ROBERT'S COVE I (DJAV-05):
A TRANSITIONAL RECENT INDIAN SITE ON THE
NORTHEAST COAST OF NEWFOUNDLAND

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Robert's Cove I (DjAv-05):
A Transitional Recent Indian Site
on the Northeast Coast of Newfoundland

by

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Abstract

Robert’s Cove I (DjAv-05) is a transitional Beaches/Little Passage site located approximately 1km across the harbour from the town of Triton in Notre Dame Bay. The site was originally discovered in 1987 by archaeologists Ingeborg Mashall and Marianne Stopp who were surveying the area with archaeologist Gerald Penney. During the 2007 excavation of DjAv-05, which took place from June to August, 66 square meters were excavated, mapped and photographed and 70 artifacts and 3,151 pieces of debitage were recovered. Excavation and analysis of the site focused on dating the site, determining the length of time which the site had been used by the Recent Indians and what activities were occurring here.

Analysis of the data indicated that the site was used by a Recent Indian group between 780 and 980 AD and that in all probability it was a short duration specialized exploitation camp occupied during warmer weather. In addition to the early dates, examination and comparison of the lithics from DjAv-05 with Beaches and Little Passage assemblages from the island indicate that the site was produced during a transitional period between these Recent Indian cultures. Furthermore, an examination of Beaches and Little Passage sites on the island suggest that the Northeast coast region, where DjAv-05 is located, was of particular importance to both populations.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis focuses primarily on the excavation and analysis of archaeological work performed on the Robert's Cove I site (DjAv-05), located in Notre Dame Bay. Originally, the site was believed to be a late Little Passage habitation site. However, as a result of the 2007 summer excavation it was clear that the site was much older than previously suspected. A number of carbon samples were obtained from the site and two were radiocarbon dated. These dates indicate that the site was the oldest single-component Little Passage site found to date. Further investigation into the lithic assemblage from this site suggested that the site may have been transitional from Beaches to Little Passage. As a result of this investigation I began to consider a) why the Northeast coast was visited more than other regions by people representing both the Beaches and Little Passage complexes, b) what was the extent of Beaches and Little Passage use of this area, and c) where DjAv-05 fits with regard to the Recent Indian settlement/subsistence pattern? To answer these questions I employed a multi-scaler approach examining the early brief activities at Robert’s Cove I, the number of known Beaches and Little Passage sites on the island of Newfoundland, where Beaches and Little Passage sites were located and the site types. As a result, this thesis is divided into three main sections in keeping with the scales of analysis. Chapter two contains a cultural review of the Recent Indian period, which is commonly separated into three complexes including the Cow Head, Beaches and Little Passage complexes. Chapter two also includes a discussion on the Beothuk as they are considered to be descendants of the
Little Passage. Toolkits, site distribution, site structures, settlement, subsistence, and possible cultural origins are aspects considered for all Recent Indian and Beothuk groups. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the context in which the Little Passage culture originated and evolved. Chapter three focuses on the excavation and interpretation of DjA\textsuperscript{v-05}. This site was originally surveyed in 1987 and artifacts from both the survey and the 2007 excavation were analyzed. Due to the amount of debitage recovered from this site I conducted a flake analysis to gain further insight into the technological strategies employed at the site. Thus, this site was examined as an event onto itself. However, because this site appears to be transitional between the Beaches and Little Passage cultures a broader scale was employed in the subsequent chapter. Finally, in Chapter Four I attempt to gain further insight concerning the site and the region in which it is located by examining all the known Beaches and Little Passage sites in Newfoundland. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comparison and analysis of Beaches and Little Passage sites within the various geographical regions of the province. By examining the number of sites in each region in addition to the site type, and available faunal and radiocarbon information, the interaction between subsistence and social behaviour could be more easily recognized.
Chapter 2

The Recent Indian Period

2.1 Introduction

The Recent Indian period is the latest in a long line of aboriginal occupations of the island of Newfoundland. Groups that had previously inhabited the island include the Maritime Archaic Indians (4500 to 3200 B.P), Groswater Paleoeskimos (2800 to 1900 B.P), and the Dorset Paleskimos (2000 to 1200 B.P) (Renouf 1999). The Recent Indian period in Newfoundland is commonly separated into three temporally specific complexes including the Cow Head, Beaches and Little Passage complexes. Together these complexes date from 2000 B.P to 450 B.P. The Recent Indian period ended with the arrival of Europeans at which point the Indian inhabitants became known as the Beothuk. The Beothuk remained on the island until the early nineteenth century when it is believed they became extinct with the death of the last known Beothuk, Shanawdithit (Marshall 1996). It has been suggested that the Recent Indian period is also present in Labrador, represented by the Daniel Rattle and Point Revenge complexes (Loring 1992). However, the relationship between Recent Indian groups on the island of Newfoundland and those in Labrador remains uncertain. A recent publication by Stopp (2008) uses the term Late Pre-contact Indian for recent complexes such as Daniel Rattle in order to draw attention to the different trajectory of recent aboriginal populations in Labrador. Thus, for the purposes of this thesis the Recent Indian phase in Labrador will not be discussed in detail.
The remaining sections of this chapter review the complexes recognized under the title Recent Indian period\(^1\). Lithic assemblages, site distribution, site structures, settlement and subsistence and possible cultural origins of the Recent Indian population in Newfoundland will be discussed. I begin with the oldest and least known Recent Indian population, the Cow Head complex and work towards the more understood Little Passage complex.

