors sometimes being found on one piece of material) in color and being medium-fine grained (Denton and McCaffrey 1988).

The Abraham site (GfDs-1) was the larger of these two sites and was found on a ridge approximately 300 m away from a chert outcrop where the other site (GfDs-2) is located. Debitage and stone tools were found covering an area about one km square. The researchers mapped 18 concentrations (Loci) of cultural material at this site. Flakes from all stages of tool production were found as well as many broken, unfinished, or rejected bifacial tools which also represent all stages of tool manufacture (Denton and McCaffrey 1988: 144).

The most interesting find at the Abraham site was a collection of 11 curated tools which were all found together in one location. Most of these tools are not made of Flemming chert. The authors argue that this collection represents a tool kit that was "...replaced at the lithic source with freshly knapped implements" (Denton and McCaffrey 1988:144). Included in this tool kit are four projectile point blanks (only one of which is made of Flemming chert), one projectile point with side notches, a bipointed biface, two small bifaces (Flemming chert), a square based biface, a side-scraper and an

endscraper (made of Flemming Chert). Many of these tools were made out of black or red quartzite of unknown origin (Denton and McCaffrey 1988: 144-145).

The second site found in this area (GfDs-2) was found at a Flemming chert outcrop in a natural hollow. In this hollow a great deal of chert debitage was discovered as well as 15 broken bifaces. This site is believed to have been used as a quarry and a workshop and the researchers mention observing other sites like this (though smaller) close by. Unfortunately, however, time did not allow these other sites to be looked at more closely (Denton and McCaffrey 1988: 142).

Although it was not possible to radiocarbon date any of these sites, Denton and McCaffrey (1988) were able to make tentative suggestions concerning the cultural identity of the people using the area, as well as the time frame of the occupation. These suggestions are based on diagnostic tools which were present in the curated assemblage from the Abraham site as well as some of the other bifaces (believed to have been rejected) from the same site. These tools, especially a side-notched projectile point from the curated tool kit from the Abraham site, are quite similar to Brinex complex tools which were first recognized by Fitzhugh (1972) in the North West River area of Hamilton Inlet (discussed above). Sites belonging to this culture have also been recognized near Goose Bay (Neilsen 2006b), on the central coast of Labrador (Nagle 1978) and on the Québec Lower North Shore (Martijn 1974). Nagle (1978) has also discussed similarities between Brinex and Charles complex assemblages from the

central coast to stone tool assemblages for the Wenopsk complex, which was originally recognized in the Québec interior, in the Mistassini Lake area (Nagle 1978; Martijn and Rogers 1969).

Denton and McCaffrey tentatively argue that the Abraham site, and the other sites nearby, were used by Brinex complex groups sometime between approximately 3500 and 2800 years B.P. They do state that additional information is needed to strengthen this argument, but based on the evidence they had at the time, this interpretation makes the most sense (Denton and McCaffrey 1988: 147).

The two major goals of the research just described were to create a reference collection of thin sections of Flemming chert samples which would be suitable for microscopic analysis. The second goal was to examine chert found in other sites in Québec and Labrador to see if Flemming chert was carried or traded by prehistoric groups in this region. The authors mention that a very small amount of chert that looked visually similar to that from Flemming outcrops is present in artifact assemblages from Indian House Lake (located northeast of the Flemming chert sources). Denton and McCaffrey (1988) also mention that very little of the raw material from sites in the Caniapiscau region (near Schefferville) looked visually similar to Flemming chert. Only six sites from that region had flakes which looked like Flemming chert. They also looked at debitage and tools from the Labrador coast and concluded that "... little, if any, Flemming chert is present on archaeological sites from the Labrador coast" (Denton and

McCaffrey 1988: 147). They conclude by explaining that there is little real evidence that Flemming chert was carried or traded over long distances. Instead, the sites discussed above appear to suggest that this material was used close to the source and probably not for long period of time. They also attempt to explain why this material is not present in precontact sites in the Caniapiscau region. One possible reason is that the Flemming outcrops were "exploited prior to the most intensive period of occupation at Caniapiscau (after *ca.* 1600 B.P.)" (Denton and McCaffrey 1988: 147). The authors point out the possibility that native peoples may have preferred using cherts which are found close to, or on, major waterways at this time – such as outcrops on Menihek lake in western Labrador. In fact, a type of black chert, possibly from Menihek Lake, has been found in many sites in the interior of Québec and Labrador which were used around 1600 B.P. (Denton and McCaffrey 1988; Loring 1992). Ramah chert and Mistassini quartzite are also present in many of these sites. Whether these materials represent people obtaining these materials themselves and carrying them long distances, or trading with other people (or a bit of both) because they were the preferred types of stone are questions that remain unanswered. Nevertheless, the researchers point out the potential that this part of Québec and Labrador has for dealing with these sorts of archaeological problems (Denton and McCaffrey 1988).

2.4 - Chapter Summary

The beginning of this chapter was a discussion of the prehistoric occupation of Labrador by Amerindian peoples from approximately 8000 - 350 B.P. Archaeological evidence for the late precontact Amerindian cultures who occupied the Québec North Shore was also discussed. This was followed by a very brief history of archaeological research in the Labrador interior which showed that although the amount of work in this vast region has greatly increased since the 1980s, there is still much to be done. The next section focused on the projects that have been undertaken in western Labrador which included a discussion of the work that had previously been done on Ashuanipi Lake, and at the Ferguson Bay 1 site in particular. Finally, the end of chapter 2 provided relevant information about archaeological work that had been undertaken very near the study area on the Québec side of the border.

The archaeological evidence presented in this chapter shows that the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula has been used by aboriginal groups for more than 7000 years. Based on what is currently known, the first people to occupy the Labrador interior were the Maritime Archaic Indians. At around 3500 B.P. Maritime Archaic groups seem to disappear from northern Labrador and it is during the Intermediate Period which follows that we see most the evidence for prehistoric use of the interior. This coincides with the movement of Paleo-eskimo groups into Labrador who reached the northern coast by approximately 4000 years ago, and the Strait of Belle Isle by around 2500 B.P. Fitzhugh (1972) has argued that the period from around 3500 – 2000

B.P. is characterized by repeated population extinctions and replacements. Schwarz wrote more recently: "It is possible that this is a period not of discontinuity, but of great fluidity and flexibility in interior settlement across the region" (Schwarz 1998: 23). However, in southern Labrador there is some evidence for Amerindian cultural continuity throughout these periods (Madden 1976; Tuck 1975; n.d.). Archaeological evidence suggests that there was a relationship between the North West River phase of Hamilton Inlet, the Flèche Littorale and the Petit Havre complexes of the Lower North Shore, and the Cow Head complex of Newfoundland. There is evidence for a close relationship between the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians, and by around 1200 B.P. it is clear that the Amerindians of the Lower North Shore and those of Newfoundland and Labrador were closely connected. It has been demonstrated archaeologically (Loring 1992) that the Recent Indian groups discussed in this chapter are the direct ancestors of the Innu who are currently living in Labrador and Québec.

Chapter 3: Environmental Context

3.1 The Present Environment

Today Ashuanipi Lake is surrounded by mainly black spruce forest, although birch, larch, fir and willow trees are also fairly common. It should also be noted that Labrador's only jack pine forest is found just south of Ashuanipi Lake near the Kapitagas channel. This species of trees probably spread into Labrador sometime during the last 200 years or so which is interesting since these trees are on part of the historic Innu travel route which also includes Ferguson Bay on Ashuanipi Lake (Montague 2000). Black spruce trees, fir trees, willow, peat moss, Labrador tea, bake-apples and bunchberries are all found at the Ferguson Bay 1 site.

With regards to wildlife in the area, caribou from Lake Joseph, which is located approximately 50 km east of Ashuanipi Lake, can be found in this area during the summer and fall. Porcupines, beavers, bears, wolves, and martin can all be found in this area today. We observed many species of birds on the lake this past summer including loons, ducks, grouse, eagles, osprey, seagulls, and grey jays. This lake is also well known to people living in western Labrador today as an excellent place for fishing – the waters directly adjacent to Ferguson Bay 1 in particular are frequently visited by local anglers. Large lake trout, pike, white fish and land locked salmon are all plentiful in this part of the lake. Niellon also mentions that "Traditionally, Ashuanipi Lake seems to have been renowned for fishing (pike and Lake trout)..." (Niellon 1992:33). She has suggested that

the fall and the winter would probably be the best times of year to be on the lake, but that there are enough resources in the area to support a number of families at any time of year (1992: 30-34).

3.2 Environmental History

What is seen today is the result of geomorphological processes effecting the area over the past several thousand years. At around 10,000 B.P., at the end of the Wisconsinan period, most of Labrador and Québec was still covered in glacial ice. In the Goose Bay area researchers have narrowed down two possible times for the retreat of glaciers from that region – either just after 10,000 B.P. or sometime around 7400 B.P. (JWEL 2000: i). The younger of the two dates comes from the earliest remains of shellfish that have been recovered and dated from Goose Bay. At present, there is too little evidence to say for certain when deglaciation occurred in the Goose Bay area, but it seems to have happened sometime between 10,000 and 7,400 years ago. Glacial ice would have remained in western Labrador untill sometime later since it was one of the source areas for the glacial ice in the Goose Bay area (JWEL 2000: i). Evidence shows that the Schefferville area was where the last of this ice melted approximately 5,500 years ago (Ives 1960; Derbyshire 1962; King 1986; Kirby 1966; Klassen and Thompson 1993).

Pollen samples from the Indian House Lake region in Québec have been used to reconstruct the paleoenvironment in that area (McAndrews and Samson 1977). This evidence shows that at around 4000 B.P. this area was mainly tundra and would have been vegetated with plants such as mosses, lichen, low shrubs, sedges and flowering plants (Samson 1978; University of California 2007). Samson (1978) suggests that by this time the land was suitable for human use and this, in fact, coincides with the earliest cultural evidence (the High Quartz complex) in the area. There is evidence that tamarack and spruce trees were growing in this territory by around 3800 B.P. By around 3000 years ago this land would have been a forest-tundra, which basically means that low-lying, protected areas would have been covered in boreal forest, while higher, more-exposed and drier areas would have retained tundra types of vegetation (Payette et al. 2001; Samson 1978). Sometime around 2500 B.P. the climate cooled which resulted in a thinner forest which did not extend as far to the north as it had five hundred years earlier. The climate of this region appears to have been much like it is today for the past 2000 years (Samson 1978: 200).

By approximately 9000 B.P. glacial ice on the Québec North shore in the vicinity of what is now Sept-Iles began to retreat. The ice receded towards the north over the next several thousand years until the last remnants of this ice melted in the middle of the Québec Labrador peninsula west of Schefferville around 5500 B.P. (King 1986: 191). According to King (1986: 31) the deglaciation of the Ashuanipi Lake area occurred between approximately 7,000 and 6,000 B.P. with a minimum date of 6,000 B.P.

In order to reconstruct the history of the movement of various types of plant species into western Labrador and neighboring Québec, King (1986) presents paleoecological evidence from five lakes (Lac Petel, Lac au Sable, Lac Gras, Harrie Lake and Coghill Lake [Figure 3.1]) which are all very close to the border between the two provinces. These lakes are basically aligned from south to north, the most southerly lake (Lac Petel) is near Sept-Iles and the most northerly lake (Coghill Lake) is near Schefferville. The data from these lakes show that forests similar to those of today developed at Lac Petel, Lac au Sable and Lac Gras at approximately 5,600-5,500 B.P. Paper birch and fir trees were common at Lac Petel, however, black spruce was the main species present. At Harrie Lake and Coghill Lake the development of modern forests occurred later at approximately 4,500-4,400 B.P. (King 1986: 195-196).

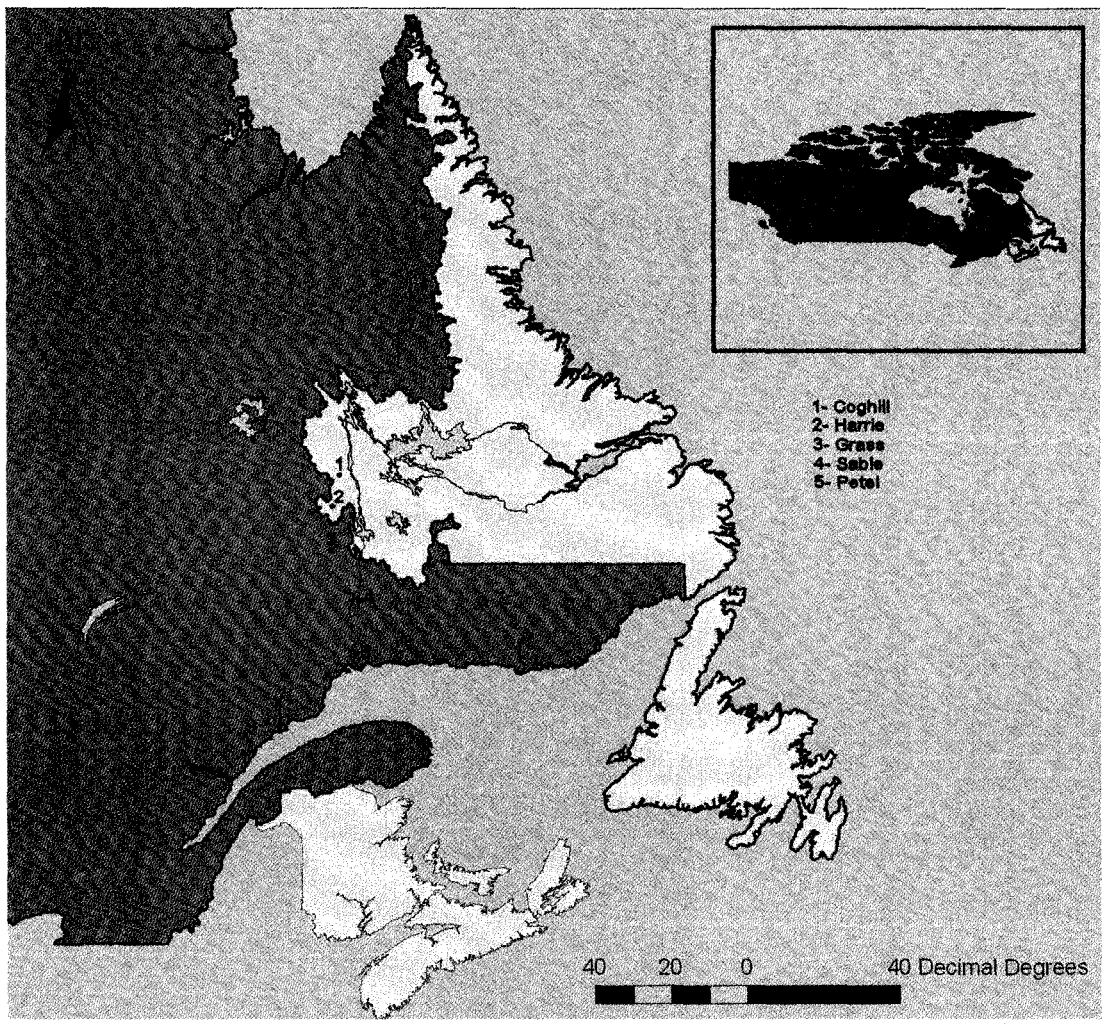

Figure 3.1: Showing the location of the lakes used by King (1986) to reconstruct the vegetation of history of the area (Based on king 1986: 120, "Map of study area showing core locations").

Ashuanipi Lake is between and slightly east of Lac Gras and Harrie Lake and so the development of black spruce dominated forest like that which surrounds the lake today probably developed between approximately 5,500 and 4,500 B.P. King explains that "After the formation of closed forests there are few changes in the regional vegetation" (1986: 246).

3.3 Micromorphological Evidence

Micromorphological soil samples, which were collected from the Ferguson Bay 1 site in 2006 by Dr. Richard Josephs from the University of North Dakota, provide additional environmental evidence for this area. Thirteen of these samples were collected from the east wall of excavation unit N1E1. In order to obtain these samples the excavation unit was first dug down to a depth of approximately one meter. Once this was done, Dr. Josephs inserted seven plastic utility boxes, into the wall of the unit beginning with the top of the first utility box at the surface of the ground. Each additional utility box was tapped into the profile directly below the previous one using a rubber mallet. In this manner 13 samples were collected – two in each utility box except for the seventh which was placed horizontally and contained just a single sample (the other six were placed with their long axis vertical). After examining these samples Josephs sees no indication that there have been any major environmental changes in the area during the past 2,000 years or so, which is consistent with the evidence presented by King (1986) (Richard Josephs, personal communication 2007).

The micromorphological investigation at the site shows that two distinct soils are present: an orthic regisol and a paleosol (the paleosol is beneath the regisol) (Josephs 2007). A regisol is a relatively young soil which is not well developed. A paleosol is well developed and forms in coarse, sandy material that is covered by acidic plant matter in humid, cool climates (Soil Classification Working Group 1998). Boreal forests produce

the type of acidic plant material required for the development of this type of soil (Holliday 2004). Most precontact cultural material was found at the top of the paleosol although chert fragments were found in all 13 of the samples (Josephs 2007).

3.4 Chapter Summary

Evidence shows that the deglacition of the study area occurred sometime between approximately 7000 - 6000 B.P., and that Ashuanipi Lake would have developed black spruce forests sometime between approximately 5500 and 4500 B.P. The vegetation in the region has been very similar since that time. There is strong evidence that the environment of the Ashuanipi Lake area has been very similar to the way it is today for at least the last 2000 years and probably much longer.

Chapter 4: Data Presentation

4.1 - Introduction

Ferguson Bay 1 is located on the northwestern shore of Ashuanipi Lake approximately 45 kilometers east of Labrador City. A log cabin and several other related buildings (sheds and an outhouse) which were built in the 1980s are still standing on the site in a grassy clearing just above a sandy beach (Figure 4.1). The area where we excavated is approximately 30 meters north of the cabin in fairly thick woods. An old trail, which has been used recently as a martin trap line, runs through the site, just behind the excavation area. We set up our screen on this trail.

The crew was made up of students from Memorial University, including Ainslie Cogswell, who recently graduated with an MA in archaeology, Jodie Ashini, an Innu student from Sheshatshiu, and occasionally Scott Neilsen, a PhD student in Archaeology and Matt Beaudoin who is also an archaeology graduate student.

We arrived on the lake on the 28th of June, and on that first day we set up our camp on a point of land just north of Ferguson Bay 1 (coordinates N 52° 59.388'; W066° 14.730'). We stayed on the lake for two weeks at a time, travelling to Labrador City every second weekend to replenish supplies. We rented a canoe for the summer from Ed Montague, of the Labrador West Heritage Society. Each morning Ainslie, Jodie and I would paddle from our camp to the site where we would spend the day working.

