

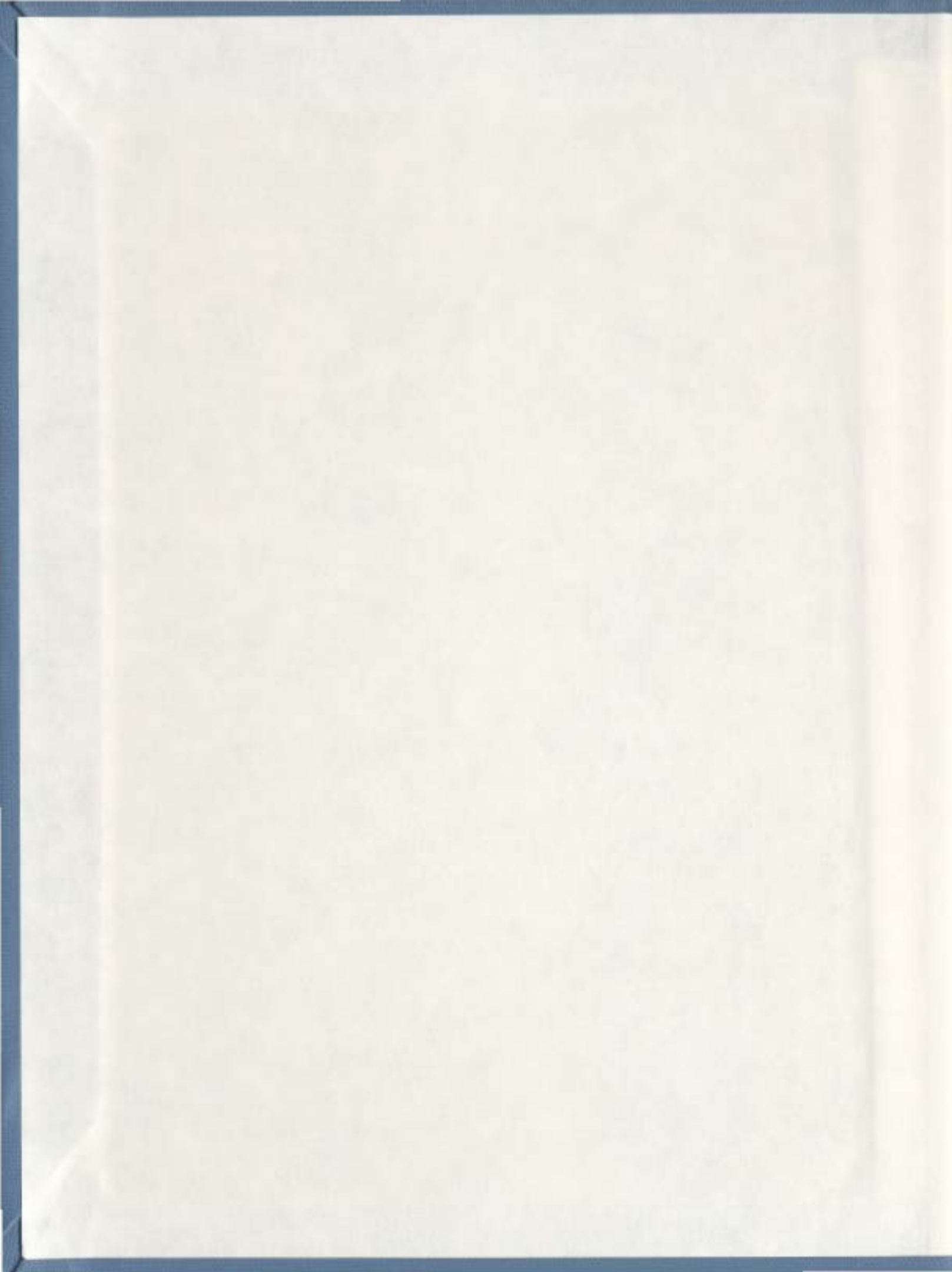
INTERMEDIATE INDIANS:
THE VIEW FROM USHPITUN 2 AND PMIUSIK^{U1}

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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SCOTT W. NEILSEN



**Intermediate Indians:
The View From Ushpitun 2 and Pmiusik^u 1**

By

© Scott W. Neilsen

A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for a degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the Amerindian population inhabiting Labrador during the Intermediate Period, between ca. 3500 and 1800 years ago. These Amerindians, Intermediate Indians in the archaeological lexicon of Newfoundland and Labrador, are examined in detail. The original, divisive, culture-history is critically summarized; circumstantial data collected since 1978 are itemized, and the results of excavation at new Intermediate Indian sites, Ushpitun 2 and Pmiusik^u 1, are detailed. As a result, problems within the thirty-year-old culture-history are recognized. A taxonomic refinement is undertaken and a simplified, inclusive, version of Intermediate Indian culture-history is offered.

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Chapter One

Intermediate Indians: Introduction and Overview

Introduction

In Labrador (Figure 1) archaeologists have constructed a long history of Amerindian tenure. Beginning in southern Labrador some 9,000 years ago, and extending towards the present this includes the Labrador and Maritime Archaic Indians, the Intermediate Indians, the Recent Indians and the Innu. Of these, Intermediate Indians are the least understood.

Interpretations associated with the Intermediate Indian manifestation, from ca. 3500 to 2000 BP, are plagued with problems. Many of the sites and artifacts were recovered in exposed locations along the coast and rivers/lakes of the interior and therefore lack strong provenience. Many of the more recently located sites have been recorded in the pursuit of other goals and have not undergone in-depth assessment. Older sites, now known for over thirty years, have not been re-assessed in light of the more recent recoveries.

As a result of these oversights Intermediate Indian culture-history has become stale and is in dire need of re-assessment. It is for this reason that the following project was undertaken.

Project Summary and Objectives

Euinuat Mista-Shipu Archaeology Project (EMSAP) is the name proposed for this research project by Jodie Ashini, an Innu crewmember. It is an Innu term that refers to the mouth of the Churchill River, the location of the sites excavated.

EMSAP had two primary goals: 1) the critical assessment and possible refinement of Intermediate Indian culture-history, including taxonomic classifications; and 2) the excavation, analysis and description of archaeology sites Ushpitun 2 (FhCb-O4) and Pmiusik^u 1 (FhCc-O1), two Intermediate Indian sites in Happy Valley – Goose Bay (Figure 1), within the framework of the refined culture-history.



Figure 1 – Project Setting

The methodological approach designed to accomplish these goals included three primary tasks: (1) documentary research, (2) fieldwork, and (3) data analysis. Research began in September 2003, and was on-going through 2005. It included a critical review of published academic papers and applicable unpublished consulting reports, from Labrador, Québec, the Maritimes and New England. As a result of this task a preliminary revision of Intermediate Indian culture-history was formed and the possibility of additional refinements was noted.

Fieldwork took place at FhCc-01 and FhCb-04 during July and August 2004. Testing, excavation and the collection of micromorphological samples were undertaken at each of FhCb-04 and FhCc-01. The recovered material was catalogued, labelled and described over fall 2004 and winter 2005. Description of the lithic assemblage was formed through macroscopic analysis and the micromorphological samples were described through thin section techniques.

During analysis conclusions relating to site function, group mobility, interaction and cultural-history were reached. Site characteristics and assemblages from other Intermediate Indian sites were also reviewed. Trends and variances noted during this review were considered in conjunction with results of the documentary and field research and are reflected in the proposed culture-history revision.

Thesis Outline

The first section of Chapter 2 includes a history of Intermediate Indian research; including the leading researchers, their geographical focus and major contributions. The second section of Chapter 2 moves beyond the researchers to focus on the Intermediate Indian culture-history they constructed. The various cultural units are described, the strengths and weaknesses of each are identified, and a preliminary revision of Intermediate Indian research, based solely the documentary review, is proposed.

Chapter 3 focuses at the site level, presenting results of excavation for both FhCb-O4 and FhCc-O1. The existing environment, paleo-environment, artifact assemblage and site features are described and site functions are inferred. Beyond the locale, these individual site descriptions are representative of long-term developments and wider spheres of interaction. When considered in conjunction with the micromorphological and paleo-environmental data the site characteristics suggest additional possibilities within Intermediate Indian culture-history; and result in the secondary revisions proposed at the end of Chapter 3.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 4) summarizes culture-history revisions made in the preceding two and evaluates the revised cultural units in light of traditional culture-history classifications. One last terminology revision is proposed and a new Intermediate Indian culture-history is described. In conclusion I call for archaeologists to be more stringent in the construction of culture-history, especially as it relates to the terminology we employ.

Chapter Two

Intermediate Indians: History of Research and Culture-History Background

Introduction

This chapter is the foundation for the remainder of the thesis. A history of research situates the Intermediate period, and Intermediate Indians within it, within the archaeological heritage of the far Northeast. Many of the most influential avocational and academic archaeologists in the region have left an imprint on Intermediate Indian culture-history either directly or indirectly; their regions of geographic focus have unintentionally divided the culture-history of the period into two separate stories.

Intermediate Indians in southern Labrador are described as part of a long continuum of Amerindians, beginning with the first Archaic period settlers sometime around 8500 BP and continuing into the Contact period as the Beothuk and modern day Innu populations (McGhee and Tuck 1975; Tuck 1975). Contrary to this, in central and northern Labrador there is recognized a pattern of Amerindian immigration and emigration (Fitzhugh 1972, 1975a), beginning with the disappearance of the Labrador Archaic and culminating with the appearance of the Recent period Daniel Rattle complex (recognized as direct ancestors of Labrador Innu) (Loring 1988, 1992).

The taxonomic summary provides the background for much of what comes in the following chapters. Each Intermediate Indian culture-history unit is summarized (including defining characteristics such as age range, assemblage

traits, lithic assemblage and geographic distribution), and its history of research is presented. The strengths and weaknesses evident within the units, as originally constructed, are identified and avenues for refinement are previewed.

History of Research

Following Albert Dekin's (1978) summary of Arctic research I have divided the history of Labrador research, specifically that related to Intermediate Indians, into periods. These are not steadfast categories without crossover or overlap, but I have found them useful for organizing the descriptions of Intermediate Indian research in Labrador. For the most part I have stuck with the categories devised by Dekin, but as his article was published in 1978 I have had to categorize the twenty-six years since (Table 1).

Table 1: Archaeological Research Relating to Intermediate Indians in Labrador

Period	Duration	Key Contributors
Expeditions and Pioneers	1910–1949	Strong
Chronologists and Prehistorians	1949–1968	Byers and Harp
Chronologists and Archaeologists	1968–1978	Fitzhugh, Tuck, McGhee, Wright, Madden, and Nagle
The Great Hiatus	1978–1997	Cox, Loring, Stopp, McCaffrey and Hood
Consultants and Archaeologists	1997–2005	Jacques Whitford Environmental Ltd., Schwarz, Loring, Rankin, and Neilsen

Expeditions and Pioneers (1910–1949)

At this time North Americans were realizing, to some degree, the antiquity of indigenous populations inhabiting North America at the time of contact (Trigger 1989), and archaeology in Labrador was becoming an intentional and more frequent occurrence. Prior to this the majority of pre-contact history in Labrador was known through happenstance. The majority of artifacts were encountered by

private collectors and expedition scientists working at other goals (e.g. natural history). As archaeological resources accumulated throughout Labrador and the far Northeast, the culture-history of the region began to be constructed, and it became necessary to interpret new finds within the newly emerging framework.

With this in mind Strong's (1930) article *A Stone Culture from Northern Labrador and its Relation to the Eskimo Like Cultures of the Northeast* set out the argument that there was an Amerindian population of some antiquity inhabiting northern Labrador by the same time as the already recognized Paleo-Eskimo populations. At this time the considerable antiquity of these "Eskimo-like" Amerindians was not known; but today, under the broad stroke of the Maritime Archaic tradition they are known to extend back at least as far as 8,000 years in Labrador (Fitzhugh 1978; McGhee and Tuck 1975; Tuck 1975, 1976).

What Strong did not know was that his artifact collections included evidence of other Amerindian manifestations, which today are considered to be associated with the Intermediate period. In fact, some of the artifacts published by Strong (1930:132), and provided to him by Jim Saunders of Davis Inlet, were collected from a site on Tunungayualok Island (Figure 2) (Fitzhugh 1976) that is now considered to be one of the defining sites of the Intermediate Indian Saunders complex (3500–2800 BP) (Nagle 1978).

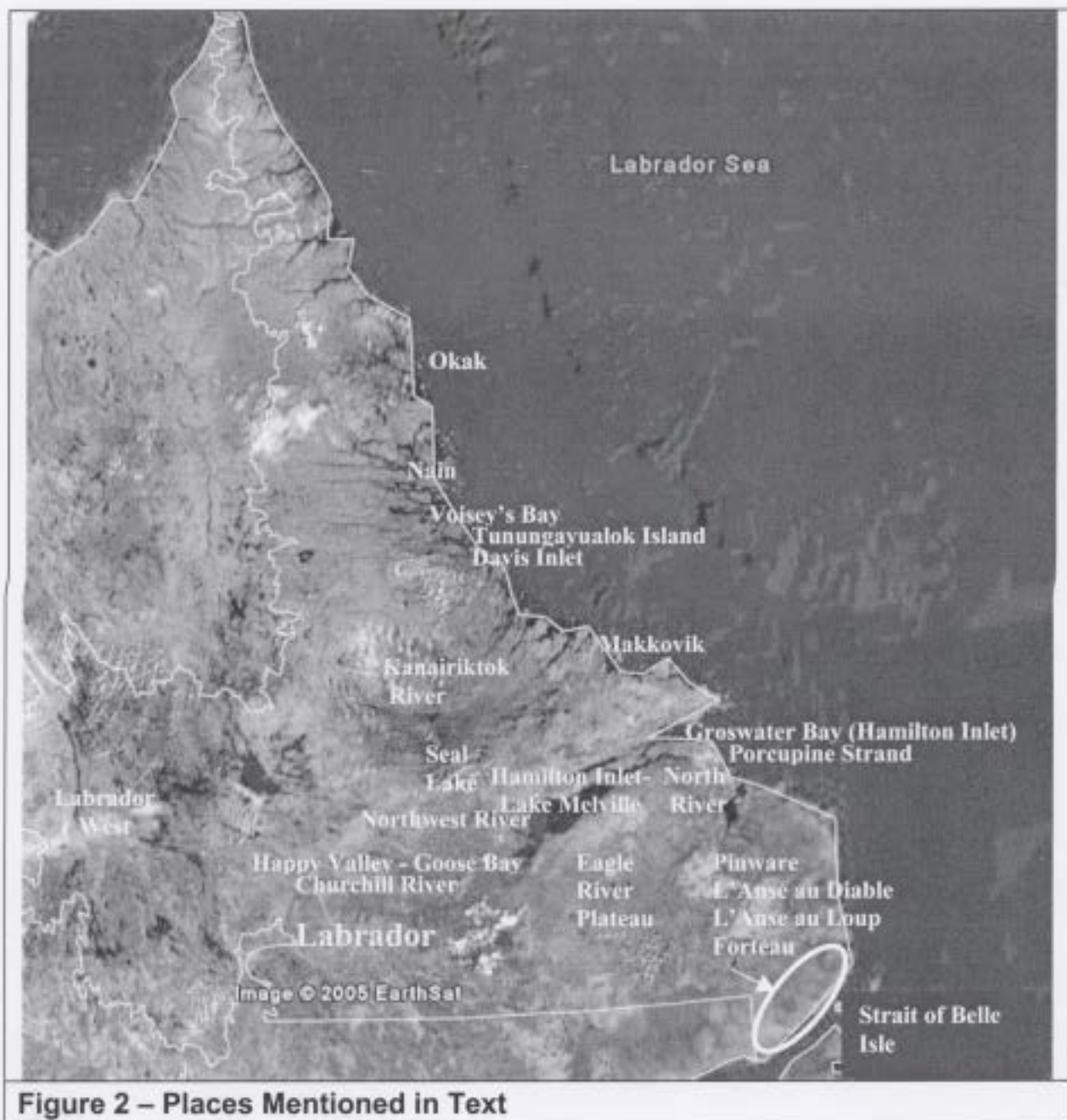


Figure 2 – Places Mentioned in Text

Chronologists and Prehistorians (1949–1968)

With the culture-history approach becoming firmly situated within a growing body of archaeological theory (Trigger 1989), Expeditions and Pioneers gave way to Chronologists and Prehistorians. It was no longer good enough to collect artifacts and publish their descriptions. An attempt to explain further the artifacts collected with reference to the wider body of archaeological knowledge was now a requirement. As such, the location of artifacts and sites in relation to one another became important. Archaeology was beginning to recognize the need for scientific investigation through the control and recording of provenience and attributes.

The first researcher of this time, who produced results relevant to the archaeology of Intermediate Indians, is Elmer Harp Jr. His early work, published in two articles (Harp 1951, 1964) documented several Amerindian artifacts and sites from southern Labrador (i.e. Pinware Bay, L'Anse au Diable, L'Anse au Loup and Forteau Bay (Figure 2) that are now known to date to the Intermediate period. Due to the location of these sites on a succession of raised marine terraces/beaches Harp suggested that these sites actually formed a continuum of Amerindian technology and culture from the earliest times (the highest beaches) to recent times (the lowest beaches)¹. He later strengthened this hypothesis with the publication of seven radiocarbon dates from southern Labrador (Harp and

¹Another important facet of Harp's research was the identification of a methodological approach specifically suited to interpreting the culture-history of Labrador. Harp recognized that the relative age of sites was directly related to their elevation above sea-level, and virtually every archaeologist who followed Harp to Labrador has incorporated this methodological approach — targeting terraces at successive elevations for the purpose of dating cultural remains and constructing the culture-history of Labrador.

Hughes 1968), one of which falls within what is now the Intermediate period (Fitzhugh 1976).

In a 1959 article in *American Antiquity* Douglas Byers (1959) summarized much of the known Archaic evidence from the Northeast, including the Labrador material collected by Harp (1951, 1964) and Strong (1930), in support of a broad cultural categorization that he termed the Boreal Archaic. Byers (1959) argued that influences of the boreal forest had led the Archaic cultures living there to develop a set of traits that distinguished them from other Archaic period groups further south and west. Within this category he further recognized two cultural subcategories — the Laurentian Boreal Archaic and the Maritime Boreal Archaic. While not directly related to the development of Intermediate Indian research Byers concept is important to consider because of its influence on the proceeding research period and the development of Labrador cultural-history. Threads of his basic concept continue into the next period of research with such cultural designations as the Maritime Archaic tradition, the Laurentian Archaic tradition and the Shield Archaic tradition.

Archaeologist and Anthropologists (1968–1978)

By this time it was no longer considered acceptable to simply describe artifact and site attributes and order them in relation to the constructed historical categories (Trigger 1989). It was now necessary to try and place the cultures themselves within the constructed historical categories, recognizing how each group came to be and to some degree explaining who they were and who they

became. It was no longer just the artifacts that changed through time but the groups themselves; it was not the tools that performed the functions, but the groups and people who used them.

As Jim Tuck (1971) defined his Maritime Archaic tradition, J.V. Wright (1972) was finalizing his description of the Shield Archaic tradition. Wright's concept appears to have been largely influenced by the idea of Byers' Boreal Archaic phase. It was considered to be a response to life in the boreal forest region of the Canadian Shield, from northern Alberta to Labrador (Wright 1972); and as such composed a cultural tradition based on like traits that developed in response to specific environmental conditions across the Canadian Shield.

The first Labrador reference to Wright's Shield Archaic tradition was in William Fitzhugh's (1972) concurrent publication *Environmental and Cultural Systems in Hamilton Inlet Labrador: A Survey of the Central Labrador Coast from 3000 BC to Present*. Building on Harp's observations in southern Labrador, Fitzhugh (1972) moved beyond the typical artifact seriation and made use of a variety of data sources including archaeological data, existing and recreated environmental data, and ethnographic data.

It was learned that Hamilton Inlet (Figure 2) had been home to both Amerindian and Paleo-Eskimo populations at various times over the last 5000 years (Fitzhugh 1972). The majority of these sites were attributed to Amerindian populations of the Inlet. By collecting and dating charcoal and shell Fitzhugh (1972:29) constructed an emergence curve for western Hamilton Inlet. Just as

Harp (1964) had predicted, this allowed him to separate sites into chronological categories based on their elevation and assemblage traits (Table 2).

Table 2: Preliminary Amerindian Cultural Sequence for Hamilton Inlet

Cultural Designation	Time Frame	Wider Relation
Sandy Cove complex	ca. 2800 BC	Labrador Maritime Archaic tradition
Rattlers Bight phase	ca. 2000 BC	
Little Lake component	ca. 1400 BC	Unassigned
Brinex complex	ca. 1300 BC	Shield Archaic tradition?
Charles complex	ca. 1000 BC	
Road component	ca. 700 BC	
David Michelin complex	ca. 100 BC	
North West River chase	ca. AD 200	Shield Archaic tradition
Point Revenge complex	ca. AD 1000	Unassigned (now Recent Indian Tradition)

Following publication of his Hamilton Inlet survey Fitzhugh edited a book entitled *Prehistoric Adaptations of the Circumpolar Zone* (Fitzhugh 1975a). In his chapter, A Comparative Approach to Northern Maritime Adaptations, Fitzhugh proposed a three tiered cultural chronology for Labrador, which included: the Early period (5500–3500 BP) — culturally dominated by the Labrador Maritime Archaic Tradition; the Intermediate period (3600–1400 BP) — those Amerindian complexes, components and phases from Hamilton Inlet that had been tentatively assigned to the Shield Archaic tradition as well as the Little Lake component (Table 2) and the coastal Pre-Dorset/Dorset Paleo-Eskimos; and the Late period (1400 BP – to present (now commonly referred to as the Recent period)) — which included both ancestral Innu (Point Revenge complex) and Inuit populations (Thule).

This was followed in 1976 by an article in the *Journal of Field Archaeology* (Fitzhugh 1976) where surveys in the vicinity of Nain, on the central Labrador

coast (Figure 2), resulted in the recovery of new data pertaining to each period. Furthermore, Fitzhugh recognized material from Tunungayualok Island (Figure 2), Thalia Point 5 and Smooth Land Point, as being typologically similar to the Brinex and Charles complexes of Hamilton Inlet (Fitzhugh 1976:135-138).

At the same time a crew from Memorial University in Newfoundland was studying the southern coast (Figure 2). In 1973 Jim Tuck and Robert McGhee set out with the hopes of addressing questions that had been raised surrounding Elmer Harp's early radiocarbon dates (Tuck 1976). McGhee and Tuck (1975) successfully demonstrated that these early dates were not erroneous, and that the early occupation of Labrador's southern shore was a reality. As Harp had postulated, and as Fitzhugh had confirmed, Tuck and McGhee were able to seriate artifacts based on a combination of radiocarbon samples and site elevations. They proposed an Archaic sequence for the Strait of Belle Isle region that extended from late Paleo-Indian/early Archaic times through to 2000 BP.

Within this sequence, as Harp had previously recognized, the sites and artifacts recovered from the highest elevations were the best understood. In an attempt to rectify this problem Marcie Madden (1976) excavated components on lower elevated terraces at two of Tuck and McGhee's southern Labrador sites in Pinware Bay (Iceberg and Black Rock Brook) (Figure 2). At these sites she recovered *in situ* artifacts and carbon samples that confirmed the late part of the sequence proposed by McGhee and Tuck, demonstrating that Amerindian occupation on the southern shore extended in duration through both the Early

and Intermediate periods. Further contributing to the knowledge of Intermediate Indians, Madden recognized similarities between the early part of her "late phase" components and the Charles and Brinex complexes in Hamilton Inlet; identifying a possible relationship between those Intermediate Indians frequenting Hamilton Inlet and those along the southern shore of Labrador.

As Tuck, McGhee and Madden worked on the sequence for southern Labrador, Fitzhugh continued work along the north-central Labrador coast. His main focus was the Labrador Maritime Archaic and the Pre-Dorset/Dorset Paleo-Eskimo populations (Fitzhugh 1976, 1978). However, in the process of recording the northerly distribution of these cultures, components relating to Intermediate Indians were located. As had been the case in southern Labrador and Hamilton Inlet the majority of sites were from a disturbed context, with some in situ resources present for examination.

Notwithstanding the plague of poor context, there was, by 1978, enough new data related to Intermediate Indians to warrant a re-analysis. *Indian Occupations of the Intermediate Period on the Central Labrador Coast: A Preliminary Synthesis* was published by Christopher Nagle (1978). His primary goal was to incorporate the newly acquired coastal data into the cultural sequence Fitzhugh constructed for Hamilton Inlet. Nagle (1978) recognized similarities between the Brinex and Charles complex components located on the north-central Labrador coast and proposed the two complexes be collapsed into one, referred to as the Saunders complex – however, without additional data, he

was unwilling to extend the use of the new term to Hamilton Inlet Brinex and Charles complex sites. He further recognized similarities to sites in southern Labrador and interior sites further west and south; proposing that the Saunders complex, Brinex complex, Charles complex and David Michelin component be included within Wright's Shield Archaic tradition.

The Great Hiatus (1978–1997)

In the naming of this research period I have borrowed a term from Tuck (1984). Here, it is used to refer to the lack of deliberate Intermediate Indian research after 1978. The only article of this period to focus specifically on the Intermediate period was Stephen Loring's 1989 article in *Recherche amérindienne au Québec*. A cache of artifacts (scrapers and a corner notched biface), recovered at an elevation indicating Intermediate Indian antiquity, is used by Loring as a window into the social organization of Intermediate Indians. Suggesting, as Nagle had, wider relations beyond Labrador, although not necessarily within the Shield Archaic tradition. The corner notched biface is said to be stylistically similar to Woodland period Middlesex/Adena specimens from the St. Lawrence Valley (Loring 1989:53), south of the boreal forest zone.

This implies that Intermediate Indians were part of a broad social network, similar to Early (Archaic) and Recent Indians (Loring 1989). It provides a glimpse of post-Archaic culture-history in the far Northeast, but it does not address concerns within local Intermediate Indian culture-history.

In the pursuit of other goals many more sites were ascribed to Intermediate Indians during this period of research. Moira McCaffrey (1989a, 1989b), while investigating chert sources in western Labrador (Figure 2), identified Amerindian sites of a comparative age; Loring (1983, 1989) identified new Intermediate Indian sites and confirmed old ones (Strong's site) while investigating Amerindians of the Recent period (ancestral Innu); Cox (1977) further increased the Intermediate Indian site count during his Paleo-Eskimo (Dorset) focused research; Marianne Stopp (1997) identified three Intermediate Indian sites surveying along the Porcupine Strand; and Hood (1997) recorded Intermediate Indian sites on the north–central coast and islands while re-assessing the social structure and relation of Maritime Archaic and Paleo-Eskimo societies. The majority of these resources were surface exposed when recovered; and, with the exception of McCaffrey – whose sites went unassigned, and Stopp – who assigned one site to each the Brinex and Charles complex, the majority of sites were attributed to the Saunders complex. Despite their poor context, the distribution of these sites highlights the presence of Amerindians throughout Labrador during the Intermediate period, especially during the time of the Saunders complex (ca. 3500–2800 BP).

Consultants and Archaeologists (1997–2005)

Throughout the 1990s, the vast majority of Intermediate Indian archaeology sites were recovered as a result of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) initiatives. Reconsideration of the Lower Churchill Hydro Project (IED

Enterprises (IEDE) 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Jacques Whitford Environmental and Innu Environmental (JWEL/IE) 2000, 2001a), proposal of the Mealy Mountain Federal Park (Schwarz 1998) and construction of the Trans Labrador Highway (Innu Environmental Limited Partnership (IELP) 2003) resulted in large tracts of interior Labrador being assessed for archaeological potential. These assessments included in depth documentary and primary source research, computation and mapping of archaeological potential, and field programs in archaeological survey, testing and excavation.

Archaeological sites relating to all pre-contact Amerindian groups were recovered; but by far the majority of these related to Intermediate Indians (IELP 2002; IEDE/JWEL 2000; JWEL/IE 2000). Because of the cursory nature of most CRM assessments and reports, little more is known of these sites than what is present on the site forms themselves (sixty-three new Intermediate Indian sites have been identified through CRM initiatives, but no new articles considering Amerindians during the Intermediate period have been published). However, this is not to say that the data are without use.