2.2 The Cow Head Complex

The Cow Head phase is perhaps the poorest understood period in Newfoundland prehistory, due in part to the lack of archaeological sites found to date. However, the known sites indicate that this culture occupied the island between 2000 and 1500 BP (Renouf et al. 2000). This complex was first identified by Tuck (1978) during an excavation in Cow Head, a site on the West coast of Newfoundland. Although no evidence has been found for a solid link between the Cow Head complex and other Recent Indian groups, the term Recent Indian is used to describe all late prehistoric Amerindian occupations of Newfoundland, dating from 2000 BP to European contact thus incorporating the Cow Head complex.

2.2.1 Toolkit

Distinct prehistoric artifacts that constitute the lithic assemblage of the Cow Head complex were first recognized by Tuck (1978) at the Cow Head site (see

\(^1\) Fladmark (1978:159) defines a complex as a consistently recurring assemblage of artifacts or traits which may be indicative of a specific set of activities, or a common cultural tradition.
Figure 2.1). Here, the lithic assemblage was characterized by an assortment of broad-bladed, stemmed and widely notched projectile points, large ovate, lanceolate and bипointed bifaceѕ, large flake side-scrapers, smaller flake end-scrapers, linear blade-like flakes and bipolar cores (Tuck 1988; Teal 2001). Hartery’s (2007) re-examination of the Cow Head site assemblage has added additional tools to the list including *pieces esquillees* and, although not lithics, two recognizable bone tools including a portion of a barbed harpoon head and what is interpreted as a harpoon foreshaft. In addition, examination of the Gould site by Teal (2001) resulted in contracting stemmed projectile points and pottery being added to the Cow Head assemblage. Many, if not all, of the stone tools from the Cow Head site were made from the local Cow Head Formation chert. However, small amounts of Ramah and Iceberg chert were also present in this assemblage². The presence of these raw materials may indicate a link with groups in Labrador. Hartery (2007) suggests a possible connection to the North West River phase in Labrador. The eight North West River sites examined by Hartery are located in relative proximity to the Ramah quarries (Hartery 2007:37). Despite this, the use of Ramah chert by this group is currently limited to one point (Hartery 2007:37). Thus, it remains to be seen how Cow Head groups in Newfoundland obtained Ramah chert. As for other Cow Head complex assemblages, locally available cherts seem to have been preferred, in addition to rhyolite and limited numbers of Cow Head, Iceberg and Ramah cherts (Teal 2001; Hartery 2007).

² Ramah chert originates from Ramah Bay in northern Labrador and is a distinctive semi-transparent stone. The exact source for Iceberg chert is unknown. However, it was first recognized in an assemblage from southern Labrador and it is thought that the source for this raw material lies within Labrador (Madden 1976:52-53). Iceberg chert looks very similar to Ramah chert but differs in that it is streaked with varying amounts of dark grey or black material which results in a marbled or cloudy appearance (Madden 1976:52).
2.2.2 Site Distribution

Site distribution of the Cow Head complex is still under investigation. This may be due in part to the fact that excavation of various sites occurred before this complex was recognized. As previously stated this culture group was first recognized by Tuck in 1978. However, sites such as Cape Freels and L’Anse aux Meadows were excavated prior to this discovery. While these sites are now recognized as having a
potential connection to the Cow Head complex the possibility remains that other previously excavated sites contain material relating to this group. Currently, the majority of sites that are accepted as having a firm connection with the Cow Head culture are located on the West coast of the Northern Peninsula (Teal 2001). Sites consistently acknowledged with the complex include the Cow Head site which is the type site of this complex, and the Peat Garden site (EgBf-6) (Hartery 2007). The Cow Head affiliation has been accredited to the Peat Garden site based on the stylistic similarities between it and the Cow Head site, in addition to early radiocarbon dates (Hartery 2007). While some of the dates are much later than the conventional 1500 BP, they are considered acceptable as they were extracted from cultural features containing an abundance of wood charcoal (Hartery 2007). Finally, during the 2004 excavation at Dildo Island, located on the Avalon Peninsula, a complete biface was found that indicated the site was occupied by a Cow Head complex population (Gilbert 2006:7). Dates from the site also fit within the range of other known Cow Head site dates (Gilbert 2006:7).

Components of the Cow Head complex have been recognized through early radiocarbon dates and/or stone tool and stone tool fragments in L’Anse aux Meadows (Tuck 1988), Bonavista Bay (Austin 1981, 1984; Carginan 1975, 1977), and near Burgeo on the South coast (Rast 1999). Although some of these sites exhibit stronger connections with the Cow Head complex than others (Hartery 2007) the site locations suggest that their movement was not restricted to the Northwestern coast of Newfoundland. Finally, while Hartery (2007) suggests a possible connection between this complex and both the Intermediate Indian North West River phase in Labrador and the “Le Realignment
"Territorial" period in Quebec, it remains to be seen if Cow Head groups in Newfoundland ventured into these territories or if they practiced long distance trade.