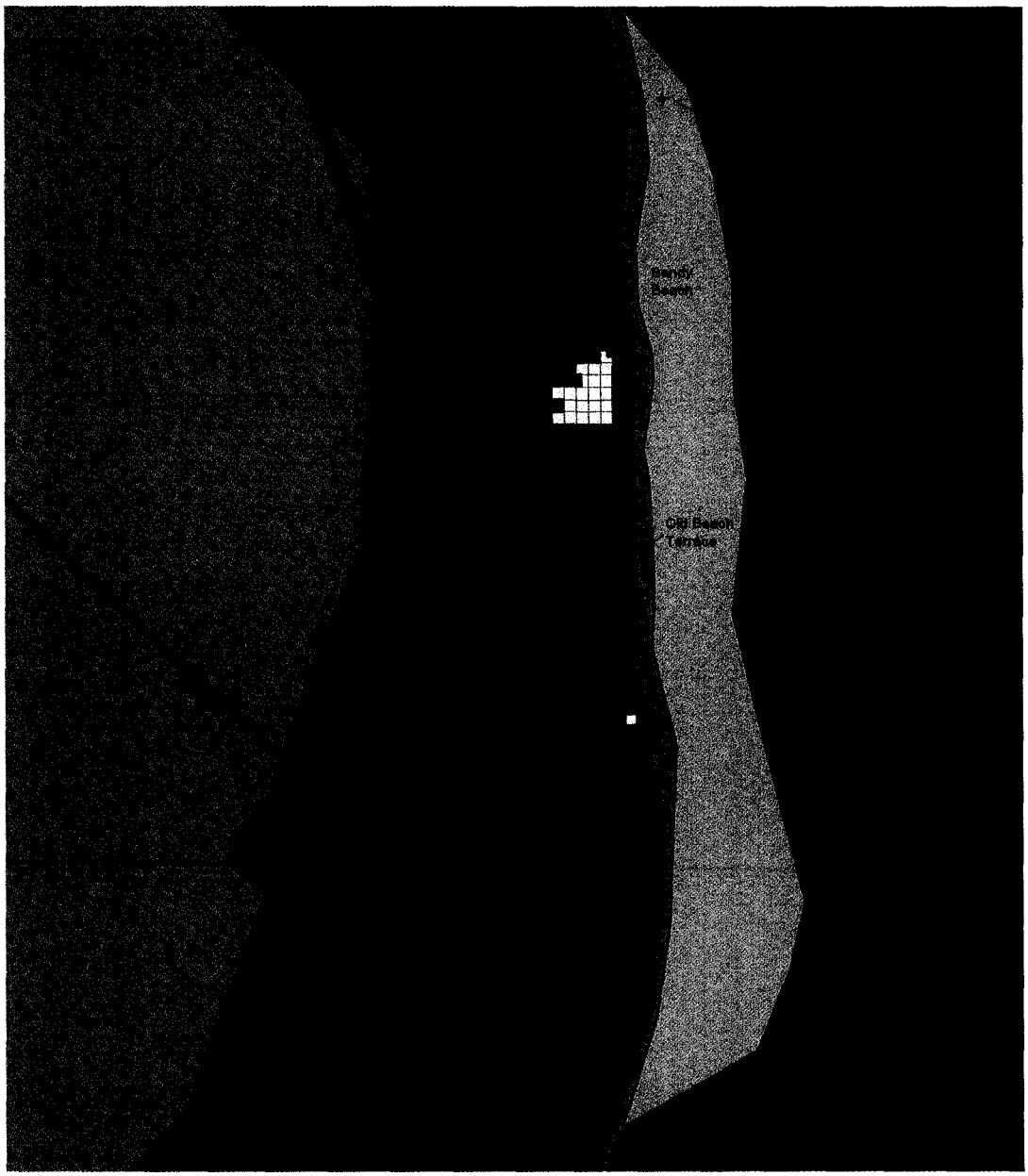

Figure 4.1 - Map of the Ferguson Bay 1 site showing excavation area A and test pit 5S

We stayed on the lake until August 12, 2006 and during our time there we excavated 20 and ¼ square meters (Figure 4.4). The first and last days of the field season were spent traveling to and from western Labrador.

In this chapter the data from Ferguson Bay 1 will be presented. This will include details concerning archaeological features, a discussion of scientific samples, descriptions of lithic raw materials and the various artifacts present in the archaeological collection from FfDn-01. Two excavation areas will be discussed: the 20 ¼ square meters excavated in 2006 (Area A), as well as one test unit which was excavated during the 2005 field season where part of another hearth feature was found and from which stone flakes and biface fragments were recovered (Test Pit 5S). The evidence for precontact use of this site will be the major focus of this thesis.

4.2 - Archaeological Features

Three hearth features were discovered at Ferguson Bay 1, two in excavation Area A, and one in a test pit. Feature 1 has been completely excavated, approximately 3 meters of Feature 2 has been uncovered, and Feature 3 was discovered in a 1x1 meter test square (TP5S) in 2005 (Figures 3.1,3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 and plates 8-11).

Feature 1 (Figure 4.2) was visible on the surface of the ground as a solid mound approximately 1 meter across. When we excavated this feature we initially left approximately half of it intact to allow Dr. Richard Josephs to collect micromorphological soil samples directly from it. These samples have provided evidence for the environmental history of the site (chapter 3). For this reason approximately half of this feature was excavated near the end of the 2006 field season.

As we excavated Feature 1 we discovered a ring of cobbles, many of which were pinkish from heat, and fire cracked. A great deal of charcoal was found with the stones as well as coarse sand (some pinkish), burnt wood, melted glass, and a number of interesting historic period artifacts. These artifacts include shirt buttons, three beads, cloth and leather, small unidentified pieces of metal, a square nail, a lead ball which may have been a musket ball or bird shot, 40-44 caliber bullet shells, a shot gun shell, and a metal snowshoe needle. These historic artifacts were found very near the surface at depths of between 40 and 55 centimeters below datum 1. A few small stone flakes were found at similar depths. It is also worth noting that two tiny pieces of what looks to be flaked glass were also found there. Many chert flakes were found in Feature 1 below this historic material at depths between 42 and 60 centimeters below datum 1.

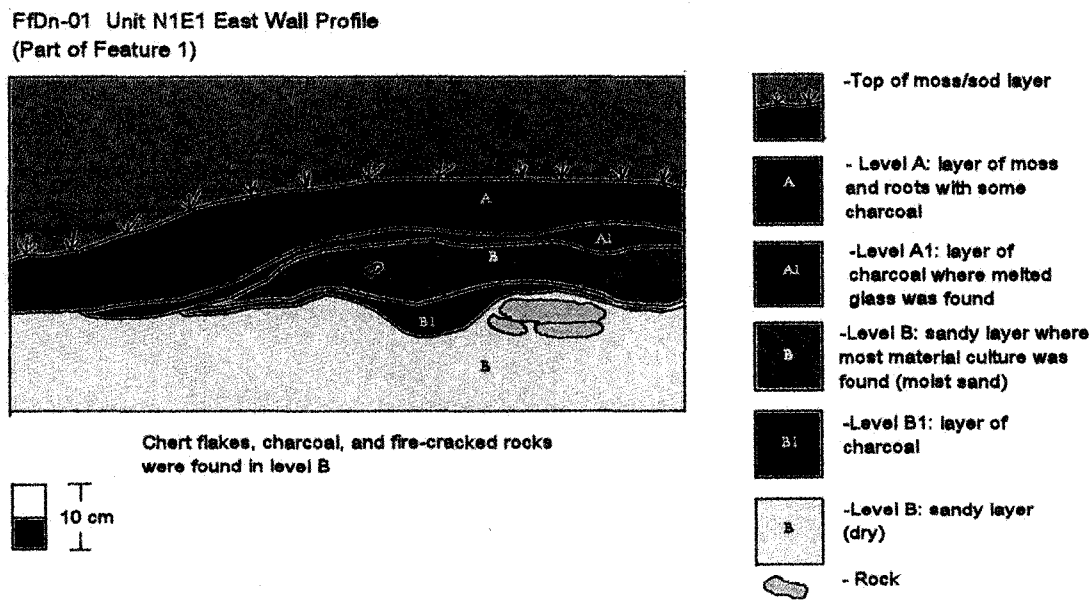

Figure 4.2 - Profile of part of Feature 1

Feature 2 (Figure 4.3) contained many more cobbles than Feature 1, although no mound was visible from the surface. Feature 2 is a linear hearth and the rocks in it are clustered tightly together. These stones have also been heated and fire cracked, and a great deal of charcoal, and pinkish sand (some of which was coarse) was also found in this hearth. We were able to collect a number of charcoal samples suitable for radiocarbon dating from this area. As mentioned above, by the end of the 2006 field season we had exposed an approximately 3 meter long portion of this hearth, but Feature 2 was not completely excavated. Heated stones, which are part of this feature, were seen sticking out of the northern wall of the excavation area as our time on Ashuanipi Lake ran out. Thousands of chert flakes (4497 including flake shatter) and stone tools (38 -most of which were broken) were found in Feature 2.

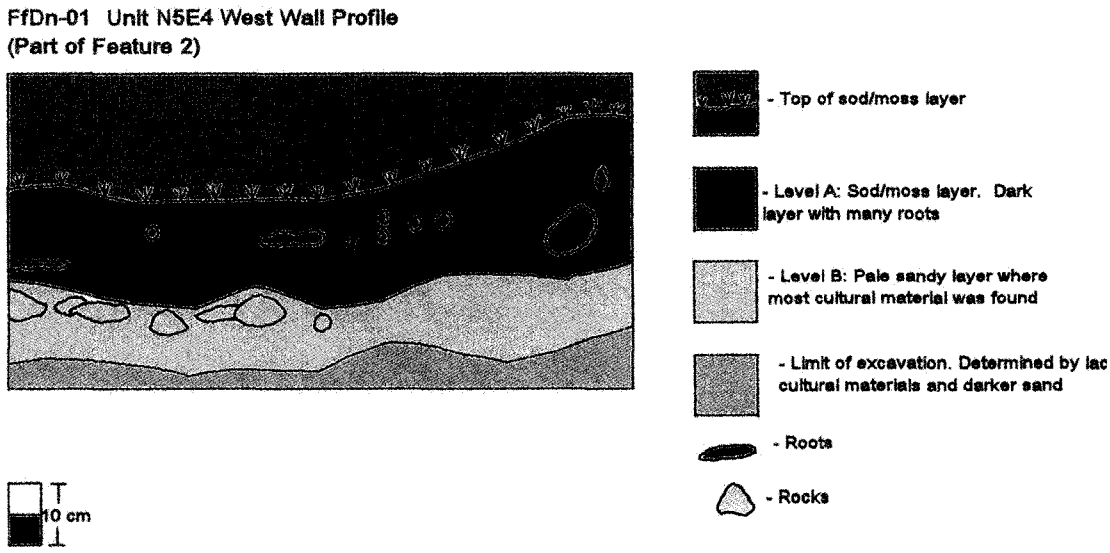

Figure 4.3 - Profile of part of Feature 2

Feature 3 (plate 11) was found in a 1 meter by 1 meter test square in 2005 and we did not excavate in that area in 2006. A number of heated and fire cracked stones, some of which are small and could have been used as boiling stones, were found in this test pit. These stones were found in association with charcoal and I was able to collect enough charcoal from this hearth for a radiocarbon date. Over one hundred small pieces of chert were also found in association with the heated rocks and charcoal.

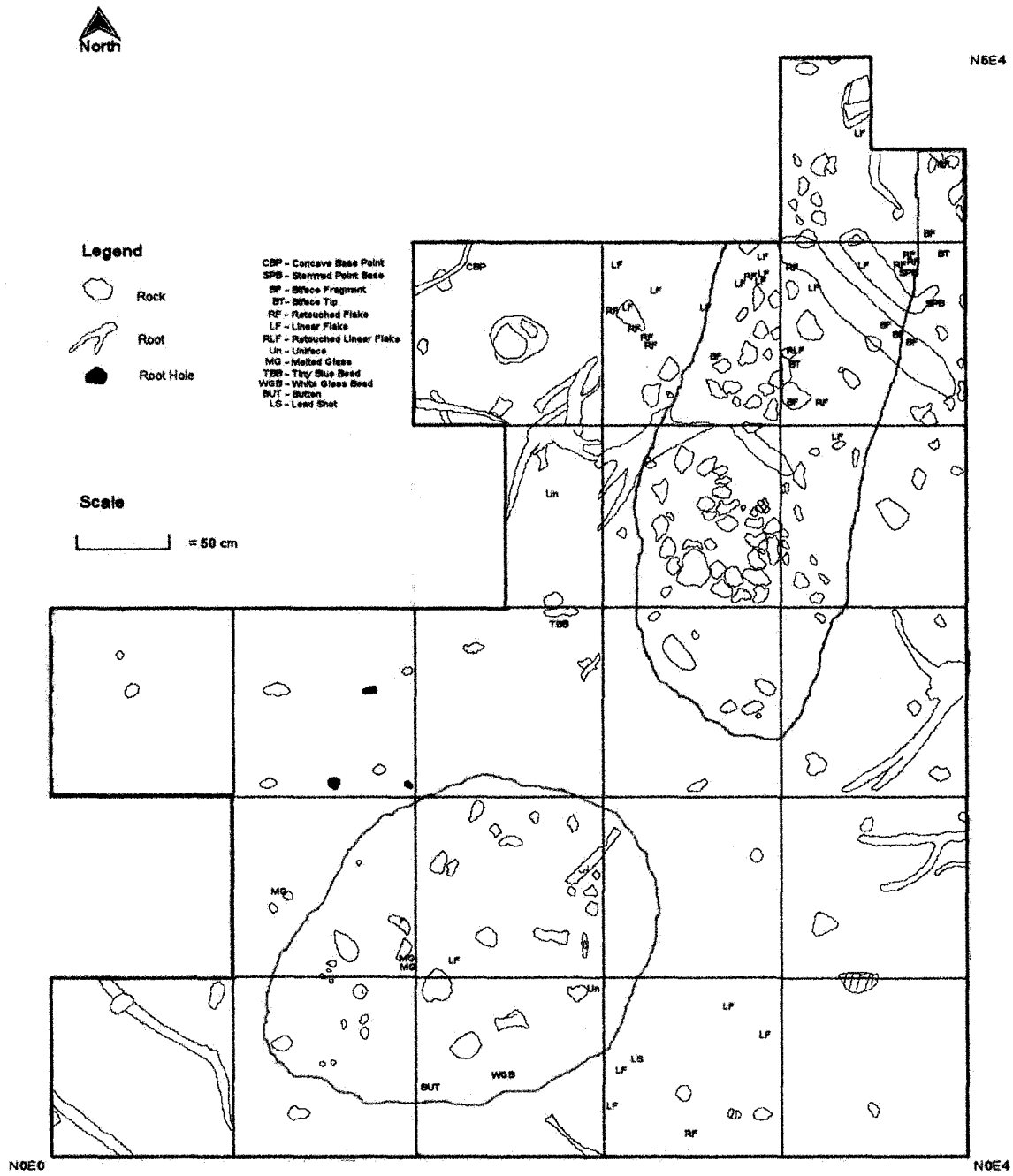

Figure 4.4 - Map of excavation area A showing the location of feature 1 (outlined in blue), feature 2 (outlined in green) and the distribution of artifacts. Some artifacts are symbolized by letters of different colors – those of the same color (other than black) refit.

4.3 - Scientific Samples

It has been mentioned that a number of charcoal samples for radiocarbon dates, as well as micromorphological samples were collected from Ferguson Bay 1 throughout the course of our fieldwork on Ashuanipi Lake. Five charcoal samples (Table 4.1) and seven soil samples from this site have been processed and this section presents the resulting data.

Two charcoal samples suitable for radiocarbon dating were collected from test pits at the site in 2005. One of these came from test pit 5S, which is located approximately 25 meters south of the main excavation. This sample was taken directly from Feature 3 and it produced a date of 1010 +/- 100 (Cal BP 1160 – 710) (Beta 2313329). Approximately 100 flakes, including some Ramah chert, were found in this test pit. Three semi-translucent grey chert biface fragments, as well as a Ramah chert biface tip were also found in this test pit. The other sample collected in 2005 came from test pit 1 and produced a date of 1430 +/- 40 (Cal BP 1390-1280) (Beta 2313328). Several different types of stone flakes were found in this test pit including black chert, blue-white-cloudy chert, grey chert with specks, grey-caramel chert with specks, grey-green chert with rust and specks, grey cloudy chert, clear chert (all from the Labrador trough), as well as grey-white quartzite.

Many more charcoal samples were collected from Ferguson Bay 1 in 2006 and three of these were selected for radiocarbon dating. These three were chosen based on sample quality, sample size, and association with archaeological features and artifacts.

One sample was taken from directly from Feature 2 and produced a date of 1570 +/- 50 (Cal BP 1560-1350) (Beta 226313). Thousands of chert flakes of many different colors (grey, grey-green, blue-cloudy, grey-caramel, white, sandy, tan, black, pink, clear with specks) as well as tools including one complete, but broken, stemmed biface, biface fragments and unifacially worked flake tools were associated with this sample. All of the chert just mentioned came from the Labrador Trough.

Another charcoal sample was collected approximately 2 meters to the southwest of the one just discussed. This sample produced a date of 1640 +/- 50 BP (Cal BP 1690-1660 and Cal BP 1630-1410) (Beta 226315) and it was associated with many chert flakes (blue-white, grey, grey-green, grey-caramel, grey-brown, brown, white, black, sandy, pink, clear with specks), a few pieces of quartz crystal debitage as well as one complete and unbroken concave based point.

A third charcoal sample was taken from very close to Feature 1, and it was collected from a depth of 17.5 centimeters below the surface of the ground (the two samples discussed above were collected from 18 and 19 centimeters below the ground respectively).

Table 4.1 - Radiocarbon Dates from FfDn-01

Sample Number	Dated Material	Collection Location	Radiocarbon Date
Beta 2313329	Wood charcoal	Feature 3 (Hearth) Test pit 5S	1010 +/- 100 (Cal BP 1160 – 710)
Beta 2313328	Wood charcoal	Near Feature 2 (Hearth) Test pit 1	1430 +/- 40 (Cal BP 1390-1280)
Beta 226313	Wood charcoal	Feature 2 (Hearth) Unit N5E4	1570 +/- 50 (Cal BP 1560-1350)
Beta 226315	Wood charcoal	Near Feature 2 (Hearth) Unit N4E3	1640 +/- 50 BP (Cal BP 1690-1660 and Cal BP 1630-1410)
Beta 226314	Wood charcoal	Near Feature 1 (Hearth) Unit N2E1	180 +/- 50 (Cal BP 300 – 0)

This charcoal produced a recent date of 180 +/- 50 (Cal BP 300 – 0) (Beta 226314) which was disappointing, though not too surprising considering the fact that it came from so close to Feature 1 which contained many historic artifacts.

4.4 – Area A: Lithic Raw Materials

The lithic materials recovered from Area A at Ferguson Bay 1 during the past two field seasons have been almost exclusively fine grained cherts from the Labrador Trough. More than 99% of the lithic artifacts from Area A are made from these

materials. Many different colored cherts have been recovered, including grey, blue, black, green, brown, clear with dark specks, and pink. A fine grey-green type which has dark specks (which are sometimes rust colored) is the most common, although black as well as clear-caramel colored cherts were also found in abundance (Table 4.2). Some of the clear and black chert resembles Ramah chert, and this was how we referred to it while we were in the field – however, comparison of this material to Ramah chert during lab analysis shows that there are marked differences. For example, Ramah chert has a very different surface texture which could be described as "sugary". When flakes of each type are side by side it is clear that they are not the same stone. The black (sometimes navy-blue) chert from Ferguson Bay 1 looks visually identical to some of the chert that we observed on Menihek Lake in outcrops near the Macphayden River. We also observed grey varieties of chert in those same outcrops that look quite similar to much of the grey colored flakes found at Ferguson Bay.

Originally, Scott Neilsen and I saw what we thought were approximately 15 visually distinct types of chert in the collection – however, during analysis, single flakes which had more than one color were noticed which leads me to suggest that many of these "types" are actually the same material. For example, some flakes are half black and half grey-green, parts of other flakes are pink while other parts of the same flakes are grey. For these reasons it seems clear that we recovered fewer different types of chert from the site than we originally thought – a number somewhere between 5 and 10 might be more accurate.

Based on the fact that we observed outcrops on Menihek Lake which contained black-navy as well as grey-green/grey-blue cherts I began to assume early on that much of the chert recovered from Ferguson Bay 1 came from the Labrador Trough which is approximately 100 km to the North of Ashuanipi Lake. There are chert bearing outcrops along major waterways in the Labrador Trough, and these outcrops are relatively close to the study area (Denton and McCaffrey 1988). McCaffrey (1989) describes outcrops in the Labrador Trough which contain cherts of various colors including light to dark grey, green, beige, and black. This hypothesis was recently confirmed when McCaffrey examined a small but representative sample of the chert found at the site. She examined flakes of all the various colors recovered and was able to state that all of these materials came from the Labrador Trough suggesting that over 99% of the lithics from Area A at FfDn-01 came from sources in the Labrador Trough. She explained that these cherts have large dark inclusions and are quite distinctive (McCaffrey 2007: personal communication).