Through CRM initiatives hypotheses of the earlier researchers have been confirmed. Intermediate Indians are now known to have widely inhabited the Interior of Labrador (IELP 2002; JWEL/IE 2000; Schwarz 1997, 1998). Virtually every large-scale assessment oriented towards the interior has identified new sites. A number of Intermediate Indian sites are now known along the Churchill River (IEDE/JWEL 1999b; JWEL/IE 2000) and some of these have been

attributed to complexes recognized in other areas of Labrador (Saunders complex, Brinex complex and Charles complex). More sites have been found at Northwest River (IEDE/JWEL 1999b; IELP 2003) while others have been found along the coast (Stopp 1992) and on interior travel routes (Schwarz 1998).

Dissemination of CRM results may be lacking, but the data are not. The information must be considered in any assessment of the Intermediate period. Data from site record forms, such as: site location, environmental description, artifacts recovered, material of artifacts recovered, cultural affinity, etc., are useful when considering aspects of Intermediate Indian settlement, mobility, interaction, etc.; and in some cases, archaeologists working on the CRM assessments have made important observations relating to Intermediate Indian site locations (IEDE/JWEL 1999a).

Recently, there has been a resurgence of academic interest relating to Intermediate Indians. Following up on the preliminary investigations of Marianne Stopp (1997) and William Fitzhugh (1989), Lisa Rankin (2002, 2003) has supervised a four-year survey of the coast and islands in the Porcupine Strand (the Strand) Region (Figure 2). As a result of this work the three Intermediate Indian sites identified by Stopp were relocated and an additional three sites were recorded (other sites are suspected to date to this period but cannot be assigned with certainty). Of these sites, some occur in the same region as Stopp's earlier finds, while others were recovered from the northern limit of the Strand. This demonstrates that Amerindian utilization of coastal Labrador during the

Intermediate period is extensive, spreading from Nain in the north, to the Strait of Belle Isle in the south (Figure 2).

Additional investigations have also been taking place into the interior of Labrador. Loring, tracing Innu travel routes in-land from Voisey's Bay (Figure 2), has identified Amerindian sites relating to all culture-history periods. As recently as September 2004 this resulted in the recovery of an Intermediate Indian assemblage on the Kanairktok River (Figure 2) (Loring 2004). My own excavations in Happy Valley – Goose Bay, at two Intermediate Indian sites, did not recover assemblages typologically comparable to those of Loring and Rankin; however, the excavation of in situ artifacts and features has provided us with new data (Neilsen 2005).

Consideration of these new data, including that recovered as a result of CRM, has afforded an opportunity to re-evaluate the cultural-history and adaptation of Amerindians during the Intermediate period – the topic with which the following sections and chapters are concerned.

Culture-History Background

The Intermediate period is a historical division and categorization of time, covering the years between approximately 3500 and 1800 BP. It is a broad generalization referring to the archaeological footprint recognized in Labrador during this time. It is not culturally specific, and Amerindian and Paleo-Eskimo populations are both known within this period. Having said this, the Intermediate

period is, and has traditionally been, most closely associated with Intermediate Indians.

The Labrador Intermediate period is coeval with a number of Amerindian periods from the far Northeast. At the broadest scale it is classified within the post-Archaic period (ca. 3400–2000 BP) (Tuck 1982, 1988). The Woodland/Ceramic period of Southern New England, Maine, the Maritime Provinces and southern Québec (Black 2000; Bourque 1995; Davis 1991; Pintal 1998, 2001; Peterson and Sanger 1991; Rutherford 1991; Tuck 1984, 1988, 1991; Wright 1979); and the Early period (4000?–2000 BP) from sub-arctic Québec (McCaffrey in press) all overlap with the Labrador Intermediate period. To some extent they also share similar characteristics and situations (Tuck 1982, 1988).

Cultural change in these regions overlapped with environmental change during this time (Bradstreet and Davis 1975; Clark and Fitzhugh 1992; Fitzhugh 1987; Fitzhugh and Lamb 1985; Jordan 1975; Rutherford 1991; Sanger *et al.* 1977). As the temperature changed seasonal duration changed, resource distributions shifted and habitats transformed. Amerindian groups became more mobile, and new ideas and people appeared in regions where they were not previously known. The wide spread similarities in Archaic burial traits and marine adaptation disappeared from the archaeological record. Subsistence practices were more generalized and spiritual practices became less evident.

Intermediate Indian Culture-History

Intermediate Indians are so named because of their position in culture-history and the archaeological record, between the preceding Labrador Maritime Archaic tradition (Tuck 1976) and the succeeding Recent Indian tradition (Hull 2002). As previously described, Intermediate Indian culture-history was initially formed into six taxonomic categories, including three components, two complexes and one phase; follow-up investigations lead to the identification of a seventh – the Saunders complex (Table 3).

Table 3: Intermediate Indian Culture-History Designation and Geographic Location

South Labrador Coast	Central Labrador Coast	Hamilton Inlet	Time Frame	Wider Relation
(early) Late phase	Little Lake component		3600–3200 BP	Unassigned-Susquehanna?
	Saunders complex	Brinex complex	3200–3000 BP	Shield Archaic tradition?
		Charles complex	3000–2700 BP	
		Road component	2700–2300 BP	
	David Michelin complex		2300–1800 BP	Shield Archaic tradition
	North West River phase		2500–1400 BP	

As described by Fitzhugh (1972) each of these categories or divisions is based on the strength of the supporting site information. In this series a phase is the strongest category. It is used "to indicate an assemblage which is spatially distinct and can be distinguished from other phases so conceived" (Fitzhugh, 1972:112). A complex refers "to a unit for which comprehensive information is lacking, but which constitutes a definite grouping based on a series of related site components for which a relatively large amount of information is known" (Fitzhugh 1972:112). Components are "at the bottom of the integration hierarchy,

including a unit for which only a limited amount of information is available (Fitzhugh 1972:113).

The Little Lake Component

Definition of the Little Lake component was based on one stemmed biface and a quartzite assemblage at Northwest River (Fitzhugh 1972:114) (Figure 3). The stemmed biface was recovered from a disturbed context, in proximity to two sites – the Cookery site and the Dining Hall site. Its elevation at 21 m above sea-level (asl) is comparable with sites of the Brinex complex, and the raw materials present are very similar to Brinex complex assemblages (Fitzhugh 1972; IEDE/JWEL 2000; Nagle 1978).

As Fitzhugh (1972:114) himself recognized, it is possible this artifact could have been brought back to this location by someone who had traveled to the south, or it could have been made by a traveler to Labrador; just as Ramah chert specimens made their way to the south from the north (Loring 2002).

The geomorphology of Goose Bay shows that beaches in the range of this recovery were available for habitation by at least 4000 BP (Josephs and Neilsen in review), possibly putting the Little Lake component within the terminal portion of the Archaic period. Even at 3800 to 3600 BP (as was originally proposed) the Little Lake component would overlap with late Labrador Archaic Rattlers Bight phase in Groswater Bay (Fitzhugh 1975b; 1978).

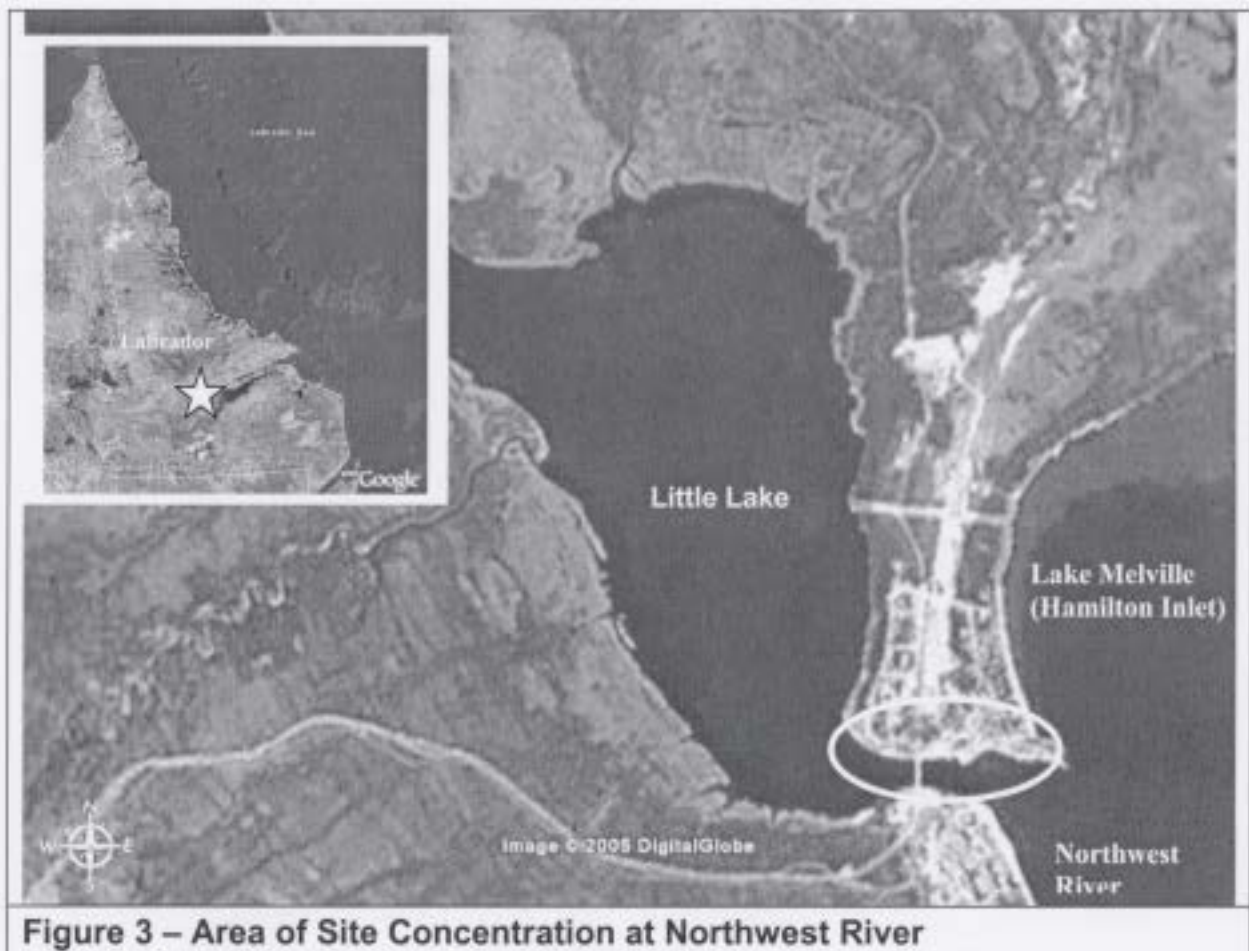


Figure 3 – Area of Site Concentration at Northwest River

Furthermore, the stemmed biface at Northwest River and another (the only other known in Labrador) from an isolated find near Village Bay are both stemmed specimens (Nagle 1978) reminiscent of the Archaic period Susquehanna Tradition, whose cultural remains have been recovered to the southwest in Québec, The Maritimes and New England (Bourque 1995; Chapdelaine 2000; Dincauze 1971; Fitzhugh 1972; Tuck 1991).

Based on the above I think it is a mistake to assign a component designation to these finds, especially in the Intermediate period timeframe. The lack of associated, but dissimilar, artifacts supports the idea that these two

stemmed bifaces do not form a specific cultural unit in the pre-contact history of Labrador, and that they are perhaps best viewed as indicators of southern associations, just as Ramah chert in the south suggests ties to the north.

Brinex Complex

Although still poorly understood, the Brinex complex is one of the better-defined Intermediate Indian culture-history units. As with the Little Lake component discussed above, sites recovered at Northwest River first defined the Brinex complex.

The defining characteristics of this unit include: "...the use of red ochre in quantity; large and small side-notched points with convex bases and slightly serrated edges; small thin thumbnail scrapers, end scrapers on blade-like flakes, disk-shaped knives, and lanceolate bifaces. Raw materials used include white and red quartzite, various cherts, and quartz" (Fitzhugh 1972:114; Nagle 1978). Of these, red quartzite is the most prevalent; purple chert occurs in less quantity, but is frequently found on sites of this complex.

Fitzhugh's original Hamilton Inlet data and one radiocarbon date (Red Ochre site 3070 \pm 180 (GSC-1280)) place this complex between 3200 and 3000 BP (Fitzhugh 1972). More recent relative sea-level curves (Clarke and Fitzhugh 1992; Jordan 1975; Josephs and Neilsen in review) suggest Brinex complex sites at the highest elevations (24 m asl), if dated solely on elevation, could have been occupied following 4000 BP, while sites at the lowest elevation (17 m asl) could have been occupied following 3200 BP. Allowing time for the landforms to rise

above high tide before being occupied may further realign the likelihood of occupation to a more recent episode, ca. 3800 BP and 3000 BP respectively. This raises further doubts regarding the validity of the Little Lake component as a valid cultural unit, predating the Brinex complex.

Since 1972 an additional fourteen sites (or components of sites) have been identified as Brinex complex, or some combination thereof. These identifications have been based on correlation in raw material use, biface and scraper morphology, a recognized tool kit, relative dating through local emergence curves, and similar settlement patterns. Sites of this complex are distributed along the central Labrador coast, between North River (Rankin 2002, 2003; Stopp 1997) and Okak (Cox 1977; Fitzhugh 1976; Hood 1997; Nagle 1978). They are also found into the interior at Northwest River (Fitzhugh 1972), on the Eagle River plateau (Schwarz 1998) and along the Churchill River below Churchill Falls (IEDE/JWEL 2000) (Figure 2). With exception of the Okak site these are classified primarily as habitation sites. The presence of red ochre in both sites at Northwest River may indicate a ceremonial function, but these sites were heavily disturbed prior to identification and the true extent and characteristics of each site can never be known.

Topographic characteristics associated with each site also lean towards habitation. Stable, elevated terraces, often removed from the active beachfront are the most common site characteristic. In the interior and along the coast these sites are found associated with confluences of water bodies (i.e. lakes, bays,

etc.) and water flows (i.e. streams, rivers, runs, etc.), in locations apparently ideal for fishing (Fitzhugh 1972; IEDE/JWEL 1999a, 2000). The association with navigable waterways also indicates the importance of travel locally and afield. Lithic artifacts present on the sites, as well as the technology through which they were produced reinforce the importance of mobility within the Brinex complex. The quartzite present in the assemblages is typically available in proximity to each site, but the multi-coloured opaque cherts are thought to be of interior origin(s), from somewhere between Northwest River in the interior and Davis Inlet on the coast (see Chapter 3). The most common colour of chert during this period is purple, with lavender occurring to a lesser degree. The banded and pink cherts common during the subsequent Charles complex are infrequent. Red quartzite is the most common lithic material in almost all collections.

The Charles Complex

As with the Brinex complex, the Charles complex was first identified as a result of fieldwork conducted in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972). Seven sites of this complex were found elevated 13 m to 18 m asl, initially indicating an occupation timeline between 3000 BP and 2700 BP (Fitzhugh 1972; Nagle 1978). Many of these sites were identified in a disturbed context, and no radiocarbon dates exist for these sites in Hamilton Inlet (Hound Pond 4 in Groswater Bay was dated to 3095±120 (SI-928) and 3195±105 BP (SI-927), but this is now considered to be a late Labrador Archaic site; with the radiocarbon dates possibly dating a forest fire horizon (Fitzhugh 1978; Nagle 1978)). Based

strictly on site elevation, the relative sea-level history indicates that this complex is more accurately assigned to the period between 3450 and 2700 BP.

Characteristics defining the complex in Hamilton Inlet include: lanceolate bifaces with squared, waisted or tapered distal portions; oval, disc shaped and stemmed scrapers; large flat bifacial knives; a specialized core and flake industry (producing linear or blade-like flakes); and a total lack of stemmed projectile points. By far, the majority of these specimens are made from multi-coloured interior chert, with quartzite occurring to a much lesser degree. In general terms, these represent the same lithic types present in the preceding Brinex complex. However, the frequency at which each type occurs is reversed. Red ochre is also completely absent from these sites.

Based on the reversal in lithic frequency, the absence of stemmed projectile points, the difference in scraper morphology and the distinct elevations associated with sites of the Brinex and Charles complexes, continuity in population was not recognized. Instead Fitzhugh (1972, 1976) proposed abandonment of Hamilton Inlet by Brinex complex people, followed shortly after by repopulation of Charles complex people. The origin of the new population was tentatively assigned to the interior of Labrador, possibly in the Shield Archaic tradition (Fitzhugh 1972; Nagle 1978; Wright 1995, 1999).

Since completion of the Hamilton Inlet surveys a minimum of ten sites have been tentatively assigned to the Charles complex, or some combination of it and the Brinex complex. The majority of these sites are located along the

Labrador coast, although sites in Lake Melville and up the Churchill River have recently been assigned a Charles complex designation (Cache River 1; Windy Beach 2; Two Rivers; and Locus 2 at Wapeneu Mikue (IEDE/JWEL 1999a, 1999b). With the exception of Charles complex sites now assigned to the Saunders complex (see below) assignment of these sites is based solely on correlation in raw materials, site elevation, settlement patterns, scraper morphology and an apparent lack of stemmed projectile points.

Site characteristics, at least in the interior regions, indicate that the majority of Charles complex sites are associated with short-term procurement camps and a specialized use of the site locales. Where Brinex complex sites are typically associated with level terraces overlooking the water they are associated with, Charles complex sites are not. They are located on recently emerged beaches (at the time of occupation) (IEDE/JWEL 1999a; Josephs and Neilsen in review), in locations considered to be ideal for resource procurement (typically fishing or sealing) (Fitzhugh 1972), and requiring a highly adapted knowledge of interior water routes (i.e. navigability, flooding episodes, low water episodes, fish runs, etc.).

At interior Charles complex sites there is a lack of significant archaeological features, such as large hearths and structural remains. The lithic technology and tool kit recovered from these sites also indicate they were temporarily occupied by small, mobile groups (e.g. a procurement party). The most common tool form is linear (blade-like) flakes, made from specially

prepared cores of multi-coloured interior Labrador cherts. Large lanceolate bifaces and scrapers, also common to this complex, are another indicator of a high mobility, since they can be used as are and re-formed into other tool forms as needed (Andrefsky 1998; Cowan 1999). This effectively increases the life of the tool/core and reduces the need to frequently procure lithic resources.

The differences in site location and assemblage mentioned above, led Fitzhugh (1972) to suggest a cultural replacement of the Brinex complex by the Charles complex. Others though, have suggested these differences may be equally related to a difference in functionality or site preference between Brinex and Charles complex sites at Northwest River, or that they may represent a continuum in development, from the Brinex complex to the Charles complex (IEDE/JWEL 1999a; Nagle 1978).

The Road Component

This single site (Road site 2, FjCa-14) is located at Northwest River, along the edge of a road. It is about 90 m east of Road site 1 (a Charles complex site) and is situated one meter lower (13 m asl). At the time of collection this site was heavily disturbed by construction (Fitzhugh 1972), and it seems likely that the assemblage recovered is especially incomplete. Despite the previous disturbance a wide variety of lithic materials was recovered, including: multi-coloured interior chert; quartzite; quartz and for the first time in Northwest River (in any quantity), Ramah chert. With the exception of Ramah chert all these lithic materials are common in the earlier Brinex and Charles complexes.

The recovery of two side notched biface bases are said to align this component with the early Ceramic/Woodland period in the Maritimes and New England (Fitzhugh 1972; Nagle 1978). Bifaces with similar attributes are known within assemblages of the Meadowood tradition (McEachen 1996; Ritchie 1968; Wright 1979). The other tool forms recovered, as with the materials from which they are constructed, are reminiscent of Intermediate Indians in other regions of Labrador. The narrow, thick, triangular end scrapers correlate with like forms from the south and north Labrador coast (Loring 1989; Pintal 1998; Tuck and McGhee 1975); and if recovered today this site would likely be assigned to the Saunders complex (see below). No new Road component sites have been identified since the original assignation in 1972.

As with the Little Lake component I believe it is a mistake to assign this site a culture-history designation of its own. Excluding the two distinct side notched biface bases (Fitzhugh 1972:270) and the presence of minimal amounts of Ramah chert, the Road site 2 assemblage resembles Charles complex assemblages from the same region (Fitzhugh 1972; Nagle 1978). Here it is also important to reiterate that Road site 2 was in proximity (91 m) (Fitzhugh 1972:77) to Road site 1, a Charles complex site. The sites were virtually at the same elevation and they were recovered in a disturbed context adjacent to a road.

It seems possible that the bulldozer disturbance noted by Fitzhugh (1972:115) could have resulted in the separation of these components, and that they may actually be part of the same site. The presence of like lithic

assemblages at these sites (including Ramah chert) further supports the possibility that these separate components were once part of the same site, and brings into question the validity of this component. The elevation (13 m asl) indicates an age of ca. 2700 BP and further aligns Road site 2 with the Charles complex.

The David Michelin Complex

When proposed this complex was based on two sites, one in Northwest River and one in Groswater Bay (Fitzhugh 1972:151). Since this time the site in Groswater Bay has been reassessed as an early Archaic site and this complex is now considered to be a component (Nagle 1978:123). The lithic assemblage at this site is reminiscent of the Road component described above, and includes the use of Ramah chert, interior cherts, quartzite, and quartz. However, it is distinguished from the Road component by the recovery of wide and tapered stemmed projectile points, large bifacial knives and flake scrapers. Donald Charles of the Brinex Company previously excavated this site and the artifacts reported by Fitzhugh (1972) were recovered from a bulldozed push-off pile associated with a road.

As with the other two Northwest River components, no new David Michelin component sites have been identified since the original Hamilton Inlet survey. One broad bladed biface recovered near Nain at Thalia Point 5 is typologically reminiscent of specimens recovered from the David Michelin site. This site is radiocarbon dated to 3100±75 BP (SI-2524), and it contains specimens common

to both the Brinex and Charles complex. The Village Bay Little Lake component biface was also recovered in this area (Nagle 1978:134). When defined in 1972, a site elevation of nine meters in Hamilton Inlet was said to place this complex within a time range of 2300–1400 BP. Today's relative sea-level curve suggests this elevation was available for occupation ca. 2000 BP (Clark and Fitzhugh 1992).

Separation of this component from the preceding complexes and components seems warranted by the appearance of distinct stemmed bifaces, not reminiscent of those previously common in Labrador. However, its distinction from the succeeding Northwest River phase is less apparent.

Northwest River Phase

When first described this was considered to be the best understood cultural unit from Northwest River (Fitzhugh 1972:115; Nagle 1978). It was based on the excavation of two loci at the Sid Blake site, the largest excavation of in situ material undertaken in Northwest River. Over 10,000 flakes and 138 stone tools were recovered within site boundaries estimated at over 3600 square feet (Fitzhugh 1972:78-80). A number of asymmetric bifaces, stemmed bifaces, flake tools and core scrapers were recovered in association with pit features (function unknown).

Immediately available white-brown quartzite was the dominant material recovered, but Ramah chert, banded lava, red quartzite and quartz were also recovered (Fitzhugh 1972:222-221). Four other sites of this phase were identified

in Northwest River, and an additional two were found in Groswater Bay. Site locations indicate the importance of fishing, both in the interior and along the coast. One burnt bone sample from the Sid Blake site (8 m asl) dates this phase to 1800 ± 110 BP (SI-1287) (Nagle 1978). An additional seven sites have been assigned to this phase since 1972; and a date of 2520 ± 65 BP (SI-5832), from the Northwest River component at Flowers Bay on the north-central coast (Figure 2), has extended the time line of the Northwest River phase considerably (Loring 1989).

Research focusing on the Recent period in Labrador has extended the timeline of Amerindian occurrence to almost 2000 BP. The earliest components of Daniel Rattle 1 (1890 ± 50 BP (SI-6712)) date to almost the same time as the Sid Blake site (1800 ± 110 BP (SI-1287)) at Northwest River. The concurrence of these two sites, as defining components of two separate cultural units (The Daniel Rattle complex and the Northwest River phase), raises questions relating to cultural overlap and the validity of the previously proposed Northwest River phase timeline (1800–1400 BP) (dating of the Daniel Rattle complex, and the onset of the Recent period, is rather secure (see Loring 1992)).

Other Northwest River phase sites in Hamilton Inlet were not radiocarbon dated, but their elevations, between 11 m and 8 m asl, were available for habitation following 2300 BP and 1800 BP respectively. Inception on the coast, possibly as early as ca. 2600 BP, however, places it coeval with two additional Intermediate period components: the David Michelin complex and the Road

component. The David Michelin complex and the Northwest River phase are further associated by the presence of stemmed bifaces, and the absence of the previously common notched forms.

On the other end of the spectrum, the 8 m contour at Northwest River was still submerged prior to ca.1800 BP, and the Sid Blake site could, therefore, not have been inhabited before 2000 BP — the beginning of the Recent period Daniel Rattle complex. This again indicates that the Northwest River phase is coeval with other, previously considered distinct, cultural units; perhaps covering the years between ca. 2600 and 1700 BP.

The Saunders Complex

Archaeological reconnaissance undertaken along the Labrador coast, between Makkovik and Okak, identified a number of Intermediate Indian sites during the 1970's (Fitzhugh 1976). Many of the assemblages from these sites indicated affiliation with one, or both of the Brinex and Charles complexes, and a suite of five radiocarbon dates confirmed these sites within this sequence (Nagle 1978). The occurrence of Brinex and Charles complex assemblages within the same site, at the same elevation, led to a reconsideration of the abandonment and replacement hypothesis proposed by Fitzhugh (1972); and resulted in the identification of a new cultural episode, the Saunders complex (Nagle 1978).

This complex was proposed as a coastal variant of the Brinex and Charles complexes, and replaced the use of these terms on the north-central Labrador coast. Discontinuity was no longer considered to be the case. Variation in artifact

assemblages and site elevation were not apparent on the coast, and it appeared as though the two complexes were contemporaries, or closely followed one another in time (Nagle 1978). Some collections even indicated a timeline reversal, with typical Charles traits occurring earlier (ca. 3400 BP) in the archaeological record than several Brinex complex assemblages dated at 3000 BP (Nagle 1978:140). As a new complex this episode included tool forms common to the Brinex and Charles complexes (see above) as well as single shouldered and broad bladed knives, not known in Hamilton Inlet assemblages. The proposed settlement and subsistence rounds mirrored those for Hamilton Inlet and the time frames are virtually equal (although the Hamilton Inlet time line lacks corroboration from radiocarbon dating).

Nagle (1978) was unwilling to extend the Saunders complex to include the Brinex and Charles complexes from Hamilton Inlet. Despite their co-occurrence on the coast and his assertion that "the Saunders complex is closely related to the Brinex and Charles complex in Hamilton Inlet, and provides evidence of continuity between these two cultural units previously thought distinct". As a result, the use of these terms, as well as the Saunders complex, continues to this day.

Thirty-five Saunders complex site designations exist (many tentatively) within the Intermediate Indian database (PAO 2004), extending from the most northerly site in Okak to the most southerly site in Forteau and the most westerly site at Gull Island in the Churchill River. The generalized tool kit, often not

represented at every site, includes side notched bifaces; a variety of flake, oval and thumbnail scrapers; linear flakes; lanceolate bifaces; a variety of knife forms; and perforators or drills.

Immediately available quartzite typically occurs in secondary amounts while regionally distributed multi-coloured cherts dominate the assemblages (e.g. Saunders chert in the Hamilton Inlet – central coast region). Sites are located in bays (often with points of land associated) and protected areas of inner islands (Nagle 1978); with access to an interior leading water shed (e.g. Hamilton Inlet, Davis Inlet, Forteau Bay).

Similarities such as these, between the Saunders – Brinex – Charles complexes have been noted on occasion (see Fitzhugh 1976; Nagle 1978; Tuck 1982, 1988; Loring 1989); and taken together they indicate a wide spread phase of development extending from, at least, Hamilton Inlet, inland to Lake Melville, and north to Okak, which lasts from ca. 3500–2700 BP.

The (early) Late Phase

At the Pinware River in southern Labrador (Figure 2) McGhee and Tuck (1975) identified a number of Amerindian sites. Through a combination of radiocarbon dating, artifact seriation and site elevation they constructed a culture-history sequence spanning nearly 9000 years of Amerindian history. Sites forming the early part of the sequence (ca. 8500–3500 BP) were attributed to the Labrador Archaic (ca. 8500–3500 BP) and the Southern Branch Maritime Archaic (ca. 5000–3300 BP), while sites making up the terminal portion of the sequence

were ascribed to ancestors of modern day Algonquians, i.e. Innu and Beothuk. In this, Tuck and McGhee realized, just as Elmer Harp Jr. (1951) had twenty-four years earlier, that the middle portion of the sequence was not well understood. Artifacts at middle elevations were collected from disturbed contexts and corroborating radiocarbon dates were not recovered.