2.2.3 Site Structure

To date, structural evidence found on sites associated with Cow Head assemblages has been limited. In many cases features are confined to cobble hearths and flake scatters. Hearths are often associated with artifacts and lithic debris from every stage of stone tool manufacture (Teal 2001; Hartery 2007). At the Peat Garden site Hartery (2007) notes two features that are markedly different, these included a possible posthole and a feature formed of clay. The clay feature was associated with two rocks and a large piece of siltstone all of which had been fire heated. This feature formed a bowl-shaped depression however its function remains unknown.

2.2.4 Settlement and Subsistence

Due to the limited number of confirmed Cow Head complex sites it is difficult to ascertain settlement and subsistence practices. Determining Cow Head subsistence is made increasing difficult by the lack of faunal material recovered, due largely to Newfoundland’s naturally acidic soils. In addition, the main sites attributed to this complex appear to be specialty procurement sites thus leaving gaping holes in settlement/subsistence hypotheses regarding this society. It is thought that Cow Head groups practiced a generalized subsistence pattern seasonally occupying both the coast and interior when resources were abundant, much like other Recent Indian groups.
However, information from additional sites and faunal material are required before such conclusions can be made.

2.2.5 Cultural Connections

A number of theories have been put forth concerning the origin of the Cow Head complex. While some suggest that it may be a re-emergence of the earlier Maritime Archaic Indian population, others believe it may correspond to an influx of new Indian groups from Quebec-Labrador (Tuck 1988). Currently, the only piece of evidence connecting the Cow Head complex to other groups was the discovery of Middle Woodland pottery at the Gould site (Teal 2001). It is thought that this technology was brought with Cow Head groups from elsewhere as Maritime Archaic Indian populations do not exhibit any evidence of producing pottery.

In addition, the relationship between this group and subsequent Recent Indian cultures remains in doubt. The Cow Head and Beaches complexes do share similar elements including; lanceolate bifaces, large flake side scrapers, and linear flakes. However, stylistic differences and overlapping radiocarbon dates indicate this complex could be distinct from other Recent Indian groups.

2.3 The Beaches Complex

The Beaches complex, dating from approximately 1500 to 1000 BP, was first discovered at the Beaches site (DeAk-1) from where it received its name (Carignan 1975)
(see Figure 2.2). The Beaches complex is the second phase recognized within the Recent Indian tradition. While a connection to the Cow Head complex remains uncertain, links to successive Recent Indian culture phases are more definitive.

Figure 2.2: Beaches Complex Sites Named in the Text.

2.3.1 Toolkit

The Beaches complex is acknowledged as a distinct phase in the Recent Indian period. The Beaches complex toolkit has been described as containing notched
projectile points (generally side-notched), end-scrapers and triangular bifaces (Austin 1984:124; Carignan 1975, 1977; Erwin et al. 2005; Marshall 1996:258; Pastore 1992; Renouf et al. 2000). In addition, lanceolate bifaces and linear flakes are recognized as occurring in the Beaches assemblage (Hull 2002; Pastore 1992). Finally, like the Cow Head complex, Beaches assemblages appear to be comprised of locally available material most often fine grained cherts and rhyolite (Pastore 2000).

2.3.2 Site Distribution

Beaches sites have generally been found in coastal regions of Northeastern and Northwestern Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays (Austin 1981, 1984; Carignan 1975, 1977). However, with increased surveys and archaeological investigations additional sites have been discovered in coastal areas of the Northern Peninsula (Hull 1999; Ingstad 1985; Renouf 1992, 1993) and the South coast (Penney 1989a; Rast 1999), while a single site was located in the interior of Western Newfoundland (Reader 1998). These finds have revealed that the distribution of the Beaches complex is much more wide-spread than previously thought.

2.3.3 Site Structure

Beaches sites usually consist of a scattering of stone artifacts and debris that may or may not be associated with cobble hearths. Like Cow Head complex sites, sites associated with the Beaches complex lack structural features. However, the Deer Lake Beach site (DhBi-6) located in Newfoundland’s western interior appears to contain evidence of two dwellings related to this culture (Reader 1998). The first structure was
complete and undisturbed measuring approximately 5 m by 10 m (Reader 1998:50). The boundaries were established based upon the presence of postholes, the distribution of artifacts and the placement of a compact clay lens near what is interpreted as an entranceway. Aside from the presence of artifacts, the inside of the structure contained a linear hearth which itself enclosed a pit feature (Reader 1998:50). The second structure was found to be partially eroded with the remaining portion measuring 4 m by 4 m. This structure also contained a linear hearth and in most respects appeared similar to the first dwelling (Reader 1998:53).