Table 4.2 - Lithic Raw Materials Recovered from Area A at FfDn-01

Material	Number of artifacts	Percentage
Grey-green chert	481	33.1%
Black chert	290	19.9%
Grey-caramel colored chert	237	16.3%
Grey-clear chert	110	7.6%
Clear chert with specks	107	7.4%
Sandy colored chert	64	4.4%
Blue-cloudy colored chert	42	2.9%
Grey-cloudy colored chert	38	2.6%
Clear-blue chert	37	2.5%
Grey-black-white chert	21	1.4%
Brown-rust colored chert	17	1.2%
Clear-pink chert	5	0.3%
Quartz	3	0.2%
Flaked glass	2	0.1%
Total	1454	99.9%

Note: All materials other than quartz and flaked glass are Labrador Trough cherts.

4.5 - Area A Lithic Artifacts

A total of 44 stone tools were recovered from Area A during the 2005 and 2006 field seasons (Figure 4.4). Table 4.3 summarizes the types of tools present in the collection from this excavation area.

Table 4.3 – Area A: Artifact Frequency Table

Artifact Type	Number	Percentage	Association
Complete bifaces	2	4.5%	F2
Unifaces	2	4.5%	1 from F1, 1 from F2
Incomplete bifaces	9	20.5%	F2
Retouched flakes	13	29.5%	F2
Blade-like flakes	18	40.9%	5 from F1, 13 from F2
Total:	44	99.9%	

4.5.1 - Bifaces:

In all, 13 biface fragments (Plate 1) and one complete and unbroken bifacial point (Plate 1 a) were recovered from Area A at Ferguson Bay 1 during the 2005 and 2006 field seasons. This single complete and intact point has a concave base and is made of fine grained chert from the Labrador Trough which is semi-translucent and grey-caramel in color. This point is 39.5 mm long, 24.5 mm wide, 6.4 mm thick, and it weighs 6.3 grams.

A number of biface fragments refit together and two of these make up a complete stemmed point (Plate 1b) made of a semi-translucent grey-caramel colored chert which has dark specks and rusty inclusions. This chert is not quite as fine grained as the material mentioned in the previous paragraph, however, it still seems quite likely that it is the same type of stone. It is worth noting that the two pieces of this broken point have weathered differently – the top portion may even have been directly

exposed to fire which could account for its different appearance. This tool (after being refitted) is 55 mm long, 24.5 mm wide, 7.7 mm thick and it weighs 10.4 grams. The stem is 14.4 mm long (to the top of the shoulder), 12.4 mm wide and is 6.1 mm thick.

Another biface fragment (Plate 1c) appears to be the stem of a point similar to the one just described. Its width and thickness measurements (12.4 mm wide and 6 mm thick) are almost exactly the same as the stem width and thickness measurements mentioned above. Placed side by side these stems look remarkably similar, the major difference being the color of the chert used in the manufacture of each tool. This stem is made of black chert which is semi-translucent.

Two other biface fragments (Plate 1e) fit together to form most of a large biface which is missing its tip. This tool is made of semi-translucent, grey-cloudy-caramel colored chert which has some orange/pink portions. It is 38.5 mm wide, 11.2 mm thick, and the two pieces in the collection weigh 27.8 grams. It is clear that this artifact would have been considerably larger than those previously discussed. Length measurements are not given here since this tool is incomplete.

Two more biface fragments (Plate 1d) fit together and represent a substantial portion of a fairly finely made chipped stone point. Once again, the two pieces of this tool that are in this collection have weathered differently – one piece is semi-translucent and grey-caramel in color and has dark and rust colored specks in it. The smaller fragment (491) looks more blue-cloudy-caramel in color, though it is still semi-

translucent. There are a couple of flaws in this material and this point is broken along one of these natural fracture lines.

Three more biface fragments (Plate 1f-h), which are the tips of broken hunting tools, are present in this collection as well. One of these (Plate 1f) is fairly large (39 mm long, and 22 mm wide at it's widest point) and is a substantial portion of the tool it was once a part of. The second biface tip is made of grey-cloudy colored chert and is 24mm long by 18.8 mm wide. The other artifact is just the very tip of a pointed biface and is only 19.3 mm long. The smallest fragment is made of semi-translucent, grey-smoky colored chert which has some dark specks in it. The largest fragment is made of similar material (semi-translucent grey chert) but this artifact has more dark specks in it.

Three more biface fragments (Plate 1i-k) appear to have been proximal portions of the tools they were once part of. Two of these fragments (Plate 1j and k) are quite blocky and look like pieces of tools which were never finished. These tools may have been broken during the process of manufacture. The third fragment in this category is the proximal portion of an ovate biface (Plate 1i) which is made of semi-translucent grey-caramel colored chert which has dark specks and rust colored inclusions.

4.5.2 - Unifacial Tools:

Two unidentified unifacial tools were found at FfDn-01 (Plate 2), one from unit N3E2 (Plate 2b) and the other from unit N0E2 (Plate 2a) (Figure 4.4). Both are made on flakes, one of which is semi-translucent grey-green chert with sandy and rusty specks and the other is made of opaque black chert. It is possible that these were flake points (one stemmed and the other with broad side-notches) that have been snapped off, however, it is impossible to say what these tools were used for. The striking platform is still present on the smaller of these two artifacts and is right at what would be the base of this item if it was in fact a point. The striking platform is quite thick in relation to the rest of this artifact which could be seen as evidence that this was not a point.

4.5.3 - Linear Flakes:

Linear flakes, or blades, are defined based on a number of characteristics which include: a) at least two dorsal flake scars which have ridges that are parallel with the edges of the flake; b) an axis which is roughly parallel to the edges of the flake; c) the lateral edges of the flake are roughly parallel; d) a cross-section which is triangular, trapezoidal, rectangular, or plano-convex; e) and finally, these flakes are at least twice as long as they are wide (Crabtree 1972: 42-43; Root 2004: 75; Whittaker 1994: 33).

Eighteen flakes which are either blades, or blade-like flakes (those which exhibit most of these characteristics except that they are not quite twice as long as they are wide) were found at FfDn-01 (Plate 4). Ten of the eighteen flakes have length to width ratios greater than 2:1.

4.5.4 - Retouched Flakes:

Thirteen retouched flakes (Plate 3) are present in this collection and one of these also fits into the linear flake category. These artifacts have simple retouch along one or more edges. These are made of a variety of materials including blue-grey chert with specks, grey chert with rusty and dark specks, opaque, black chert, blue-white-cloudy chert, grey-green-caramel colored chert which has specks in it, grey-brown chert with specks, grey-cloudy-caramel colored chert with specks, and grey-clear chert with specks. Again, all of these materials are from the Labrador Trough.

4.5.5 Debitage:

Thousands of chert flakes and pieces of flake shatter were recovered from Area A during the 2006 excavation. Other materials such as quartz crystal and quartzite are present in this debitage collection, but in very minute amounts. There are 6116 pieces of chert debitage (including flakes and flake shatter) in total (3.98 kg), whereas there are

just 11 pieces of quartz (14 g) and only 5 pieces of quartzite (4.1g). All of the quartzite was found near Feature 2 and nearly all of the quartz was found in associate with that feature as well. One piece of quartz crystal was found near Feature 1 and another in test pit 5S. The varieties of chert present have already been discussed.

Although flakes and pieces of flake shatter were found in nearly every excavation unit, three units (N4E4, N5E4 and N4E3 – all part of Feature 2 [Figures 4.4 and 4.5]) contained by far the greatest concentration. From these three units 4008 pieces of chert were collected, which is 65.5% of all debitage recovered in 2006. The next largest flake concentration was found near Feature 1 in units N0E1, N0E2, N0E3 and N0E4. In these four units 1342 pieces of chert were found which makes up 21.9% of the total amount of debitage recovered during this season.

With regards to the types of flakes found, the majority of lithic pieces recovered belong to the category of flake shatter (4671 pieces or 76.4%) (Table 4.3). Flakes, or more accurately – pieces of flakes, which did not have a striking platform or a "point-of-applied force" (Andrefsky 1998: 81) were placed into the flake shatter category. Only 29 primary flakes were found at the site making up just 0.9% of the debitage (Table 4.3). Relatively large flakes with two or less dorsal surface flake scars, some cortex, and evidence of a striking platform were considered primary flakes. These flakes generally have a prominent bulb of force on them as well. None of what were considered to be primary flakes in this collection had 50% or more cortex present, which is sometimes

used in defining this category (Andrefsky 1998: 111-114; Neilsen 2006b). Flakes which were thinner and wider, with a less prominent bulb of force (or no bulb of force), with more than two dorsal flake scars and a striking platform, were put into the secondary flake category. Smaller flakes which were longer and thinner and which exhibited evidence of a striking platform were classified as tertiary flakes. Tertiary flakes would be produced during the final stages of stone tool manufacture, as well as through tool maintenance such as sharpening (Andrefsky 1998; Beaton 2004: 77; Hull 2002: 69-70).

Table 4.4 - Flake Types from Area A

Excavation Unit	Primary Flakes	Secondary Flakes	Tertiary Flakes	Flake Shatter
N0E4		25	14	60
N2E3		15	6	28
N3E4		24	20	45
N0E2		62	74	288
N1E2	1	29	12	109
N1E4	1	6	3	23
N2E1		2	2	
N2E4	1	5	8	8
N2E2		8	1	9
N4E2	2	18	41	103
N0E3		62	68	346
N1E1		6	4	14
N1E3		4		8
N0E0		2	1	10
N4E4	10	196	83	742
N5E4	3	131	72	1174
N3E3	5	22	15	133
N0E1	2	40	59	242
N4E3	4	162	111	1320
N3E2		2	1	9
Totals	**29 (0.5%)**	**821 (13.4%)**	**595 (9.7%)**	**4671 (76.4%)**

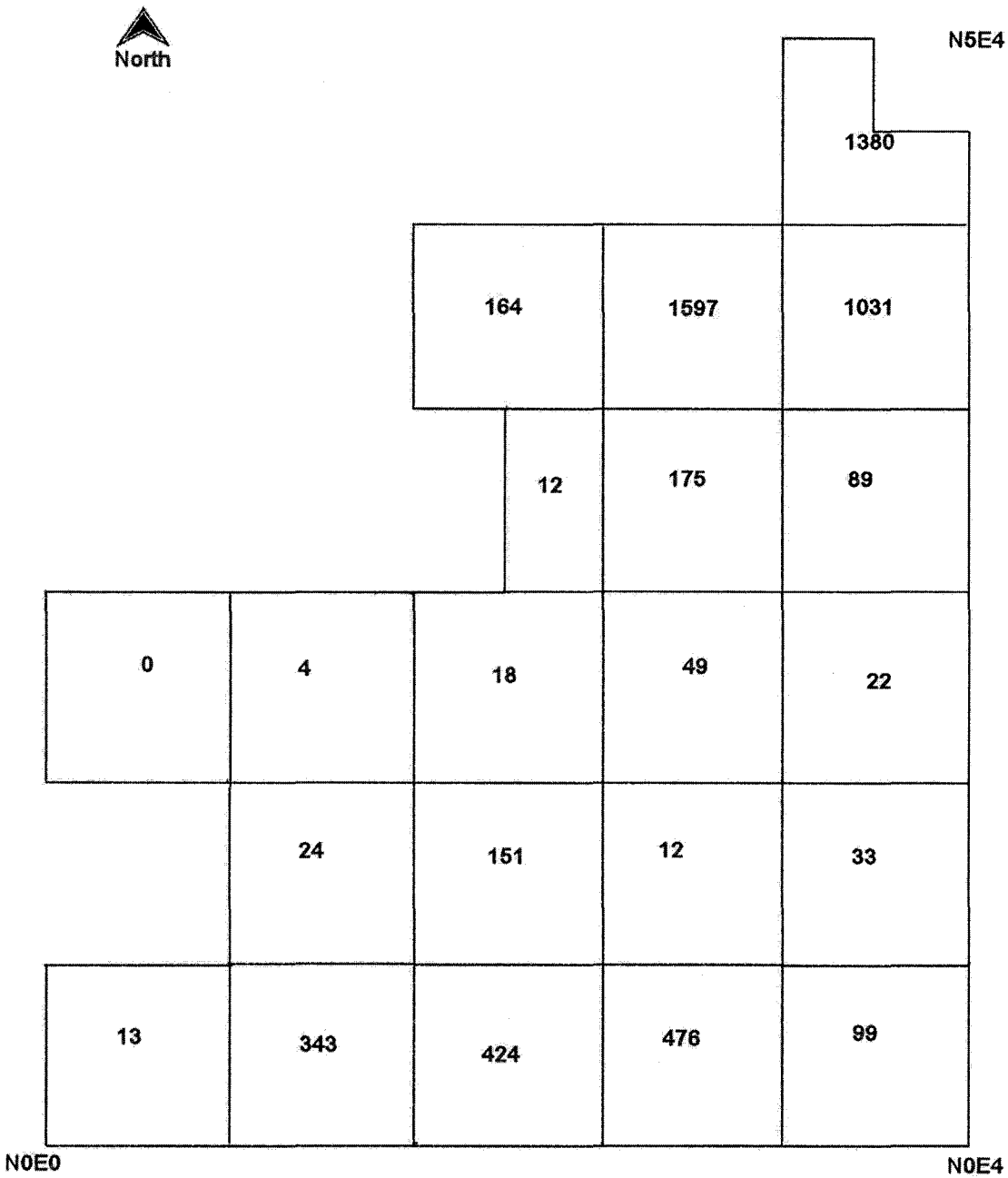

Figure 4.5 - Debitage Distribution in Area A at FfDn-01

4.6 - Area A: Faunal Evidence

A very small amount of animal bone was recovered from the area excavated in 2006. In Feature 2 calcined bone mash was recovered from unit N3E3. More bone was found in Feature 1 in units N1E2 and N1E3. The bones from unit N1E2 were identified as small duck (smaller than eider) and small mammal (Swinerton: personal communication 2007), while the single bone from N1E3 is caribou.

4.7 - Area A: Historic Artifacts

4.7.1 - Snowshoe needle:

We found this artifact in early July but we were unable to identify it untill Daniel Ashini, who is the father of crew member Jodie Ashini, visited us on the lake for several weeks. He identified this metal tool as a snowshoe needle as soon as he saw it and explained that these needles continue to be used by Innu people in Labrador and Québec today. Lucien Turner (2001 [1894]) provides a drawing and a written description on the use of snowshoe needles like this one during the late nineteenth century:

> "A needle of bone, horn, or iron is used for netting the snowshoes. The shape of The implement is flat and rounded at each point, to enable the needle to be used either backward or forward. The eye which carries the line is in the middle..." (Turner 2001:310 [1894]).

It should also be mentioned that there is still a very small piece of red material in the hole in the center of this artifact which must have been on this tool since the last time it was used (Plate 5a).

4.7.2 - Beads:

Three beads were found during the excavation at Ferguson Bay (Plate 6a-c). Two of these beads were found in unit N2E2, which is between Feature 1 and Feature 2, at depths of approximately 5 centimeters below the surface. Both of these two beads look the same – they are tiny (1.0mm long x 1.8 mm wide), doughnut-shaped, and they are made of dark blue colored glass. These two are "wound" beads which means that the process used in their manufacture involved winding a very thin piece of molten glass around a wire (Karklins 1985; Kidd and Kidd 1970). Round bubbles and "swirl marks that encircle the axis" (Karklins 1985:89) testify to this. The fact that both beads are identical in size, shape and color strongly suggests that they were made no earlier than the nineteenth century when bead production became very standardized (Kidd and Kidd 1970: 50).

The third bead, which is larger, is made of milk-white glass and is not perfectly symmetrical. This one was found at a depth of approximately 14 centimeters below the surface of the ground. It measures 5.4 mm from top to bottom, 5.1 mm through the middle, and it has a tapered perforation. It has two characteristics which are diagnostic

of Prosser molded beads – it has a wide band around its equator and it is rough at one end. Beads like this were manufactured using a method which was patented by the Prosser brothers of England in 1840. The process involves using a mixture which contained powdered glass and milk that was pressed in a mold and then placed onto a metal sheet which was then put into an oven and heated. Very large numbers of this type of bead were produced in France in the second half of the nineteenth century (Karklins 1985; personal communication, 2007; Kidd and Kidd 1970).

The Prosser molded bead might be a trade bead but it looks similar to Catholic rosary beads, which would make sense since many Innu people were converted to Catholicism early in the historic period, and many Innu people in Labrador and Québec today are Catholic. Both ends of this bead exhibit use wear which could indicate that it was strung (Karklins 1985:115).

4.7.3 - Bullet Shells:

Three bullet shells were found close to the surface of the ground in Feature 1. Two of these are metal 44-40 caliber (Plate 5b) casings that were used in Winchester and Henry rifles as early as the late 1800s and this caliber bullet continues to be used in rifles today (Hawks 2005).

The other bullet shell in this collection is actually a Canadian made #16 Dominion headstamp (Plate 5c). This is part of a shotgun shell (suitable for hunting birds or small game) of the type which were manufactured in Canada between 1886 and 1955. These shells were exported to Newfoundland between 1918 and 1927 (Steinhaur 2004). Since this shell could have been acquired from either Québec or Labrador a date of between 1886 and 1955 is assigned.

4.7.4 - Cloth and Leather:

Six pieces of green fabric were found in and around Feature 1, all of which were found in level A, though three of the pieces were found at the bottom of this level. These pieces are likely all from the same item, probably an article of clothing (possibly a shirt or a jacket). Unfortunately, there is not enough of this material to be able to say with any certainty exactly what it was once a part of. It seems probable that this material was left at the site quite recently since the soils around Ferguson Bay are quite acidic and it is unlikely that soft fabric would survive there for very long.

One piece of leather (Plate 5f) was recovered from excavation unit N0E1. This piece is fairly thick (4 mm) and three rows of stitching holes are clearly visible on it. This could be a piece of some sort of footwear or a piece of a bag of some sort (based on that fact that it is so thick), however, it is impossible to say for sure.

4.7.5 - Lead Ball:

This artifact was discovered in unit N0E3 in level B at a depth of 46.5 cm (below datum 1). Many lithic artifacts were also found around this lead ball, however, it seems likely that this object could have moved down deeper in the soil over time because of its small size, weight (2 g) and shape. Musket Balls were found on Indian House Lake in Mushuau Nipian phase (Historic Innu) contexts which date between at least "...1839 to 1945" (Samson 1978: 200; Samson 1976). The lead ball from Ferguson Bay is fairly small (8.2mm in diameter) and may be bird shot. On the other hand, it does appear to have corroded quite a bit and it may have been larger in the past.

4.7.6 - Buttons:

Two buttons were recovered from the site, one from excavation unit N0E2 and one from N1E1. The one from unit N0E2 was found at a depth of approximately 13 centimeters below the ground in association with chert flakes as well as the milk-white glass bead. This button is white in color and after examining it under a microscope I have determined that it is made of bone (Plate 6d). The other button is made of white glass and was found just a few centimeters down in the peat moss in the northwest quadrant of unit N1E1, which is part of Feature 1.

4.7.7 - Glass:

Three pieces of clear glass which have been melted were found in and around Feature 1. These artifacts are evidence that at least one fire at Feature 1 was extremely hot. All three of these were found in charcoal in level A of unit N1E1. One of these pieces looks to be most of a small, thick walled, glass bottle. Another piece looks like it may be the lip of a bottle of some sort, perhaps belonging to the same vessel as the piece just mentioned. The third piece is smaller and the glass is thinner.

Two other interesting pieces of glass were recovered from unit N1E2 which are clear but have a greenish tint. Both of these tiny artifacts (9.4mm long, 4.7 mm wide, and 1.2 mm thick; and 6.3 mm long, 11.4 mm wide, and 1.5 mm thick respectively) have flake-like characteristics (Plate 6e and f). Both of these were found in feature 1 in association with chert flakes, heated rocks and charcoal.