Attempting to close this gap, Marcie Madden (1976) focused excavation on middle elevations at two sites identified by Tuck and McGhee. At the Iceberg and Black Rock Brook sites Madden (1976) excavated seven different areas occurring on relict beach ridges, about 7 m asl. These ridges are at middle elevations within the beach ridge sequences in southern Labrador, and were therefore thought to date to the middle part of the cultural sequence (Harp 1951; McGhee and Tuck 1975).

The cultural material recovered further separated these sites from those above (earlier) and below (later). Bifaces, scrapers, abraders, linear flakes, singular, multiple and linear stone hearths and lithic materials all occurred in forms not known in the preceding portion of the sequence. The stemmed bifaces of the Labrador and Maritime Archaic gave way to side notched bifaces. Flake and thumbnail scrapers, not previously common, increase in abundance, as do abrading stones. Linear or blade-like flakes, not previously known in Amerindian assemblages, become one of the most common tool forms. Also, the ever-popular Ramah chert virtually disappears as the lithic material of preference,

becoming replaced by an increased use of locally available quartzite and other distinct Labrador cherts.

In her discussion of these divergences Madden (1976) builds on the work of McGhee and Tuck (1975). She describes the Iceberg and Black Rock Brook sites within the Archaic sequence McGhee and Tuck had constructed. As they had done, Madden (1976) identified these sites within a long continuum of Amerindian development, placing her components within the middle portion of the sequence, at the beginning of the late phase of Archaic development (later redefined as the post-Archaic period by Tuck (1982)). She also recognizes similarities between components of the Iceberg and Black Rock Brook site and Brinex and Charles complex sites from Hamilton Inlet, especially in the earlier part of her sequence (Madden 1976:130).

As with the Hamilton Inlet sequence certain aspects (such as tool form and the use of locally available lithics) of the early portion of Madden's Late phase reflect contact (direct and indirect) with other groups west into the Labrador-Québec interior and south into the Maritimes and northern New England (Tuck 1982, 1988).

Intermediate Indian presence on the Island of Newfoundland is limited to a handful of artifacts from two sites at the tip of the Northern Peninsula: Big Brook 2 (Beaton 2004) and Garden Cove (PAO 2004). This, and the seeming lack of Newfoundland cherts on Labrador Amerindian sites during this period, indicates the island may not have been a popular destination for Intermediate Indians.

Undoubtedly, the presence of Pre-Dorset Paleo-Eskimos (such as Groswater Dorset (2700–2200 BP)) played a role in this curious absence. It is also possible that a lack of interior research has contributed to a perceived absence on the Island; and that as yet unassigned Intermediate Indian components exist within assemblages of some multi-component sites.

Summary and Conclusion

The forgoing history of research is important for two reasons: 1) to demonstrate the limited amount of Intermediate Indian research conducted to date; and 2) to highlight the geographic divide within Intermediate Indian archaeology (between southern Labrador and north-central Labrador) and the negative effect it has had on culture-history development.

The first Intermediate Indian artifacts were collected in Labrador some seventy-five years ago. Forty-five years later the culture-history designation was proposed and tied to episodically distinct cultural components in Hamilton Inlet and along the north-central coast (Fitzhugh 1975a, 1976). Contemporary research in southern Labrador hinted at comparable characteristics (McGhee and Tuck 1975, Tuck 1975, Madden 1976), and the culture-history designation (i.e. Intermediate Indian) has since been extended to distinguish this episode from those before and after (Tuck 1988, 1992). Beyond this, continuity was recognized in the southern Labrador assemblages and the terminology employed further north has not been employed (Table 3).

The culture-history review also had two primary functions. First was to summarize results of the research highlighted in the opening of this chapter, specifically the constructed culture-history, and second, to highlight alternative possibilities that have become apparent within Intermediate Indian culture-history over the last thirty years.

Beginning with the Little Lake component, it was shown that two stemmed bifaces with no context do not form an independent cultural unit. Furthermore, it was suggested that these stemmed bifaces are more accurately assigned to the terminal portion of the preceding Labrador Archaic period. Likewise, it was suggested that the occurrence of two Woodland style bifaces in the Road site assemblage at Northwest River does not necessitate an immigration of new people. Based on the clear association of Labrador lithic materials (i.e. Saunders chert and Ramah chert), elevation and processing specimens (i.e. scrapers and knives), the Road site is better considered as an element of the Charles complex; with the distinct side notched bifaces indicating ties to the southwest of Labrador, in the St. Lawrence Valley, the Maritimes and New England.

The David Michelin assemblage on the other hand clearly exhibits characteristics distinct from earlier Intermediate Indian assemblages and it should be recognized as such. The lone site occurs at a lower elevation than sites of the preceding cultural units and it marks the reappearance of Ramah chert; which until this time was rare in Intermediate Indian collections (Fitzhugh 1972, 1976; JWEL/IE 2001; Nagle 1978). The straight and contracting stemmed

bifaces recovered at the David Michelin site further distinguish it from sites at higher elevations.

Distinction from the Northwest River phase however, is less apparent. Both units see a refocusing on Ramah chert and the utilization of contracting stemmed bifaces. The elevation range for Northwest River phase sites (11 m - 8 m asl) also overlap the David Michelin site (9 m asl); and sites of both units are found in proximity to one another at Northwest River.

Rejecting that two culturally distinct Amerindian groups inhabited the same area at virtually the same time, I prefer to see the contemporary use of bifaces with tapered stems and the increase in Ramah chert as evidence for a degree of relatedness between the Northwest River phase and the David Michelin site. Therefore, I would propose that the David Michelin site remain a component, but as a component of the Northwest River phase.

Data supporting the remaining cultural units: the Brinex, Charles and Saunders complexes, have continued to be recovered since the 1970s and today these complexes are better represented than the rest of the Intermediate Indian cultural-units. Therefore, the individual descriptions are not debated. The issue of discontinuity, however, is seen as problematic.

When the Brinex and Charles complexes were first identified archaeological research in Labrador was in its infancy and there were no regionally comparative data (Loring 1989). Archaeology surveys have since been undertaken in other regions of Labrador. Sites with similar resources, but lacking

the separation present in Northwest River (caused by the most rapid rate of post-glacial emergence in Labrador (Clark and Fitzhugh 1992)), have been identified in Lake Melville and on the north-central coast. As a result it now appears as though many of the differences reported in Northwest River, although real, are related to transformation rather than abandonment and replacement (IEDE/JWEL1999a; Nagle 1978). Furthermore, this transformation appears to extend beyond the Brinex and Charles complexes to include the Road component.

Sites with similar characteristics to all or either of these units have also been identified on the north-central coast, where they are identified as Saunders complex sites (Nagle 1978), and on the south Labrador coast, where they are identified as (early) Late phase sites. Additional Saunders complex sites have now been identified across the river from Northwest River, in Sheshatshiu, on the Goose Bay Peninsula (IEDE/JWEL 1999b, IELP 2003) and in other regions of interior Labrador (JWEL/IE 2001a; Loring 2004). The presence of these sites in proximity to Brinex and Charles complex sites at Northwest River, with their similar artifact forms, lithic materials and mode of adaptation, further questions Fitzhugh's (1972; 1976) previously assigned replacement theory, and revives the claims of cultural and pan-regional continuity recognized by Nagle (1978).

Removing the Little Lake component from the Intermediate period and subsuming the Road component and the David Michelin component within the Charles complex and Northwest River phase respectively, simplifies Intermediate

Indian culture-history to a series of complexes and phases: The Brinex complex, the Charles complex, the Saunders complex, the Northwest River phase and the (early) Late phase.

Using the earliest and most recent radiocarbon dates from these elements (3440±75 BP – Saunders complex and 1800±110 BP Northwest River phase) (Table 4) as hard start and end points, Intermediate Indians are found to cover a period from ca. 3440–1800 BP. Existing radiocarbon dates (Table 4), lithic preferences and material culture indicate some degree of regionalism, which when considered together, provide an updated view of Intermediate Indian culture-history (Table 5).

Table 4: Intermediate Indian Radiocarbon Dates

Culture-History Designation	Site	Radiocarbon Date	Lab Number
Saunders complex	Hillsbury Island 3 (HdCi-03)	3440±75 BP	SI-2982
	Saunders (HaCf-01)	3410±70 BP	SI-2525
	Thalia Point 5 (HfCi-05)	3100±75 BP	SI-2524
	Hillsbury Island 3 (HdCi-03)	3000±75 BP	SI-2981
	Smooth Land Point (GlCe-01)	2955±85 BP	SI-1794
	Ushpitun 2 (FhCb-04) ²	2810±70 BP	Beta-198378
Brinex complex	Red Ochre (FjCa-33)	3070±180 BP	GSC-1280
Charles complex	No radio carbon dates exist for this complex ³		
Northwest River phase	Flowers Bay-01 (GlCe-03)	2520±65 BP	SI-5832
	Sid Blake (FjCa-24)	1800±110 BP	SI-1287
(early) Late phase	Black Rock Brook (EjBe-24)	3500±70 BP	SI-2438
	Ice Berg Site (EjBe-19)	3470±50 BP	SI-2433
		3055±75 BP	SI-2432
	Black Rock Brook (EjBe-24)	2960±70 BP	SI-2437
	Ice Berg Site (EjBe-19)	2920±60 BP	SI-2430
		2870±60 BP	SI-2429
	Big Brook 2 (EjBa-02)	2830±40 BP	Beta-171714
	Ice Berg Site (EjBe-19)	2820±75 BP	SI-2432
		2440±75 BP	SI-2428
		2410±50 BP	SI-2313
		2115±70 BP	SI-2427

Table 5: Preliminary Revision of Intermediate Indian Culture-History

Time Frame	Hamilton Inlet	North-Central Labrador	Southern Labrador	Western Labrador
3500 BP – 2700 BP	Brinex complex Charles complex	Saunders complex	(early) Late phase	Unknown
2700 BP – 1800 BP	Northwest River phase			

² See description and analysis of FhCb-04 (Ushpitun 2) in Chapter Three

³ Two radiocarbon dates from Hound Pond 4 (3195±105 BP (SI-928) and 3095±120 BP (SI-927) were initially said to date this site to the Charles Complex; subsequently, however, this site was re-assigned to the Early (Archaic) Period, with the radiocarbon dates being the result of a forest fire in the region (Fitzhugh 1975b).

In the following chapter, Chapter 3, new site-specific data from Happy Valley – Goose Bay are presented. Analysis of these two Intermediate Indian sites is undertaken relative to the culture-history revisions proposed in Table 5. Of particular importance is the relationship between the Saunders, Brinex and Charles complexes.

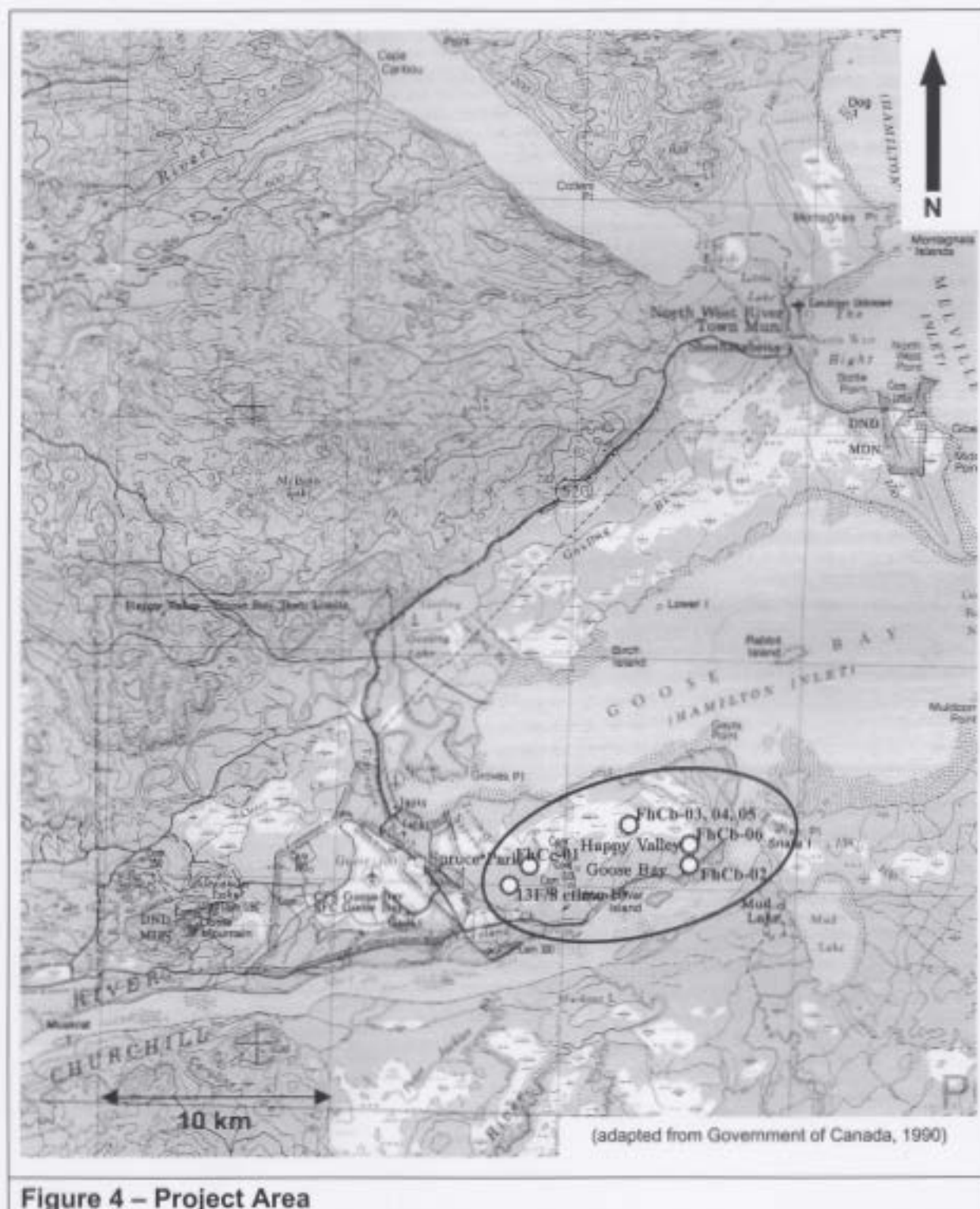
Chapter Three

Intermediate Indians: Archaeological Sites FhCb-04 and FhCc-01

Introduction

Archaeological sites FhCBb-04 and FhCc-01 are located in Happy Valley – Goose Bay, Labrador, on the peninsula separating the Churchill River from Goose Bay, in western Lake Melville/Hamilton Inlet (Figure 4). As described by Fitzhugh (1972:15), "Hamilton Inlet is a unique environmental unit". It is the largest natural body of water in Labrador. It provides a water route from the outer coast at Groswater Bay, through Lake Melville/Goose Bay to the interior. The inlet also covers distinct vegetation and topographic zones, representing the majority of environmental niches available in Labrador (Bell 2002; Fitzhugh 1972; McGee 1961).

Today the region is classified as a coniferous forest biome (Shelford 1963), and the spruce dominated boreal forest is considered to have existed in this region for ca. 4000 years (Fitzhugh and Lamb 1985; Jordan 1975; Neilsen and Josephs in review). The climate is considered to be subarctic; temperatures average below - 3.2°C and above 10°C during the coldest and warmest months respectively, with at least 3 cm of precipitation during each month, and no more than three months of temperature at 10°C or warmer (Hidore and Oliver 1993; Josephs and Neilsen in review).



Historically, residents of the Lake Melville region have had access to two separate species of caribou (the woodland herd and the barren ground herd); over twenty-five species of goose, duck and other birds; seals; fur bearers (bear, beaver, mink, weasel, marten, muskrat, fox, lynx, wolf, otter, squirrel, and hare); and porcupine and fish (including salmon, trout, and smelt) (Fitzhugh 1972; McGee 1961).

Floral resources available in the same region include birch, spruce, alder, willow, lichen and moss, poplar, aspen, Labrador tea, fireweed, cotton grass, orchids, violets, butter cups, beach pea, dandelion, bake apples, blueberry, partridge berry, tundra cranberry, bear berry, raspberry, and wild cherry (Fitzhugh 1972; Watts 2000). Additional natural resources available to residents of this region include locally occurring quartzite, possible quartz veins associated with outcropping bedrock (IELP 2002), and maybe Saunders chert (McCaffrey, Loring and Fitzhugh 1989).

Apart from the lithic materials, none of the resources listed above is typically preserved on Intermediate Indian archaeological sites. However, they were present at the time of occupation and they do have documented uses for subsistence, fuel and medicine; and we can assume Intermediate Indians used them as needed and available.

Glaciations in Labrador extended from a variety of central points in the interior; and the western portion of Hamilton Inlet was covered by glacial ice, extending towards the coast from a central point near modern day Labrador City,

effectively limiting occupation of the region until sometime between 10,000 and 7,500 BP (Clark and Fitzhugh 1992; Fulton and Hodgson 1979; JWEL 2000). As the glaciers receded sea-levels reached their highest levels (Fitzhugh 1972). Soon after the effects of isostatic rebound took hold, and previously submerged landmasses began to emerge from the sea. Emergence of these new formations resulted in creation of new habitat for colonization and occupation, but at the same time destroyed existing habitats. As the land emerged, the narrows diminished and the lacustrine and riverine environments known today began to form (Clark and Fitzhugh 1992; Fitzhugh 1972; Fitzhugh and Lamb 1985; Jordan 1975; Josephs and Neilsen in review; JWEL 2000).

Because of the significant weight of the glacial overburden in the region, western Hamilton Inlet/Goose Bay has undergone the most significant rate of emergence in all of Labrador (Clark and Fitzhugh 1992; Josephs and Neilsen in review; JWEL 2000). As a result, sites often separated by great vertical distance can be close chronologically, and an understanding of the emergence rate can help to date the landforms with which these sites are associated, thus providing a possible date for the occupations themselves.

The sea-level curve constructed for the region (Figure 5) indicates that western Hamilton Inlet/Goose Bay has undergone approximately 135 m of rebound since deglaciation, and sites once associated with the shore's edge may now be found inland as far as 6 km at elevations exceeding 120 m (JWEL 2000).

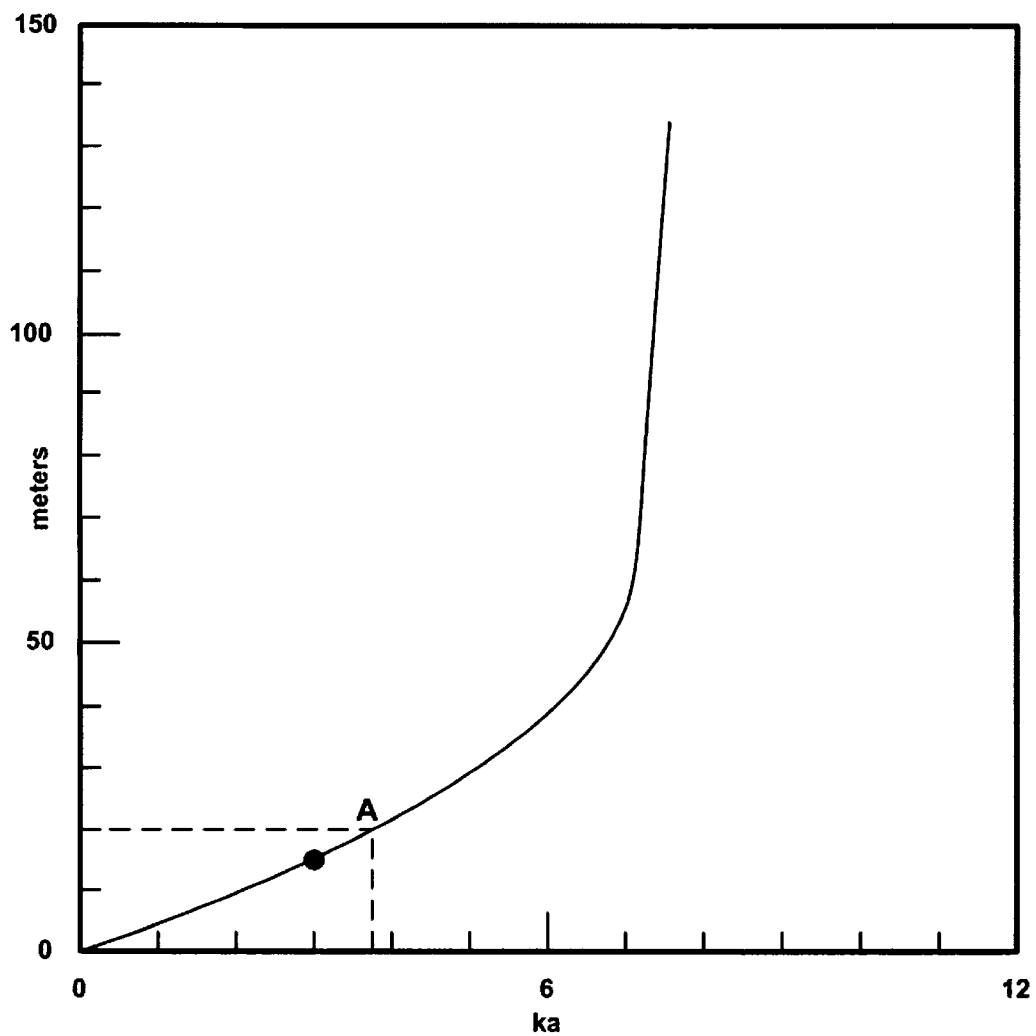


Figure 5 - Postglacial Relative Sea-Level Curve for Western Lake Melville (after Clark and Fitzhugh 1991) (A – Emergence of FhCc-01, approximately 3750 BP. The black dot represents 3000 BP sea level, approximately 15 m higher than current mean sea level (Josephs and Neislen, in review))

In western Hamilton Inlet the earliest evidence of human occupation comes from the Mud Lake vicinity, where in situ artifacts were recovered from an elevation (35 m asl) that would indicate occupation during the Labrador Archaic period (JWEL/IE 2001a). Other artifacts supporting a late Archaic occupation of Lake Melville have been recovered at Northwest River (see Chapter 2). The earliest radiocarbon date in this region of Labrador comes from Northwest River; this sample was recovered at an elevation of 23 m asl, and is attributed to the Brinex complex. Additional radiocarbon dates document an Amerindian presence in Lake Melville through the Intermediate and Recent periods, with site concentrations at Northwest River, Sheshatshiu, and the Churchill River.

Today the Lake Melville region is home to permanent residents of no less than three distinct Aboriginal traditions, including; Innu, Inuit and Métis. The main communities are Happy Valley – Goose Bay, Sheshatshiu, Northwest River, and Mud Lake. Coincidentally, or not, these same locations are where the majority of pre-contact sites have been recovered in the region (Figure 4).

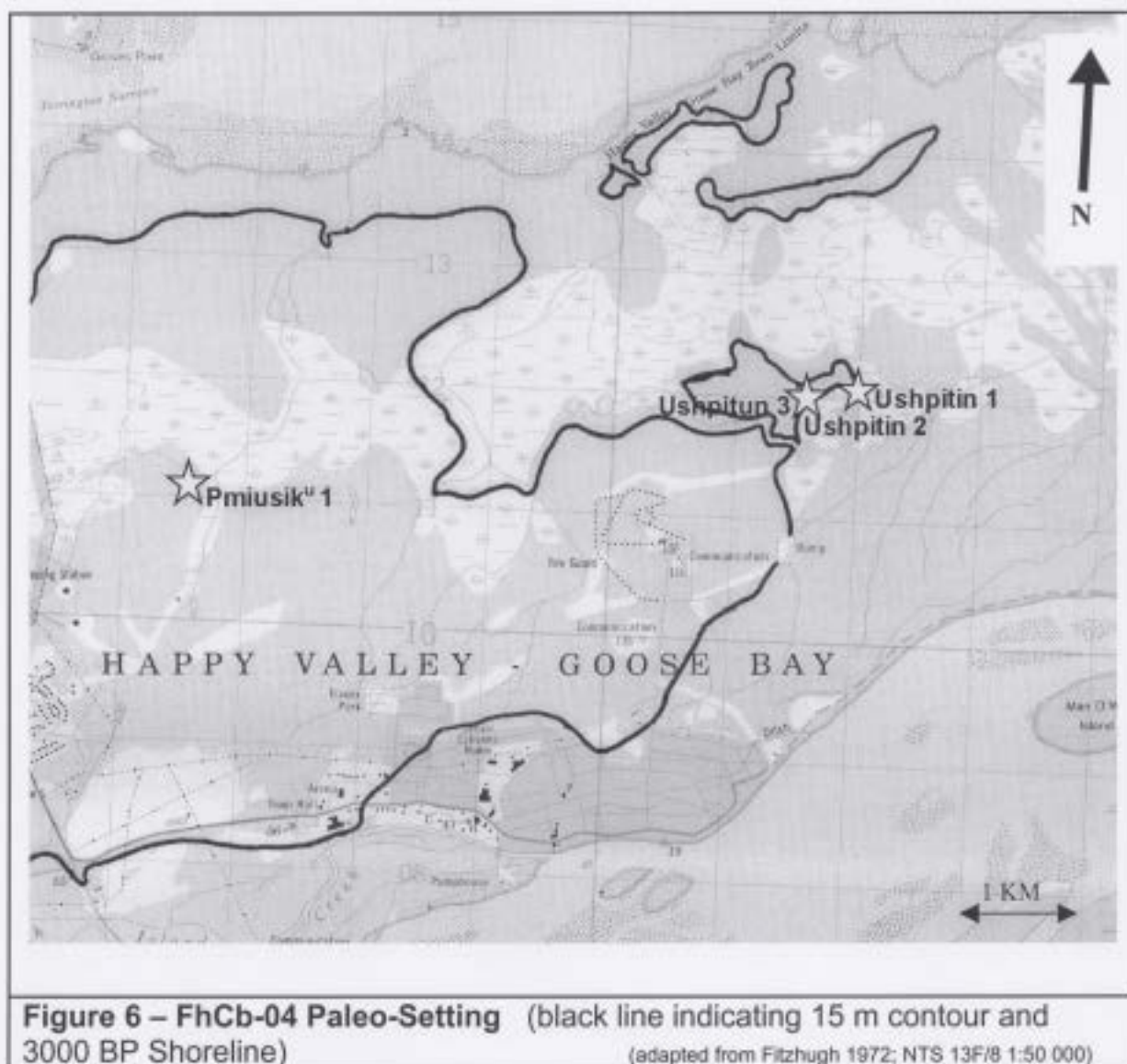
To date seven sites have been recorded on the peninsula (Figure 4). These include the two described herein (FhCc-01 and FhCb-04) and five others. Sites FhCb-02 and FhCb-06 are both Recent Indian sites, at lower elevations along the river; a third is the remains of a historic trappers tilt – ethnographic site 13 F/8 ethno-01. The other two sites, FhCb-03 and FhCb-05, are within proximity to FhCb-04. FhCb-03 is a red quartzite Brinex complex assemblage on the elevated point at the head of the former cove (IEDE/JWEL 1999b; PAO 2004) –

approximately 200 m east of FhCb-04. It is elevated 1 m higher than FhCb-04, therefore considered older, with a similar vantage to FhCc-01. FhCb-05 was identified during the EMSAP Project. It is at the same elevation as FhCb-04, but investigations have not been undertaken and the assemblage consists of heated stones and one quartzite flake.

FhCb-04: Description and Assessment

The site record form for FhCb-04 documents it as an Intermediate period Saunders complex site located on the Happy Valley peninsula, in a small bay at a former confluence of the Churchill River and Lake Melville (GPS co-ordinates on the site record form located the site at 17 m asl, Latitude 53°19' 41" N Longitude 60 ° 16' 25" W (Figure 6).

The site was first recovered in 1998 during constraint assessment for the Lower Churchill Hydro Development (IEDE/JWEL 1999b). A total of thirty-nine flakes (thirty-eight Saunders chert, one quartzite) were recovered from five positive test pits. Foot survey associated with the testing program identified possible hearthstones poking through the surface between two of the positive test units (JWEL/IE 2001b). The site report records this as "a very nice single component occupation consisting of lithic material scattered around a single hearth, with the possibility of additional loci nearby" (IEDE/JWEL 1999b; PAO 2004).