2.3.4 Settlement and Subsistence

It is assumed that Beaches groups practiced a generalized subsistence strategy, potentially following a seasonal settlement pattern of coastal and interior occupations (Schwarz 1994a:60-64). Unfortunately this supposition cannot be firmly established due to a lack of interior sites and faunal material. To date, the only site to have produced considerable faunal material is the Deer Lake Beach site (DhBi-06). At this site, beaver composed a large part of the collection followed by caribou, suggesting the site was occupied from fall to early winter (Reader 1998). This assemblage closely resembles those found at Little Passage sites. Thus, the Little Passage subsistence model has been used to interpret Beaches subsistence. Specifically, this model has been employed at sites where both Recent Indian groups were active. But on a larger scale Little Passage subsistence has been used as an indicator for Beaches subsistence, especially because this group is believed to be the successor of the other. However, basing a group's entire settlement and subsistence pattern on the model of the successor
or on one site (DhBi-06) may distort our understanding of them.

Holly (2002) has proposed a slightly different settlement/subsistence pattern for the Beaches populations based upon the distribution of known site locales. The Beaches site distribution appears to emphasize the importance of outer coast resources (Holly 2002:75-77). The majority of known sites are located on the island’s northern shores where harp seals are more readily available, suggesting these animals played an important part in the subsistence of this group. In addition, faunal evidence from the interior suggests an autumn caribou hunt in this region. The lack of settlement variability, in relation to site size, within the interior may indicate they only remained in the interior for a short period of time and then returned to the coast in mid to late winter (Holly 2002:90). However, the absence of settlement variability may not be the result of this group returning to the coast but rather a lack of information regarding the interior.

2.3.5 Cultural Connections

The Beaches complex is suspected of having a direct connection to the Little Passage complex. Pastore (1985) was first to suggest a link between the two Recent Indian groups. Data including stratigraphy from the Boyd’s Cove site and radiocarbon dates from various sites suggests that these complexes represent an in situ progression of Recent Indian culture (Pastore 1985, 1992). In addition gradual changes in tool size and style within the Recent Indian period, dating from the Beaches complex to European contact, suggests a connection between this complex and subsequent ones (Pastore 1992). More recently a metric analysis was performed on 840 points and the results supported a connection between the Beaches and Little Passage groups (Erwin et al. 2005). This
investigation revealed that a technical adaptation, marked by a transition from spear to bow-and-arrow, existed between the complexes.

In addition to cultural connections on the island, it is thought that the Beaches complex population may have a link to groups in Labrador. Beaches lithics including side and corner-notched projectile points, and triangular lanceolate bifaces are comparable to those found on Daniel Rattle complex sites in Labrador (Loring 1992:456). More specifically, a toolkit recovered from the North Cove site located on Newfoundland’s Northern Peninsula was found to exhibit characteristics of both Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian groups (Hull 2002:61). Hull (2002:103) believes this site, as well as other sites located in the Strait of Belle Isle, are representative of a single Recent Indian culture group who were spread across a vast area.

2.4 The Little Passage Complex

The Little Passage complex was first identified by Penney (1981, 1984) from a distinct Recent Indian lithic assemblage at the L’Anse à Flamme site (CjAx-1) on the south coast of Newfoundland (see Figure 2.3). This complex is considered the archaeological representation of pre-contact Beothuk and dates from 1000 BP to 400 BP (Holly 2002:101; Penney 1984).

2.4.1 Toolkit

The Little Passage people produced a distinct lithic assemblage that is characterized by small corner-notched and expanding stemmed projectile points, small
triangular bifaces, thumbnail end-scrapers, and linear flakes (Penney 1981:100-101, 1984). These assemblages are commonly fashioned from fine grained blue and green Newfoundland cherts. However, when available locally, rhyolite was also used. Exotic raw materials have also presented themselves in Little Passage assemblages. An example of this is Ramah chert, a semi-transparent stone originating from Ramah Bay in Northern Labrador.

Figure 2.3: Little Passage Complex Sites Named in the Text.
2.4.2 Site Distribution

Due to the number of sites now attributed to the Little Passage, site distribution appears more extensive than other Recent Indian groups. This group traversed areas including the island of Newfoundland, Labrador and Quebec. On the island sites are dispersed throughout the outer coasts (exposed headlands and islands, facing the sea), inner coasts (sheltered islands, bays and inlets) and interior (Holly 1997; Schwarz 1994a:60-64; Teal 2001:6). Little Passage sites off the island are not as dispersed; however, they have been identified on the Lower North Shore of Quebec (Pintal 1989, 1998) and Little Passage artifacts have been found at Red Bay in southern Labrador (Robbins 1989; Tuck 1989).

2.4.3 Site Structure

Like all preceding Recent Indian complex sites Little Passage sites often contain only small hearths and scatters of artifacts and lithic debris (Pastore 1992). Evidence of other features and structures is largely absent. There are a variety of explanations for this phenomenon within the Recent Indian period. Site function may not have required substantial construction. For example, at quarries and short duration exploitation sites structures may not have been necessary while a base camp would likely have a more permanent structure. Furthermore, the continued use of various site locations by prehistoric and historic groups may have distorted the earliest evidence of structures. This is an important issue as these and other archaeological sites in Newfoundland are often located in shallow soils. As a result, centuries of prehistoric and historic activity can occur within the same stratigraphic layers potentially impeding the interpretation of
structures or preservation of once evident structures (Pastore 1982:155; Penney 1984:44-46).