4.7.8 – Other Metal Objects:

Three other metal objects were recovered during the 2006 field season – two of these remain unidentified and the third is a square cut nail (Plate 5d). The nail tapers in thickness on just one face and it is slightly pinched just below the head. These are characteristics of "early machine head" type nails that were produced in the New World

between approximately 1815 and 1830 (Smith 1967: 4-6; Center for Historic Preservation 2002).

4.8 - Test Pit 5S: Lithic Raw Materials

A similar range raw materials as that from Area A was found in Test Pit 5S, and again fine grained cherts from the Labrador trough dominate the assemblage (Table 4.5). We recovered 81 artifacts from this test pit (including biface fragments and flakes, not including flake shatter) and 78, or 96.3% of these were made from Labrador Trough cherts of many colors including black, brown, green, sandy, blue and grey. The most important difference in the lithic collection from this test pit is that it includes Ramah chert. Two definite pieces of this coastally derived exotic material were recovered, one of which is the tip of biface, the other a flake. A single quartz flake was also recovered from Test Pit 5S. In total, 37.1 grams of chert, and 0.2 grams of quartz was recovered from this test pit.

Table 4.5 - Lithic raw materials recovered from Test Pit 5S at FfDn-01

Material	Number of Arfiacts	Percentage
Sandy colored chert	22	27.2%
Grey-green chert	17	21%
Black chert	15	18.5%
Clear chert with specks	11	13.6%
Grey-clear chert	10	12.3%
Brown-rust colored chert	3	3.7%
Ramah chert	2	2.5%
Quartz	1	1.2%
Total	81	100%

Note: All materials besides Ramah chert and quartz are from the Labrador trough. These figures include biface fragments and flakes and do not include flake shatter.

4.9 - Test pit 5S: Artifacts

4.9.1 - Biface fragments:

Four biface fragments were recovered from test pit 5S in 2005 (Plate 12). One of these is made from Ramah chert (one of two pieces which are definitely made of this material) and appears to have been the tip of a biface (8.1 mm long, 7.6 mm wide and 3.2 mm thick). Two others (catalogue numbers 47 and 48) are small unidentified biface fragments which are made of grey translucent chert (18 mm long, 9mm wide and 3.1 mm thick; 12.9 mm long; 11.7 mm wide and 2.7 mm thick). The fourth fragment (catalogue number 49) is also made of grey translucent chert and it must have been an

abrader of some kind. This artifact is just a small fragment (11.8 mm long, 19.3 mm wide, and 5.4 mm thick), but heavy abrasion on two sides of this piece is evidence that it was used for this purpose.

4.9.2 - Debitage:

The flakes from Test Pit 5S were separated into type categories (primary, secondary, tertiary and shatter) using the same methods outlined above. The results of this analysis are presented in the following table:

Table 4.6 - Flake Types from Test Pit 5S at FfDn-01

Context	Primary Flakes	Secondary Flakes	Tertiary Flakes	Shatter	Total
Associated with Feature 3 (hearth)		21	56	24	101

4.10 - Chapter Summary

In this chapter the data which was collected from the Ferguson Bay 1 site in 2005 and 2006 has been presented. Detailed descriptions of archaeological features were followed by discussions of scientific samples, lithic raw materials, and artifacts which were recovered from the site. Two excavation areas were discussed, first the 20 ¼ square meter area which was excavated this past summer (Area A) and Test Pit 5S which was dug in the summer of 2005.

The earliest evidence we currently have for the occupation of the site comes from the area around Feature 2 which is a linear hearth. Stone tools and flakes were found in and around this feature from which we collected charcoal samples. One of these samples produced a date of 1640 +/- 50 B.P. (Beta 226315) which is the earliest one we have from the site so far. Ramah chert was found in Test Pit 5S, and a charcoal sample from that test pit produced a date of 1010 +/- 100 B.P. (Beta 2313329). Distinct levels of charcoal, chert flakes and historic period artifacts found in Feature 1 show that this hearth was used more than once. Some of the historic artifacts indicate use of the site within the last century, however, it was certainly used during the precontact period and perhaps during the early contact period. It should be noted that nearly all of the chert found at the Ferguson Bay 1 site (from all precontact components) is from the Labrador Trough.

Chapter 5: Interpretations

5.1 - Introduction

In this chapter I will present my interpretations of the data which was collected from the Ferguson Bay 1 site during the past two summer field seasons. This chapter will also include a discussion of how this information relates to previous archaeological research in Québec, Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as how it relates to our current understanding of the prehistory of the Far Northeast.

5.2 – Temporal Range of Occupations at FfDn-01

The earliest dates from FfDn-01 (1640 +/- 50 B.P. [Beta 226315] and 1570 +/- 50 B.P. [Beta 226313]) (Table 5.1) are interesting for several reasons. First of all, they provide evidence that this area has been used for many centuries by aboriginal groups. Another reason that these dates are interesting is because they fall between two periods of Labrador prehistory: on the south coast of Labrador these dates would fit neatly into the Early Labrador Recent Indian period (approximately 2000-1000 B.P.). However, in central Labrador these dates would belong to end of the Intermediate Indian period which lasts until around 1500 B.P. in that region. So which period in the prehistory of Labrador do the dates from Ferguson Bay belong to? At this point it is difficult to say since so little archaeology has been done in western Labrador. In this case it is hard to distinguish between the end of the Intermediate period and the

beginning of the Recent period (see Beaton 2004 and his discussion of the end of the Archaic period/beginning of the Intermediate period).

The next two dates, 1430 +/- 40 B.P. (Beta 2313328) and 1010 +/- 100 B.P. (Beta 2313329) (Table 5.1) belong to the Recent Indian period in Labrador (2000-350 B.P. or 1500 – 350 B.P. in central Labrador). Use of Ramah chert is a major characteristic of the Recent Indian period in Labrador (Hull 2002; Loring 1992) and the only definite pieces of this coastal material at Ferguson Bay came from test pit 5S which is also where the charcoal sample which produced the date of 1010 +/- 100 B.P. came from.

The final radiocarbon date from FfDn-01 (180 +/- 50 B.P. [Beta 226314]) falls within the historic period (350-0 B.P.) (Table 5.1), and it is also quite imprecise. This is, unfortunately, the nature of radiocarbon dates which come from charcoal samples of this age which are processed using the standard radiometric method. This date does support the argument that this part of Area A (near feature 1) was used during the historic period. However, the historic artifacts have provided more precise information on when this area was used (see chapter 4 and Figure 5.1).

From the small areas at Ferguson Bay 1 which have been excavated it appears that the site was used most intensively from around 1600 – 1400 B.P., however, radiocarbon dating has provided strong evidence that aboriginal groups were using the area around 1000 B.P., as well as in historic times. It seems likely that this site was used at least occasionally by Amerindian groups from at least as early as 1600 B.P. on. Other

archaeological evidence from the site (which will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter) suggests that Features 1 and 2 were used repeatedly, and there are undoubtedly other features at the site, still undiscovered, which were probably used multiple times as well.

Table 5.1 – Temporal Range of Occupations at the Ferguson Bay 1 Site

Years B.P	Beta 226315	Beta 226313	Beta 2313328	Beta 2313329	Beta 226314	Cut Nail	Beads & Snowshoe Needle	Bullet Shells
					I			
50					I			I
100					I		I	I
150					I	I	I	I
200					I	I		
250					I			
300					I			
350								
400								
450								
500								
550								
600								
650								
700				I				
750				I				
800				I				
850				I				
900				I				
950				I				
1000				I				
1050				I				
1100				I				
1150				I				
1200								
1250			I					
1300			I					
1350		I	I					
1400	I	I						
1450	I	I						
1500	I	I						
1550	I	I						
1600	I							
1650	I							
1700	I							

5.3 - Features

All three of the hearth features discovered at Ferguson Bay are similar to Recent period hearth features which have been described elsewhere as being either small and circular or ovate, or larger and linear in nature (Hull 2002; Loring 1992; Pintal 1998; Denton 1989; Samson 1978) (see chapter 2). Feature 2 is also similar to both Flèche Litorale and Petit Havre linear hearth features which have been found on the Québec Lower North Shore and are described by Pintal (1998). The major difference between Feature 2 at FfDn-01 and the linear hearths on the Lower North Shore would be the faunal remains that have been found in the hearths near Blanc Sablon. The features from the Lower North Shore contain many seal bones, mussel shells as well as some beaver bones (Pintal 1998; Personal communication 2006). This difference may well reflect the different environmental contexts of the deposits. As well, the Flèche Litoralle and Petit Havre features are located on the coast where seals and mussels are found, and Ferguson Bay is located deep in the interior where these resources are not found. It is likely that beavers would have been used by groups on Ashuanipi Lake, however, the acidic soils of the boreal forest are not condusive to the preservation of organic materials.

It is also very important to note that the hearth features on the Québec Lower North shore which are similar to Feature 2 at FfDn-01 have been interpreted as dwelling structures. It is quite possible that Feature 2 does represent the remains of a dwelling –

and there is in fact some evidence to support this. The large amount of stone flakes, flake shatter and broken tools found in this feature, and the fact that there are far fewer flakes and other artifacts found more than a meter away from this feature would support this argument. Somewhat similar features have been interpreted as dwellings based on material culture being concentrated around a hearth like this and the sharp "drop off" of artifacts more than a meter or so away from the feature by archaeologists in the North East such as Hood (1981, 1993). He used debitage patterns in the interpretation of Maritime Archaic dwellings in northern Labrador without evidence of post-holes or hold-down rocks (1993: Figure 3). The Amerindians using the Ferguson Bay 1 site must have erected structures during their time on the lake, especially if they were there during colder seasons. Niellon (1992) suggested that the Fall would have been the best time of year to be on the lake, and the fact that a snowshoe needle was found there suggests a fall occupation during the historic period.

Feature 2 may well be the remains of one of these structures, however, there is some reason to hesitate in interpreting this feature in this way. First of all, Feature 2 has only been partially excavated, and secondly, the work that has been done has not revealed any *direct* evidence that this was, in fact, a dwelling. By direct evidence I mean post holes and/or "hold down rocks" which are generally found in a rough outline around structural remains in archaeological sites (Denton 1989; Fitzhugh 1978b; Loring 1992; Nolin 1989; Renouf 1992, 1994). Additional work would provide more substantial evidence on which to base an argument that Feature 2 represents structural remains.

Another point that must be made about the features at Ferguson Bay is that they appear to have been used more than once – this is particularly evident in Feature 1. Two different layers of charcoal which were separated by a sandy level were clearly visible as Feature 1 was excavated (see figure 4.2) and artifacts from different time periods were found in this feature. For example, artifacts from different parts of the historic period were found in the upper levels of this feature, such as, bullet shells which were made in the twentieth century, a metal nail which was made in the first half of the nineteenth century, and a glass bead which was made in the second half of the nineteenth century. Melted glass was found in the top layer of charcoal and not in the lower one, and lithic artifacts were found in the deepest cultural levels of this feature.

It also seems likely that Feature 2 was used more than once, although the evidence for multiple uses of this hearth is not as strong as it is for Feature 1. This argument is supported by radiocarbon dates from in or near this feature which have a maximum range of 1690 – 1280 B.P. The variation in tool forms amongst the few recovered curated specimens could be seen as evidence of multiple uses of Feature 2.

There is less known about Feature 3 since it was discovered in a test unit and therefore only a portion of it was observed. The radiocarbon date from this unit (1010 +/- 100 B.P. [Beta 2313329]) and the presence of Ramah chert provide strong evidence that the people who used this hearth feature had close ties with the Labrador coast and with other Labrador Recent Indian groups. Small heated rocks from this feature may

have been used as boiling stones. Again, additional excavation in this area would reveal more of this feature as well as more information about the use of this site around 1000 B.P.

5.4 - Lithic Artifacts from Area A

5.4.1 - Diagnostic Stone Tools

Only two complete diagnostic stone tools were recovered from the Ferguson Bay 1 site. One of these is a stemmed projectile point which was found in two pieces, and the other is a concave based projectile point. Both points are made of fine-grained semi-translucent chert which is grey-caramel in color – although the two pieces of the broken stemmed point have weathered differently and have a slightly different appearance (this could be due to heating). Both of these tools, which are discussed in detail in chapter 4, suggest a relationship with Amerindian groups of the Québec Lower North shore (Pintal 1998, 2001, personal communication 2006). The stemmed point is very similar to points belonging to the Flèche Littorale (2500 - 1500 B.P.) complex. The concave based point would not be out of place in the same complex, however, it is more similar to points which belong to the Petit Havre complex (1500 - 1200 B.P.) which is the next cultural unit in Pintal's (1998) chronological sequence of the Lower North Shore. More concave based points have been found in Petit Havre complex sites than in Fléche Littoral sites, although these tools are not common. A concave based point which is

similar to the one from FfDn-01 was found near Blanc-Sablon, though the Blanc Sablon specimen was made of Mistassini quartzite which is believed to come only from the Colline Blanche which is located on the Témiscamie River deep in the interior of Québec (Denton 1998; Pintal 1998, Personal communication 2006). Native ceramics have been found in sites belonging to both the Flèche Littorale and Petit Havre complexes (Pintal 1998, personal communication 2006) – these have not so far been recovered from the Ferguson Bay 1 site.

Stemmed points have been found in sites belonging to other precontact aboriginal cultures in both Québec and Labrador. These cultures include the North West River phase of Hamilton Inlet in central Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972), the Wenopsk complex of the Mistassini Region of interior Québec (Fitzhugh 1972; Martijn and Rogers 1969), the Cow Head complex of the Island of Newfoundland (Hartery 2001; Teal 2001), as well as the earlier Maritime Archaic tradition (Tuck n.d.). Stemmed points have also been found in the Moisie River region in sites believed to date to the Archaic period as well as on one site (level C of EbDj-2) which is believed to date to around the same time period as the earliest known occupation of Ferguson Bay 1 (Chevrier 1977). The Wenopsk complex belongs to the Shield Archaic (Wright 1968) which refers to Amerindian groups occupying the boreal forests of north-central and northeastern North America in precontact times. Wright (1972) has hypothesized that "... the Sheild Archaic people probably spoke an Algonkian language" (1972:87). Fitzhugh (1972) has argued that the North West River phase also fits into the Shield Archaic tradition (Wright 1968).

The Flèche Littorale and Petit Havre complexes are believed to be related to the people of the North West River phase, as well as Cow Head complex groups (Hartery 2001; Hull 2002; Pintal 1998). Pintal (1998; 2001) refers to the time period between approximately 2500 and 1100 B.P. as a time of "territorial realignment". Changes in Amerindian economic adaptations on the Lower North Shore are visible in the archaeological record during this period and this is why Pintal (1998) has divided the period into four cultural units – the Flèche Littorale (2500-1500 B.P), the Petit Havre (1500-1200 B.P.), the Longue Pointe (1300-1100) and the Anse Lazy (1200-1100) complexes. The first three of these complexes can be seen as the same people whose culture was changing through time (Hull 2002: 17; Pintal 1998: 169), and Pintal (1998: 190) argues that the people of these complexes were related to the precontact Amerindian groups who occupied the region more recently.

Hartery (2001) explains that the Cow Head complex of Newfoundland existed during the same time period as the territorial realignment cultures of the Lower North Shore and that these cultures had similar stone tool technologies as well as similar economic adaptations (Hartery 2001: 116-121). The relationships between these groups will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

5.4.2 - Expedient Tools

The flake tools from Ashuanipi Lake (unifaces, retouched flakes and linear flakes) are somewhat suggestive of a relationship between the people of the Ferguson Bay 1 site and Labrador Recent Indian groups. Unifacial tools are a category of the Labrador Recent Indian tool kit (Fitzhugh 1978b: 164; Hull 2002: 83; Loring 1989: 63) and Hull (2002) explains that "...the unifacial tool industry is an integral part of the early and late Labrador Recent Indian tool kit" (Hull 2002: 63). Utilized flakes and other unifacial tools have also been recovered from the late precontact period (2500 – 400 B.P.) sites of the Lower North Shore, though they are less common in Flèche Littorale complex sites (Pintal 1998). The unifaces from FfDn-01 could be seen as additional evidence of the relationship between the people of those complexes and the people whose material culture has been found at Ferguson Bay.

Linear flakes are associated with Newfoundland Recent Indians (Hull 2002), the Cow Head complex (Hartery 2001; Teal 2001), the Lower North Shore complexes (Pintal 1998), as well as with the Maritime Archaic Indians of Newfoundland (Carrignan 1975; Reader 1999), and the Intermediate Indian groups ("late Archaic") of southern and central Labrador (Madden 1976; Tuck n.d.). A quartz microblade core and several blade-like flakes (one of these blade-like flakes can be refitted to the core) were found at the Late Labrador Recent Indian site Winter Cove-4. This is the only evidence of a core and blade industry found so far at any Recent Period Amerindian sites in Labrador.

Linear flakes are not at all common in Shield Archaic assemblages (Wright 1972). In his monograph on the Shield Archaic, Wright (1972) looked at eleven sites in the boreal forest zone of the Canadian Shield – three of the sites he discusses are in Québec, three are in Ontario, two are in Manitoba, and the other three are in the North West Territories. This type of artifact was only recovered from two of these eleven sites (the Aberdeen and Fretz sites) and in each of these cases it was just a single specimen. Linear flakes make up less than 1% of the lithic assemblages from these two sites, and they are not present at all on 9 of the 11 sites (Wright 1972: 41). This is in stark contrast with precontact Amerindian assemblages of Labrador, Newfoundland and the Québec Lower North Shore where substantial numbers of linear flakes are often present (Carignan 1975; Fitzhugh 1978b; Hartery 2001; Hull 2002; Madden 1976; Teal 2001; Tuck n.d.).

Later in his monograph, Wright (1972) considers evidence from components of five additional Shield Archaic sites in Québec and presents data from 8 sites all together from that province. Four of these sites are in western Québec (which include the three Québec sites mentioned above) and the other four are located in the Mistassini-Albanel area in central Québec. A collection from one site in western Québec (the Louis site) contains just two linear flakes. One of the collections from the Mistassini-Albanel area contains two linear flakes (Yadogami 3) and two other collections from sites in that region have one linear flake each in them (Wright 1972: 65). Again, this is a very different pattern from that seen further east.

A few linear flakes have been found in certain sites of the Wenopsk complex, however, only one "ridged flake" was found associated with phase D of this complex – which is the only phase of this complex that bears a possibly meaningful resemblance to the North West River phase (Martjin and Rogers 1969: 227; Tuck n.d.). Martjin does mention two other ridged flakes in his artifact descriptions section but these are not included in his prismatic blade/ ridged flake frequency table (1969:227) which makes me doubt that these two artifacts should be considered linear flakes. Either way, this type of tool does not seem to have been of major importance to the phase D Wenopsk complex people.

5.5 - Evidence from TP5S

The presence of a Ramah chert biface tip in area B at FfDn-01 which is associated with a radiocarbon date of 1010 +/- 100 B.P. (Beta 2313329) is evidence of contact with the coast of Labrador. I would suggest that Amerindian groups living in the Strait of Belle Isle region during this same time period – the people Hull (2002) refers to as the Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group (which is argued to include Amerindian groups from Newfoundland, Labrador and the Québec Lower North Shore (Hull 2002: 90-100) are probably closely related to the people of using Ferguson Bay at around the same time. This suggestion is based on the Ramah chert tool fragment, as well as a Ramah chert flake which was also found in the same test pit, the radiocarbon date just

mentioned, the heath feature, as well the fact that the people using FfDn-01 during the previous centuries appear to have been related to the Amerindian groups of the nearby Québec Lower North Shore. From approximately 2500 –1500 B.P. the Lower North shore groups were using less Ramah chert and than they had in previous centuries, however, by approximately 1100 B.P. they were commonly using Ramah chert and Newfoundland cherts. Since the Ferguson Bay site seemed to have been used more or less continuously – this might suggest that the first people using the site were the ancestors of the people using it at a later time. The situation was probably more complex than this since the groups using the site likely had contact with people living east (such as the Hamilton Inlet area) west (such as the Caniapiscau region), north (such as the Labrador Trough and Indian House Lake areas) and south (the Québec North Shore) of Ashuanipi Lake at this time as well.