FhCb-04 is the only Saunders complex site recorded in the Lake Melville/Hamilton Inlet region. However, Charles complex sites at Northwest River are thought to overlap FhCb-04 in time (see Fitzhugh 1972); and, as previously noted, similarities do exist between these two complexes (see Chapter 2). The implications of this are considered at the conclusion of this Chapter.

Site Environment

Today FhCb-04 is located 3 – 4 km inland from the current course of the Churchill River and the shore of Lake Melville, on a sandy terrace (ridge and swale system) boarded by bog (Figure 4; Figure 7). Disturbance and weathering are evident, with post-depositional wind and pedestrian traffic being the biggest culprits. Flooding and ice rafting are also likely to have impacted the site in the years immediately following occupancy. Ground vegetation in vicinity of the site includes moss, sheep laurel, crowberry, red berry, bake apple, and blueberry. Willow, spruce, birch and larch are sparsely spread throughout the area. All the marketable trees in vicinity of the site have been harvested. Disturbance from shrub and tree roots was evident, but generally appeared low (Plate 1).

Faunal resources within the site local could include all the terrestrial species previously listed for Lake Melville; but with the exception of birds, a squirrel and pet dogs, no terrestrial species were observed during the four weeks of fieldwork undertaken at the site.

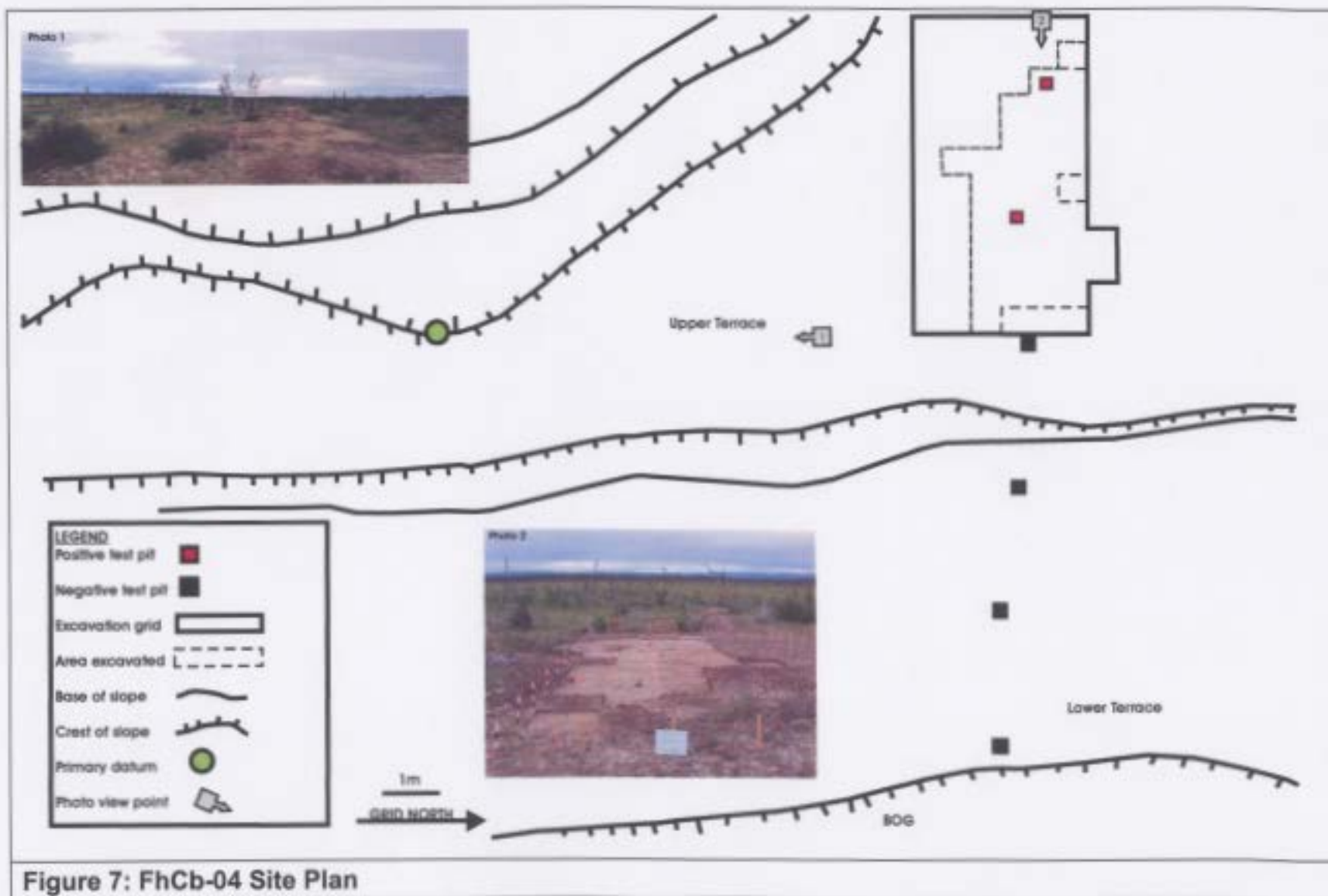


Figure 7: FhCb-04 Site Plan

Stratigraphic Description

The duff layer at FhCb-04 was comprised of spruce needles, cones and seeds, caribou moss, shrub leaves, twigs and some roots. Immediately below the duff layer was a root mat growing within a very thin matrix of black peaty soil (mix of decaying organic material, some sand, ash and burnt wood). Together these layers are referred to as Level A (Plate 2).

The subsoil at FhCb-04 is fluvial deposited sand of the Goose Bay Soil Association (Josephs and Neilsen in review; St. Croix 2002). On average, the upper four centimetres of sand (Level B) were generally a bit finer than the material below, and were completely leached of nutrients. Artifacts were not typically present below this level. Level C was grainier than Level B and ranged from light brown to orange-brown in colour (depending on the amount of iron and leaching present). Stones are not abundant in the parent material of the site locale (St. Croix 2002), and it appears as though the stones present were transported to FhCb-04. Test pits excavated on the lower terrace, in front of this site, identified the water table at 62 cm below surface, 1.5 m to 2.0 m below the surface at FhCb-04.

Micromorphological Description

Micromorphological investigations undertaken at FhCb-04 by Dr. Richard Josephs of the University of North Dakota included the collection of undisturbed and loose soil samples from the grid north wall of excavation unit N5W5 (Plate 3). The fourteen vertically contiguous soil samples were collected in plastic utility boxes and then wrapped in plastic wrap and tinfoil, as per Josephs and Bettis

(2003). These undisturbed samples were submitted to National Petrographic Services Inc., Texas, where they were impregnated with clear epoxy, bonded to glass slides and polished to a final thickness of 0.03 mm (Josephs and Neilsen in review). Now translucent, the thin sections were returned to Dr. Josephs and analysed using a Nikon Optiphot-pol polarizing microscope (Josephs and Neilsen in review).

The loose soil samples (approximately 200 g each) were collected from each stratigraphic level and transported to Dr. Joseph's lab in North Dakota. The samples were disaggregated using sodium hexametaphosphate, and organic particles were dissolved using a 30% solution of hydrogen peroxide (Josephs and Neilsen in review). The remaining soil was separated between coarse (sand) and fine (silt and clay) particles. The sand was further separated into coarse (2-0.5 mm), medium (0.5-0.25 mm) and fine (0.25-0.0625 mm) fractions with a number 230 sieve (Josephs and Neilsen in review).

As a result of this analysis it was learned that the FhCb-04 soils exhibit characteristics "common to sandy podzols" (Josephs and Neilsen in review). The medium to coarse angular grains recovered in the samples were found to be poorly sorted, and many gaps were noted. This suggests the material was deposited "in a relatively high velocity and turbulent depositional regime" (Josephs and Neilsen in review), like one could expect to find at the confluence of a transforming Churchill River and Hamilton Inlet/Lake Melville.

Paleo Environment

As stated previously, FhCb-04 is elevated about 17 m asl, and it is located approximately 4 km inland from the Churchill River. When considered in association with Clark and Fitzhugh's (1992) sea-level curve for Goose Bay (Figure 5) we find that the 15 m contour was the active shoreline ca. 3000 BP (also see Fitzhugh 1972:330–333), placing the site in an environment very different from that observed today (Figure 6; Figure 8).

“At the time the Ushpitun 2 site was occupied (2810 ± 70 BP), it was located along the southeastern shoreline of a small island at the eastern end of the proto-Goose Bay Peninsula. Based on the 3000 BP shoreline (the 50-foot contour), the island would have been only 60 m from the main body of the peninsula at its closest point. It is quite possible that during low tide, the "island" was connected to the peninsula as water evacuated the narrow strait" (Josephs and Neilsen in review).

Today, the outline of the "island" and "strait" are visible on aerial photographs (Figure 8), and the "strait" currently acts as a stream draining into the bog. When occupied FhCb-04 would have been approximately 1 m above high tide, and seasonal flooding is likely to have submerged the formation entirely. The site was approachable by boat during high tide; but because of the gradual decline in grade from the site terrace to the contemporaneous location of the Churchill River, coupled with an increased marine influence at the time (Fitzhugh 1972), it is likely to have been accessible only by foot at low tide. The amplitude of aquatic energy and increased marine influence probably limited the growth of vegetation on the lower terraces, and it may have been an active sand beach when the site was occupied.



Figure 8 – FhCb- 04 Location and Setting

On the upper (site) terrace, the short span between emergence and occupation, the likelihood of seasonal flooding and storm surges, and post emergence wind erosion almost certainly limited vegetation to shrubs and grasses, or possibly the early beginning of a boreal forest. It is extremely unlikely that terrestrial resources were present in greater numbers than today. Aquatic resources would have included both riverine and marine species; but the shallow water in the small cove and the overall tidal regime would have limited these.

The shallowness of the water is also likely to have limited the duration of occupation through the Intermediate period; and the locale is not likely to have been attractive for occupation much past the date proposed for FhCb-04. As the land emerged the cove silted in (becoming more and more shallow); and within the span of a few hundred years the small island forming at the mouth of the Churchill River became completely terrestrial. Similar situations have been described for other Intermediate Indian site locales in western Hamilton Inlet (IEDE/JWEL 1999a).

Climate at the time of occupation is somewhat questionable but proxy data exist from nearby locations. Pollen diagrams, based on core samples from Alexander Lake 8 km west of Goose Bay and Northwest River Pond 800 m south of Northwest River (Jordan 1975), imply that a stable vegetative environment, dominated by spruce, but also including fir, alder, birch, sedges, lily pads, pine, club moss, quillwort and others, existed in the region following approximately 4000 BP (Fitzhugh and Lamb 1985; Jordan 1975).

Leading up to 4000 BP, immediately following and adjusting to deglaciation in central Labrador, vegetative trends were successive and the climate was warmer (Fitzhugh and Lamb 1985; Jordan 1975). After 4000 BP, a landward shift in the Labrador Current (Speiss 1993), a general decline in the “altitudinal forest limit” (Fitzhugh and Lamb 1985) and the steadying of “sub-arctic” vegetative structures is believed to demonstrate a steady, although general, cooling trend (Jordan 1975), culminating in the conditions present today.

Consequently, although the landscape was changing dramatically (Clarke and Fitzhugh 1992) (rising as much as 7 m per century between 6500 and 5000 BP (Jordan 1975), the vegetative structure, and possibly the climate, may have provided the consistency or balance needed in a noticeably changing environment like Goose Bay. “These cultures appear to have responded to a variety of environmental, historical and cultural-ecological conditions (Jordan 1975)” and “as we learn more about the archaeology of Labrador, it appears that social and economic factors must be given a larger role in interpretations of [the] cultural and territorial change[s] ” (Fitzhugh and Lamb 1985) evident in the sites identified.

Cultural Description

As outlined in the introduction of this chapter FhCb-04 was initially recorded as a Saunders complex site (IEDE/JWEL 1999b). This assessment was based on the near exclusive use of Saunders chert, site elevation at 17 m asl, and linear flaking technology. No diagnostic artifacts had been recovered and the

site date at ca. 3000 BP was based on the site elevation and correlation with the relative sea-level curve constructed by Clark and Fitzhugh (1992).

Data recovered through the EMSAP Project both confirm and question this assignation. The cultural material recovered, including the near-exclusive use of Saunders chert and a C14 date of 2810 ± 70 BP (Beta-198378) clearly place FhCb-04 within the Saunders complex as described in Chapter 2. Having said this, the same data also fits with descriptions of the Charles complex; and the issue of Brinex – Charles – Saunders complex continuity, as originally highlighted by Nagle (1978), becomes a major question.

First though, the artifact assemblages and feature descriptions, those characteristics used herein to determine culture-historical relations, recorded at FhCb-04 are detailed. Subsequent to this, the site is assessed and the artifact and feature implications are considered in relation to site function. Then, the culture-historical relations and the implications of identifying this as a Saunders complex site, rather than as a Charles complex site, are discussed in Chapter 4.

Lithic Description

Lithic types recovered during the initial 1998 testing included the same varieties recovered during the 2004 excavations (Table 6). The assemblage includes a variety of multi-coloured coarse to fine grained lithics including varieties of pink, purple, red, grey, lavender, white and black cherts and tan quartzite. Consideration of these lithic materials, including sources, functions, and distribution, provides important data relating to group mobility, internal and

external associations, culture-history, site function and social patterns (Andrefsky 1998; Cowan 1995; Kooyman 2000; Loring 1989, 2002; Odess 1989).

Table 6: FhCb-04 Lithic Material Frequencies

Material Type	Number	Percentage
Chert	2815	98.22%
Quartzite	51	1.78%
Total	2866	100%

Saunders Chert

Chert was by far the dominant lithic material at the site (Table 6).

Summarized above, this included a wide variety of colours and grades common on Intermediate Indian sites around Hamilton Inlet and further north along the coast of Labrador. As a lithic category, Saunders chert was first described in 1978 with designation of the Saunders complex (Nagle 1978); and since this time, it has become one of the major traits used to ascribe Intermediate Indian sites to this complex.

The source of Saunders chert has yet to be identified, but is thought to be somewhere in the near interior of Labrador, between Northwest River and Davis Inlet (McCaffrey, Loring and Fitzhugh 1989; Loring 1989). In various sources (Fitzhugh 1972; Loring 1989; McCaffrey, Loring and Fitzhugh 1989; Nagle 1978) this material is described as containing a wide variety of colours and grades. Included within these are various shades of purple, lavender, grey, pink, green-black, white and tan. These specimens are typically opaque, but can range towards semi-translucent, especially along the edge of finely flaked, fine-grained specimens. Hand-samples often contain small light coloured inclusions and dark or light bands. However, because the source is not known comparative studies

and fingerprinting have not been undertaken and a clear understanding of the categories range, both in colour and texture, is unknown.

All the cherts recovered from FhCb-04 fall within this description. Many of the artifacts show ranges in colour within the same specimen (e.g. varying from an opaque pale pink to a semi-translucent pink (Plate 4)). The few cortical specimens recovered indicate that the variance in colour was internal, and that specimens were much more homogeneous on the outside. In all cases at FhCb-04 the cortex observed was a pale grey – white, with a rough texture.

Without knowing the specific source of Saunders chert it is difficult to know how much variation to accept within this lithic set. Investigations into the Fleming formation at the northern end of the Labrador Trough have identified a green – grey, green – black to sometimes tan variety of chert known as Fleming chert (McCaffrey 1989a, 1989b); and it could be that the green – black and tan specimens previously assigned to Saunders chert are from this far interior location. White chert is common in Madden's (1976) Late phase sites in southern Labrador, where it is thought to source to "Bradore, Belle Isle or Western Newfoundland" (Madden 1976). Additionally, cobbles of grey "banded lava", so common on Charles complex sites in Northwest River (Fitzhugh 1972) and also present at FhCb-04, have been observed in cobble form along the Churchill River (JWEL/IE 2001a).

Tan Quartzite

Quartzite is the only regularly utilized lithic material known to occur in proximity to Goose Bay and it is likely that the material at FhCb-04 was from the region. It is typically collectable from glacial deposits, eroding and down cut waterways, along the edges of active and formerly active beaches (Fitzhugh 1972:39), and from sand blowouts. Not restricted to a specific location, collection of quartzite was likely opportunistic in nature — collecting pieces as they were encountered or required.

At FhCb-04 tan quartzite is the secondary lithic category present (Table 6). Generally it is not as fine grained as Saunders chert, and it may not be suitable for as many functions. Quartzite is commonly found on Intermediate Indian sites throughout Labrador. When associated with Saunders chert and other fine grained Labrador cherts it is typically of secondary focus, and it is most often recovered in debitage and biface fragments. Complete lanceolate, notched and stemmed bifaces are also known (Fitzhugh 1972; Madden 1976; Nagle 1978).

Before moving on it is important to take note of some typical Labrador lithic materials that were not recovered at FhCb-04. Most notable of these is Ramah chert. Used almost exclusively in the terminal Labrador Archaic and Recent Indian traditions this material is curiously absent from early Intermediate Indian assemblages in Hamilton Inlet. Red quartzite, another popular lithic material in the Labrador Archaic does see continuity into the preceding Intermediate Indian Brinex complex, but this does not continue into the Charles

complex at Hamilton Inlet or the Saunders complex on the north-central coast.

Reflecting this trend, red quartzite is notably absent from FhCb-04, as is Mugford chert, the most frequent material on Saunders complex sites in the Okak area (Cox 1977; Nagle 1978).

Artifact Description

Artifacts¹ recovered at FhCb-04 (Figure 9) consist entirely of lithic remains, which are separated into seven artifact categories (Table 7).

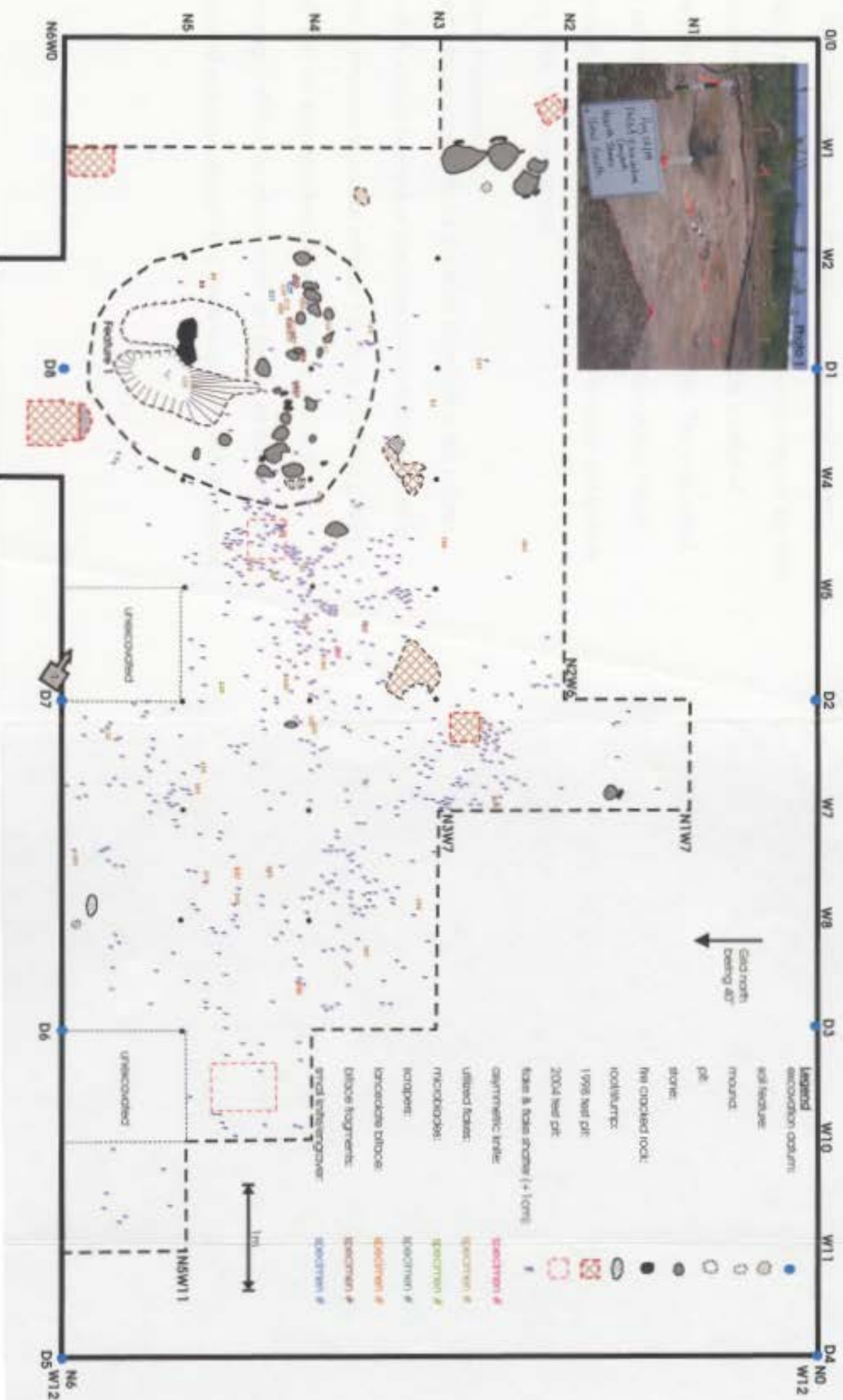
Table 7: FhCb-04 Artifact Record

Specimen	Number	Percentage
Bifaces	8	0.28%
Biface Fragments	17	0.59%
Utilized Flakes	17	0.59%
Flakes	311	10.85%
Flake Shatter	304	10.61%
Shatter	7	0.24%
Microdebitage ²	2202	76.83%
Total number	2866	100%

The use of organic materials is evinced by the presence of hafting marks on some of the recovered bifaces (Table 8) but no remains were encountered. A total of 17 m² were excavated, specimens 1 cm or larger were recorded to the closest centimetre within each 1 m² unit and assigned an individual catalogue number. Specimens less than 1 cm were recorded by quadrant and stratum within each excavation unit; specimens without provenience (e.g. in screen) were also included within the appropriate quadrant bag. Each specimen class (grouped by colour) within each quadrant bag was assigned a catalogue number.

¹ Here defined as the material remains of human activity, including lithic debitage.

² For the purpose of this study microdebitage includes all lithic material less than 1 cm in size and specimens recovered out of context (e.g. in screen). Microdebitage catalogue numbers may reference a number of specimens, depending on the abundance per specimen colour, unit quadrant and stratigraphic level.



Subsequent to excavation macroscopic analysis of individual specimens was undertaken. Specimens assigned individual catalogue numbers were assessed for a set of physical attributes. Each attribute was chosen on the basis of replicability and consistency and collectively they provide a detailed description of the entire lithic assemblage (Andrefsky 1998). The most relied upon herein are specimen type, provenience and production stage. These categories, individually and collectively, hold clues to site function and culture-history (Andrefsky 1998; Kooyman 2000).

Bifaces and Biface Fragments

Bifaces and biface fragments are the least abundant of the utilized artifacts recovered. A total of twenty-five specimens were catalogued. After analysis and refitting nineteen individual artifacts had been identified (Table 8), representing 0.87% of the total recovered assemblage, or 5.38% of the actualized assemblage³. Within the biface class can further be defined two subsets, those associated with procurement and those associated with processing.

³ This refers to the minimum number of actual specimens. Microdebitage, shatter and flake shatter are excluded because a true specimen count cannot be reached within these classes (Andrefsky 1998). For example, a linear flake may fragment into a number of pieces, resulting in an increased total count without an increase in the actual number of specimens.

Table 8 – FhCb-04 Tools

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Bifaces	166	N2W5	knife	Chert (light–dark grey)	Constructed from large flake. Flaking over all surfaces. Basal thinning present. Lateral margins unevenly flaked. May have been finished in haft (or re-sharpened). Large negative scar not the result of flaking.	6
	157	N3W3	end-scraper	Chert (purple)	Constructed from a linear flake. Flaking present along distal end, both ventral and dorsal surface; and on right margin, both ventral and dorsal surface – likely for hafting.	6
	207	N3W6	asymmetric knife	Chert (mottled light pink–pink)	Flaking over entire surface of specimen. Notch present on left margin and thinning or dulling on basal portion. Asymmetric blade with very fine flaking near tip. May have served as a perforator as well.	6
	829	N4W3	engraver/ knife	Chert (grey)	Constructed from a large flake with step fracture. 100 % flaking on dorsal surface, 50 % on ventral surface also on all four margins. Left margin, especially at distal end very finely flaked – appears to be working surface.	6
	237	N4W3	end-scraper	Chert (light grey)	Constructed from a large flake. Arris line running length of specimen. Staining present on both ventral and dorsal surfaces. Fine flaking along proximal, left and distal margins. Appears to have been hafted along step fracture.	6
	611	N4W3	end-scraper	Chert (light grey)	Proximal flake with bifacial retouch along proximal margin.	6
	339	N4W6	small knife	Chert (purple)	Short, wide shatter with flaking over two of three surfaces. Third surface is 100% white cortex (could be the platform). Must have been used for fine work.	6
	154	N3W3	small knife	Chert (grey with white specks)	Flake with bifacial retouch along right margin. Similar to a microblade.	6

Table 8 – FhCb-04 Tools (continued)

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Biface Fragments	107	N3W6	unknown	Chert (purple)	Proximal portion of a bifacial flake with a white cortical platform.	7
	824	N4W3	asymmetric knife	Chert (lavender–purple)	Proximal portion of an asymmetric knife; refit with specimen 825 to form complete specimen. Heavy staining on ventral surface.	7
	88	N4W3	engraver?	Chert (grey)	Medial section of a flake. Fine flaking along ventral edge of fracture. Fine flaking on both sides of left margin, giving it a concave shape and a sharp point.	7
	607	N4W3	unknown	Chert (light grey)	Proximal portion of a bifacial flake with a white cortical platform.	7
	236	N4W3	unknown	Chert (light –dark grey, with white bands)	Flake with bifacial retouch. Uncertain of function. Staining present on ventral surface flaking over entire dorsal surface	7
	825	N4W3	asymmetric knife	Chert (lavender–purple)	Distal portion of an asymmetric blade; refit with specimen 824 to form complete specimen. Heavy staining of ventral surface. Ventral surface of 825 is thinner and does not match with specimen 824. 824 may have been re-used after the initial fracture.	7
	596	N4W3	unknown	Chert (white)	Refits with specimen 597. Function uncertain. Staining on ventral surface. Possibly a blade of projectile stem.	7
	597	N4W3	unknown	Chert (white)	Refits with specimen 596. Function uncertain.	7
	826	N4W3	end-scraper	Chert (light grey with grey bands)	Distal portion of a bifacially worked flake. Refit with specimens 612, 613, 614 and 615 to form a complete end scraper. Like specimen 824, 826 appears to have been reused after fracture.	7
	612	N4W4	end-scraper	Chert (light grey with grey bands)	Medial fragment of a bifacially worked flake. Refit with specimens 826, 613, 61 and 615 to form a complete end scraper. Differing from specimen 612 appears to have been heated.	7

Table 8 – FhCb-04 Tools (continued)

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Biface Fragment (continued)	613	N4W4	end-scraper	Chert (light grey with grey bands)	Shatter from a bifacially worked flake. Refit with specimens 826, 612, 614 and 615. This specimen also appears to have been heated.	7
	614	N4W4	end-scraper	Chert (light grey with grey bands)	Medial fragment of a bifacially worked flake. Refit with specimens 826, 612, 613 and 615. This specimen also appears to have been heated.	7
	615	N4W4	end-scraper	Chert (light grey with grey bands)	Shatter from a bifacially worked flake. Refit with specimens 826, 612, 613 and 615. This specimen also appears to have been heated.	7
	40	N4W5	engraver?	Chert (light pink)	Function uncertain. Staining present on narrow end of specimen (left margin?)	7
	593	N4W5	unknown	Chert (white)	Portion of lateral and distal biface margin. Function uncertain. Some staining present on one surface.	7
	827	N4W8	lanceolate biface	Chert (light grey–grey)	Distal portion of large lanceolate biface. Fishtailed corners, and crushing on distal end.	5
	600	N4W9	lanceolate? biface	Quartzite (tan)	Medial section of a large biface. Thick and chunky, does not appear finished.	5
Utilized Flakes	249	N2W3	end-scraper	Chert (light grey with grey bands)	Medium sized flake with retouch along proximal margin, forming an end-scraper. Staining on dorsal surface.	8
	163	N3W3	end-scraper	Chert (grey with white specks)	Medium sized flake shatter with retouch along two margins. Specimen was larger before breaking.	8
	476	N3W5	flake-scraper	Chert (pink–light pink)	Flake shatter with retouch along one lateral margin. Some staining on ventral surface.	9
	186	N3W6	flake shatter	Chert (pink)	Flake shatter with use ware along one margin (distal end?). Staining present on dorsal surface.	11
	272	N4W3	flake shatter	Chert (light grey)	Flake shatter with retouch along one margin (proximal?). Staining present on dorsal surface.	11

Table 8 – FhCb-04 Tools (continued)

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Utilized Flakes continued	398	N3W8	flake shatter	Chert (grey–light grey)	Medial section of a linear flake.	9
	270	N4W3	flake-scraper	Chert (grey–light grey with grey bands).	Flake with retouch along proximal margin.	9
	608	N4W3	linear flake	Chert (grey with white specks)	Medial section of a “true” micro-blade. Retouch present along one lateral margin.	10
	609	N4W3	flake-scraper	Chert (grey with white specks)	Proximal portion of flake with retouch along left margin.	9
	89	N4W3	end-scraper	Chert (grey with white specks)	Proximal portion of utilized flake. End scraper fragment, scraping edge recovered. Appears to have broken in haft.	8
	59	N4W5	flake	Chert (pink)	Proximal flake with retouch along right margin and heavy staining on proximal end. Lighter staining on dorsal surface.	11
	216	N4W6	linear flake	Chert (pink–light pink)	Distal portion of a linear flake – micro-blade. Some staining on dorsal surface.	10
	359	N4W7	flake-scraper	Chert (light grey with grey bands)	Complete flake with signs of useware along distal margin. Staining present in same location. Cortical platform.	11
	365	N4W7	linear flake	Chert (pink)	Complete flake with signs of useware and retouch along left margin. Staining present on dorsal surface of same margin.	9
	598	N4W8	flake	Chert (light pink–pink)	Proximal flake with signs of useware along step fracture at distal end. Also appears heated or bleached.	11

Table 8 – FhCb-04 Tools (continued)

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Utilized Flakes continued	125	N5W4	linear flake	Chert (light pink– white)	Utilized linear flake. Retouch and staining at proximal end. Recovered from pit feature.	9
	130	N5W7	Flake	Chert (grey with light grey specks)	Complete flake with signs of useware along distal end.	11

Procurement activities are represented by two incomplete specimens (Plate 5) recovered in the western portion of the site. Specimen 827 was recovered from just below the surface in excavation unit N4W8 (Figure 9). It is constructed from grey – lavender Saunders chert. It is square based with fishtailed corners (i.e. the corners extend beyond the width of the lateral margins), a style similar to lanceolate specimens from Saunders and Charles complex sites on the north-central coast around Okak (Cox 1977) and at Northwest River (Fitzhugh 1972). As evinced by the lack of primary (50-100% cortical) and secondary (1-50% cortical) flakes of this material within the site assemblage (n=25; 8.04% of flakes recovered) it appears as though this specimen was transported to FhCb-04 as a finished biface or a preform.