2.4.4 Settlement and Subsistence

While ideas vary concerning the settlement and subsistence patterns of the Little Passage complex many scholars propose this group practiced a generalized subsistence strategy that centered on a seasonal settlement pattern of coastal and interior occupations (Holly 1997, 2002; Pastore 1985, 1986; Rowley-Conwy 1990; Schwarz 1994a). This is based on the distribution of archaeological sites, the available faunal evidence and knowledge of resource availability. Specifically, evidence pertaining to site location and faunal evidence from Recent Indian sites in southern Labrador indicates that during the early spring people likely occupied the outer coast where seals could be exploited as they whelp on the pack ice (Schwarz 1994a:58). From late spring and into the summer it is believed that the population relocated to the inner coastal zone to take advantage of several of the available marine and terrestrial resources including seals, seabirds, otter, caribou, beaver, fish and shellfish (Cridland 1998:246; Cumbaa 1984; Pastore 1985; Schwarz 1994a:58). In fall it is believed groups shifted to the interior to hunt migrating caribou herds (Holly 2002:119). Throughout the winter resource options were at their lowest and it is thought that people relied on food stuffs that they would have stored during the more plentiful summer and fall seasons. In addition, caribou were available in limited quantities and could have been sought from the interior during this time. Harp seals would have been available as they migrated south to breed in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Tuck and Pastore 1985). Alternately, Rowley-Conwy (1990:24-26) has
suggested that rather than settling in the interior during the winter, Little Passage groups may have moved to areas a short distance from the coast, with access to the interior. These locations would have allowed huntsmen to access caribou in the interior while monitoring seal migration on the coast. This type of settlement would have optimized subsistence opportunities during the resource deficient winter months.

This model for Little Passage settlement and subsistence patterns remains a hypothesis. Although various surviving faunal assemblages have corroborated a generalized marine-interior settlement and subsistence model (Cridland 1998), additional faunal material is needed to definitively verify the pattern.

2.4.5 Cultural Connections

As stated before, the Little Passage complex may have developed directly from the earlier Beaches complex. However it is the Little Passage ancestral link to the historic Beothuk that is best understood (Austin 1984; Pastore 1992; Tuck 1982). This connection has been established in part by excavations at the Boyd’s Cove site. It was here that several Little Passage lithic tools were discovered in association with a number of Beothuk and European artifacts including culturally modified iron nails, and glass trade beads (Pastore 1983:139, 1984:107, 1985:323). Further support comes from an attribute analysis of Little Passage and Beothuk projectile points preformed by Schwarz in 1984. This analysis suggests an uninterrupted sequence of changing projectile point forms from the Little Passage through to the Beothuk period. The sequence is characterized by a gradual decrease in point size, the broadening of hafting notches as
they move from the corners toward the base, and a reduction in surface retouch (Schwarz 1984:66).

While the Little Passage complex population occupied the island of Newfoundland a contemporary Indian culture, known as the Point Revenge complex, resided throughout coastal Labrador. Both complexes produced comparable small corner-notched and expanding stemmed flaked and bifacially worked projectile points (Loring 1992:459-462). In many cases the only difference between projectile points is the raw material used to create them (Loring 1992:343). While there appears to be a strong connection between the two groups it remains to be seen if they were related through familial roots.

2.5 The Beothuk

Since the Beothuk were present at the time of contact with Europeans they are unlike pre-contact Recent Indian groups in that they were not first ‘discovered’ through archaeological excavation. They are considered to be the historical expression of the Little Passage complex as they were the same population. Thus, the accepted date for this contact population begins with Newfoundland’s written history (~ 400 BP) and ends with the death of the last known Beothuk, Shanawdithit, in 1829 (Howley 2000:231; Marshall 1996:221).
2.5.1 Toolkit

Given that the Beothuk are viewed as the historical expression of the Little Passage population it would be expected that during the pre-contact period the lithic assemblage would be very similar, and it is. However, over time slight changes did occur to the size and shape of the lithic toolkit. Specifically, projectile points gradually became smaller and experienced less surface retouch. In addition, hafting notches were increasingly fashioned to be broader and shallower, eventually shifting from the corners to the base, resulting in the most recent points being stemmed (Schwarz 1984; Marshall 1996). At contact, the Beothuk began to incorporate iron into their toolkit. It is believed the Beothuk acquired metal objects from abandoned European fishing stages and recycled them into projectile points, awls and possibly hide scrapers (McLean 1989, 2003). Finally, an undetermined number of bone tools have been recovered and included items such a needle, awls, and a barbed bone point (Marshall 1996).