5.6 - Raw Materials

It has already been mentioned that nearly all of the lithic material recovered from the Ferguson Bay 1 site is from the Labrador Trough. The fact that this material was found in such a high proportion in all excavated areas could be seen as evidence of cultural continuity in this area. More than 95% of the chert associated with all three features came from the Labrador trough.

5.7 - Debitage Patterns

The nearly exclusive use of Labrador Trough cherts suggests that this site was used by groups of people who were accessing lithic sources just north of Ashuanipi Lake. The low number of primary flakes suggests that by the time this stone reached the Ferguson Bay 1 site, it was already partially processed (perhaps in the form of tool "blanks") which would have made it easier to transport than if it had been in cobble form. The fact that so much chert, and that many large (but not primary - no cortex and no very pronounced bulbs of percussion) flakes are present at the site suggests that these people did not have to worry about conserving this material. This is suggestive of direct procurement of these cherts from their sources.

5.8 - Historic Artifacts

The historic artifacts from the site provide evidence for how Innu groups used this part of Ashuanipi Lake during the post-contact period. This historic collection is quite comparable to an historic collection from Indian House Lake which is discussed in chapter 2 (Samson 1978). Both collections contain 40-44 caliber bullet shells, beads, buttons, lead balls (one was found at FfDn-01), and square cut nails (one was found at FfDn-01).

The fact that a snowshoe needle was found at the site suggests that it may have been in use in either fall or winter. Ed Montague, of the Labrador West Heritage Society suggested that the red material in the "eye" of this needle is the same color and texture as the red pom-poms seen on some Innu snowshoes. He explained that adding these pom-poms (not all snowshoes have these) is usually the last step in the manufacture of this type of winter footwear (Montague personal communication: 2006).

It seems likely that the white glass bead from area A is evidence that people were using the site during the nineteenth century. The two other beads recovered from the site are believed to be more recent since they were found so close to the surface of the ground, and because they are so symmetrical. A blue seed bead and a metal (copper) snowshoe needle were found at an Innu site near Seal Lake which is believed to around a century or so old (McCaffrey et al.: 1989).

The square cut nail which was found in Feature 1 provides evidence that that the site was also used during the nineteenth century. The bone button may belong to that time period as well, while the glass button, the cloth, the metal bullet shells and the melted pieces of glass were probably left at the site in the 1900s.

There is possible evidence of early contact period use of this site – if we accept that the two tiny pieces of greenish glass are flakes. They do have flake-like characteristics and it is possible that further work at this site could provide valuable

information on the early contact period in Labrador for which there is currently little evidence (Schwarz 1998:8).

Taken together, the historic artifacts demonstrate that the Ferguson Bay 1 site was used at least occasionally by the Innu throughout much of the historic period. Historic documents also attest to the use of Ashuanipi Lake during the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hind 1973 [1863]; McCaffrey 1989; Neillon 1992; Tanner 1976; Tanner and Armitage 1985).

Accounts from the 1920s and 1930s discuss Innu groups leaving Sept-Illes in August and reaching Ashuanipi Lake about six weeks or so later – one Innu informant referred to the lake as his "...first big stopping place..." (Tanner and Armitage 1985: 28; Niellon 1992: 35). From there, they would travel north to Menihek Lake which they would usually reach in early October (Speck and Eisley: 1942). The people would stop on this lake to hunt and fish for several days before going on to Michikaumau Lake (Smallwood Reservoir) where they would spend the winter trapping. They would generally reach that lake by the end of October. Sometime around the end of March the people would gather on Menihek Lake: "...an extensive encampment of tented families soon congregates as it has for many generations – incidentally a promising place for stratigraphic archaeological work when an opportunity is afforded" (Speck and Eisley 1942: 234-235). At around the end of May these families would begin their trip to the coast via Ashuanipi Lake and the Moisie River. They would reach the ocean by the end

of June (McCaffrey 1989; Niellon 1992; Speck and Eisley 1942; Tanner and Armitage 1985). According to these accounts from the first half of the twentieth century, Innu groups would have been crossing Ashuanipi Lake in both the autumn and spring. We cannot assume that Innu movements through the interior were the same in prehistory since by the twentieth century, and for 200-300 years before, the Innu had been trading with Europeans and the "...monomaniacal passion of the Europeans for the "soft gold" represented by the pelts of northern fur bearers introduced sweeping social, economic, and ideological changes for the indigenous populations" (Loring 1992:112).

5.9 - Discussion

Based on the archaeological evidence it seems that the Ferguson Bay 1 site was a habitation site which was probably used for relatively short amounts of time by relatively small groups of mobile hunter-gatherers who revisited the site regularly. The hearth features, at least one of which could represent structural remains, as well as evidence of domestic activities in the form of faunal remains (very small amounts), heated rocks which are suggestive of boiling stones found near Feature 3, as well as the presence of stone tools which were very likely used for processing food, support this argument. Some tool making and tool maintenance also occurred at the site, though the debitage patterns certainly do not point to this being a quarry site, or a major

workshop site since few primary flakes were recovered (less than 1 % of the flakes from Area A were primary), and very few flakes with any cortex were found at the site.

The groups using the site were most likely hunting caribou as well as other available animal species such as beaver, porcupine, martin, rabbits and moose (based on the presence of hunting tools at the site); and fishing was probably a very important activity for them – (based on the numbers of very sharp flakes, especially linear flakes, which were recovered from the site, and which probably would have been used to process the various species of fish that are available in the lake). The location of FfDn-01 adjacent to a part of Ashuanipi Lake which never freezes, and which is known today as an excellent fishing area for lake trout, pike and land-locked salmon, is not a coincidence. If we accept that these were the major subsistence activities of the peoples who used this site in a more or less continuous way for at least 1600 years, then the site could have been used during the fall and winter months (which suggests that structures would have been erected there). The evidence for the time of year that the site was occupied is stronger from the historic component since a snowshoe needle was recovered from that area. There is really not enough evidence in the precontact period components to be able to say with any certainty during which season/seasons the site was occupied.

5.10 - Relationships with Other PreContact Cultures

5.10.1 - Québec Lower North Shore

The similarities between the precontact cultures of the Lower North Shore and those of Ashuanipi Lake have already been discussed so this section will be brief. Strong similarities are seen in artifacts types, artifact styles (such as stemmed points and concave based points), feature types as well as dates for these cultures. The evidence from Ferguson Bay 1 seems to be most closely related to the Flèche Littorale and Petit Havre complexes which are defined by Pintal (1998).

Some differences exist between the Ferguson Bay assemblage and those of the Québec Lower North Shore, for example, pottery has been found on the coast but not on Ashuanipi Lake. The lack of pottery at Ferguson Bay could be explained by poor preservation conditions in the boreal forest as well as the fact that work at the site is still in very preliminary stages. However, even on the Lower North Shore ceramics are rare and they may not have been used at Ferguson Bay. Another difference is that the coastal cultures make almost exclusive use of local quartzites in stone tool manufacture whereas fine-grained cherts are associated with the precontact components at FfDn-01. The use of fine-grained cherts by the occupants of FfDn-01, rather than quartzites, is probably due to the availability of chert from sources in the Labrador trough which are not too far from Ashuanipi Lake. These differences are much less significant than the similarities shared by these cultures and at present there seems to have been a strong

cultural connection between the groups living on the Québec Lower North Shore and those who occupied this part of western Labrador from around 1600 – 1300 B.P. (Hull personal communication 2006; Pintal 1998, Personal Communication 2006).

So do these archaeological cultures represent the same people who used different areas at different times of the year – perhaps visiting the coast in the summer and moving into the interior, using Ashuanipi Lake in the fall? Or are they related because they belong to a broadly similar culture that occupied much of the Far Northeast (Jean-Yves Pintal, personal communication 2007)? They must belong to the same broadly similar culture, but additional research is necessary to determine exactly how closely related these archaeological cultures are.

5.10.2 - The North West River Phase

It was also mentioned earlier that Pintal (1998) has suggested that there is a connection between the North West River phase, a late Intermediate period culture defined by Fitzhugh (1972) based on sites in Hamilton Inlet in central Labrador, and the cultures of the Lower North Shore. The earliest evidence from the Ferguson Bay 1 site also seems to be related to the North West River phase. When Fitzhugh (1972) first defined this cultural unit he discussed similarities between this culture, the Tobique complex of New Brunswick and the Wenopsk (which is the Mistassini Cree word for "quartzite") complex of central Québec. The similarities between the Tobique complex

and the North West River phase do not seem strong (Tuck n.d.) and certainly do not seem to be evidence of a close cultural connection. Fitzhugh (1972) states that the strongest relationship was with the Wenopsk Complex which is known from sites in the Mistassini-Albanel Lakes region in the Québec interior. Stemmed points, use of local quartzites, crudely made stone tools and the time periods that these cultures occupied their respective regions, are the similarities which are shared by these cultures. Fitzhugh writes that the Wenopsk complex and the North West River phase belong to the Shield Archaic and he argues that the North West River phase represents a movement of foreign people into Labrador from the west (1972).

It should be mentioned here that Ramah chert is present in North West River phase assemblages and three of the eight sites assigned to this culture in Hamilton inlet were found on the coast in Groswater Bay (Fitzhugh 1972: 117; 152-153). This is evidence that this culture used the central coast and had contact (either direct or indirect) with the northern coast of Labrador.

5.10.3 - The David Michelin Component

Another cultural unit from Hamilton Inlet is also associated with stemmed points, ovate bifaces, utilized flakes and a unifacial industry – the David Michelin component with an estimated age of 2200 B.P. (Fitzhugh 1972; Nagle 1978; Tuck n.d.). All of these tools types were recovered from the Ferguson Bay 1 site. Fitzhugh (1972)

also mentions that a substantial amount of Ramah chert found at the David Michelin site (the site this component is based on) which, again, indicates contact with the coast. Fitzhugh (1972) does not suggest a connection between the David Michelin component and the North West River phase, but he does argue that the David Michelin component also represents a movement of new people into Labrador from the west prior to the movement of the North West River phase groups into the area. He does, however, point out similarities between David Michelin component and Charles complex bifacial stone tool manufacturing techniques (a similar method of removing thinning flakes which are large and flat was used by people of both cultures) (Fitzhugh 1972: 151). He also writes that the settlement and subsistence pattern represented by the David Michelin component seems similar to that of both the earlier Brinex and Charles complexes (Fitzhugh 1972: 151).

Neilsen (2006b) has suggested that the David Michelin component and the North West River phase are similar enough to be the same culture and that the David Michelin component could simply represent an earlier variant (Neilsen 2006b: 32). He also discusses evidence from the coast near Nain (the Thalia Point 5 site) where a stemmed point which is associated with a date of 3100 +/- 75 B.P. (SI 2524) has been recovered which resembles David Michelin component points. Stone tools similar to those of the Saunders complex were also found at that site. The Village Bay site, where the stemmed point which resembles the Little Lake point from North West River was found, is also not far away for the Thalia Point 5 site (Nagle 1978: 134; Neilsen 2006b: 32).

Once again, this indicates a strong cultural connection with the Labrador coast which contradicts Fitzhugh's (1972) arguments about this archaeological evidence representing new populations replacing existing ones or ones which had become extinct.

5.10.4 – The Moisie River Region

Stemmed points were recovered from sites on the Moisie River on the Québec Middle North Shore during the 1970s (Chevrier 1977). Most of these stemmed points were found in association with stone tools that appear to belong to the earlier Archaic Period. Level C of EbDj-2 is believed to have been occupied at around 1500 B.P., a similar time to the earliest evidence for use of the Ferguson Bay 1 site. Some of the material culture from that level of the EbDj-2 seems to be comparable to that from the Ferguson Bay 1 site as well. Two stemmed points and a number of biface fragments which appear to be stems were recovered from level C of EbDj-2, all of which were made of either quartzite or quartz. The tool forms are similar, although the raw materials used in their manufacture is different.

As mentioned in chapter 2, Chevrier (1977) saw some typological similarities between the material culture from the Orient phase of New York and that recovered from level C at EbDj-2 but was reluctant to argue for a close connection between these cultures because of temporal differences, geographical distance, as well as the fact that

the similarities in the stone tools are not overly convincing. The stemmed points and the broken stems from level C of EbDj-2 are comparable to the stemmed point and the broken stem from the Ferguson Bay 1 site as well as to the Lower North Shore assemblages. The material from Ashuanipi Lake is typologically more similar to the material culture from the Lower North Shore. The use of quartzite by the Moisie groups, and the Flèche Littorale and Petit Havre groups is interesting.

The Moisie River region is an area with great potential for helping us to understand the nature of the relationships between groups using the interior (such as those recognized in the archaeological record at Ferguson Bay) and those occupying the coast. It is a huge river which connects Ashuanipi Lake to the North Shore and it was used by aboriginal groups for thousands of years. In addition there appears to be some sort of a connection between the oldest known material culture from Ferguson Bay and that from level C of EbDj-2. The Ramah chert found in the more recently occupied level B of EbDj-2, and that recovered from the Ferguson Bay 1 site could also indicate a connection, and it certainly indicates that each of these components had some sort of a relationship (direct or indirect) with the coast of Labrador.

5.10.5 - The Wenopsk Complex

This culture was defined by Martijn and Rogers (1969) based on evidence from more than fifty sites in the Mistassini-Albanel Lakes region. This is the name they give to the precontact Amerindian groups who occupied that area from approximately 5500 B.P. up until the contact period at which point it is referred to as the Mistassini complex (Martijn and Rogers 1969: 348). Martijn and Rogers (1969) write that it seems like this complex was not affected by any major movements of people into the area – there are no abrupt changes in the artifact assemblages from this area throughout this very long period. It should be noted that the Wenopsk complex has not been radiocarbon dated (Denton and Pintal 2003).

There seems to have been contact between the Wenopsk complex and other groups which would have led to certain gradual changes in the archaeological record, for example changes in types of projectile points (Martijn and Rogers 1969: 347). There is strong evidence that the Wenopsk complex was in contact with groups of people in other regions since Mistassini quartzite which comes from the Colline Blanche ("white hill" – located in the Mistassini-Albanel region) "... was traded to the St. Lawerence River valley and regions even further to the south, where this stone seems to have been prized as exotic material from which to fashion grave goods" (Martjin and Rogers 1969: 347). It has also been found in sites in the Caniapiscau Region (Denton 1989), on the

Québec Lower North Shore (Pintal 1998; personal communication 2006), as well as in central Nova Scotia (Michael Deal, personal communication 2007).

Only the last phase of the Wenopsk complex, phase D, contains the stemmed points which are somewhat similar to points associated with the North West River phase points. None of the other phases have stemmed points in their assemblages. The estimated dates for this phase are approximately 1500-1000 years B.P. which is similar to the slightly older dates estimated for the North West River phase (1800-1400 B.P.). However, if the David Michelin component represents an earlier part of the North West River phase then the Hamilton Inlet culture is substantially older than phase D of the Wenopsk complex. The Flèche Littorale complex also appears to be older than phase D. This, once again, calls into question the argument that people from the west replaced Amerindian populations that had previously occupied Hamilton Inlet. Perhaps the people of the Wenopsk complex were influenced by people from the east.

Finally, Martijn and Rogers (1969) explain that the evidence for phase D is "... rather tenuous" (1969: 344), and that there are only two stemmed points, one of which is unfinished, that are associated with this phase, and which (along with ovate bifaces, a lanceolate knife and what is seen as general crudeness in stone tool manufacture) are a major reason that this complex is thought to be related to the North West River phase (Fitzhugh 1972; Tuck n.d.). These tools seem common in the assemblages from the

David Michelin site, the North West River phase as well as the Flèche Littorale, Petit Havre and Cow Head complexes in comparison.

5.10.6 - The Cow Head Complex

Until recently it was thought likely that the Cow Head complex (1900 – 1000 B.P.), a Recent Indian period complex of the Island of Newfoundland, was ancestral to the two other Recent Indian complexes of the Island – the Beaches complex (1800—800 B.P.) and the Little Lake complex (800 B.P. – contact period) (Hartery 2001; Hull 2002; Tuck n.d.). This complex is believed to be related to the Flèche Littorale, and Petit Havre complexes, as well as the North West River phase (Hartery 2001; Hull 2002; Teal 2001). The earliest evidence from the Ferguson Bay 1 site also seems related to the Cow Head complex (i.e. the projectile points, the linear flakes, the ovate biface fragments, as well as the radiocarbon dates are all similar). Evidence for this culture was first discovered at the Cow Head site on the western side of the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland by Tuck (1978) in the 1970s. At the time, cultural material was discovered which was different from artifacts that are associated with other recognized precontact cultures of Newfoundland. Radiocarbon dates from the site showed that the people who had made these tools were at the Cow Head site after Maritime Archaic groups and, at the time, it seemed like they were there before the other Recent period Amerindian cultures of the island. However, Hartery(2001) has recently argued that this complex is "...not part of

the early/late Newfoundland Recent Indian Continuum" (Hull 2002: 11). Hartery (2001) discusses the archaeological evidence concerning this culture in relation to the Cow Head site where work had previously been done by Tuck (1978), as well as in relation to her work at the Bird Cove site, an important Cow Head complex site on the western side of the great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland.

Prior to Hartery's (2001) work, this complex was dated to between approximately 2000 and 1600 B.P., however, in her thesis Hartery presents radiocarbon dates from a number of Cow Head complex sites which provide strong evidence that people of this culture were in Newfoundland until at least 1100 B.P. and possibly as late as around 995 +/- 85 B.P. (DAL 324) based on a date from the Cow Head site.

Hartery argues that people belonging to this complex were living on the Island at the same time that Beaches complex people were here and that the two groups had different cultural roots (2001). She notes similarities between the Cow Head complex and the Flèche Littoral and Petite Havre complexes of the Lower North Shore (such as the presence of stemmed points, *Pièces esquilleés,* and flaked knives which are tongue shaped – as well as increasing use of Newfoundland cherts after around 1500 BP and argues that the Cow Head complex developed out of Québec rather than Labrador (Hartery 2001). These complexes do seem to be closely related and the fact that the Lower North Shore complexes predate the Cow Head complex provides the basis for the argument that the Québec cultures are ancestral. Hartery also notes the similarities

between this complex and the Wenopsk complex and the North West River phase. For these reasons she argues that common ancestors from the west (Shield Archaic) could explain the similarities between these cultures (2001: 141-144).

At the end of her thesis, Hartery (2001) discusses the similarities between the Cow Head complex, the Flèche Littorale and the Petite Havre complexes (150-156). In this section she also discusses Pintal's (1998) three hypotheses about the origins of the two Lower North Shore complexes being discussed. On the Québec Lower North Shore the Maritime Archaic occupation was followed by the Ruisseau Manius complex (3500-2500 B.P.). Archaeological evidence suggests that there was a continuous occupation of this part of Québec by Amerindian groups from Maritime Archaic times up until the historic period. The situation in Newfoundland appears to have been somewhat different since there is very little evidence of Amerindian occupation of the Island from between approximately 3200 and 2000 B.P. (besides an Intermediate component at the Big Brook site on the Northern Peninsula which dates to approximately 2830 +/- 30 B.P. (Cal BP 3050-2850 BP) (Beta 171714) (Beaton 2004:91)).

There are, however, visible changes in the archaeological record on the Québec Lower North shore after the Ruisseau Manius complex – in particular, the use of stemmed points increases and the notched points that had previously been used by Amerindian groups in the area are not present in Flèche Littorale complex sites. Pintal (1998) offers three hypothesis for why these changes took place: 1) that new groups of

people associated with the Shield Archaic moved in from the west at this time; 2) a "territorial realignment" brought about by colonization of the Strait of Belle Isle by Paleo-eskimo groups between 2500-1000 B.P. which could have made it difficult for the Amerindian groups on the Lower North Shore to access the resources (such as lithic materials from Newfoundland and Labrador) that they had traditionally used. In response, Amerindian groups may have begun to rely more on local quartzites for manufacturing stone tools, and they may have begun to reorganize the relationships they had with other groups of people. They might have begun to interact more with groups to the west, and the use of the interior, or contact with people who were occupying interior regions may have become more important at this time as well. 3) The third hypothesis offered by Pintal is a mixture of the two just discussed. New people may have been moving into the area at this time, but these movements could have been fairly slow and small and the new people moving in could have mixed with the people who were already living in the area.