Specimen 600 is also incomplete. The medial section of this biface was recovered from excavation unit N4W9 (Plate 5). It is made of tan quartzite. It is thick and could have gone through additional rounds of reduction. Its form prior to fracture, although not finished, could have served as a lanceolate biface, a chopper, a mortar, a wedge, or as a source for bifacial thinning flakes, capable of retouch and utilization. It is the only quartzite tool recovered at the site. Based on the water-worn cortical surface of one recovered primary flake (Specimen 8) it appears that this was a river cobble, most likely collected from the Goose Bay vicinity. Visually, the specimen is similar to bifaces recovered from the Cookery Site at Northwest River (Fitzhugh 1972), and hundreds of other quartzite lanceolate bifaces recovered from the boreal forest.

The remainder of the bifaces and biface fragments are of the processing class. All of these specimens were recovered east of the W6 grid line, extending along an east – west axis, no further than 0.5 m on either side of the N4 grid line (Figure 9). The highest concentration of specimens occurs in unit N4W3 (Figure 9), in association with Feature 1 (see below). In all cases the N4W3 specimens are exhausted or fragmented. Within the processing class there are eight complete specimens (Plate 6), including: one knife (Specimen 166); three scrapers (Specimen 237, 611 and 157); two small knives (Specimen 339 and 154); one asymmetric knife (Specimen 207); and an engraver or knife (Specimen 829) (Table 8).

Specimen 166 is constructed of a light grey Saunders chert with a dark grey inclusion. The tip maintains the original striking platform, indicating the specimen was constructed from a large flake-core. The lateral margins of the proximal portion (bottom half), especially the right margin, expand beyond the margins of the distal portion, and are not as finely flaked. They also appear dulled or ground. Based on this it seems that Specimen 166 was transported to the site as a preform (perhaps a flake blank), partially reduced and then discarded — most likely because an unintended spall weakened the specimen and made further reduction or hafting as a knife impractical.

Specimens 237, 611 and 157 are all classified as scrapers. Specimen 237 is an exhausted end scraper constructed from light grey chert. Its triangular cross-section similar to forms found in the Charles complex, the David Michelin

component, the Road component and the Saunders complex (see Fitzhugh 1972; Loring 1989). Specimen 611 and 157 are both flakes with bifacial retouch. Specimen 611 is an expedient tool that was fabricated and utilized at the site. Specimen 157 is a bifacially retouched flake and shows signs of hafting. It is small and of a style common to Intermediate Indians throughout Labrador.

Specimen 339 is a cortical biface with fine pressure flaking over both surfaces. It is constructed of purple Saunders chert. The cortical surface backing the specimen is white and rough in texture. Although small, this specimen is considered to be complete, presumably for use as a hand tool (i.e. small knife). The other small knife (Specimen 154) is distinct. Similar specimens are known from Charles complex and Road component sites at Northwest River (Fitzhugh 1972:270).

The asymmetric knife recovered (Specimen 207) resembles a utilized flake from the Piloski Garden site (Charles complex site) and an asymmetric knife from the Road site 2 (Road component site), in Northwest River (Fitzhugh 1972:267, 270). The one from FhCb-04 is constructed from mottled pink Saunders chert. The tip of the specimen is finely flaked and may also have served as a perforator. The base is thinned for hafting and there is one notch along the right margin.

Specimen 829 is an odd specimen. It is a step-fractured flake that was bifacially worked into a knife or engraver. All four margins exhibit retouch and the left margin in particular is very finely flaked and quite thin. I observed one similar

specimen from site FjCa-17 at Northwest River in the Intermediate Indian collections at the Provincial Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The rest of the bifacial processing specimens are fragments (Plate 7). Four of the five (Specimens 40, 88, 607, and 236) have step fractures present, while the fifth (Specimen 107) is a cortical flake. None of these specimens refits with the other biface fragments recovered, and it is presumed that they are fragments of unfinished, broken or exhausted tools. Specimen 593 is also a biface fragment. Used in its current form, it is vaguely similar to Brinex complex specimens from the Bunkhouse site (Fitzhugh 1972:275) at Northwest River and the Rigolet site (Fitzhugh 1972:281) in the Narrows.

The remaining nine biface fragments, all but four of which were recovered in the southern quadrants of excavation unit N4W3, were refit into three distinct specimens (Plate 7): an asymmetric knife (specimens 824 and 825); an end scraper (specimens 612, 613, 614, 615 and 826), and one unknown object (specimens 596 and 597). Of these, the asymmetric knife and end scraper are of particular interest because they were reused after the primary break. The distal portion of the asymmetric knife (Specimen 825), in particular, shows signs of post fracture use.

The refit scraper is similar to the larger, flat scrapers recovered from the Piloski Garden site at Northwest River (a Charles complex site) (Fitzhugh 1972:267) and from Saunders complex sites such as the Siugak River and Broomfield sites (Nagle 1978:135, 137), and the Daniel Rattle cache site (Loring

1989:54-55). Similar specimens are also known from the Black Rock Brook site (Madden 1976:152) in southern Labrador. This specimen was discarded in two stages. The four fragments recovered in unit N4W4 make up half of the specimen, and appear to be the result of secondary fractures that occurred after the scraper had split in two. The fact that this occurred after deposition is evinced by the lack of heating and secondary fracture on Specimen 826 — the other half of the refit scraper (this specimen was not recovered with the heat fractured specimens and as such maintains the original texture and colour).

The final refit consists of two specimens of white chert. Specimen 596 is the irregular object that forms the majority of the refit item. Fine retouch is present on three of the four lateral margins (the fourth is a step fracture). The second fragment of this item (Specimen 597) refits to the ventral surface at the step fracture. If hafted at the step fracture this object may have acted as an end scraper and/or abrader. Hafting at this location could also account for fragmentation of the two specimens, resulting from pressure and movement within the haft.

Utilized Flakes

As an artifact class utilized flakes exhibit signs of useware and/or unifacial retouch including, but not necessarily limited to: utilized linear flakes (blade-like flakes), scrapers and unmodified flakes (Table 7). Specimens are typically associated with processing activities and, with exception of the unifacial scrapers, are often described as expedient tools or informal tools (Andrefsky

1998; Kooyman 2000), selected for a specific task at a specific time. In some cases they are constructed from specialized cores (as in the case of microblades and linear flakes) or flake cores (as in the case of unifacial scrapers); while other times they are task specific, opportunistically selected reduction flakes.

At FhCb-04 this class of artifact makes up 0.59% of the total specimen count (n=17) (Table 7), or 4.82% of the actualized assemblage. In all cases these specimens are made from chert. As with the biface class the majority of the utilized flakes is concentrated along either side of the N4 grid line, east of the W6 grid line. Excavation unit N4W3 recurs as the unit with the highest concentration of specimens (Figure 9).

The most obvious tool forms within this class are the unifacial scrapers and fragments thereof (n=3), flake scrapers and linear flakes (n=8) (Plate 8 through Plate 10). For the most part these appear as exhausted specimens. Retouched flakes/flake shatter and unmodified utilized flakes/flake shatter (n=6) are also present (Plate 11), but are difficult to distinguish macroscopically from non-utilized debitage.

Debitage

By far the majority of specimens recovered from FhCb-04 aredebitage (Table 9).

Table 9: FhCb-04 Debitage Frequencies

Class	Number of Specimens	Percentage of Debitage Assemblage	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Flakes	311	11.01%	10.85%
Flake Shatter	304	10.76%	10.61%
Shatter	7	0.25%	0.24%
Microdebitage	(2202)	(77.97%)	(76.83%)
Proximal	664	23.51%	23.17%
Other	1538	54.46%	53.66%
Totals	2824	99.99%	98.53%

Often overlooked,debitage is an important device for interpreting archaeology sites, especially in areas and/or periods where little more than scant lithic assemblages are recovered (Andrefsky 1998; Cowan 1995). For reasons noted earlier, focusing on the flakes and microdebitage with striking platforms present (i.e. proximal specimens) within this assemblage (n=975, 34.02% of total assemblage) and further considering the recorded attributes provides data that are used to construct arguments related to site function, group mobility, regional interaction, feature interpretations, structure locations, etc. (Andrefsky 1998; Cowan 1995; Kooyman 2000).

Proximal flakes are recognized in two major sets at FhCb-04, those greater than 1 cm (flakes, n=311) and those less than 1 cm (microdebitage proximal flakes, n=664). Within this class, tertiary flakes, those generally associated with the final stages of stone tool production⁴, are the most abundant

⁴ Flake class was assigned based on the presence or absence of cortex on the dorsal surface

— 281 or 90.35% of the flakes recovered. Although there data were not specifically recorded for microdebitage specimens (because of their small size) they are generally considered to represent the finishing stages of manufacture, such as: sharpening and re-sharpening flakes and hafting flakes. Flakes greater than 1 cm also represent these classes, but they are generally considered to represent the reduction and shaping of bifacial preforms and/or specialized cores.

The near absence of primary and secondary flakes and the total absence of cores and exhausted cores indicate that primary reduction was not undertaken at FhCb-04. The relatively small size of the flake assemblage supports the assertion that the site debitage resulted primarily from maintenance of previously constructed tools and the completion of previously shaped preforms. Furthermore, not all lithic materials present in the debitage assemblage are represented in the tool assemblage, indicating that some tools completed, or at least maintained, at FhCb-04 were not discarded there.

Distribution of the debitage assemblage within the FhCb-04 footprint also provides important evidence for consideration. As highlighted in the preceding artifact description there are visible patterns in the distribution of processing and procurement specimens, and there is a marked difference in debitage distribution to the west and east of the W4 grid line. East of this line there was very little

(primary flakes: 50% – 100% cortical, secondary flakes: 1% – 50% cortical, tertiary flakes: 0% cortical). Generally, each class is considered to represent a stage of stone tool production. Primary and secondary flakes represent the preliminary stages of stone tool production (i.e. collection and reduction). Tertiary flakes are related to the final stages of production (i.e. shaping, sharpening and re-sharpening).

debitage (6.4% of totaldebitage assemblage) and a majority of bifaces (68% of total biface assemblage). West of the line the situation is reversed (Table 10); showing that tool maintenance and production took place to the west of the preparation/cooking area (Feature 1).

Table 10: FhCb-04 Artifact Distribution, West and East of W4 Grid Line

Location	Debitage		Microdebitage		Utilized Flakes		Bifaces	
	Number	Percent within class	Number	Percent within class	Number	Percent within class	Number	Percent within class
West W4	582	93.57%	2022	91.83%	10	58.82%	8	32%
East W4	40	6.43%	180	8.17%	7	41.18%	17	68%
Total	622	100%	2202	100%	17	100%	25	100

Another pattern ofdebitage distribution is recognized in the dispersal of lithic types throughout the site. Specimens of chert are evenly distributed throughout the site, and although no specific attempt was made to discern inter-site patterning within the chert class (such as colour distribution), certain trends were noted during cataloguing of the specimens. White and pink cherts are most heavily concentrated in the centre of the site within excavation units N3W5, N4W5, N4W6 and the northeast section of N3W6. Tools recovered from this same area also were generally made from light cherts. Darker cherts occur throughout the site area and do not appear to be concentrated in any one specific location.

Quartzite on the other hand, occurs in one colour only — tan — and it is limited to the western portion of the site, in vicinity of the quartzite biface recovered. There is not an abundance of this material and it seems that all tan

quartzite specimens were, on arrival at the site, part of one piece that was then reduced and a portion discarded in the western part of the site.

Feature Descriptions

Excavation at FhCb-04 identified two features directly associated with occupation of the site. Feature 1 is considered to be the remains of a cooking episode, while Feature 2 is described as a secondary work area. Other features were noted during excavation, including a small collection of stones and three soil features, but they were not directly associated with any artifacts and no apparent function could be determined. The remains of five 1998 test pits were also identified within the excavation area.

Feature 1

Feature 1 is located within 5 m of the bank separating terrace 1 and terrace 2 (Figure 9). It covers an area approximately 6 m². The feature was visible on the surface prior to excavation (Plate 12), and was later found to extend throughout the site's cultural layer (Plate 13). A well-sealed charcoal sample from unit N5W3 (Figure 9) was dated to 2810±70 BP (Beta-198378), demonstrating the feature's association with the site and confirming FhCb-04 within the time frame of the Saunders and Charles complexes.

The characteristics defining Feature 1 are: a sub-surface pit, an adjacent mound of mottled soil and charcoal bordered to the south by a semi-linear concentration of stones and fire cracked rock and interspersed with a concentration of exhausted bifaces, fragmented bifaces and utilized flakes

(Figure 9). Adjacent to the stones, in units N3W4 and N3W3, was a scattering of microdebitage (n=83) that is also considered to be part of Feature 1. Flakes are virtually absent from this feature.

The stones present in Feature 1 (Figure 9; Plate 14) served two primary functions. The state of decay noted for many of the smaller stones is consistent with stones that have been weakened through a process of repeated heating and cooling, similar to what one would expect to find if the stones had been used to heat fluids in a skin bag, basket, wooden bowl, etc. (Pintal 1998). The larger stones also show signs of having been heated, but not to the degree where their stability was impacted. These stones may have been used as a radiant heat source, or they may have had a processing function.

These stones are in secondary locations; that is, where they were deposited after use. The southern quadrants of unit N4W3 in particular, appear to be a depositional location. The stones in this area are more disorganized (i.e. randomly placed) than those in the south – west quadrant of N4W4, and, as previously discussed, the majority of processing specimens recovered here were fragmentary or exhausted. Proximity alone supports the contention that these stones were once associated more directly with the charcoal and pit, either as hearthstones, cooking stones or some combination of the two.

The pit itself is vaguely an inverted pyramid (Figure 9; Plate 15) with maximum measurements of 76 cm east – west, 95 cm north – south, and 31 cm deep. Two of the pit walls have steep slopes (east wall and south wall), while the

third wall (north-west wall) is more gradual. Bordering the pit to the west is a small mound of mottled sand and concentrated charcoal. The exact function of the pit within Feature 1 is not known; but the presence of stones, charcoal and processing implements in proximity indicate it was associated with cooking. There was no evidence of fire within the pit itself, but the thick charcoal concentration and fire-cracked rock document its presence immediately adjacent; it is certainly possible that a combination of heated stones and wood fire produced enough radiated heat to cook whatever was in the pit. The only artifact recovered from the pit was a utilized flake of pink Saunders chert (Plate 9, Specimen 125), which, too, is consistent with processing activities.

Feature 1 is best classified as a primary processing area; where subsistence resources were prepared and cooked. The presence of processing implements in association with microdebitage indicate the sharpening and use of these specimens at this location; and their association with stones, charcoal and the pit support the inference of a cooking feature. Also supporting this is the pattern of lithic debitage within Feature 1, and what appears to be a conscious effort to keep the pit and charcoal area clean — quite like what may be expected in an area where food was prepared.

The secondary distribution of stones also points towards cooking. Had the stones been in the pit, as a radiant source of heat, it would be necessary to remove them as part of the process. This action would also have kept them from

being buried by post-occupation sand deposition (i.e. water or wind); therefore, keeping them available for future visits to the locale.

Towards the inferred cooking function, the footprint of Feature 1 was recognized by Jodie Ashini (an Innu crew member) as being similar to the sand pits and fires used for baking bannock in the country (Plate 16).

Feature 2

Feature 2 is best described as a work-area with two, possibly three, activity centres (Figure 9). Each area corresponds to patterns noted in distribution of the lithic assemblage, which, in fact, was the only confirmable evidence of past human activity within the feature. Based on the evidence for hafting on some specimens it can be assumed that sinew, wood and/or bone was also once present within this feature. Charcoal flecks and soil discolouration were also noted within the feature, but cannot be confirmed as cultural in origin (see below). Three test pits (two from 1998 and one from 2004) are also located within the feature, but are not part of it.

The first activity area is concentrated within units N4W5, N4W6 and N3W5 (Figure 9). Characteristics separating this area from the surrounding units are: a general increase in the flake and debitage concentration, which is directly related to an abundance of pink and white chert, and the presence of processing implements (i.e. linear flakes, knives and perforators). Considered together these remains indicate an activity area specifically related to secondary processing such as the maintenance of existing tools, the finishing of preform specimens,

and the processing of faunal and/or floral remains. The dominance of perforators and knife-like specimens separates the processing activity undertaken at this location from that in Feature 1; where scraping specimens dominated the assemblage. A flat stone located in the northeastern quadrant of unit N3W5 may also be associated with the processing activity that took place here.

The second activity area evident in Feature 2 is concentrated in units N2W7, N3W7 and N4W8 (Figure 9). This area contained debitage counts similar to the first activity area, but the frequency of white and pink chert is greatly reduced. Purple and grey cherts dominate the assemblage here and processing tools are virtually absent. The activities undertaken here are linked with lithic reduction; possibly associated with the biface base (Specimen 827) recovered in adjoining unit N4W8, or its replacement. A single stone in the northwestern quadrant of unit N1W7 may be associated with this feature, although no signs of utilization were noted.

A third activity area, or perhaps an extension of the second, relates to the distribution of tan quartzite in the western extremity of the excavation. Although not heavily concentrated, this is the only area where tan quartzite appears in quantity, including Specimen 600.

Other Features

In unit N2W2, where it borders against N2W1, there is a grouping of three large stones and five smaller stone fragments (Figure 9; Plate 17). As was the case in Feature 1, the smaller stones are fragmented and unstable, and they

appear to have been weakened through the same heating and cooling process. The larger stones also appear to have been heated, but not to the same point as the smaller fire-cracked specimens.

Considering what has already been said about the natural occurrence of stones it seems that these stones must also have been transported to the site. The immediate association of fire-cracked rock also supports the identification of these stones as cultural specimens. Beyond this the function of the stones is unknown. Natural forces such as ice-rafting could also have moved the stones, or they could be the remains of an activity otherwise archaeologically invisible.

The remaining features recorded during excavation consist of test pits excavated in 1998 and pockets of soil discolouration (Figure 9; Plate 18; Plate 19). A total of five former test pits were noted during the site excavations undertaken in 2004. Remains of these pits were noted in units N2W1, N5W2, N5W5 and N2W7 (Figure 9). In all instances the test units were characterized by a lack of artifacts within them and the mottled nature of the soil. They were roughly square in shape, measuring approximately 35 cm x 35 cm, and they did not extend far into the subsoil.

Site Assessment

Considering environmental and cultural data presented in the preceding sections of Chapter 3 I have classified FhCb-04 as a Specialized Procurement Camp. After Fitzhugh's (1972:137) definition, a "Specialized Camp (internal)" refers to a location, within a group's territory, where a specific activity took place

(such as a stone quarry site), "recognized by functionally specialized remains or structures" (Fitzhugh 1972:137). The characteristics described also resemble the temporary characteristics of a light "Exploitation Camp" or a "Bivouac" (Fitzhugh 1972:137), but the FhCb-04 remains appear more specialized than these definitions imply.

The environmental characteristics previously noted portray the FhCb-04 environment as changing and volatile, an area unlikely to attract long term or generalized settlement. The exact resources being procured and processed are not known but the possibilities are limited. First, it is certain that lithic resources were not the attraction, as the sources in the region are limited. Second, we can be certain that shelter was not a draw. Despite the former presence of a broad cove at the site, the exposed nature of the landform and the turbulent nature of the immediately surrounding watershed would have left the occupants exposed to wind and waves. Further considering the landscape, it seems rather unlikely that FhCb-04 could have been occupied in the spring, when water was high, or that such an exposed area would have been inhabited in the winter. This limits the potential season of occupation to summer or early fall.

Taking into account the characteristics of sand-based islands in the river today (Plate 20), and the confined geographic space of the FhCb-04 landform at the time of occupation, it also seems unlikely that terrestrial resources were a major attraction. Avian and marine/aquatic species on the other hand provide much better options for consideration. The importance of both these resource

sets to the occupants of Hamilton Inlet is well known historically, and either of these possibilities could have been the attraction at FhCb-04.

The small ridges stringing the landform would have provided natural blinds and the broad cove could have provided a staging area for birds. Fishing in the paleo-cove would have been limited to certain species because of the shallow nature of the water, and the site would have been fairly far removed from any large fish runs that would concentrate in channels of the river. Along the coast though, it is not uncommon to see seals (likely grey seals) in shallow sandy coves at low tide where they sun themselves on beaches and boulders in the exposed tidal beds. Seals are known within the Hamilton Inlet region historically and their historical presence in the fresh water Seal Lake (Figure 2) indicates they have been available here since the sea-level maximum (most likely in greater numbers than today) (Fitzhugh 1972).

Considering the FhCb-04 lithic assemblage in light of the avian versus aquatic focus does not really aid in reaching a conclusion. Although considering the relatively large scraping specimens and the fractured lanceolate (procurement) specimens, it seems more likely that they were utilized on larger animals, which in this case would be the aquatic/marine species.

Either way FhCb-04 still presents as a specialized camp. Intermediate Indians visited the locale repeatedly, at least three times (as evidenced by the presence of FhCb-03 and FhCb-05), for the processing of recently procured subsistence resources, likely of an avian or aquatic nature. The site was not

occupied for a long period of time, or by many people. It was however, occupied for a specific purpose. All evinced activities, whether associated with the primary processing and cooking in Feature 1 or the secondary processing and lithic production/maintenance in Feature 2, were specifically associated with procurement.

FhCc-01: Description and Assessment

Archaeological site FhCc-01 was identified during the same constraint assessment as FhCb-04 (IEDE/JWEL 1999b). They are located on the same peninsula, but FhCc-01 is 5 km further inland (to the west) than FhCb-04 ((DGPS co-ordinates record FhCc-01 at latitude 53° 19' 17" Longitude 60° 20' 52" (Figure 4). Here, twenty-three flakes of red quartzite were recovered in two test units excavated along the edge of an elevated terrace overlooking a bog (IEDE/JWEL 1999b; PAO 2004). Additional testing undertaken in vicinity of the site at this time was negative (JWEL/IE 2001b); but the site form did note the potential for additional loci nearby (IEDE/JWEL 1999b; PAO 2004).

Beyond Intermediate Indian no specific cultural designations were assigned on the site form. However, it is noted that the site's elevation (20 m asl), relative to that of FhCb-04 (17 m asl), implies a date earlier than 3000 BP (IEDE/JWEL 1999b). Intermediate Indian sites with similar assemblages and elevations are known from Northwest River, where they are identified as Brinex complex (see Chapter 2). The issue of FhCc-01's cultural assignation is revisited following presentation of the 2004 excavation data.

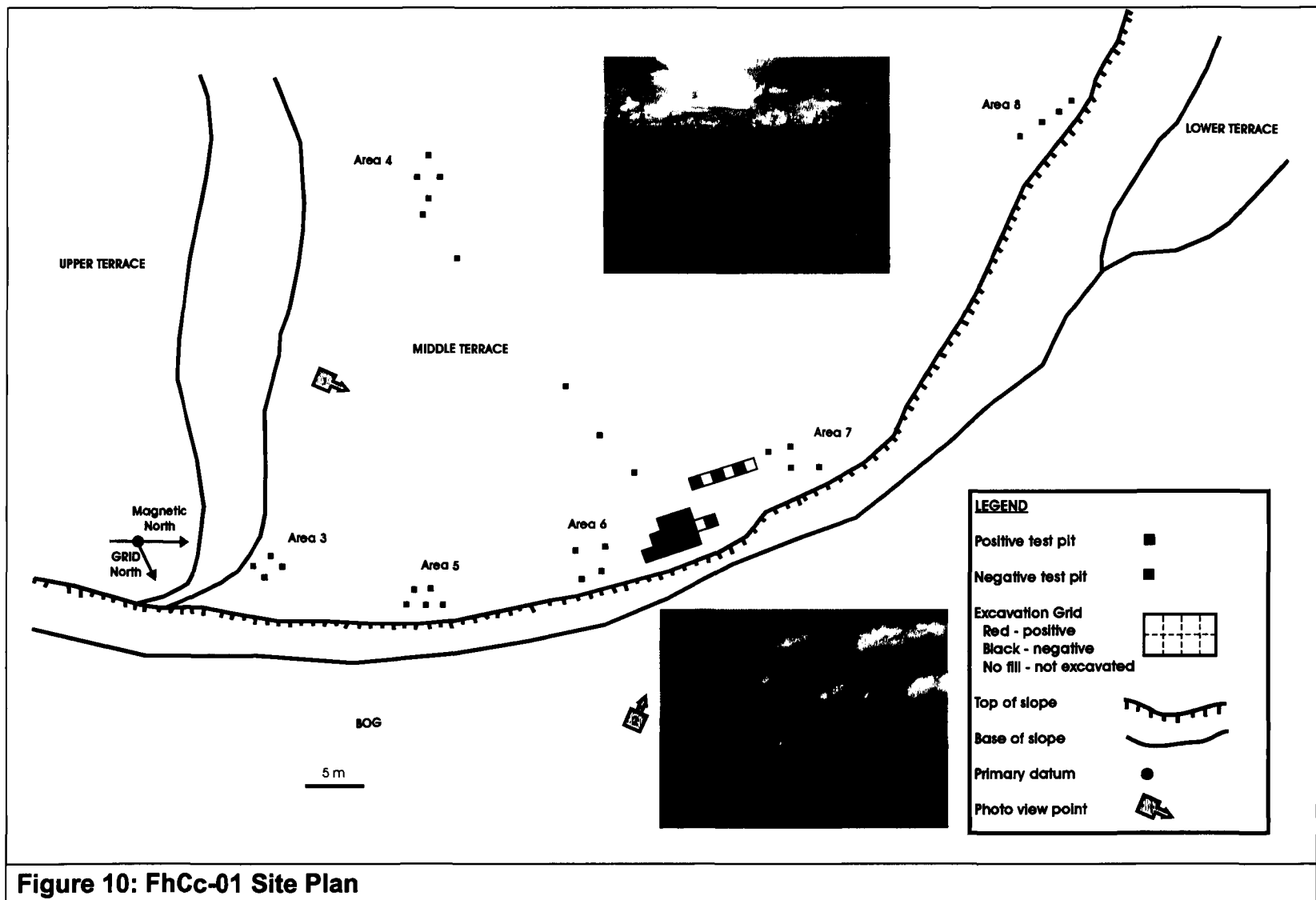
Site Environment

As the crow flies, FhCc-01 is located 2.5 km south of the nearest water, being Goose Bay, and 4.5 km north of the Churchill River (Figure 6) – on a large terrace overlooking an extension of the same bog that fronts FhCb-04 (Figure 10). The floral species present mimic those described for FhCb-04, but their distribution is thicker. This results in fewer disturbances from wind erosion and pedestrian traffic, but more displacement from tree throws and root disturbance (Plate 21). Having said this, disturbance at the site is not considered significant.