2.5.2 Site Distribution

Most discussion of Beothuk site distribution has been concerned with how their settlement was affected by an increased European presence. Since the site distribution of the Little Passage complex has been previously discussed in this chapter I will focus specifically on Beothuk, or contact era, sites found to date. While it is commonly believed that the Beothuk were confined to the interior during the contact period, sites have been discovered in many areas of the island. Starting with the south coast, remains of Beothuk occupations have been uncovered in Couteau Bay and Lower Burgeo (Penney 1984, 1989a; Marshall 1996) (see Figure 2.4). Beothuk sites have also
been found on the Avalon Peninsula (Tuck 1989), in Trinity Bay (Gilbert 2002), Bonavista Bay (Devereux 1965, 1969; Carignan 1975, 1977; McLean 1991), Notre Dame Bay (Pastore 1984, 1985, 1986), Bay of Exploits, Exploits River and Red Indian Lake (Thomson 1983; McLean 1990; Devereux 1970) and the Northern Peninsula. In addition, evidence of Beothuk burials have been found in Placentia Bay, the south coast, Bonavista Bay, Notre Dame Bay, Bay of Exploits, Red Indian Lake and the Northern Peninsula (Marshall 1996).

Figure 2.4: Beothuk Sites Named in the Text.
2.5.3 Site Structure

There is a great deal of information concerning Beothuk housing. Both historical documentation and archaeological research indicate that the Beothuk built a variety of mammateeks. The first type of mammateek to be described was the conical mammateek which was observed by John Guy in Trinity Bay in 1612 (Marshall 1996). Archaeological excavations of these dwellings have revealed that the living floor was lower than the level of the surrounding forest floor and the diameters of these structures varied from as small as 2.75 m to as large as 6.10 m (Devereux 1964, 1969; LeBlanc 1973; Locke 1975; Marshall 1996:352; Thomson 1983). Many of these structures had central hearths: however, some showed no evidence of such a feature (Carignan 1975; Devereux 1969; LeBlanc 1973).

Six-sided mammateeks have also been uncovered by Devereux (1970) at Red Indian Lake and at Boyd’s Cove (Pastore 1984). These structures had central hearths, earthen walls and while two exhibited evidence of sleeping hollows one did not. Again, these structures varied in size.

A square mammateek was observed in Trinity Bay in 1612, by John Guy (Marshall 1996). However it had not been completed and thus it is unknown if it was intended for use as a dwelling or a storehouse. In contrast, two rectangular houses were recorded by John Cartwright in 1768 (Marshall 1996). Approximately two centuries later excavations at Indian Point revealed four of the sixteen housepits to be rectangular in form (Locke 1975).

Oval Beothuk mammateeks have also been identified. These types of dwelling were not recorded in historical accounts: however, they have been identified
archaeologically at Boyd’s Cove (Pastore 1986) and Wigwam Brook (LeBlanc 1973). Of the two oval houses excavated at Boyd’s Cove one revealed 11 sleeping hollows and a possible wind baffle at one entrance. The other contained a large elongated hearth with caribou bone mash. It is believed this particular structure may have been used for communal ceremony. Finally, the large oval pit excavated at Wigwam Brook revealed a central hearth, but due to disturbance there was no evidence of sleeping hollows.

Eight-sided *mammateeks* were not recorded until the early 19th century by Buchan (Howely 2000:85). The only archaeological example of this type of dwelling was excavated at Boyd’s Cove (Pastore 1983). The living space of this dwelling had been dug out and was then used for constructing an earthen wall. Outer and inner post holes were present in addition to a central hearth and an area that may have served as a sleeping location.

A single five-sided *mammateek* was recorded at the Wigwam Brook site (LeBlanc 1973). This dwelling had a mounded central hearth. No clearly defined sleeping hallows were located.

### 2.5.4 Settlement and Subsistence

The Beothuk are thought to have exploited two different settlement-subsistence patterns over time. Not surprisingly the first model is based on that of their prehistoric ancestors, the Little Passage. This Little Passage settlement/subsistence pattern provides a baseline for early historic Beothuk strategies as it is assumed that for a century or so after European immigration the Beothuk way of life was similar to that of their prehistoric ancestors (Marshall 1996:304). This generalized subsistence strategy
differs from the second subsistence model where there is a noticeable focus on caribou exploitation. The second subsistence pattern involved spending fall and winter on the banks of the Exploits River or Red Indian Lake. It is thought that this subsistence strategy resulted after Europeans settled the outer coastal headlands and islands (Marshall 1996). In addition, Mi-kmaq from Nova Scotia and Inuit and Montagnais from Labrador were using the island’s resources further reducing Beothuk accessibility (Martijn 1990). At interior locations Beothuk could intercept caribou herds on their seasonal migration. Evidence of these activities was recorded by John and George Cartwright in 1768 when they made note of fencing along the banks of the Exploits River (Marshall 1996:307). Capt. David Buchan and W.E Cormack also described Beothuk camps and fences in the interior in the early 1800s (Marshall 1996:307). The locations of many of these camps have since been confirmed by archaeological surveys and excavations (Devereux 1970; Sproull Thomson 1982; Thomson 1983). As a result of this increasingly specialized interior adaptation, investment in storage facilities and food preservation may have also been intensified (Holly 1998:23). For example, a reference from William Cull’s expedition up the Exploits River in the winter of 1810 states that he discovered a storehouse about 12 to 15 m long with the remains of approximately 100 caribou inside (Howley 2000:69). While some of the caribou were quartered and stored in bulk, other pieces were de-boned and placed in birch rind boxes (Howley 2000:69). The following year Captain Buchan wrote of his expedition and mentioned similar caribou-packed containers which he estimated to weigh 75 to 100 kg each (Howley 2000:87, Marshall 1996:299). This type of storage demonstrates dependence on interior resources among the late historic Beothuk (Holly 1998).
Due to historical documentation and studies in paleoethnobotany, it is known that the historic Beothuk used at least 24 plant species as part of their settlement and subsistence strategy (Deal and Butt 2003). Specifically, paleoethnobotanical studies have shown that pin cherry, blueberry, red elderberry, bunchberry, dock, balsam fir and spruce needles were used by Beothuk groups (Deal and Butt 2003; Deal et al. 1995:49-50). While the majority of these plants were used for subsistence or medicinal purposes, balsam fir needles were likely used for bedding. Spruce needles may have been a secondary deposit brought into settlements adhered to firewood (Deal et al. 1995:49). These plant foods would have been harvested during the warmer months of the seasonal round by those who practiced a generalized subsistence strategy. However, it is presumed that these foodstuffs also supplemented the diet of those who practiced a subsistence strategy focusing on the harvest of interior caribou herds (Marshall 1996:308).