The changing situation on the Québec Lower North shore at around 2500 B.P. was likely complex and trying to explain it by complete population replacement seems far too simplistic. The second and third hypotheses offered by Pintal (1998) seem to me to be more valid, and Hartery (2001) sees the third hypothesis as being the most likely situation. She writes that "...this interpretation would certainly help explain the reason why in Newfoundland, the Cow Head complex seems to be a mixture of something new and the Maritime Archaic" (Hartery 2001: 153). There is also some evidence that this

was the case since although new point styles begin to be used at around 2500 B.P., other tool forms persist, such as large ovate scrapers and knives, and possibly very large bifaces, hammers and axes (Hartery 2001: 153; Pintal 1998: 142). Tuck wrote that "... Maritime Archaic bifaces of several forms – lanceolate, round-based, and bipointed – which are firmly dated to before 4000 years ago, reappear in almost identical form..." (Tuck n.d: 160) in Cow Head complex components. Iceberg chert was also used by Maritime Archaic groups and Intermediate Period groups of southern Labrador and later by the people of the Cow Head complex (Hartery 2001; Madden 1976; McGhee and Tuck 1975). Ramah chert is also present in small quantities in some Cow Head complex assemblages indicating a connection to Labrador (Teal 2001; Tuck n.d.).

Teal (2001) discusses evidence from the Gould site in Port au Choix on the western side of Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula. At that site new evidence about Cow Head complex tool types, features, settlement and subsistence patterns was found. Evidence of interaction between this complex and other Amerindian groups in the Northeast such as the Lower North Shore groups and the North West River phase (in the form of similar projectile point styles - which are, again, similar to those found at the Ferguson Bay 1 site) was also present. Pottery found at the Gould site seems to indicate a connection with Amerindians living in the Maritime provinces or possibly those groups living along the St. Lawerence River who were using ceramics during this time period. Teal (2001) also mentions that Dorset Paleoeskimo artifacts were found together with Cow Head complex material culture writing "...the presence of Dorset artifacts mixed in

amongst much of the Recent Indian material from the Gould site offers tangible evidence of Indian-Dorset interaction" (Teal 2001:111-112).

5.10.7 - Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition

There are some important differences between the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian tradition and the Amerindian cultures on the Québec Lower North Shore between 2500 and 1500 B.P., as well as with the Cow Head complex of Newfoundland. Recent Indian groups in Labrador relied heavily on Ramah chert in making their stone tools throughout the Recent period, while the early Recent Indians of Newfoundland used black and brown cherts from Newfoundland, which are coarse grained, as well as local rhyolites. The late Newfoundland Recent Indians (Little Passage complex) use fine grained cherts which are green, blue-green or grey-green in color. Lithic materials from Newfoundland and Labrador which were commonly used on the Lower North Shore prior to 2500 B.P. are found in much smaller amounts in that area between around 2500 and 1500 B.P. As was mentioned earlier, Pintal (1998) has suggested that this may have been because of the fact that Paleoeskimo groups were in the Strait of Belle Isle during this time period. Another important difference between the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians and the Amerindian groups living near the present day town of Blanc-Sablon between around 2500 and 1500 B.P., is the use of notched points by the Recent Indians of Newfoundland and Labrador as opposed to the stemmed points

(although stemmed points are found in late Recent Indian sites) which are seen in the Flèche Littorale, Petite Havre and Cow Head complexes (as well as the other cultures previously discussed). After around 1500 B.P., the use of lithic materials from Newfoundland and Labrador by the North Shore groups increases and by 1300-1100 B.P., these groups in Québec are using Newfoundland and Labrador lithic raw materials almost exclusively. By this point, there is a definite relationship between the groups of the Lower North Shore and those of Newfoundland and Labrador – this is visible in the archaeological record since the North Shore groups are now using lithics from Newfoundland and Labrador and by 1100 they are also making notched points. Stemmed points, as well as notched points, are found in Late Recent Indian period sites of Newfoundland and Labrador (Hull 2002: 39-48; Loring 1992; Pintal 1998: 201-202).

It is interesting that Pintal believes that the North Shore people of the Longue Pointe complex (1300-1100 B.P.) are related to the people who were in that area both before and after this time. He writes that the changes observed in the archaeological record happen because this is the same time that Paleoeskimo groups withdraw from the region. This coincides with the fact that the Ramah chert from the Ferguson Bay 1 site is associated with a hearth feature dated to around 1000 B.P.

There are a few other similarities between the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition and the complexes recognized in the archaeological record near Blanc-Sablon which should also be mentioned here. Similar hearth features, which are

sometimes circular, and other times elongated, or linear, and which have in some cases been interpreted as dwellings, are associated with these cultures. In addition, similar settlement and subsistence patterns are believed to have been used by these groups (Hull 2002; Loring 1992; Pintal 1998). Pottery has also been found on the coast of Labrador in Recent period sites (The Kamarsuk site (HbCj-1) in Voisey Bay and the Saddle Island West site in Southern Labrador (EkBc-16) (Loring 1992: 217; 280-281; Teal 2001: 104), on the Lower North Shore in several Late Prehistoric sites (Pintal 1998; Personal communication: 2006), and in the Gould site which is the Cow Head complex site in Port au Choix, Newfoundland (Teal 2001: 105). Pottery is very rare in these areas and could represent trade rather than the manufacture of ceramic materials by these groups (Loring 1992; Teal 2001). It could also be the result of marriage, for example, if a potter from somewhere else married into a group occupying one of these areas (Michael Deal, personal communication 2007). The fact that stemmed points, as well as side notched and corner notched points, are found in late Recent Indian sites could be seen as evidence that these people were descended from both early Recent Indian groups of Newfoundland and Labrador as well as people who used stemmed points such as the Lower North Shore groups and the Cow Head complex.

5.10.8 - Late Precontact Period Cultures of the Caniapiscau Region

David Denton (1989; 1994) discusses evidence concerning the late Precontact period in the Caniapiscau region, which is relatively close to Ashuanipi Lake. Between 1976 and 1979 around 315 archaeological sites were located in this area through work done by the Service d'Archéologie et Ethnologie, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Gouvernement du Québec. This archaeological research was carried out prior to the flooding of a large portion of the Caniapiscau River as part of the James Bay Project which involved the construction of a huge hydroelectric power system in that province (Denton 1989; Hanks 1983). Of the 315 archaeological sites, 89 of them had precontact or early contact period components on them. Before the area was flooded, 36 sites belonging to either the prehistoric or early contact period were surveyed and excavation also took place at a number of these sites.

Based on radiocarbon dates, the Caniapiscau area seems to have been occupied by Amerindian groups for the past 3500 years, although there is very little archaeological evidence for the period of time between approximately 2100 and 1700 B.P. The evidence for the period between 3500 and 2100 suggests that the area was used from time to time by small, highly mobile groups. Denton (1989) refers to the period from around 2000-300 B.P. as the Recent Prehistoric period, and it is this period that will be the focus of the next few paragraphs.

Denton (1989) explains that there appears to have been a degree of cultural uniformity throughout the Recent Prehistoric period in the Caniapiscau region. This is most visible archaeologically in terms of settlement patterns, and in particular, in the types of dwellings used by the Amerindian groups who occupied this area during these times. Structural remains have been inferred based on the shape and position of hearth features and the distribution of lithic materials in and around these features. In some cases large rocks have been found around the perimeter of these structural remains which were probably used to hold down tent walls (Denton 1989: 60-63).

There are basically two types of structures visible in the archaeological record in the Caniapiscau region: the first seems to have been a tipi-style dwelling and is inferred based on the presence of a round or oval shaped hearth and lithic debitage in and around the hearth. The debitage patterns associated with this type of structural remains suggest that this type of dwelling was usually between around four and seven meters across. The other type of structure seen in the archaeological record in this region is an elongated, or sub-rectangular dwelling which is associated with a linear hearth, or several hearths arranged in a line with associated lithic debitage. Most of these structures appear to have been between approximately 4 and 8 meters long, although one discovered at GdEl-4 which dates to this period is believed to have been between 10 and 12 meters in length, and the remains of one 32 m long "longhouse", which dates to the early historic period, was discovered at GaEj-1 (Denton 1989: 62-63).

As in other precontact sites in Québec, Newfoundland and Labrador (Denton 1989; Fitzhugh 1972; Loring 1992; Reader 1998) the elongated dwellings which are associated with linear heaths or multiple hearths in a line have been compared to similar structures which were used by historic Innu groups either as multi-family dwellings, or as "shaputuans". Shaputuans were also used historically for a type of ritual feast when caribou longbones were boiled and crushed and the marrow was then consumed (Reader 1998). While the ritual activity associated with dwellings like this during the historic period may not have taken place inside these precontact structures (Hull 2002: 25), the presence of these types of structural remains in many sites in Québec, and Newfoundland and Labrador is very interesting.

Both of the hearth types found in the archaeological record in the Caniapiscau area (round or oval and elongated) are found at the Ferguson Bay 1 site. Denton (1989) also explains that the rocks which make up the hearth features associated with the early historic period are not placed as tightly together as those of the Recent Precontact period. The hearths of the Recent precontact period also tend to be longer (Denton 1989:63-65). The features at Ferguson Bay conform to this pattern as well.

Quartz makes up most of the lithic material found in the Caniapiscau sites, however, exotic materials which are believed to have come from both east and west of the area are present in many sites. Ramah chert from Labrador, Mistassini Quartzite from central Québec, chert believed to have come from the Labrador Trough to the

east, and fine grained cherts which are believed to have come from the western part of the Québec-Labrador peninsula have been recovered from these sites. It should be noted that the proportions of exotic materials present in these sites change through time (Denton 1989: 65-67).

The stone tools recovered from these sites do not fit neatly into the established cultural units of Labrador and the Lower North Shore and it has been difficult to come up with a new classification for this area because so few diagnostic tools have been found. There are some similarities between the tools found in these sites and those of other cultures – once again, there appear to have been connections to the east and the west. Some tools resemble those associated with Labrador Recent Indian sites while others resemble tools of the Intermediate period from Hamilton Inlet. There are also tools that are similar to those known from La Grande River to the west, and others that look like material culture recovered from sites on Indian House Lake. The deep notches that are associated with the Recent Indian Tradition and the Strait of Belle Isle are not seen in the Caniapiscau region (though there are notched points), there is an absence of pottery, and concave based points are described as being characteristic of the area (Denton 1989: 69-72). The fact that concave based points are found in these sites is relevant here since one was found at Ferguson Bay 1. This could indicate a connection between the Caniapiscau groups and the people who used the Ferguson Bay site, although these tools are associated with the end of the precontact period in the Caniapiscau area while the one from FfDn-01 seems to have been made much earlier.

Square based bifaces, and large lanceolate bifaces, often made of Ramah chert, are similar to bifaces found in Early Labrador Recent Indian sites.

Denton (1989) explains that although some changes are seen in the archaeological record in the Caniapiscau region (such as between the early precontact and the Recent Precontact periods; or the change in the proportion of exotic raw material types used during the Recent period) which could be seen as representing new populations of people moving into the area, he feels that the evidence could not be "clearly and unambiguously" interpreted in that way. He points out that other researchers such as Fitzhugh (1972; 1978b) and Seguin (1985) have argued that new peoples moved into the Québec-Labrador peninsula around 1500 years ago. Denton (1989) however, sees cultural continuity in the evidence from this region from when it was first occupied and up until the historic period. He suggests that during the early prehistoric period the region may have been abandoned and then reoccupied many times. He also points out the significant fact that the earliest assemblages of the Recent Precontact seem to be most closely related to the Labrador coast. Ramah chert was found in the earliest Recent period sites, as well as in the early precontact period sites. Some components in these sites resemble archaeological assemblages to the west and south, others seem to be related to cultures in the east, and some sites have elements from the east and the west at the same time: for example, at GaEk-1 the types of stone tools resemble those of the Labrador Recent Indians, although some of the raw materials at the site are believed to have come from the Labrador trough to the east,

while others came from the Mistassini-Albanel area to the southwest (Denton 1989: 72-75).

Denton et al. (1981) suggest that the differences seen in the assemblages in the Caniapiscau area could represent "zones of interaction" (Denton et al. 1981: 305) between the ancestors of the Innu of the east and the Cree of the west in the past. However, he writes that we must be careful here since very little work has been done in the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula and so there is little comparative material. He goes on to suggest that the situation in the past was likely much more complex than this and writes that the people using the Caniapiscau region during the precontact period were very likely in contact with people in many different parts of this vast peninsula (Denton 1989: 74-75). Being in contact with people throughout this region would have allowed for a greater knowledge about such things as the availability of food resources. If times were difficult in one area, they might not be in another and the exchange of knowledge as well as resources (such as lithic raw materials, food, birch bark, etc.) by relatively small, mobile groups occupying a huge area is a risk reduction strategy that has been discussed in the archaeological literature pertaining to the Far Northeast before (Loring 1992; Renouf 1992). Denton argues that during hard times people could withdraw from areas where food might not be available to places where there was more resource diversity, or more resource stability, such as the coast of Labrador, or the Québec North Shore (1989: 74-75). This is similar to arguments made by Loring (1992) about contact over vast areas during the Recent Indian period in

Labrador. He refers to a "colloquium of cultures in the Far Northeast" (1992:488) and he uses the wide distribution of Ramah chert throughout this region to effectively argue against the existence of rigid territorial boundaries in this area during this time period.

Finally, Denton (1989: 74-75) writes that the similarities of the inferred dwellings, the hearth features, the presence of sites from the same time period which have materials derived from exchange systems throughout the whole peninsula, as well as the fact that aboriginal groups were dispersed throughout this area historically all point to continuity. He suggests that the diversity seen in the Caniapiscau assemblages is there because of "localization" of groups which would be forming and dispersing continuously (Denton 1989: 74-75).

5.11 - Chapter Summary

My interpretations of the data from FfDn-01 were presented in this chapter. The possible relationships between the people represented in the archaeological record at the site, and those recognized in the archaeological record throughout the Far Northeast were also explored. Evidence suggests that the earliest people known to have occupied the Ferguson Bay 1 site were related to the people of the Flèche Littorale and Petit Havre complexes which were defined by Pintal (1998) on the Québec Lower North Shore. They also appear to have been related to the people of the Intermediate period North West River phase, which was defined by Fitzhugh (1972) in Hamilton Inlet,

as well as the people of the Cow Head complex and groups who occupied the Moisie River area at a similar time period. The presence of Ramah chert, and a date of 1010 +/- 100 B.P. (Beta 2313329) from Test Pit 5S demonstrates a connection with the coast of Labrador at that time. Historic period evidence from the site is clearly related to Innu use of the area. The fact that this exact spot was repeatedly occupied throughout the last 1600 years, the fact that Feature 1 was definitely used more than once (and that Feature 2 was probably used more than once), and the fact that close to 100% of the lithics found in all precontact components of the site were from the Labrador trough, are all suggestive of cultural continuity in this area.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

In this thesis, new archaeological information from the Ferguson Bay 1 site, which is located in the deep interior of western Labrador has been presented. This research provides valuable information concerning precontact Aboriginal culture, cultural relationships, and land use in the Labrador interior. This is very important since the current understanding of the cultural history of Labrador is largely based on coastal research.

The first chapter provides an introduction to this site and also serves to outline and briefly summarize the chapters that follow. The previous research that has been done in other parts of the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula is discussed in chapter 2 which also makes it clear that further investigation is needed in interior Labrador - a huge region which has received less archaeological attention than coastal regions up to this point. That chapter provides a context in which the data from the Ferguson Bay 1 site can be meaningfully interpreted. Although far more work has been done in the Québec interior, the cultural affiliations of the precontact groups who occupied that region have still not been proven beyond all doubt (McCaffrey 2007) and so additional research is important in that province as well. In chapter 3, the present site environment and the environmental history of the region are discussed. The data collected through field work at FfDn-01 during the 2005 and 2006 summer field seasons is presented in chapter 4, and this information is interpreted in chapter 5. The meaning

of the evidence from the Ferguson Bay 1 site is discussed in relation to the other precontact Amerindian cultures recognized in the archaeological record in Labrador, Newfoundland and Québec in the fifth chapter as well.

At this point I would like to return to the research questions that I was asking at the beginning of this project : 1) when was the Ferguson Bay 1 site used; 2) how was it used; 3) who used it. Radiocarbon dates have shown that the site was used as at least as early as approximately 1600 B.P. and that it has been used more or less continuously since then. Based on the evidence it seems that this was a habitation site that was probably used for relatively short periods of time, perhaps as part of a travel route. The nearly exclusive use of fine grained cherts from the Labrador Trough suggests that these people were either acquiring these lithic resources directly from their sources, or they were getting them through trade. It seems likely that they would have been quarrying these materials themselves considering the close proximity of chert outcrops in areas just to the north (such as Menihek Lake). Two diagnostic stone tools recovered from near Feature 2 are similar to projectile points from the Québec Lower North Shore belonging to the Flèche Littorale and Petit Havre complexes. The archaeological evidence for the most recent occupations of the site attests to Innu use of the area during the historic period.

Archaeological evidence suggests that there have been long distance contacts between groups living in the Far Northeast during the past 2000 years, however, the

occupation of coastal regions, and in particular the Strait of Belle Isle, by Paleoeskimo groups seems to have affected Amerindian contacts substantially (Pintal 1998). From approximately 2500 – 1100 B.P. there appears to have been less contact between Amerindian groups of the Québec Lower North Shore and the coast of Labrador than there had been during previous centuries. During this period, there are indications that the people of the Lower North Shore were in contact with people living to the west and differences are seen in the archaeological record between the cultures of the Lower North Shore, and those of Labrador. Later on there are groups living in Newfoundland – some (the Cow Head complex) with material culture that resembles that from the Lower North Shore, and other groups (the Beaches and Little Passage complexes) whose material culture suggests a close relationship with the people of the Labrador coast (Daniel Rattle and Point Revenge complexes). Hull (2002) suggests referring to the latter groups as early and late Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians respectively. Late precontact period evidence from the interior - from the Caniapiscau region, from Indian House Lake, from Hamilton Inlet, as well as from the Ferguson Bay 1 site - suggests that these groups were in contact with other people living in every direction. The earliest evidence from the Ferguson Bay 1 site most closely resembles that from the Lower North Shore during the period when Paleoeskimo groups were in the Strait of Belle Isle region. When Paleoeskimo groups were no longer occupying that area after around 1100 B.P., the contact between the Lower North Shore and Labrador and Newfoundland

appears to have increased to the point where the material culture found in each of these areas is nearly identical once again (Pintal 1998; Hull 2002).

In Hamilton Inlet, on the central coast of Labrador, in the Strait of Belle Isle, on the Island of Newfoundland, and even in central Québec, evidence of people who used notched points is found very close (in both time and space) to evidence of people who used stemmed points. It has been argued that this represents new populations moving into these regions – in Hamilton Inlet this evidence has even been interpreted as new people completely replacing the people who had previously occupied that region. Several researchers have recently argued that late precontact period Amerindian groups in Labrador, Newfoundland, Québec and the Maritime Provinces, must have had many contacts with people who were living great distances away (Denton 1989; Loring 1992; Pintal 1998; Renouf 1999; Teal 2001). Various groups throughout this (or these) "sphere(s) of interaction" must have been related to, had relationships with, or had contact (direct or indirect) with other groups in such a network. Though there must also have been variations and distinctions between the groups involved. Groups living on opposite sides of a sphere of interaction could exhibit many differences although they could still have strong relationships (i.e. two different groups might have used very different styles of tools, however, it might still have been completely normal for a member from one of these groups to marry into the other group). It also seems likely that groups living in particularly remote areas would have eventually developed distinctive traits even though they might still be closely related to (or have close ties to)

many groups outside their immediate location. It is also entirely possible that nomadic peoples traveled over vast distances and across what we would see as "territorial boundaries".