Few terrestrial or avian species were observed during field investigations at the site, and signs of activity were scarce. Like FhCb-04 the bog and neighbouring terrace systems are an attraction for berry pickers, and there is a faint ATV trail running atop the terrace. This is also said to be a former portage trail used to reach the Churchill River from Terrington Basin (The remains of a trapper camp noted along this trail (Plate 22) may speak to this fact).

Stratigraphic Description

The sod layer (Level A) at FhCc-01 is better developed than FhCb-04, and more intact. It contains Labrador tea and willow roots, spruce cones and needles, leaves, woody debris, ash and charcoal in various states of decay, all overlying and within a slip of rich black soil (Plate 23). This layer undulates with the pattern of roots and decaying deadfall, and in some locations it has been lost. Soil below the decaying vegetation (Level A) is characterized as “unoriented, well sorted, fine and sand-size grains” (Josephs and Neilsen in review).



Generally, Level B was a thin layer of fine leached (grey) silty sand. In some spots this extended into Level A above and Level C below, causing the surface undulation noted. Leaching associated with these pockets appears to be a direct result of tree root location, feeding on the iron in surrounding soils. Level C is the same silty sand as Level B, but the podzolization process has transferred the remaining iron from Level B into Level C; contributing to the bright orange – brown colour observed (Plate 23).

These layers are generally devoid of any stones, pebbles or gravel, as evinced by the complete absence of natural stones in the excavation and test units. This is consistent with FhCb-04 descriptions, and characteristics of the Goose Bay Soil Association (St. Croix 2002).

Micromorphological Description

Following the same process described for FhCb-04, six undisturbed samples and loose samples of each stratigraphic level were collected from the grid north wall of excavation unit N0E3, turned into slides and subsequently analysed. Results confirm that the FhCc-01 soil is finer and better sorted than at FhCb-04. This indicates sediments at FhCc-01 were deposited in a less energetic aquatic environment, on a gradually emerging head of land in western Goose Bay (Josephs and Neilsen in review). The high energy noted in the formation of the FhCb-04 landform was not yet present, water was deeper and the environment was likely more estuarine than riverine/lacustrine.

Paleo Environment

When the 20 m elevation of FhCc-01 is related to Clarke and Fitzhugh's model (1992) we find that the 20 m contour emerged from Goose Bay – Lake Melville ca. 3750 BP (Figure 5). Occupants at this time would have inhabited a much different environment than that found today (Figure 6). The FhCb-04 landscape was still underwater when the 20 m contour emerged, making the FhCc-01 locale the head of an emerging point of land; that would, within a very short time (approximately 700 years), become a peninsula separating Goose Bay from the mouth of the Churchill River.

This landform is still evident today, but the afforded vantage is now connected with the wetland rather than Goose Bay – Hamilton Inlet (Figure 11; Plate 24). At the time of occupation (some time after 3750 BP) water would have washed against the steep bank to the east of FhCc-01. To the north of the site, where the FhCc-01 terrace bends around to the west, is a more gradual slope suitable for boat landing during low and high tide.

The FhCc-01 terrace is level and as the micromorphological investigations demonstrated was formed under a stable aquatic environment. Because of the elevation of the FhCc-01 terrace and the less confined aquatic environment prior to 3000 BP, flooding episodes are unlikely to have been as much a problem as at FhCb-04. A less energetic aquatic environment would have allowed for better vegetation establishment on the FhCc-01 terrace and a more stable living environment, with more space for habitation. The more terrestrial location would have provided an increased presence of, or access to, faunal and floral

resources. Also, deeper water and the steep bank to the east of the site would have allowed for direct access to a more abundant marine environment than that proposed for FhCb-04.

Cultural Description

FhCc-01 was tentatively assigned an early Intermediate Indian affiliation when first identified (JWEL/IE 2001a). No datable organic material or diagnostic artifacts were recovered and the early time frame was based solely on site elevation. EMSAP investigations at FhCc-01 also failed to recover dateable organic materials and the chronological interpretations presented here still lean heavily, but not solely, on the proposed sea-level history.

The EMSAP lithic assemblage contains a broader variety of lithic types than the 1998 assemblage as well as some potentially diagnostic specimens. Analysis of these specimens offers support for the original Intermediate Indian assignation and when combined with the environmental data previously described, creates a more evolved picture of site function and culture-history (see below).

Lithic Description

Although not often chemically or biologically dateable, lithic remains are in many ways indicators of temporality. Within an ascribed region artifacts can often, on stylistic grounds, be assigned to a specific episode in time and it is sometimes the case that specific quarries, or lithic types, were used during specific periods and/or by specific groups.

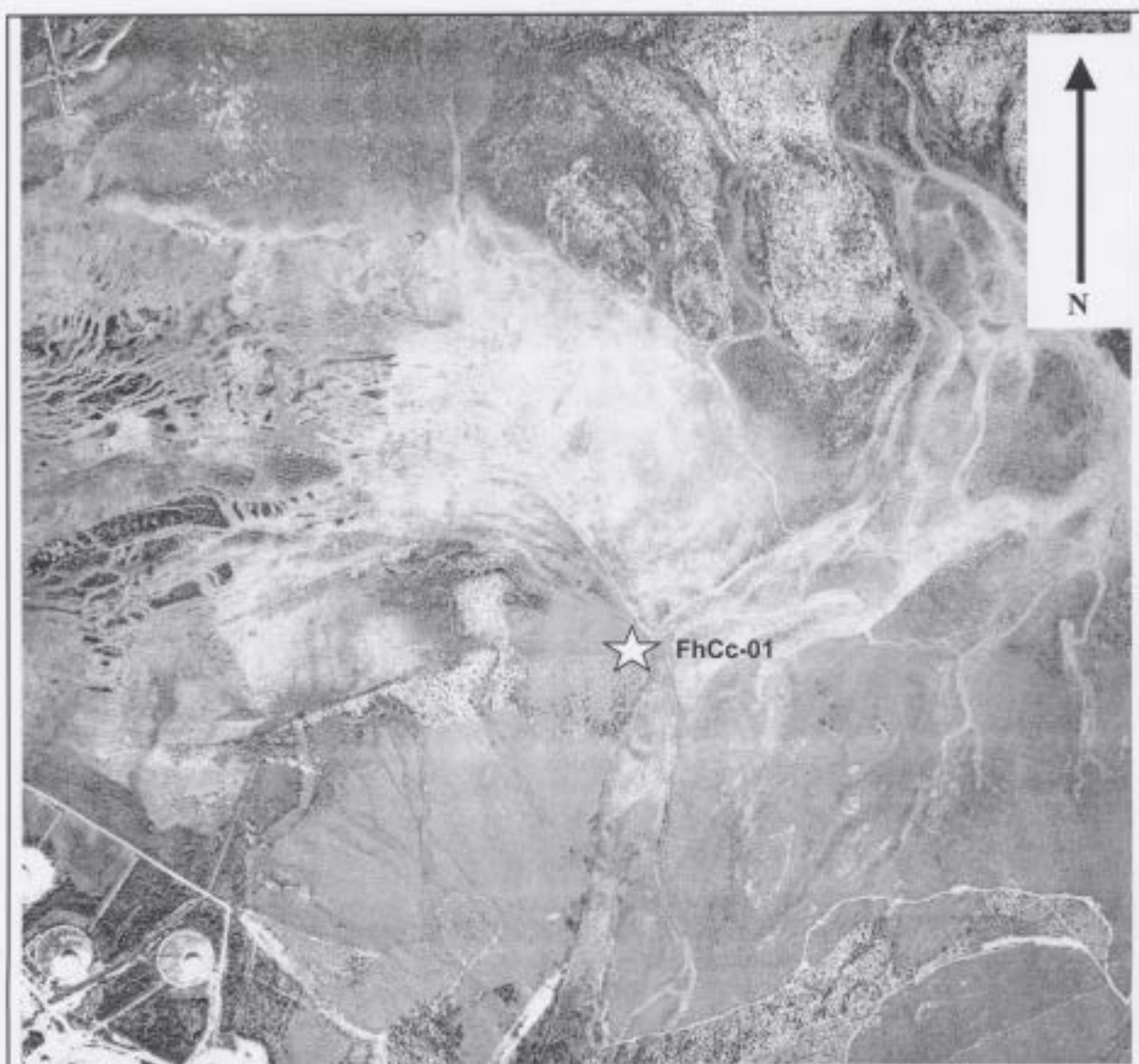


Figure 11 – FhCc- 01 Location and Setting

Excavations at FhCc-01 recovered two primary lithic types: quartzite and chert. Quartzite was the most abundant lithic material recovered, making up more than 92.48% (n=676) of the total assemblage. Other material recovered includes: chert; rhyolite; quartz and conglomerate stones (Table 11).

Table 11: FhCc-01 Lithic Material Frequencies

Material Type	Number	Percentage
Chert	37	5.06%
Rhyolite	9	1.23%
Quartzite	676	92.48%
Quartz	4	0.55%
Other	5	0.68%
Total	731	100%

Red Quartzite

This is by far the most abundant material recovered at FhCc-01 (Table 11). It is known to occur in primary locations such as the outcrops along the Kanairiktok River in north-central Labrador (Loring 2004). In Hamilton Inlet cobbles and smaller specimens are found in glacial deposits and along the rivers and lakes (Fitzhugh 1972). The archaeological concentration of this material extends from the Porcupine Strand, north. It is recovered from Amerindian sites along the coast and into the near interior.

In Hamilton Inlet, red quartzite is most prevalent in Amerindian assemblages during the early Labrador Archaic period (i.e. the Hound Pond component as described in Fitzhugh 1978) and the early Intermediate Indian period, (i.e. the Brinex complex as described in Fitzhugh 1972). The reason for this periodic focus on red quartzite is unknown, but in both cases it coincides with a marked decrease in the frequency of fine-grained cherts, particularly coastal chert (e.g. Ramah chert). This implies that the sources of these fine-grained

cherts were not known, as would have been the case with the earliest Archaic pioneers, or that they were outside the regular patterns of movement, as may have been the case with early Intermediate Indians.

Red quartzite was typically utilized in the manufacture of bifaces, including projectile points. Unfortunately none of these forms was recovered from FhCc-01. Here, some of the red quartzite specimens were utilized as expedient tools and three are considered to be preforms, the remainder are flakes and debitage.

Other Lithic Materials

The chert assemblage recovered is in direct contrast to the red quartzite assemblage. Of the thirty-seven specimens recovered (Table 11) almost half (n=13) are classified as tools, and all the debitage specimens are of the tertiary stage, most closely associated with sharpening and retouch. These include grey, light grey, purple and lavender Saunders chert; white chert, red chert, tan chert and brown chert. This is consistent with other sites dominated by quartzite assemblages, where a small percentage of the assemblage is typically opaque interior chert. The source of these materials is unknown but, like red quartzite, it seems to point toward a decreased focus on the coast, and Ramah chert.

Other lithic types recovered at FhCc-01 include conglomerate stones (which because of their coarse texture were utilized as abrading stones), a brittle material (possibly siliceous slate), translucent quartz, and other colours of quartzite (grey, tan, and purple). Only the quartzite and conglomerate stones are

thought to be available locally. All other materials, including the chert, would have required travel or trade to obtain.

Artifact Description

The FhCc-01 assemblage⁵ (Table 12) was recovered from six locations (Area 1 – 15m² excavation; Area 2 – 6 m² excavation trench; Area 3 – four test pits; Area 4 – four test pits; Area 6 – four test pits; and Area 8 – four test pits) spread over approximately 2325 m² (Figure 10); an area almost seventy times larger than the 35 m² recorded on the 1998 site form (PAO 2004). With the current level of knowledge there is not enough information from any of these areas to make a clear determination regarding chronological relationship. This site may be a palimpsest of repeated uses. However, if this is the case continuity in lithic type and technology indicates that it is confined to one population using the same locale on repeated basis not different groups using the same site at different times. Conversely, FhCc-01 may represent a single occupation by a larger group. Not knowing for certain which is the case each Area is discussed separately under the suitable heading below (i.e. bifaces, utilized flakes, debitage, etc.⁶) followed by an attempt to bring the individual descriptions together under an assessment of site function and culture-history.

With the exception of three small animal bone fragments recovered from a test pit in Area 4 all cultural remains were stone (Table 12). These materials most commonly occurred in the form of flakes, flake shatter and micro-debitage. Tool

⁵ The same techniques described for FhCb-4 were employed during the FhCc-01 investigations.

⁶ Only the Areas where artifacts were recovered will be discussed.

forms recovered included utilized flakes, bifaces, biface fragments and abrading stones (Table 12). In addition to the artifacts described fragments of fire-cracked rock were observed, as were a number of small angular stone chunks – their function is unknown (all from Area 1).

Table 12: FhCc-01 Artifact Record⁷

Specimen	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Area 6	Area 8	Total Number	Percentage
Cores	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.26%
Utilized stones	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.64%
Bifaces	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.64%
Biface fragments	6	0	1	0	0	0	7	0.90%
Utilized flakes	18	1	0	3	0	0	22	2.82%
Flakes	100	0	0	0	0	0	100	12.82%
Flake shatter	72	0	0	0	0	0	72	9.23%
Microdebitage	516	0	5	35	4	1	561	71.92%
Shatter	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.77%
Number	731	1	6	38	4	1	780	100%

Bifaces and Biface Fragments

A total of twelve specimens are included within this artifact class; making up 1.54% of the total assemblage, or 8.51% of the actualized assemblage. With the possible exception of Specimen 324 (Table 13; Plate 25), recovered from the surface of Area 3 (Figure 10), all bifaces and biface fragments are of the processing class. The remaining eleven specimens were recovered from Area 1 (Figure 10; Figure 12). Six of these were recovered from excavation unit N4E8 in the centre of the Area 1; while the other five came from units directly adjacent to this N4E8 (N3E9 n=2, N3E8 n=1, N4E7 n=1 and N5E7 n=1) (Figure 12).

All the bifaces (n=5) are constructed from flakes (Plate 25). Specimens 197 and 190 are linear flakes with bifacial retouch. Specimen 203 is a large red

⁷Debitage from test pit Areas (Area 3, 4, 6 and 8) were not classified into flakes, flake shatter or shatter. Because of the method of recovery and lack of exact provenience all specimens were included in the microdebitage category.

quartzite flake that was worked into a bifacial preform; the outline and size of which is comparable to asymmetric knives found on FhCb-04 and on other Intermediate Indian sites in Hamilton Inlet. The remaining two specimens (183 and 245d) are both flakes with bifacial retouch. Specimen 245d was used as a scraper. Specimen 183 has flakes removed from both surfaces, with faint staining on the ventral surface, but exhibits no definitive signs of utilization.

Of the six biface fragments recovered in Area 1 only one indicates any sort of form. Specimen 230 is a small banded chert knife, which was split into two fragments when recovered. The remaining specimens are all non-distinct fragments of larger red quartzite objects (Plate 25).

Utilized Flakes

At 15.6% of the actualized assemblage (or 2.82% of the total assemblage) utilized flakes are the largest class of tool recovered from FhCc-01. The most obvious of this form are the unifacial scrapers. These specimens range from small thumbnail forms to larger triangular specimens, and are all constructed from fine-grained grey, purple or brown chert. They resemble scrapers found on other Intermediate Indian sites in Labrador, especially before 2800 BP (see Fitzhugh 1972:267; Loring 1989:54; Madden 1976:152; Nagle 1978:131, 135).

Table 13 – Pmiusik^u 1 Tools

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Bifaces	245d	N3E9	scraper	Chert (grey)	Medium sized flake with retouch on ventral surface at left flake margin.	25
	183	N4E8	knife	Quartzite (red)	Linear flake with bifacial flaking along left margin, some staining present also.	25
	190	N4E8	microblade	Chert (tan)	Linear flake with retouch along left margin. Specimen may not be chert, feels gritty and may be some sort of sandstone. Staining on ventral surface.	25
	197	N4E8	knife	Quartz (translucent)	Appears to have been hafted as a small knife. Notches visible on both lateral margins. Retouch along left margin.	25
	203	N4E8	preform	Quartzite (red)	Relatively large biface, likely a preform. Shows signs of utilization along right margin.	25
Biface Fragments	324	Area 3	tip	Quartzite (light grey)	Tip of an ovate or lanceolate biface, possibly a preform	25
	230	N3E8	knife	Chert (brown)	Two fragments with retouch along right margin, ventral surface. Arris running length of specimen. Specimens refit to form a complete knife.	25
	96	N3E9	unknown	Quartzite (red)	This is a small fragment of a bifacial specimen.	25
	141	N4E7	unknown	Quartzite (red)	Small biface fragment with a fracture splitting the specimen.	25
	187	N4E8	unknown	Quartzite (red)	This is a small fragment of a bifacial specimen.	25
	181	N4E8	unknown	Quartzite (red)	Chunky flake with bifacial flaking. Some wear and staining present on distal end, dorsal surface.	25
	179	N5E7	unknown	Quartzite (red)	Fragment of a chunky bifacial specimen, likely a multi-directional core or a preform.	25

Table 13 – Pmiusik^u 1 Tools (continued)

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Utilized Flakes	268	N0E1	scraper	Chert (purple)	Very nice scraper, with flakes removed from entire ventral surface. Some residue on scraping edge. Similar form to other scrapers, but larger.	26
	49	N3E3	flake	Chert (grey)	Medium sized flake with retouch visible on dorsal surface, left margin.	27
	133	N3E8	flake scraper	Quartzite (red)	Thin flake with retouch on distal end, dorsal surface. Different form than the thumbnail scrapers.	27
	118	N3E9	linear flake	Quartzite (red)	Nice linear flake with staining on ventral surface.	27
	109	N3E9	flake	Chert	Linear flake with abrasion marks on ventral surface at distal end	27
	97	N3E9	flake	Quartzite (red)	Triangular flake shatter with retouch and useware on narrowest margin. It appears to have been used as a small end scraper. Similar form to a linear flake.	27
	111	N3E9	flake	Quartzite	Flake with staining present along entire margin, and retouch on distal margin. May have been hafted at proximal end, small notch along right margin.	27
	267	N4E7	scraper	Chert (brown)	Very nice thumbnail scraper, with fine retouch. Very fine material as well. .	26
	257	N4E8	scraper	Quartzite (red)	Large distal portion of a flake. Arris line running length of specimen. Signs of useware at left margin.	26
	186	N4E8	flake scraper	Quartzite (red)	Medium sized flake with only one scar on dorsal surface. Removed at distal corner on left margin. Signs of utilization at this location.	27
	217c	N4E8	flake	Chert (grey)	Flake shatter with abrasion on ventral surface.	27
	27	N4E9	linear flake	Quartzite (red)	No signs of retouch, but does exhibit signs of utilization on distal end, as a scraper rather than a blade.	27

Table 13 – Pmiusik^u 1 Tools (continued)

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Utilized Flakes	41	N4E9	knife	Chert (pink)	Proximal portion of a large utilized flake. Platform area formed into a stem for hafting.	27
	159	N5E7	flake scraper	Quartzite (red)	Useware and/or retouch along the distal end. Also some staining present on ventral surface. Specimen also has multiple platforms	27
	260a	N5E7	scraper	Chert (light grey)	Same form as the other chert scrapers from this assemblage.	26
	162	N5E7	linear flake	Quartzite (red)	Similar form to specimen 27. Signs of retouch and useware on distal end and right margin, ventral surface.	27
	176	N5E7	knife? tip	Quartzite (red)	Flake shatter retouched into a unifacial projectile or perforator. Could also be classified as the proximal portion of a pointed unifacial specimen.	27
	76	N5E8	scraper	Chert (brown)	Small thumbnail scraper, same material and form as specimen 267.	26
	84	N5E10	preform	Quartzite (red)	Large scraper preform with signs of useware along right flake margin.	27
	323	Area 1	preform	Quartzite (red)	Large flake preform with retouch along proximal margin, dorsal surface. Surface collected.	27
	315a	Area 4	scraper	Chert (grey with white specks)	Small fragment of a thumbnail scraper, portion of scraping edge.	26
	325b	Area 4	flake scraper	Chert (grey)	Two fragments refit into partial specimen. Form more closely resembles a blade than a scraper.	27
Cores	119	N3E9	core	Quartzite (red)	Chunk of red quartzite that could be used as a bifacial preform, for a scraper or blade.	28
	266	N5E10	core	Slate? (grey)	Large primary flake, with some retouch along margins. Probably intended as a blank or preform.	28

Table 13 – Pmiusik^u 1 Tools (continued)

Tool Class	Specimen Number	Collection Unit	Tool Type	Material	Comment	Plate Number
Utilized Stones	79	N5E8	abrader	Conglomerate	Very rough nodule with abrasion evident on two surfaces.	29
	80	N5E8	abrader	Conglomerate	Very rough nodule with abrasion evident on two surfaces.	29
	22	N5E9	abrader	Conglomerate	Large specimen abrasion evident along narrow end. Fits in hand well.	29
	325a	Area 1	abrader	Conglomerate	Very rough nodule with abrasion evident on two surfaces.	29
	47	N4E9	unknown	Conglomerate	Specimen smooth with a very distinct shape and battering at the narrow end. May be a wedge or mortar. On the other hand it could also be natural	29

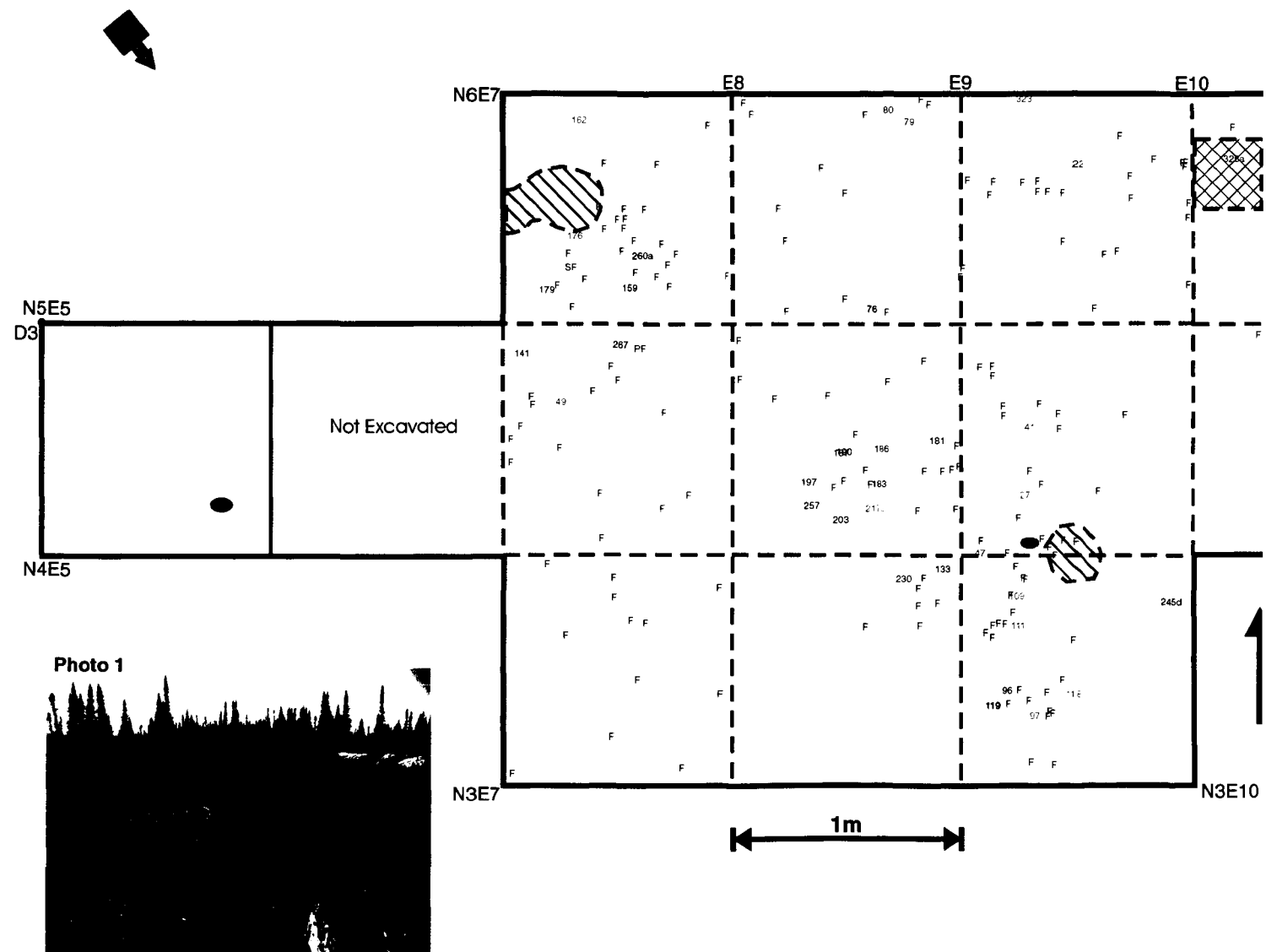


Figure 12: FhCc-01 Excavation Plan

A total of six unifacial scrapers were recovered from FhCc-01 (Plate 26). Specimen 268 was recovered at the base of a deadfall during the controlled surface pickup (later became Area 2: unit N0E1 (Figure 10). It is made from purple Saunders chert and is triangular in shape. The form is reminiscent of the flat, circular and semi-circular scrapers that were recovered from Charles complex assemblages in Hamilton Inlet (Fitzhugh 1972); Saunders complex assemblages on the north-central coast (Nagle 1978; Loring 1989) and the early portion of the Late phase in the Pinware region (Madden 1976). Evidence of utilization, in the form of residue, is still present on the ventral surface of the specimen.

Specimen 315a (Plate 26) was also found outside the excavation grid (Area 1), in Area 4 test pit 1 (Figure 10). It is a small edge fragment of a unifacial thumbnail scraper. The remaining four unifacial scrapers were all recovered from Area 1 (Figure 10; Figure 12). Specimens 76, 260a and 267 are small thumbnail scrapers, with very fine retouch along their scraping margin. Two of these specimens (76 and 267) are made from the same brown chert, while 260a is made from light grey chert (Plate 25). Due to the petite size of these specimens one could assume they were used for specialized tasks, not requiring a great application of force. The other unifacial scraper (Specimen 257) does not resemble any of the five specimens described above. It is made of red quartzite with no signs of fine retouch. Despite this absence there are signs of utilization present.

A second group of utilized flakes was excavated from Area 1 (Figure 10; Figure 12). These are classified as flake scrapers (Plate 27), i.e. flakes with a minimal amount of retouch, and no specific form. Specimen 325b was located in Area 4 test pit 1; it is the distal portion of a grey chert specimen. It may be a unifacial scraper fragment, but in absence of the proximal portion this cannot be satisfactorily determined. The remaining three specimens within this group (18, 159, 133) are flakes of red quartzite with dark staining on one or both surfaces. Their general form implies they were all used for scraping functions.