2.5.5 Cultural Connections

As previously stated, the Beothuk are believed to be the descendants of the Little Passage. This link has been demonstrated by the excavation of various Little Passage/Beothuk sites, notably Boyd’s Cove where Little Passage lithics were found in direct association with historical Beothuk material (Pastore 1985:323). In addition, an examination of Little Passage projectile points supports a Little Passage-Beothuk continuum (Schwarz 1984). Linguists have examined historical documents containing Beothuk word lists in an attempt to determine where Beothuk may have originated. Unfortunately, while some scholars firmly believe the Beothuk vocabulary to be of Algonquian origin the debate has never been entirely resolved (Marshall 1996).
2.6 Summary

The Recent Indian period encompasses the last fifteen hundred years of prehistoric Indian occupation in Newfoundland. During this time three distinct complexes emerge from the archaeological record beginning with Cow Head, followed by the Beaches and Little Passage populations. The Cow Head complex is the least known of the Recent Indian groups and may or may not be related to the proceeding Recent Indian populations. However, ample evidence has been recovered to indicate they were a technologically and stylistically distinct group within the Recent Indian period. Conversely, it is believed the archaeological expression known as the Beaches complex was ancestral to the later Little Passage complex that are in turn considered the ancestral stock of the historic Beothuk. It is believed these groups likely practiced a generalized subsistence pattern based on exploiting coastal and interior resources when seasonally available. However, the Beothuk are known to have practiced a second, more specialized pattern, focusing on caribou.
3.1 Setting and Historical Usage

The Robert’s Cove I site is located on a small inlet on the west side of Great Triton Harbour, approximately one km across the harbour from the town of Triton (see Figure 3.1). The cove is home to low lying bushes including alders and young tree growth and is bordered on its south, west and north sides by tree-covered hilly terrain. Small bodies of bog are also present west of the site.

Historically, Robert’s Cove has been used by residents in the area. The site itself was found lying under a collapsed cabin and woodpile. Other evidence of recent or historical usage includes flagging tape left by hunters, a long deforested linear path that functioned as a wood slip, and a lean-to. Residents of the area reported the use of stoves in cabins indicating that the locale was used during the fall or winter. Fall/Winter occupation would have been possible as streams flow down the surrounding hills into Great Triton Harbour ensuring a supply of fresh water. However, during warmer periods in the summer these streams are known to dry up. Nevertheless, excavation suggested that the area was also used during the summer months as evidence of historical garden beds were present. This hypothesis was confirmed by residents. The area continues to be used for hunting, while wood and vegetable harvesting are no longer carried out.
3.1.1 Climate

Despite the fact that Robert’s Cove I lies within Newfoundland’s northern coast it experiences the warmest summers of any coastal area (Damman 1983:178). Nevertheless, it is subject to sudden cold snaps in summer when the wind blows from the north or east. The growing season is shorter and cooler than central Newfoundland, but lasts for approximately 150 days (Damman 1983:178). By early December this region of the coast develops an ice cover that typically does not dissipate until the end of May or early June (Banfield 1983). Fresh water lakes in the area follow a similar pattern, freezing over in early to mid December, but thawing by the first week of May. This area of the island is also one of the driest with a precipitation accumulation of 900-1200 mm per
year, approximately 50-70% of which falls as snow during the colder winters. This snow cover usually persists throughout February and is followed by a late, cool spring.