Although there are differences in lithic technologies of the Amerindian peoples occupying the Lower North Shore between approximately 2500 and 1100 B.P. and those Amerindian groups living on the coast of Labrador during this same period, it is possible that all of these people had some common roots in the Maritime Archaic tradition (Hartery 2001; Pintal 1998; Tuck n.d.). From around 2500 – 1100 B.P. archaeological evidence suggests that Lower North Shore groups were readjusting their relationships with other groups in the Far Northeast and there appears to have been increased contact with groups living to the west at this time. Pintal (1998) presents three hypotheses about what may have happened during this period – the people living near Blanc-Sablon may have been replaced by new populations moving into the area; alternatively, the fact that Paleoeskimo groups were living in the area between approximately 2500 B.P. – 1100 B.P. could have caused the Lower North Shore Amerindian groups to have less access to traditional lithic materials which could have led to an increased reliance on local quartzites which would have affected their lithic technology. In addition, Pintal (1998) argues that the occupation of this area by Paleoeskimos led to the "territorial realignment" mentioned above. Pintal's third hypothesis is a mixture of the two just described – some population movement and outside influence, as well as continued use of the area by people who had previously

been living there. Complete population replacement seems to be the least likely scenario and either of the two other hypotheses imply a relationship between the Lower North Shore groups, the peoples who had lived in the area prior to 2500 B.P. (who were related to the groups living in Labrador as well), the most recent Precontact Amerindian groups in the area, as well as the historic Innu groups whose descendants continue to live in the area today. The archaeological record shows that these cultures changed through time – enough for researchers to suggest the possibility of complete population replacement at certain times (i.e. 2500 B.P.). The point I am trying to make here is that although the earliest material culture from Ferguson Bay 1, that from the North Shore from the same time period (as well as the North West River phase and the Cow Head complex) may be different from that of the Labrador coast from around 2500 – 1100, these groups may still have had at least some common ancestry, and it is likely that they are ancestral to the historic Amerindian groups who occupied these areas, as well as the Innu who continue to live in Labrador and Québec today.

The other possibility is that the different point styles from the Ferguson Bay 1 site represent new populations of Shield Archaic groups moving in from the west as Fitzhugh (1972) has suggested for the North West River phase of Hamilton Inlet, and as Hartery (2001) has suggested for the Cow Head complex of Newfoundland. Certainly, the situation leading up to the use of the Ferguson Bay 1 site at around 1600 B.P. was complex and probably involved new people moving into western Labrador as well as people who were already there. In any case, groups who appear to have been closely

related to the people who used the Ferguson Bay 1 site had been living in far eastern Québec and central Labrador for approximately 1000 years before the earliest dates we currently have from Ashuanipi Lake in western Labrador.

What is currently known about the Ferguson Bay 1 site so far is one small piece of an immense jig-saw puzzle. Many pieces of this puzzle remain to be seen although archaeological activity in the Labrador interior is increasing. The evidence from FfDn-01 does suggest continuous use of the area by related peoples since the earliest evidence known from the site has been found in the exact same part of the site where evidence for more recent occupations has been found. The use of the same site, in a similar manner by groups who were using the same lithic materials from sources located more than 100 kilometers away also suggests cultural continuity at the site. In addition, flakes of chert which came from the Labrador Trough were found mixed together with deepest historic period cultural material, which is certainly related to the historic use of the area by Innu groups. The reuse of hearth features is also suggestive of cultural continuity. The fact that a stemmed point, and a concave-based point were found in association with the earliest evidence from the site is interesting since in other parts of Labrador side notched and corner-notched points are associated with Recent period Amerindian groups. I believe that these points show some of the diversity that must have existed amongst the peoples living throughout the Far Northeast. Although people appear to have had vast networks of contact and communication there must have been some regional cultural variation. Perhaps the movement of Paleoeskimo groups into the Strait

of Belle Isle area led to the development of two distinct but still closely related Recent Indian period (or Late Precontact period) populations – the Lower North Shore, North West River and Cow Head complex groups (who the Ferguson Bay 1 people seem to have been most closely related to) on the one side, and the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian groups on the other. By around 1200 B.P. the differences between these populations become much less apparent – as they had been prior to 2500 B.P. as well (Pintal 1998; Hull 2002). The presence of Ramah chert in a hearth feature at the Ferguson Bay 1 site which is dated to 1010 +/- 100 B.P. (Beta 2313329) demonstrates a connection between far western Labrador and the Recent period Amerindian groups of the Labrador coast.

Additional research at the Ferguson Bay 1 site, as well as other parts of Ashuanipi Lake, and other areas such as Menihek Lake, and the Moisie River, will undoubtedly provide a much better picture of how the information from FfDn-01 fits into the prehistory of the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Additional research in those areas will also undoubtedly result in a much greater understanding of the prehistory of Labrador and Québec in general.

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Plates

Plate 1: Bifacial Tools from Area A

a: concave based point
b: stemmed point
c: base of stemmed point
d-e: bifaces
f-h: biface tips
i: proximal portion of ovate biface
j-k: biface base fragments

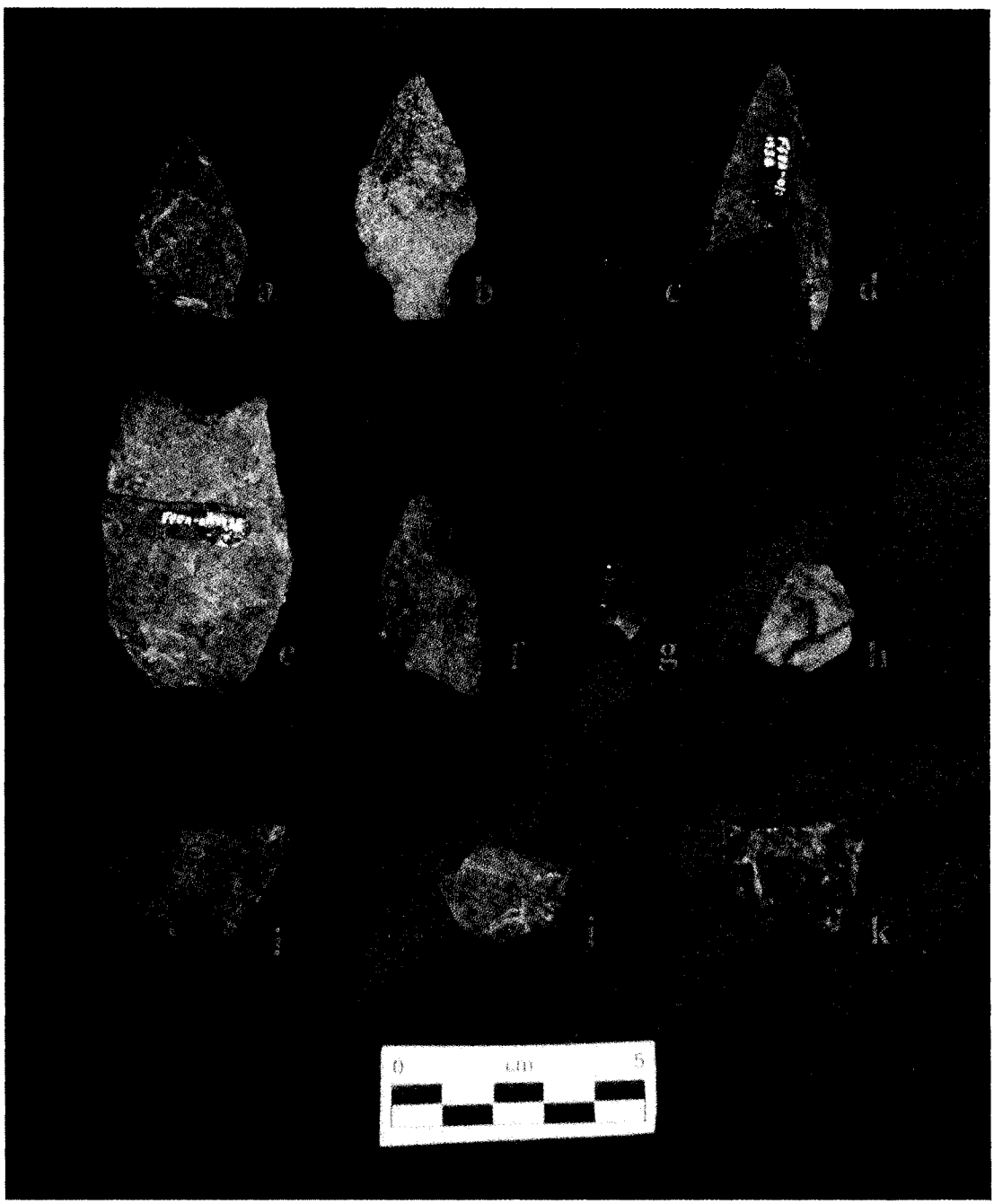
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Plate 2: Unifacial Tools from Area A

a: unifacial tool made on black chert from Feature 1
b: unifacial tool made on grey chert from Feature 2

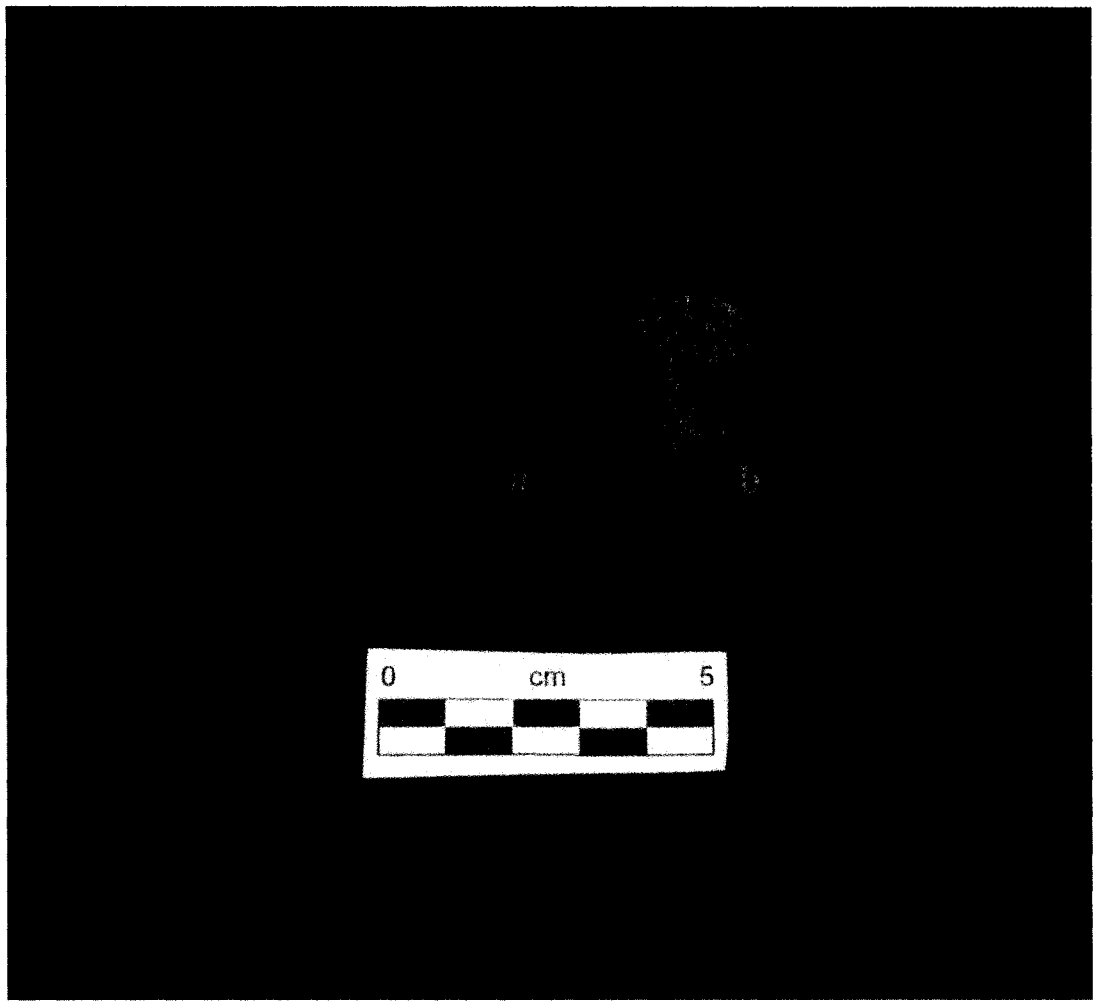
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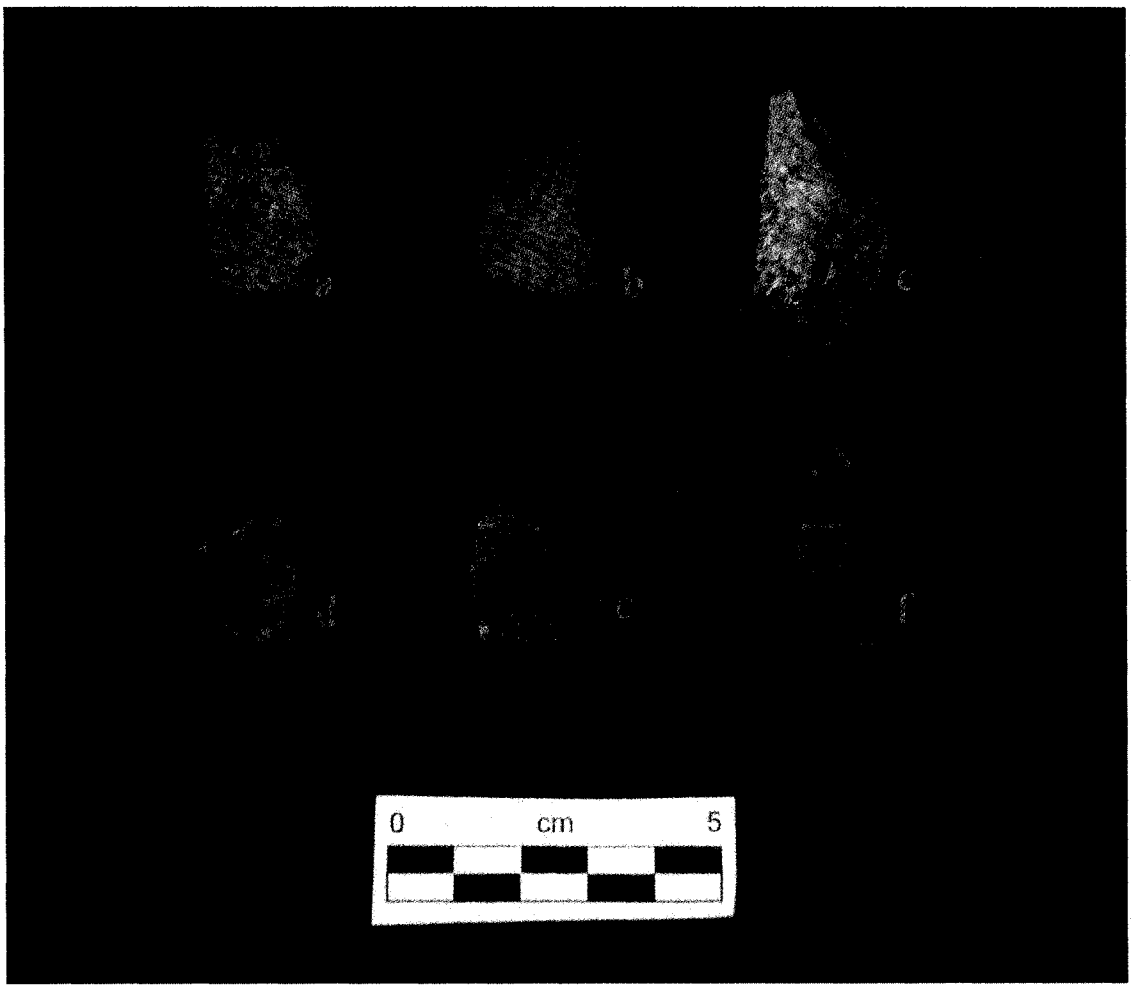
Plate 3: Retouched Flakes from Area A
a: retouched flake with notch
b-c: retouched flakes
d: notched flake
e-f: retouched flakes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cm
5

Plate 4: Blade-like Flakes from Area A

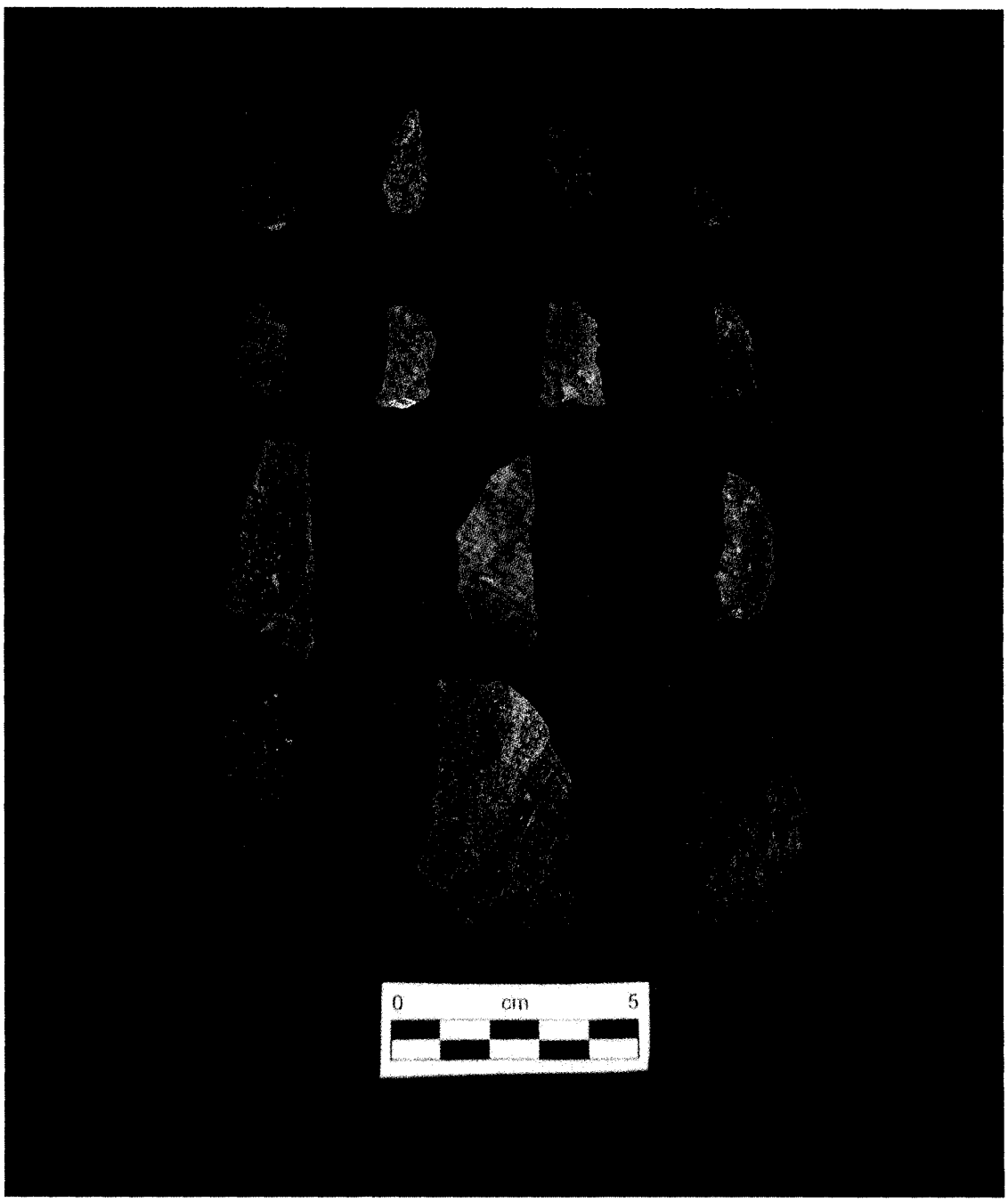
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Plate 5: Historic Artifacts A
a: Snowshoe needle
b: 40-44 caliber bullet shell
c: Dominion shotgun shell headstamp
d: nail
e: melted glass
f: leather