Often considered to be one of the defining characteristics of an Intermediate Indian assemblage (along with interior chert), linear flakes are characteristically present at FhCc-01. Five of the specimens recovered show signs of utilization (Plate 27) and are described below. Other specimens exhibiting this form are also present at FhCc-01, however they do not show definite signs of use and therefore have not been included within this description. They are considered to be debitage.

All the utilized linear flakes were recovered from Area 1 (Figure 10; Figure 12). They are all made from red quartzite with at least one arris running their length. Specimens 97, 111, 162, 27 and 118 were recovered from unit N3E9 (Figure 12). The specimens all show signs of utilization along one lateral margin, but there is no retouch present.

The remaining utilized flakes fall within three distinct artifact classes: preforms, linear flakes and unmodified flakes. The preforms (Specimens 84 and

323; Plate 27) are both red quartzite, and relatively large. Specimen 84 is triangular and although larger, has the same general outline as Specimen 268. The dorsal surface is 25% to 50% cortical and water worn; indicating the stone was likely collected from a riverbank or lakeshore – perhaps in vicinity of the site. The other preform (Specimen 323) more closely resembles a knife. It too was made from a large flake, and there are signs of retouch on the ventral surface at the proximal end. Like the unifacial scraper from unit N0E1, this specimen was found on the surface, at the edge of the terrace bank (Area 1; unit N5E9) (Figure 12).

Specimens 41 and 176 are assigned to the knife category (Plate 27). Specimen 176 is the pointed tip of a red quartzite knife. Specimen 41 is the distal portion of a hafted knife. The proximal end and platform have been shaped into a stem with a small hafting notch on the left flake margin and crushing on the right flake margin. Significantly, this specimen is made from lavender Saunders chert, similar to some of the material employed at FhCb-04. It is the only specimen of lavender Saunders chert recovered during the FhCc-01 investigations.

The unmodified utilized flakes (Specimens 49, 109, 217c; Plate 27) recovered from FhCc-01 are made from the same dull grey material, an extremely rigid material here classified as chert. These specimens show no distinct signs of modification, but all exhibit signs of useware. Specimens 109 and 217c both show signs of abrasion while Specimen 49 may have been used as an engraver or knife.

Other Artifacts

The remaining tool forms recovered from FhCc-01 include two cores (Plate 28), four abraders and a specimen of unknown function (Plate 29). All were recovered from Area 1. Specimen 266 is a large core of an unidentified lithic material. It does not possess good qualities for flaking, and it may be that this core was intended to be a ground-stone specimen. The second item classified as a core (Specimen 119) is made from red quartzite. There are no discernable striking platforms on the specimen and it may be nothing more than a large piece of shatter. Having said this, it is of a shape and size that could easily be formed into a scraper, asymmetric knife, etc.

The abraders were all recovered from the eastern (grid north) extent of the site (Figure 10; Figure 12). Three of the four abraders (Specimens 79, 80 and 325a) are small conglomerate stones with a rough exterior, excluding the portion utilized for abrasion. The abrasion areas are very smooth and easily identified. The stones themselves are a bit crumbly. It seems unlikely that these specimens would have been used on a hard material like stone; their nature seems much more suitable for shaping or smoothing softer materials like hide, wood and bone. The fourth abrader (Specimen 22) is larger than the other three specimens. When held it fills the entire hand, where the other specimens would have to be held between fingers. Despite the size discrepancy the abraded surface of the larger specimen is not much larger than that of the other specimens, indicating that the overall size may relate more to the amount of pressure required than the size of the specimen being worked.

The remaining utilized stone (Specimen 47; Plate 26) is made of a similar material to the abraders. It is smooth along the sides and may, itself, have been shaped through grinding. It has a semi-circular cross section with an overall wedge shaped appearance. It is pitted on the curved surface and battered at the narrow end. The flat surface is covered with quartzite and it appears as though the specimen naturally or intentionally fractured along a quartzite vein in the material.

Debitage

As with a majority of pre-contact Amerindian sites in Labrador, lithic debris ordebitage is the most abundant artifact form recovered at FhCc-01. There are 100 flakes, 72 flake shatter, 561 microdebitage and six shatter specimens (n= 739) included within the FhCc-01 site assemblage. Of these forty-five specimens (all recorded as microdebitage⁸) were recovered from Areas 3, 4, 6 and 8. These specimens include flakes, flake shatter and microdebitage, but because they were recovered from a limited number of small test pits and therefore lack precise provenience, they are not included in this analysis. Suffice it to say that they reflect the general trends noted in the Area 1 assessment below. The only variance represented by a wider, however slight, array of quartzite in areas 3, 4 and 6.

⁸ Besides specimens eyed to less than 1 cm in size, at FhCc-01, this category includes alldebitage specimens from Areas 3, 4, 6 and 8 as well as non-provenienced specimens from Area 1 (i.e. specimens recovered in screen or by shovel).

The abundance of quartzite in the assemblage and the larger size of the debitage indicate that this material was not gathered far afield. All the quartzite specimens present could all have been collected locally. Chert on the other hand is not available locally, and its presence indicates that people from FhCc-01 travelled to the location of this material or came into contact with others who did. It is possible it could have been scavenged from the remains of earlier sites, but the use of Saunders chert, which a small part of the collection seems to be, is uncommon in earlier periods. The low percentage of chert debitage present (n=20, or 2.88% of Area 1 debitage assemblage) indicates that their source(s), largely considered to occur in interior Labrador (McCaffrey, Loring, and Fitzhugh 1989), were not within the usual movements of people occupying FhCc-01.

Feature Descriptions

Within the site, the distribution of debitage, especially when associated with the artifact distribution, can provide evidence relating to activity centres, as the type of debitage present can give clues to the type of activity undertaken. Unfortunately, because of the limited excavations at FhCc-01, the pattern of activities cannot be described with the same level of detail as FHCb-04; and no specific features have been identified.

Generally speaking, the debitage is most concentrated in units N3E9, N4E9, N5E9 and N5E10, because of the higher occurrence of microdebitage in these units. Considered in conjunction with the adjoining tool concentration, extending from southeast to northwest in units N3E9, N4E8 and N5E7, it seems

that this is a location where resources were processed and tools were shaped and sharpened. The presence of abraders and the domination of scraping and small cutting specimens may indicate the occurrence of hide, bone or wood working activities, or some combination thereof. The activities undertaken could also have been associated with food preparation, but the apparent lack of cooking features is evidence against this.

Beyond this, little more can be said regarding the distribution and frequency of debitage at FhCc-01. Additional excavation is required in all Areas. Only then can a description of Area 1 (as well as Areas 3, 4 and 6) be satisfactorily constructed and concurrently understood, both as individual areas and as components of a total site.

Site Assessment

The meagre nature of the data recovered at FhCc-01 makes it difficult to construct a trustworthy model of site activities. This in turn leaves regional and supra-regional constructions uncertain. Balancing this instability, certain clues within the previous artifact descriptions have been used to develop preliminary hypotheses relating to occupation of the site and its position within Amerindian culture-history. Future investigations may strengthen or negate these hypotheses.

Tentatively, I would suggest that FhCc-01 falls between what Fitzhugh (1972:137) defines as a "Base Camp ... families occupying a site for an extended period. Utilized as the central focus of activities in a resource area during a

portion of the season” and an “Exploitation Camp...occupation by a family or extended family ...for hunting or fishing”. In contrast to the specialized activities evinced for FhCb-04, several indicators at FhCc-01 point towards a more generalized occupation, where a wider variety of activities took place.

The environmental investigations and reconstructions indicate that the FhCc-01 landform emerged into Goose Bay – Hamilton Inlet ca. 3750 BP (Figure 6), a little less than 1000 years before the occupation of FhCb-04. Fresh water influx from the receding glaciers had ended by this time, and glacial rebound had not restricted the marine influence (i.e. the narrows) to the point that is known today. As such, marine species were likely more abundant than today. The Happy Valley – Goose Bay peninsula had not yet formed, and FhCc-01 was located approximately 3 km north of the outfall of what is now the Churchill River, on a head of land emerging into Lake Melville – Hamilton Inlet. It is a site location shown, by the micromorphological investigations, to have been stable over its period of formation and occupation, and therefore more suitable for longer term and broader based activities.

The vantage of this location is obvious, providing a view over the confluence of a major river and a large bay, as well as the bay itself. From this location FhCc-01 occupants could have monitored the movement of estuarine and terrestrial resources over a wide area. Also, the richer boreal vegetation, together with the elevating terrain landward of FhCc-01, offered some level of shelter; therefore contributing to the proposed stability and the prospect for sites

with longer occupations and a wider array of activities represented. Similar to what one might expect to find at a base camp or an exploitation camp, where activities were not focused on a single event or aim.

The artifacts present (scrapers, abraders, utilized flakes, debitage, etc.) all imply processing activities, associated with one or all of woodworking, bone working, hide working, meat processing, plant processing, stone working, etc. These could be associated with the production of food resources, utilitarian goods (clothing, vessels, knives, spears, structures, snowshoes, boats, etc.) or artistic items. It may be possible to infer the manufacture of procurement specimens from the debitage present, but the absence of complete or partial hunting tools in the site assemblage could also suggest these activities were undertaken elsewhere, away from FhCc-01.

The range of activities represented by the artifacts recovered is also more representative of a base camp than a specialized procurement camp. The paleo-environmental data support this possibility, highlighting a less volatile formation process and the likelihood of a more stable living environment. But this is not all, the knowledge gained from the paleo environmental data and lithic/artifact analysis also hint at the time of occupation and the represented cultural episode.

As discussed, the Goose Bay sea-level curve shows the 20 m contour elevated above sea-level by 3700 BP. Therefore, placing the occupancy of FhCc-01 within the 700 year period between 3700 BP and emergence of the 17 m contour ca. 3000 BP (after which time landscape changes make habitation at

FhCc-01 extremely unlikely). This rules out the possibility, as suggested by the types of lithic materials recovered, that FhCc-01 may be the remains of an early Archaic (Hound Pond component) foray into Lake Melville from Groswater Bay. As the sea-level in Goose Bay, at the time of the Hound Pond occupation in Groswater Bay (ca. 7500–7200 BP (Fitzhugh 1978) is approximately 55 m asl (Figure 6). This puts the FhCc-01 landform under at least 30 m of water during the Hound Pond component occupation of Groswater Bay and rules out one of the cultural associations hinted at by the FhCc-01 lithic assemblage.

The second, and perhaps more obvious cultural association hinted at in the FhCc-01 assemblage is the Brinex complex. These sites in western Lake Melville, at elevations between 23 m and 17 m asl, were considered to date to the years between 3200 and 3000 BP (Fitzhugh 1972; Nagle 1978). A single radiocarbon date from the Red Ochre site, a Brinex complex site in Northwest River, supports this at 3090 ± 180 BP (GSC-1280).

Correlation in aspects of data between FhCc-01 and Brinex complex sites includes: the occupation of similar landscapes; similarities in the type and frequency of lithic materials present; and analogous tool forms. As noted elsewhere (IEDE/JWEL 1999a) Brinex complex sites are typically located on terraces raised a few meters above sea-level. FhCc-01 is no exception. At 3750 BP the FhCc-01 landform was at sea level and an unlikely choice for habitation. As emergence continued however, the terrace quickly became elevated and by

3200 BP would have been raised approximately 2.5 m above sea-level. Placing it in a situation similar to other Brinex complex sites in Lake Melville.

Building on the noted landscape similarity, the FhCc-01 lithic assemblage bears similarity to the typical Brinex complex assemblage. The use of red quartzite as a primary lithic material, with a secondary focus on opaque (most often purple) chert and quartz crystal, demonstrates that FhCc-01 occupants possessed geographic and resource knowledge similar to that proposed by Fitzhugh (1972) for the Brinex complex. This implies that those from FhCc-01 shared territory with, traded with, or were Brinex complex people.

Tracing diagnostic lines of evidence beyond the type of lithic materials recovered we find that certain artifact also indicate a Brinex complex affiliation. The most indicative of these specimens are the three unifacial chert scrapers recovered from Area 1 and Area 4 (Plate 25). These thumbnail specimens are typical of early Intermediate Indian sites in Labrador and the Brinex complex in Hamilton Inlet; and their small, distinct form does not appear to carry into the more recent Intermediate Indian cultural units.

The other unifacial scraper recovered at FhCc-01 is more typical of Charles complex assemblages at Northwest River. However, additional data indicating such an association for FhCc-01 were not forthcoming and an assignation to this episode seems unlikely. This leaves a mixture of Brinex and Charles complex scraper forms and lithic materials within a site (FhCc-01) that is described as the product of a single cultural group.

Similarly, the occurrence of mixed Brinex and Charles complex assemblages on the north-central coast led Nagle (1978) to propose an association between the two previously distinct units, which he brought together under the Saunders complex banner. Now that similar evidence appears to exist in Goose Bay it seems appropriate to include FhCc-01 within the Saunders complex, although at an earlier stage than FhCb-04, before a change in settlement pattern and/or lithic preference resulted in an increased percentage of Saunders chert over quartzite varieties.

Summary and Conclusion

Archaeological excavation and geomorphological research was undertaken at two Intermediate Indian sites in Happy Valley – Goose Bay, Labrador. The stone tools, debitage and micromorphological information recovered from FhCb-04 and FhCc-01 were analyzed through a filter of existing archaeological and paleo-environmental data from Labrador. The results show that both sites were best described as the remains of a previously unrecognized expression of the Saunders complex in western Hamilton Inlet. It was further concluded that each site represents different episodes within the complex.

Relating in some way to the significant environmental and cultural changes known at this time in Labrador, the mode of occupancy varies between the two sites. FhCc-01 represents a broader, more base camp like habitation and FhCb-04 represents a narrower, more specialized [procurement] camp.

Considered further these data hold implications for Intermediate Indian culture-history beyond the site level interpretation constructed above. It was suggested that FhCc-01 and FhCb-04 are not the remains of two distinct Amerindian groups. Although differences are described for each site they are not considered different enough to warrant separate cultural designations. The continued use of lithic sources, site locations and travel corridors is not considered a coincidence and, in fact, are considered to be stronger evidence for cultural continuity than changes in scraper form and site footprint are for discontinuity.

These transitions, from the earlier occupation at FhCc-01 to that at FhCb-04, are related to Amerindian adjustments, partially in response to the shifting landscape but also as a result of transforming Amerindian preferences. The specialized nature of the FhCb-04 footprint, as related to FhCc-01, is a reflection of this transformation. In order to maintain ties to the Goose Bay resource base, while allowing for an increased focus on Saunders chert, Amerindians transformed their form of occupancy in this region. Where before a single or multi-family group may have traveled to the Goose Bay peninsula to take advantage of its resource base, making use of widely available lithic resources and elevated level terraces suitable for indefinite durations of occupation and monitoring of multiple resources, Amerindians now focused their mode of occupation. Traveling in a small group, perhaps a procurement party, Amerindians continued to access the peninsula's resource base, but this time

with a focus toward the Churchill River, for a specific purpose and a shorter duration of time.

As a result of this ascribed continuity, bolstered by the presence of uninvestigated Intermediate Amerindian sites (FhCb-03 and FhCb-05) on the same peninsula, I felt that it was best to maintain the Saunders complex designation that had originally been assigned to FhCb-04, and further extend it to FhCc-01. The recovery of what were thought to be culturally distinct scraper forms (see Fitzhugh 1972) together in the FhCc-01 assemblage (just as Nagle (1978) found on the north-central Coast) and the maintenance of resource access locations support this extension.

Assigning FhCc-01 to the Brinex complex would have relegated the maintenance of Amerindian group knowledge, at least as it relates to resource location and travel patterns, to coincidence and done nothing to support a critical Intermediate Indian culture-history. Furthermore, the Saunders complex designation recognizes many of the issues first raised by Nagle (1978), and when compared to other locales in the region forces a revaluation of Intermediate Indian culture-history, especially as it pertains to Saunders – Brinex – Charles complex relationships.

Considering what has been said regarding the relationship between these units and the Saunders complex, I would suggest (as others have previously implied) that the heretofore-distinct cultural units be collapsed into one designation (Table 14). Not willing to coin a new phrase, I would further suggest

that the Saunders complex must be the term used. As a culture-history designation Saunders has already been used in this manner on the north-central coast and now in Goose Bay. Furthermore, the term has been used in the interior of Labrador, west of Goose Bay and the north-central coast, and it has been assigned to Intermediate Indian remains on the south Labrador coast near Forteau (PAO 2004).

Table 14: Secondary Revision of Intermediate Indian Culture-History

Time Frame	Hamilton Inlet	North-Central Labrador	Southern Labrador	Western Labrador
3500-2700 BP	Saunders complex		(early) Late phase	Unknown
2600-1800 BP	Northwest River phase			

In Chapter 4 the preliminary and secondary culture-history revisions are reviewed and their implications are discussed. The site-specific data from this Chapter (Chapter 3) is used as a springboard to other levels of consideration. Definition of the periodically specific Intermediate Indian terminology is reviewed and compared to the traditional definitions of phase, complex and component. From this a final revision of Intermediate Indian culture-history is proposed and traced through the various levels of Intermediate Indian history: the site, the locale, the region and the province.

Chapter Four

Intermediate Indians: Re-assessment and Final Conclusion

Introduction

The aim of this project, as outlined in Chapter 1, was the excavation and analysis of newly reported Intermediate Indian sites and the re-appraisal of Intermediate Indian culture-history. In Chapter 2 a history of Intermediate Indian research was summarized and the resulting culture-history was critically described (Table 15: Pre-EMSAP). As a result, certain problems became obvious within the thirty-year-old culture-history and a preliminarily refined Intermediate Indian culture-history, based solely on an updated document review, was provided (Table 15: Post-EMSAP Document Review). In Chapter 3 the results of excavation at two Intermediate Indian sites (FhCc-01 and FhCb-04) were detailed. The recovered artifacts and features were used to infer site function and culture-history association. While the sites themselves were found to be distinct, the differences were not considered significant enough to warrant separate cultural designations and both sites were assigned to the Saunders complex. Designation of this complex at Goose Bay was considered in light of the culture-history descriptions from Chapter 2. It was argued that the Saunders – Brinex – Charles complex sites recovered since 1978, including FhCc-01 and FhCb-04, have confirmed Nagle's suspicion, and the sites are best considered as one cultural unit – the Saunders complex (Table 15: Post-EMSAP excavation).

Table 15: Summary of Intermediate Indian Culture-History Revisions Undertaken in Text

Research Timeline	Region					Broader Designation	
	Western Labrador	Southern Labrador	North-Central Labrador	Hamilton Inlet	Time Frame	Labrador	Beyond Labrador
Pre-EMSAP	Unknown	(early) Late Phase	Little Lake Component		3600-3200 BP	Intermediate Indians	Unassigned
			Saunders Complex	Brinex Complex	3200-3000 BP		Shield Archaic Tradition?
				Charles Complex	3000-2700 BP		
				Road Component	2700-2300 BP		
			David Michelin Component		2300-1800 BP		Shield Archaic Tradition
			Northwest River Phase		1800-1400 BP		
Post-EMSAP Document Review	Unknown	(early) Late Phase	Saunders Complex	Brinex Complex	3500-2700 BP	Intermediate Period Amerindians	Post-Archaic
				Charles Complex			
Post-EMSAP Excavation	Unknown	(early) Late Phase	Northwest River Phase		2600-1800 BP	Intermediate Period Amerindians	Post-Archaic
			Saunders Complex		3500-2700 BP		
Post-EMSAP	Unknown	(early) Late Phase	Saunders Phase		3500-2700 BP	Intermediate Period Amerindians	Post-Archaic
			Northwest River Phase		2600-1800 BP		

Completion of these two tasks (documentary research and site excavation) has greatly simplified Intermediate Indian culture-history. Removing the Little Lake Component to the Archaic period and subsuming the Road and David Michelin components within the Saunders complex and Northwest River phase respectively, has shortened and re-organized the Intermediate Indian timeline; bringing the complexes and phases from Northwest River in line with data from neighbouring locales and regions in Labrador.

The refinements made were obvious and for the most part recognize what had already been hinted at in the published and unpublished documents. In this Chapter the remaining culture-history terminology (Saunders complex and Northwest River phase) is further considered. The traditional definitions of phase, complex and component (Willey and Phillips 2001) are discussed in relation to the definitions employed by Fitzhugh, and one last refinement is suggested (Table 15: Post-EMSAP). In conclusion, the revised culture-history for Northwest River is considered in relation to Intermediate Indian manifestations from other regions of Labrador and neighbouring regions of the far Northeast.

Intermediate Indians: a Re-Assessment

At the site level I think culture-history has two main purposes. First is the description and explanation of individual archaeology sites: the site setting, the paleo-environment, the artifact assemblage and the site features. These descriptions lead to interpretation of site-function and individual economic pursuits. The second purpose is to correlate one site's attributes with other sites

in its region and neighbouring regions; as a result developing a geographical and chronological picture of individual activities and group histories (see Bourque 1995; Duke 1991; Hodder and Hutson 2003; Tuck 1976). Following these methods individual characteristics are indicative of both individual actions and long-term developments (Duke 1991; Hodder and Hutson 2003).

There is no doubt that the archaeological remains recovered from FhCb-04 and FhCc-01 are of Intermediate Indian origin. As such, the descriptions and assignation provided in Chapter 3 hold implications for Intermediate Indian culture-history beyond the Happy Valley – Goose Bay peninsula. The people occupying these sites were not isolated in time and space. These Intermediate Indians were at other locations before and went on to others afterwards. These moves and the other people they encountered or were aware of undoubtedly influenced the occupants of FhCc-01 and FhCb-04, just as they influenced these other people. This likely occurred in places like Sheshatshiu-Northwest River, the north-central Labrador coast, the Porcupine Strand and Groswater Bay; and, less often, to the south in southern Labrador and the Québec North Shore, and west in western Labrador and subarctic Québec.

At the regional level the cultural lexicon constructed by archaeologists becomes increasingly important. The terminology must be employed critically and with an eye toward other regions and frameworks. Having said this, attention must also be paid to archaeological definitions of the classificatory expressions employed. Terms like complex, phase, component, etc. are not expressions to be

grabbed out of the air and assigned definitions of convenience. These are culture-history terms that were internalized by archaeologists during the formative years of the discipline. They are organizational terms that afford archaeologists the opportunity to discuss artifacts and people at multiple scales and for multiple purposes. And although archaeology has grown theoretically since these terms were defined, it has not, at least to my knowledge, redefined these terms. What has happened is that archaeologists have mistaken the definitions of these terms as theory rather than method, and although these terms continue to be employed, their definitions do not. They have become individualized terms, and appear to be used as much for their ring as for their method.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, the original Intermediate Indian terminology was based on the level of information associated with each cultural unit, “with a phase being the best understood and a component being the least” (Fitzhugh 1972:112-113), and not the traditional definitions; despite the assertion otherwise (Fitzhugh 1972:112). Traditional definitions of phase and complex are not dependent on the sheer amount and provenience of the recovered archaeological data. The primary difference between these two terms, as it relates to culture-history, is their level of specificity.

By definition a complex can be in and of itself; it is based on internal characteristics and does not require others for description. Conversely, a phase recognizes a mode or type of adaptation and does not necessitate cultural

specificity (Willey and Phillips 2001). A component on the other hand is not traditionally related to a cultural designation, but to a scale of data. A component implies that the item being discussed is part of a larger grouping or unit, of which it makes up part of the whole (e.g. the component of an archaeology site, or the component of a cultural unit).

Intermediate Indian culture-history, as redefined in Chapters 2 and 3, has been narrowed to two cultural units, the Saunders complex and the Northwest River phase; and, while I am willing to maintain the Saunders designation as a replacement of Brinex and Charles terminology (with their sites becoming components of the extended Saunders unit), I am not willing to maintain a complex designation with the Saunders label. I do not feel there is enough known about any of the Intermediate Indian designations to warrant a complex designation (as traditionally defined). As it stands, the majority of data suffers from poor context and a full range of site types has not been described. Virtually nothing is known of the Intermediate period in western Labrador, and nowhere has there been identified specific material indications of Intermediate Indian art or spirituality.

Having said this there are characteristics common between sites during the Saunders time frame, and while there may not be enough data to describe a full cultural complex there is certainly enough data to describe a general mode or phase of existence. Designation as a phase recognizes similarities present between the various Brinex, Charles and Saunders sites without pigeonholing

them into a premature culturally specific framework. The defining characteristics are based more on maintenance of site location and resource use patterns over a specific period of time, then to culturally specific beliefs and relationships.

The Saunders phase recognizes that over a period of approximately 700 years, from the earliest radiocarbon dated sites on the north-central coast (HdCi-03, 3440 ± 75) to the most recent in Goose Bay (FhCb-04, 2810 ± 70 BP) (Table 4), Intermediate Indian sites exhibit certain regional characteristics, which may or may not be indicative of a pan-regional cultural group.

From Okak on the north-central Labrador coast to Gull Island on the Churchill River, to Goose Bay, Northwest River, the Narrows and Groswater Bay in Hamilton Inlet and the Porcupine Strand near Trunmore Bay Intermediate Indian sites exhibit a continual use of multi-coloured interior sourced Saunders chert, supplemented at varying frequencies with regionally available lithic material (e.g. use of Mugford chert near the Okak sites, use of banded lava near Churchill River, use of quartzite virtually everywhere). Moreover, there is continual re-use of certain locales (e.g. Northwest River, Hillsburry Island and the Porcupine Strand) and characteristics (sand terraces/beaches near major travel routes leading from the coast to the interior) in almost every region. There is a maintained presence of side-notched projectile points, linear flakes and a variety of scrapers, and Ramah chert is routinely absent. The continual use of Saunders chert in these regions implies the maintenance of cross-regional travel routes and/or cross-regional relationships in Labrador.

Considering then these suggested refinements, we are left with two broad phases of Intermediate Indian tenure in north-central Labrador: the Saunders phase (ca. 3500–2700 BP) and the Northwest River phase (ca. 2600–1800 BP). Both phases are represented by sites in Northwest River and on the north-central coast, but generally speaking there is a marked decrease in the number of Amerindian sites in north-central Labrador following ca. 2700 BP. The presence of shared traits, such as site locale, may indicate some relationship between the two phases, but without further radiocarbon dates and a demonstrated transition from notched to stemmed projectile points it is impossible to say that the Intermediate Indian sites in this region of Labrador represent a continuum of development. Having said this, it is noted that the odd speck of Ramah chert does show up on Saunders phase sites, while Northwest River phase sites have on occasion been associated with Saunders chert (see Fitzhugh 1972), suggesting some maintenance of group knowledge through time.

Beyond the north-central region evidence for the Saunders phase and Northwest River phase is even less apparent. However, there are some interesting lines of evidence that warrant mention. In western Labrador and across the border in eastern Québec Intermediate Indian sites have been identified (Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 1989a, 1989b; Samson 1978). These sites do not include many, if any, specimens of Saunders chert, but on occasion their assemblages have been related stylistically to the Brinex complex (Denton and McCaffrey 1988), and therefore the Saunders phase. The general

adaptive approach suggested for these sites also overlaps with the Saunders phase approach, focusing on interior travel and regionalized, interior chert sources (e.g. Labrador Trough cherts and quartzite in western Labrador); and further suggests some form of adaptive, and maybe cultural similarity or relatedness.

In southern Labrador and across the border along the Québec North Shore a similar situation is recognized (Madden 1976; Martin 1974; McGhee and Tuck 1975; Pintal 2001,1998; Tuck 1988). Beginning with McGhee and Tuck (1975), and continuing with Madden (1976), the post-Archaic portion of the 8000-year cultural continuum has always been described with relation to the Brinex and Charles complexes, now the Saunders phase. Furthermore, across the border in Québec, Charles Martijn (1974) went so far as to identify one site as Brinex complex. More recently, in this area, Pintal (1998) has proposed local terms covering nearly the same time intervals and similar characteristics as the Saunders phase and Northwest River phase in north-central Labrador.

As with western Labrador, the situation around the Strait of Belle Isle signifies similarities between the north-central coast and the remainder of Labrador during the Saunders phase, but also to some degree during the Northwest River phase. During the Intermediate period, Labrador Amerindians exhibit a focus on regionally available chert sources, supplemented by quartzite and Ramah chert in varying degrees. Artifact assemblages include similar scrapers, bifaces and debitage and site locations infer similar patterns of

movement between the interior and the coast. Despite these similarities there is a decidedly regional focus during the first 700 to 1000 years, as evident in the lithic preferences, and it seems unlikely one broad phase distinction would accurately represent the situation.