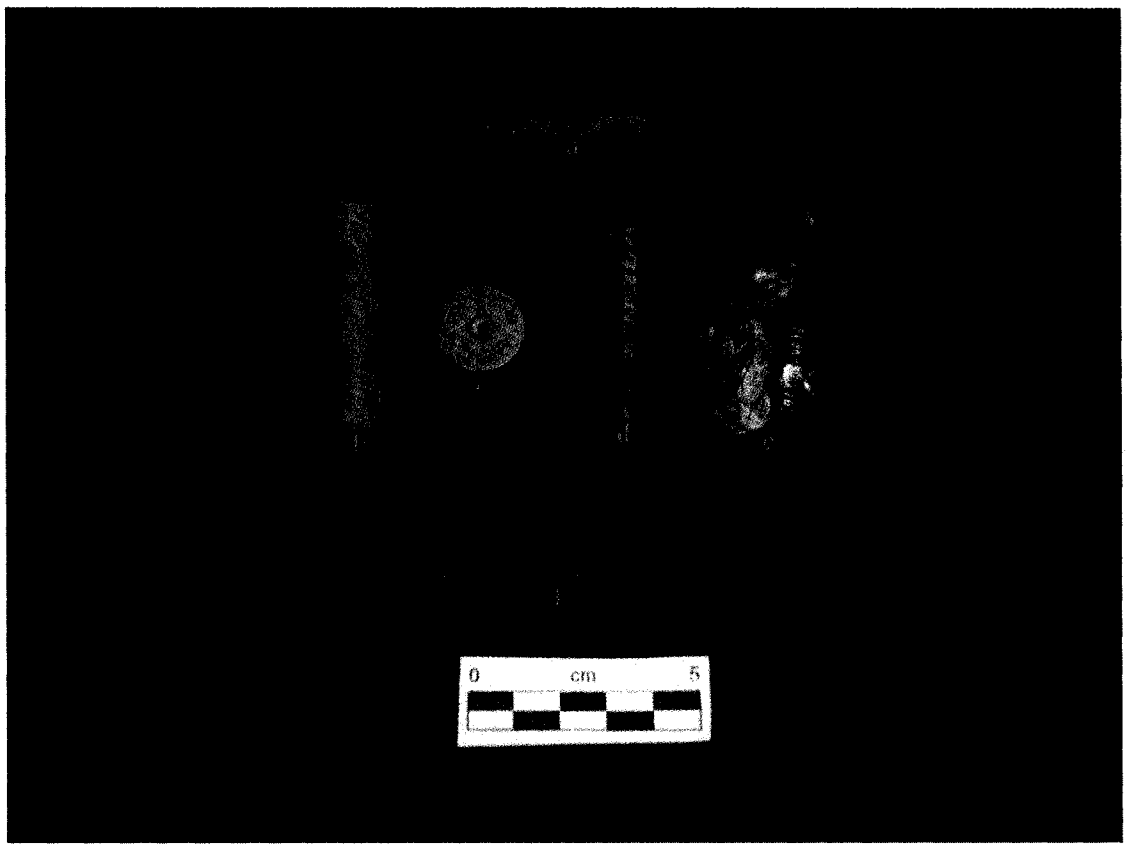
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Plate 6: Historic Artifacts B
a: milk-white glass bead
b-c: tiny blue beads
d: bone button
e-f: glass fragments with flake-like characteristics

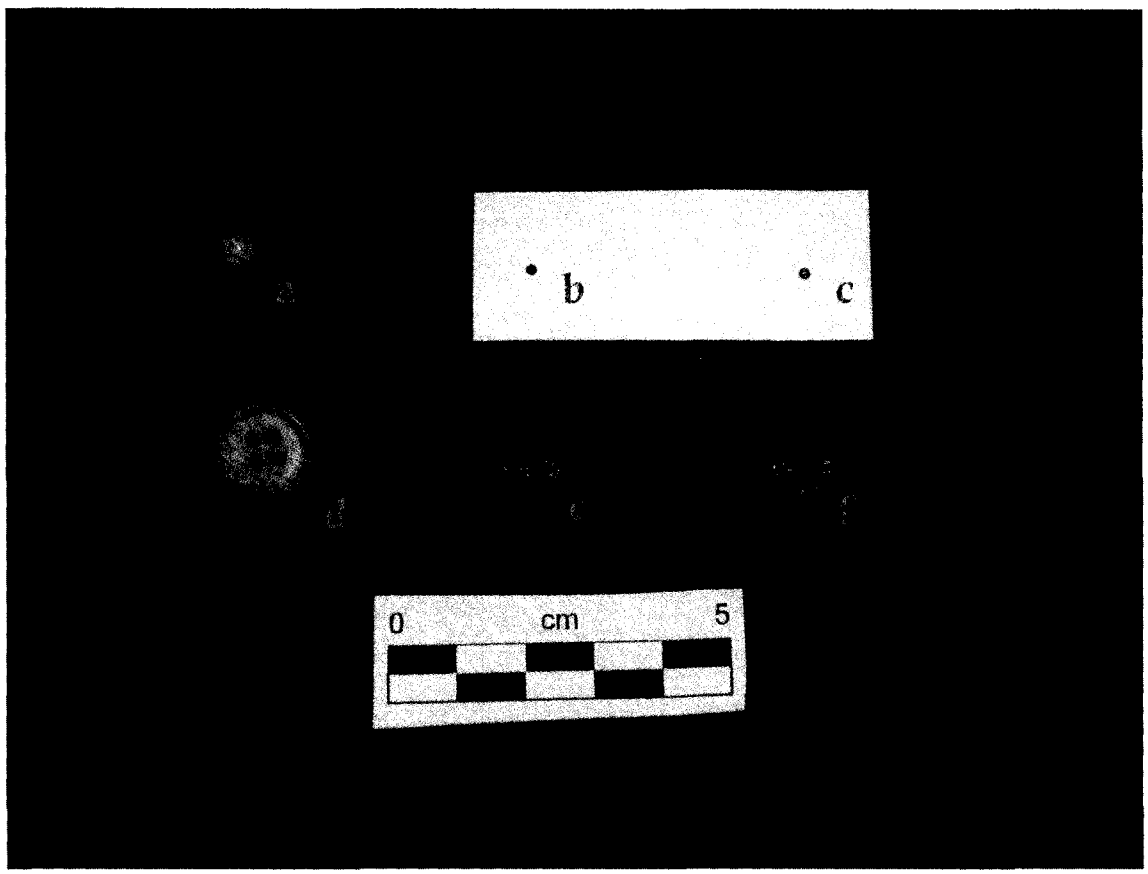

b
c
0
cm
5

Plate 7: Excavation Area A, View Grid South

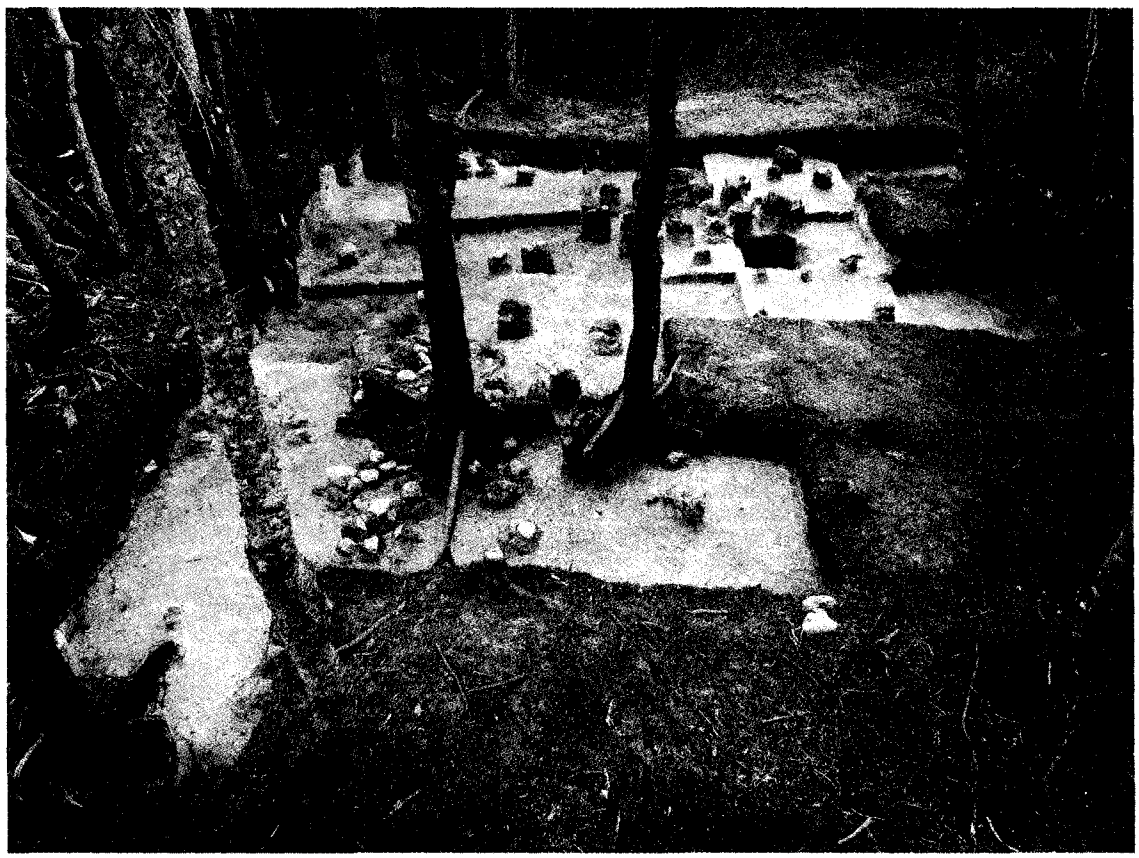


Plate 8: Feature 1,
Prior to the Excavation of
Unit N1E2,
View Grid North

Plate 9: Feature 1
Limit of Excavation,
View Grid North

Plate 10: Feature 2
Limit of Excavation,
View Grid South

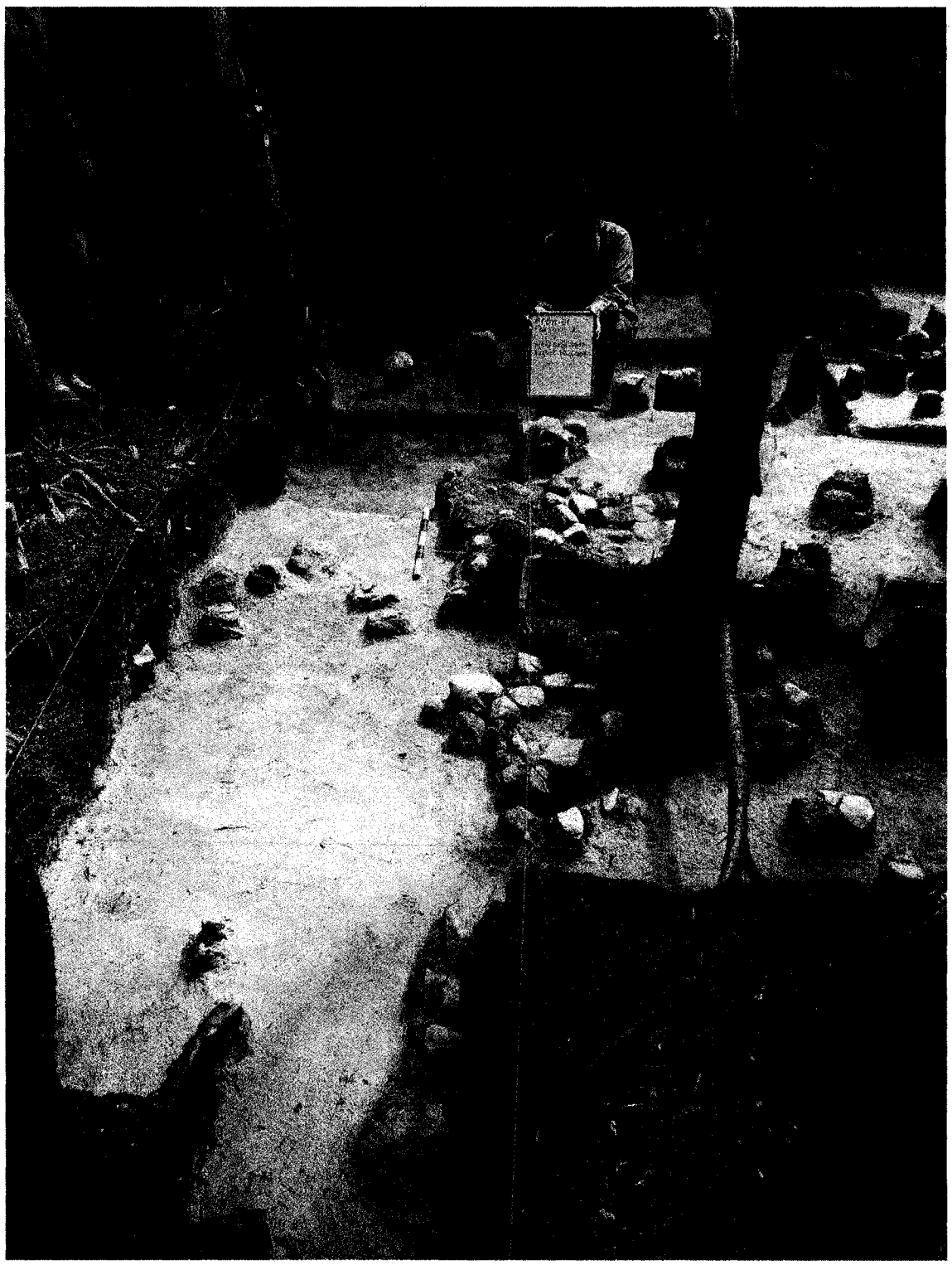


**Plate 11: Test Pit 5S,
Showing Feature 3,
View Grid North**

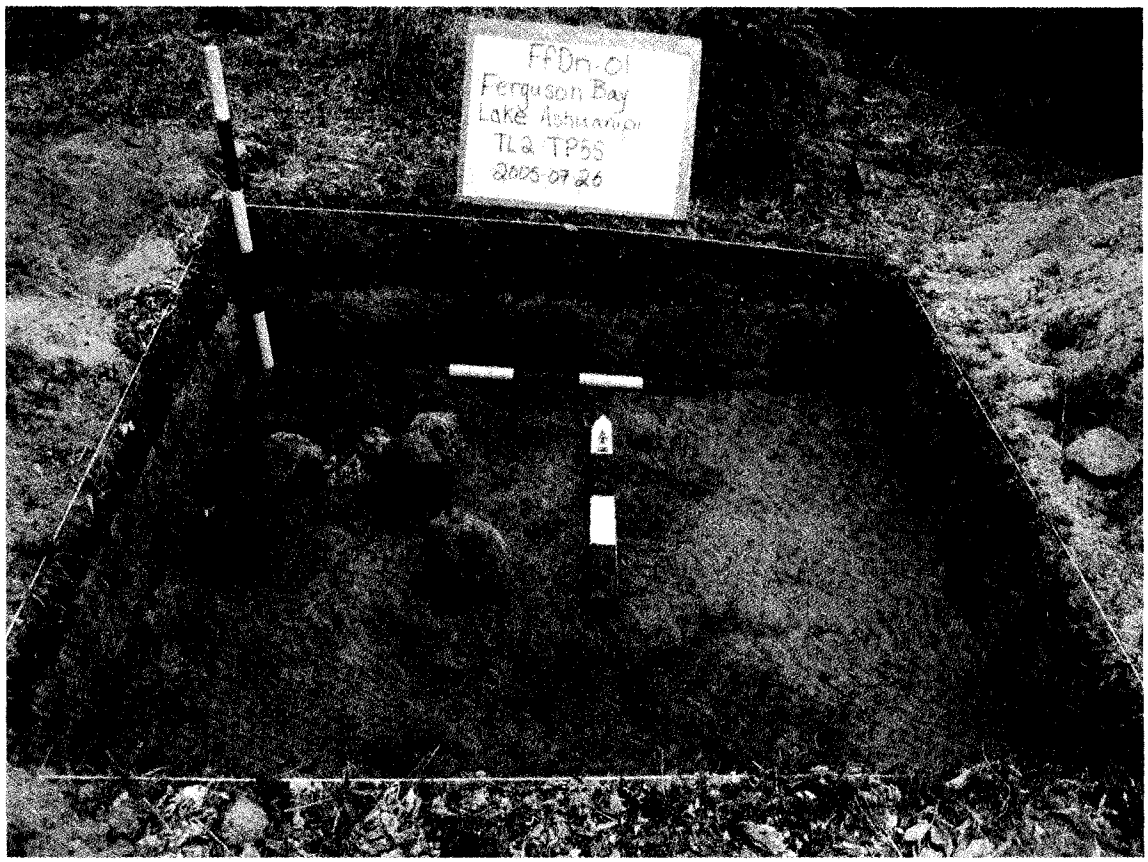
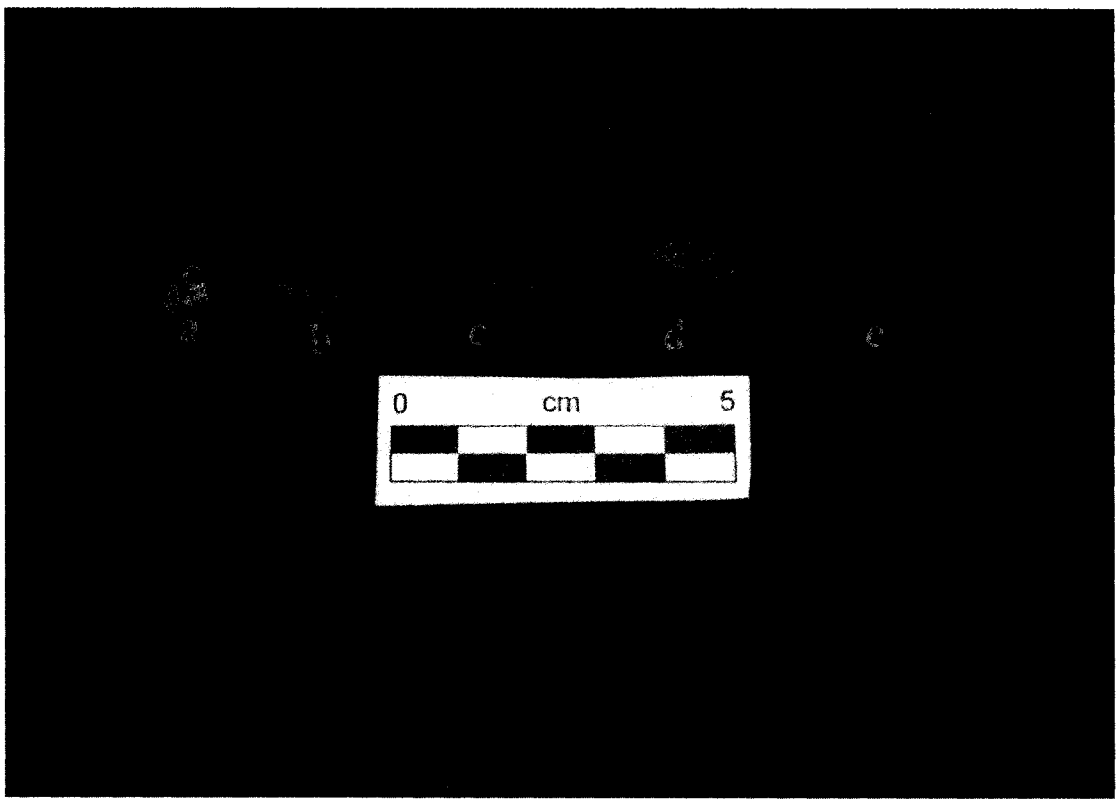


Photo: courtesy of Scott Neilsen

Plate 12: Test Pit 5S Artifacts
a: tip of Ramah chert biface
d-g: biface fragments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cm
5