So, while there is an evident overlap in material and natural characteristics, I feel it is best to maintain the Saunders phase and Northwest River phase as expressions of the particular pattern observed in north-central Labrador. In southern Labrador I prefer to maintain Madden's (1976) Late phase component, with an eye toward eventual inclusion within Pintal's (1998) framework from the Brador region of Québec. I do not however discount the pan-regional similarities, and I feel that as research proceeds in Labrador it will eventually be possible to describe a pan-regional expression for this time. Similar perhaps to the province wide sphere of interaction recognized among Amerindians during the preceding Early Period (Labrador Archaic and Maritime Archaic) (Fitzhugh 1976, 1978; Tuck 1976, 1988) and the following Recent Period (Recent Indians) (Hull 2002; Loring 1992). One which could accommodate the possible influence of Susquehanna, Meadowood and Adena culture groups in north-central Labrador, and the relationship of the Intermediate period to the contemporaneous Ceramic/Woodland period recognized in Québec, the Maritimes and New England.

Final Conclusion

In the summer of 2004 two Intermediate period archaeology sites were excavated on the Goose Bay Peninsula. The artifacts, cultural features and natural features were described and related to the Intermediate Indian culture-history as it had been previously constructed. The previously existing framework was not found to accurately represent what was observed at FhCc-01 and FhCb-04 and at other sites identified since 1975. The new data were reviewed in light of what had been previously collected in Hamilton Inlet and a less convoluted culture-history framework was proposed (Table 15).

Despite the difference in view, this framework still recognizes the characteristics described by Fitzhugh (1972, 1976) and Nagle (1978) in the original culture-history, with the exception of discontinuity. It is felt that the new data support more closely a view of continuity within the phases. The newly proposed framework also aligns the Intermediate Indian data from north-central Labrador more closely with the situation on the south Labrador coast and neighbouring Québec – where Amerindian continuity has long been recognized (Madden 1976; McGhee and Tuck 1975; Tuck 1976, 1982, 1988) and described with relation to Intermediate Indians in Hamilton Inlet (Madden 1976; Pintal 1988; Tuck 1982, 1988) and the north-central Labrador coast (Nagle 1978; Pintal 1988).

Though based on limited data it is felt that this new framework allows for a more accurate view of Intermediate Indian tenure. The framework is flexible enough to recognize that Amerindians participated in multi-scaled relationships with the land and their neighbours and it allows for future expansion and more

detailed constructions of the culture-history at all levels. The new framework also recognizes the methodology building that has been ongoing in archaeology since the 1920's, and attempts to bring a semblance of control back to culture-history pursuits — a step that is absolutely required if we as archaeologists are to have a coherent framework within which to discuss the material objects we uncover.

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APPENDIX A

PHOTO PLATES



Plate 1: FhCb - 04 Natural Setting, View Southeast Towards Bog - Formerly Part of Churchill River

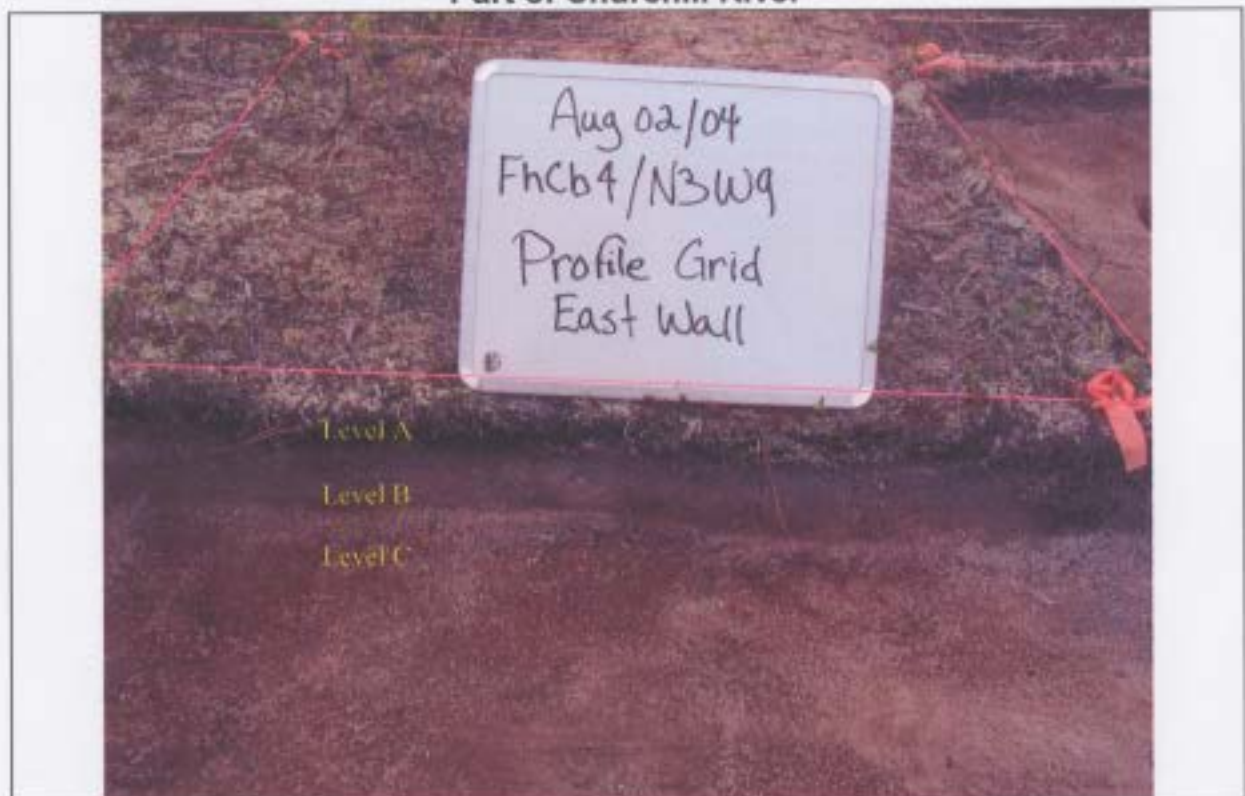


Plate 2: FhCb- 04 Characteristic Soil Profile of Excavation



Plate 3: FhCb- 04, N5W5 Grid West Wall Showing Micromorphological Sampling Locations



Plate 4: FhCb-04, Sample of Saunders Chert Specimens



Plate 5: Procurement Specimens, FhCb-04



Plate 6: Biface Specimens, FhCb-04



Plate 7: Biface Fragments, FhCb-04



Plate 8: Unifacial Scrapers (Utilized Flakes), FhCb-04



Plate 9: Flake Scrapers and Linear Flakes (Utilized Flakes), FhCb-04



Plate 10: Linear Flakes (Utilized Flakes), FhCb-04



Plate 11: Utilized Flakes, FhCb-04



Plate 12: FhCb-04 Feature 1 Visible as Shallow Depression in Grid SE Corner



Plate 13: FhCb-04 Feature 1 After Excavation of Level A



Plate14: FhCb-04 Stones Associated with Feature 1 (excavation units 1m², orientation grid north)

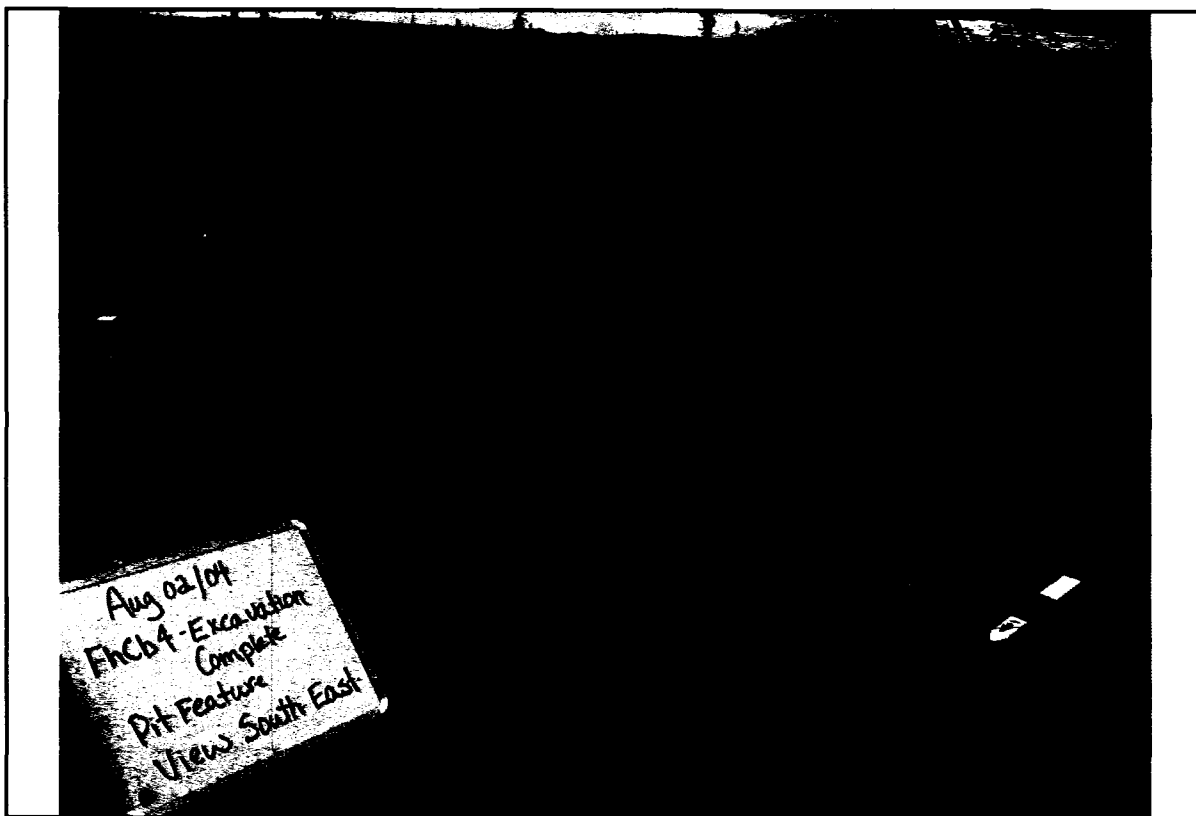


Plate 15: FhCb-04 Feature 1, Stones and Pit



Plate 16: Bannock Cooking in the Country (note pit in front of children and adjacent fire, picture courtesy of Jodie Ashini, furthest to right in image)



Plate 17: FhCb-04 unit N2W2. Additional Stones Well Removed From Fire and Pit Location (wood too recent to be associated with site)

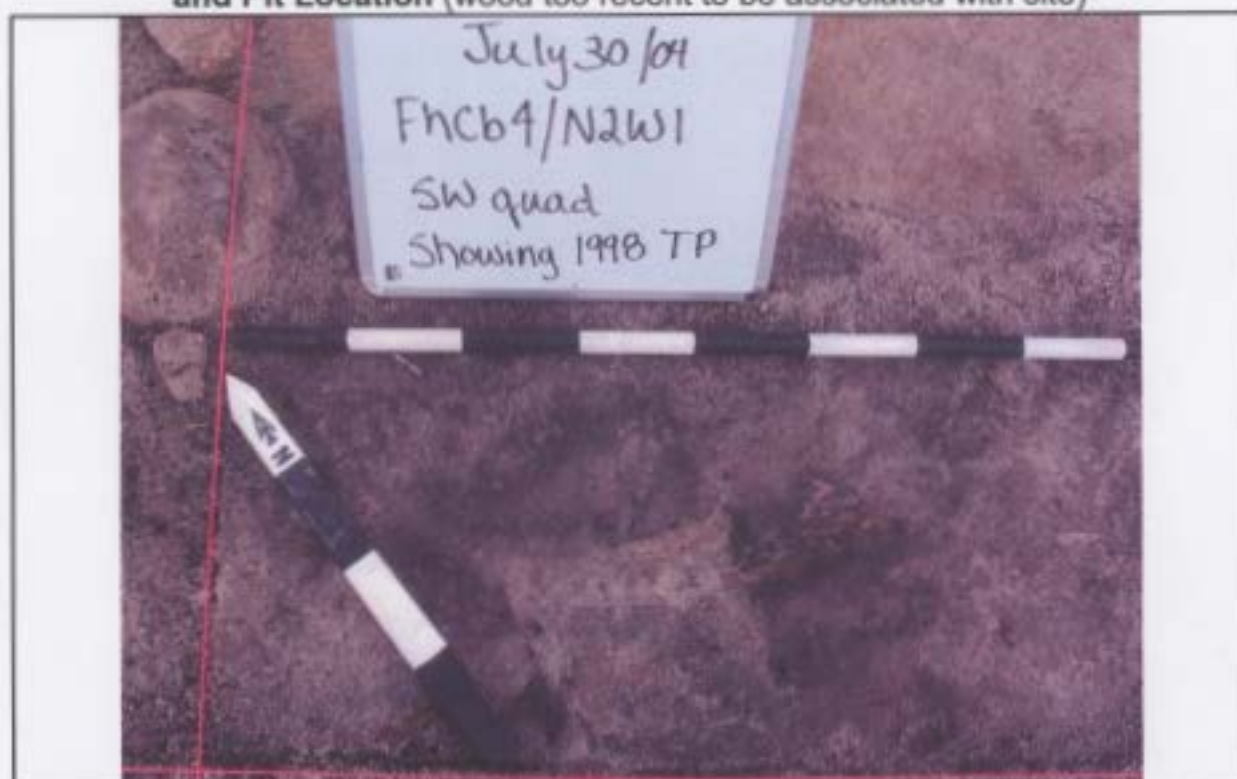


Plate 18: FhCb-04 Unit N2W1, Note Remains of 1998 Test Pit in Bottom Centre of Photo

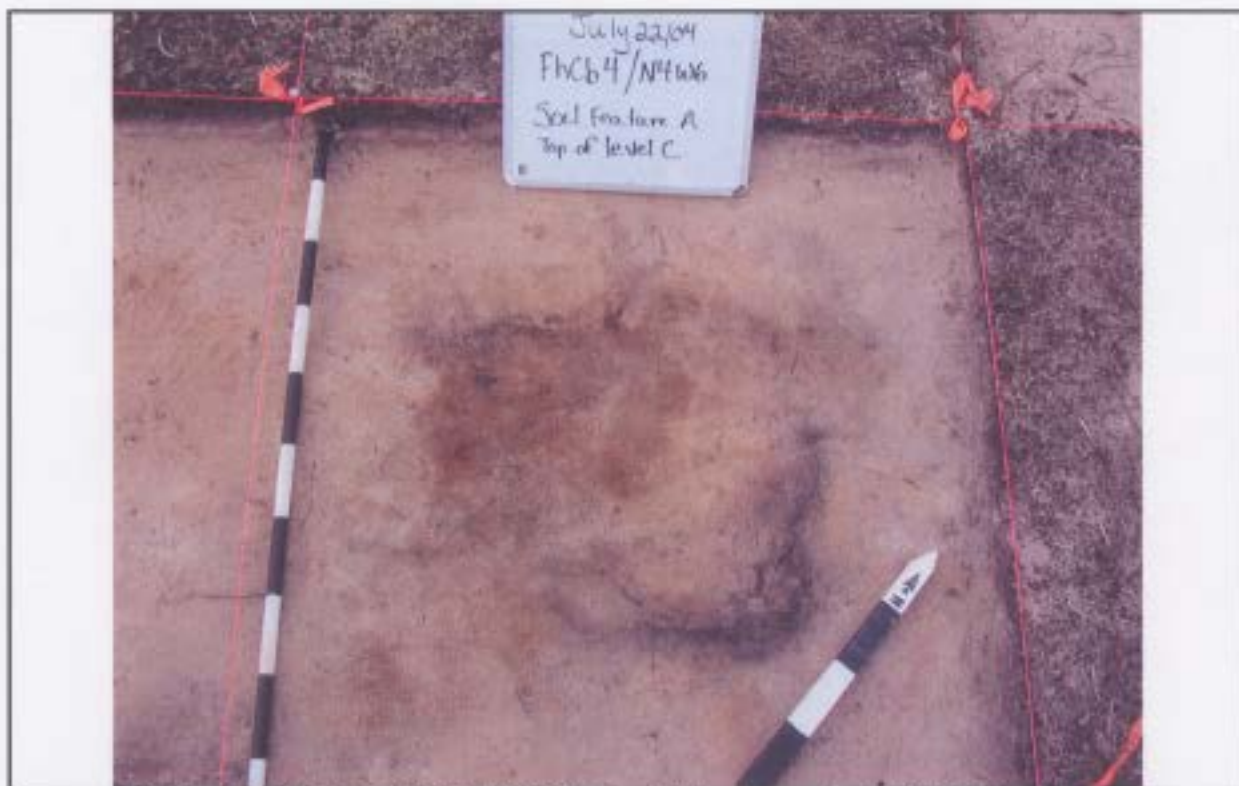


Plate 19: FhCb-04 Unit N4W6, Soil Feature, Possibly Root Burn



Plate 20: Present Day Churchill River, at Happy Valley-Goose Bay
(note characteristics of island/sand bar)



Plate 21 – Excavation unit N0E1, Note Undulating Surface From Root Disturbance

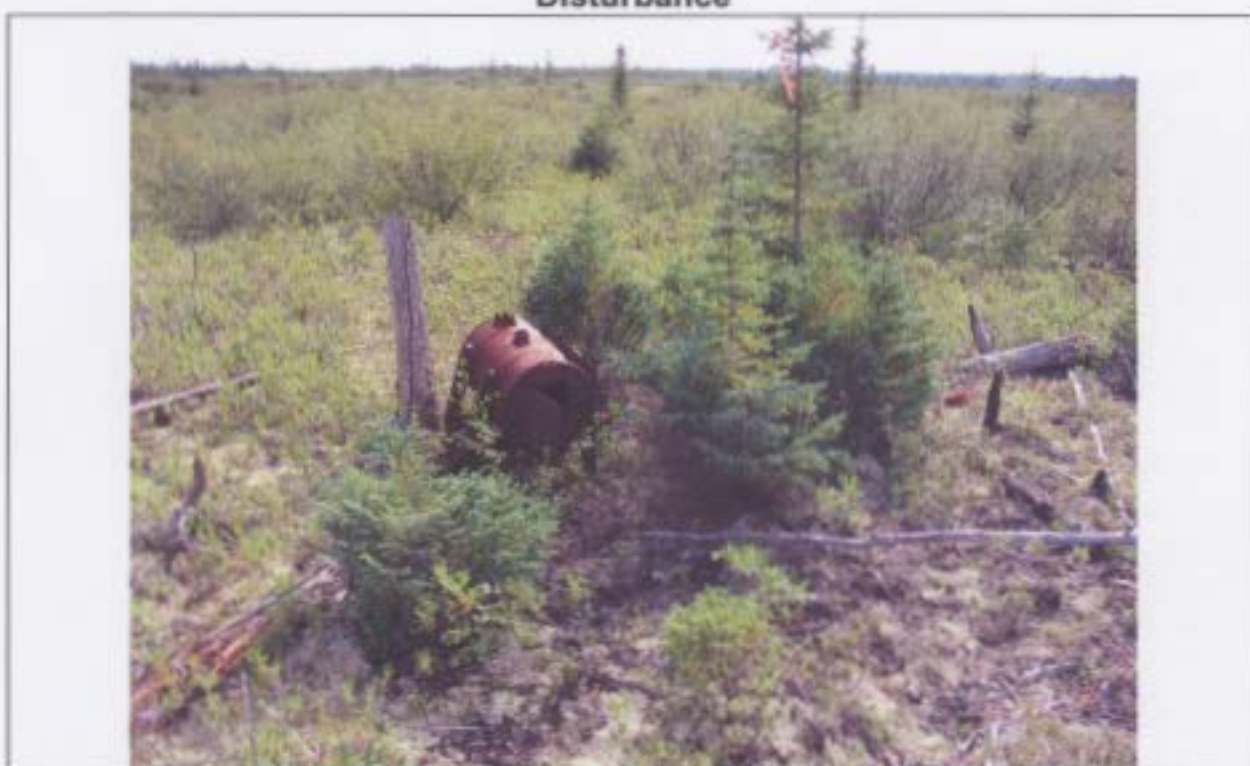


Plate 22 – Burned Remains of Trapper's Camp to South West of FhCc-01



Plate 23 – FhCc-01 Soil Profile, Unit N0E3



Plate 24 – View of FhCc-01 Showing Relation to Wetland – Formerly Water



Plate 25: Bifaces and Biface Fragments, FhCc-01

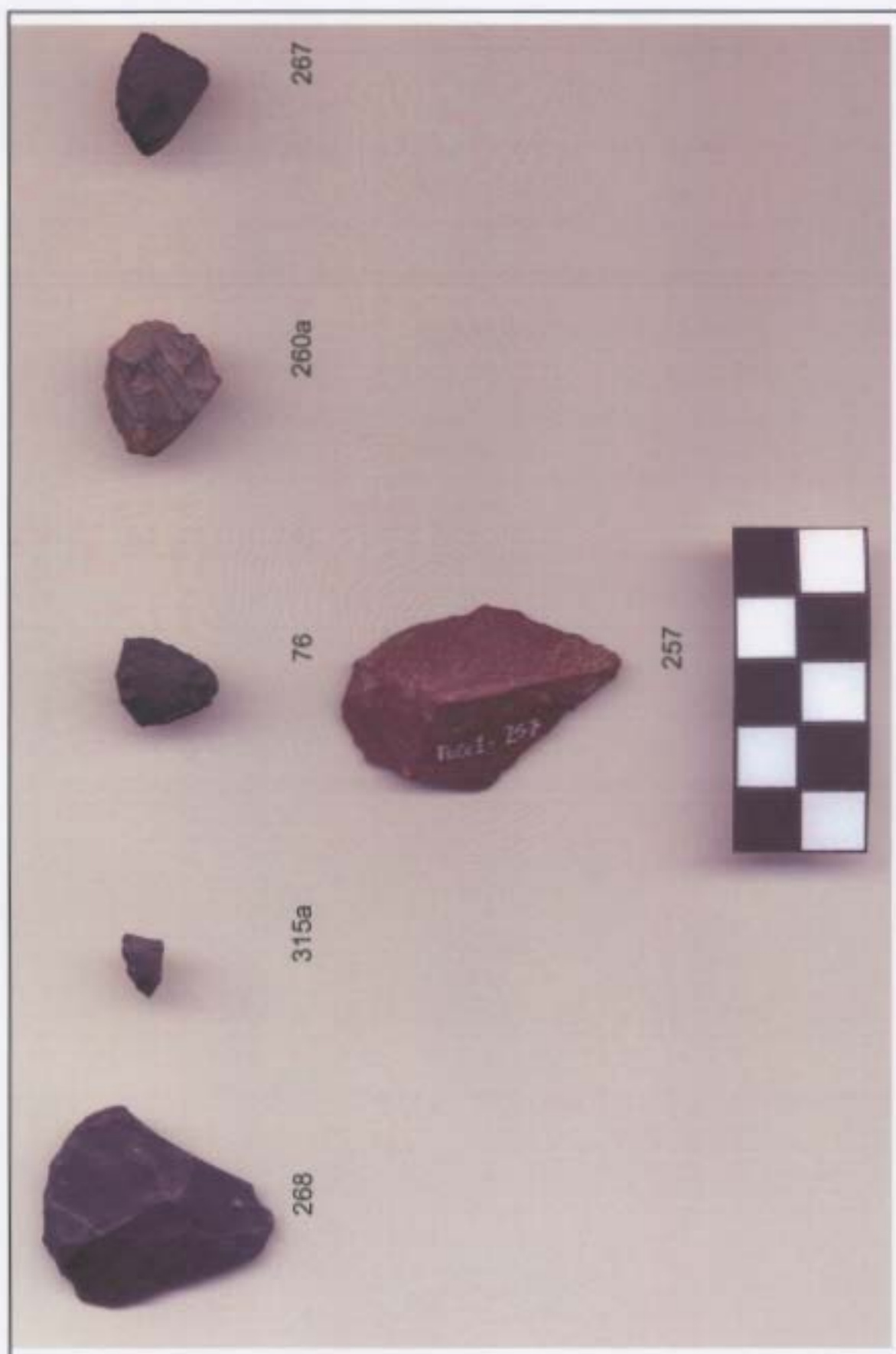


Plate 26: Unifacial Scrapers; FhCc-01



Plate 27: Flake Scrapers, Linear Flakes, Preforms and Unmodified Utilized Flakes

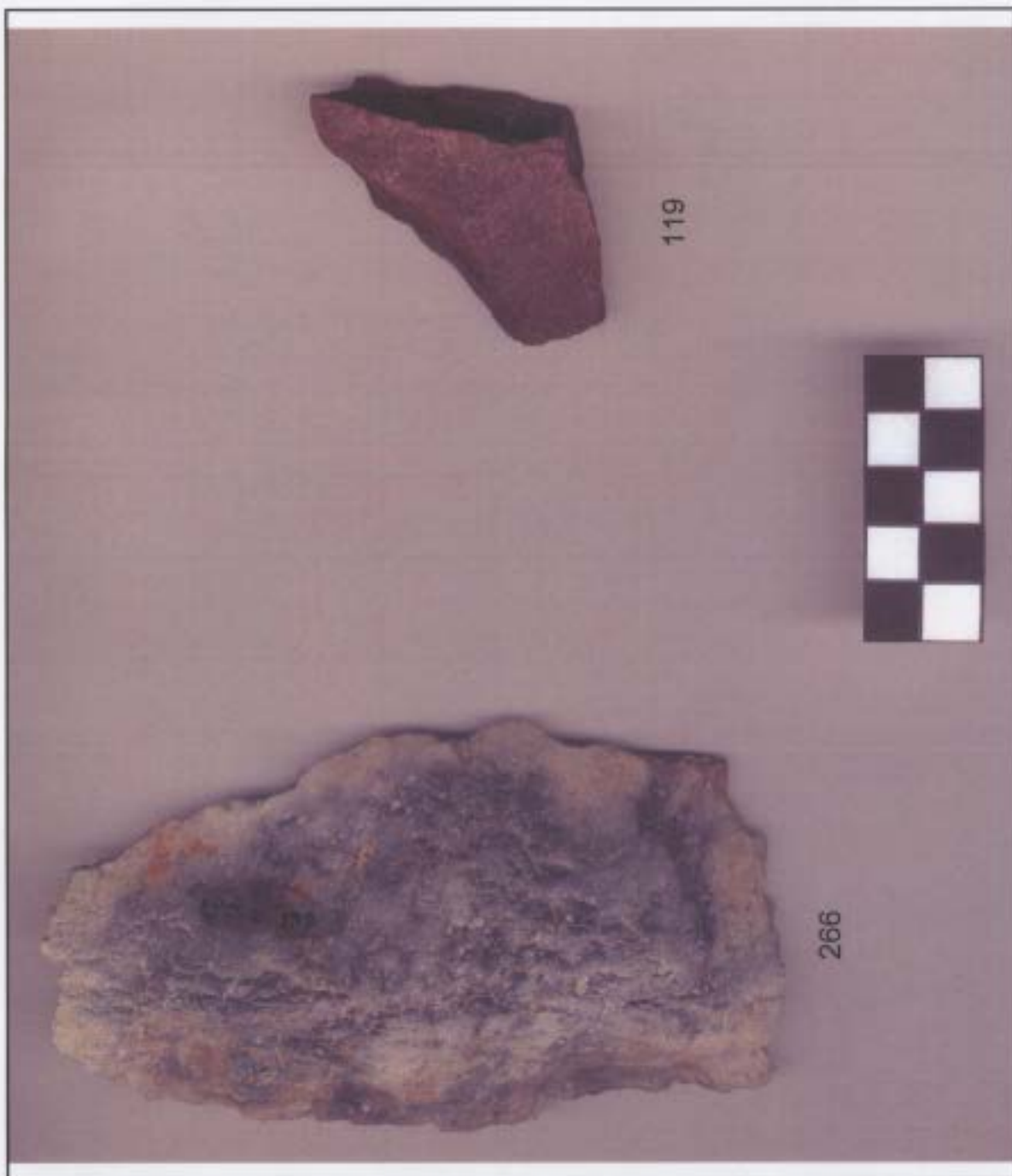


Plate 28: Cores; FhCc-01



Plate 29: Abraders and Specimen of Unknown Function; FhCc-01