3.1.2 Resources

Perhaps due to the fact that it is an island, Newfoundland is often thought to have limited resources (Tuck and Pastore 1985). However, even with a limited expanse, the island is ecologically diverse. According to Damman (1983:166), Robert’s Cove I is located in what he describes as the North Shore Ecoregion. This region stretches along the coast from the Bonavista Peninsula to the Great Northern Peninsula and is characterized by high densities of balsam fir and black spruce. Due to increased wind exposure in many bays and inlets the quality and height of trees in this district deteriorates closer to the coast. Other vegetation common to the region includes green alder, speckled alder, bunchberry, purple crowberry and blueberries.

The marine resources of the area are rich and vary throughout spawning seasons. These resources contain all the usual pelagic and ground fish species including shellfish and mollusks (Templeman 1966). Seal species such as the hood, harp and harbour seals are also accessible. Harp seals would have been of greater importance during the spring when they whelped their pups on the ice while harbour seals are more common during the summer. In addition, whales are known to visit the area: however, their importance in relation to Recent Indian subsistence is unknown. Finally, sea birds, predominantly cold water alcids and migratory ducks and geese, are an important resource in the area and no doubt were exploited during the pre-contact period.
A number of land mammals have been introduced to the province. However, during the prehistoric period aboriginal groups would have been able to avail of 14 species of native mammals. These include the little brown bat, eastern long-eared bat, arctic hare, beaver, meadow vole, muskrat, wolf, red fox, black bear, Richardson’s ermine, martin, otter, lynx, and caribou (Dodds 1983). Some of these species would not have been of great benefit to pre-contact groups. However, it is known that caribou and beaver along with small fur-bearing animals played a pivotal role for Beothuk, and their ancestors, subsistence and survival.

3.2 The Site

On July 29th, 1987 archaeologists Ingeborg Mashall and Marianne Stopp discovered the site at Robert’s Cove while surveying the Notre Dame Bay area. Six test pits revealed a number of artifacts at a depth of 7 to 22 cm. This large, relatively undisturbed, Recent Indian site appeared rich in artifacts and, possibly, features. The test pits produced ocher-stained cultural layers (12 to 30 cm below sod) containing charcoal and some European material. Specifically, Test Pit Four produced a single shard of pottery and window glass, in addition to prehistoric artifacts. Prehistoric artifacts recovered from the 1987 investigation included a fragmented corner-notched projectile point, two utilized black chert flakes, a large side-scraper, a linear flake, a battered chunk of quartz crystal, and 48 pieces of debitage. From the investigation, Penney (1988:39) concluded that this site was a Recent Indian site. Due to the fragmentation of the recovered projectile point it was uncertain if the site was solely a Little Passage site or if
there might be a Beothuk component (Reynolds per. comm. 2006). The presence of historic material added further support to this interpretation. In addition, the presence of charcoal hinted that this settlement might be a substantial camp site. Upon completion of the 2007 excavation of the site it became apparent that the site was older than previously thought. Specifically, the Recent Indian component was confined to the Little Passage culture phase and no evidence of a Beothuk component was located.

3.2.1 Method of Excavation

The excavation of the site adhered to conventional procedures. Due to the fact that the originally recorded coordinates were slightly off, test pitting was performed to find the exact site location. Unfortunately, the area had a lot of overgrowth that had to be removed before the excavation took place. After placing a datum approximately at sea level in a rock outcrop, a transit was used to situate a grid of 1x1 m units over the site. We then proceeded to excavate the site by trowel in a checkerboard pattern whereby every second unit in successive rows was removed. The units remaining were left as free-standing stratigraphic blocks, which maintained the profile on all four sides. This method preserved all long profiles N-S and E-W (Fladmark 1978). The remaining units were then excavated after the profiles were recorded. Units were excavated following the natural, stratigraphic layers. In this procedure, excavation reverses the natural order of deposition of a site by proceeding downwards one stratum at a time (Fladmark 1978:88). Artifact provenience was recorded using a meter tape from the south and west corners of the site. The depth below datum was also recorded using a meter tape from datums that were placed closer to the site. Excavation forms were used to record this data while detailed
drawings and photos were employed to document stratigraphy, create a map of the area and record any irregularities such as garden beds and red ochre stains. Finally, soil from each unit was screened by quadrant and layer using a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch mesh screen. In all, 66 1x1m units were excavated. Seventy artifacts and 3,151 pieces of debitage were recovered from the main excavation area, covering 58 square units.

3.2.2 Stratigraphy and Disturbance

The natural and cultural stratigraphy of the Robert's Cove I site was believed to be fairly straightforward consisting of three different horizons (Figure 3.2). Once the trees and overgrowth had been cleared from the site a sod layer was revealed and consisted of matted grass roots. This uppermost layer measured 1-2 cm and did not contain artifacts though very few in number. The subsequent deposit was a dark-brown to black humus layer that varied in thickness from 2 cm to 37 cm. This organic-rich stratum contained a large majority of the cultural debris at various depths. While recent historical artifacts such as nails and clay pipes occurred they were, for the most part, confined to

![Legend](image)

Figure 3.2: Stratigraphy at Robert's Cove I (DjAv-05).
the top of the stratum. Alternatively, the lithic materials were found throughout although only sporadically in the top of the stratum. The large majority of these lithic artifacts were found closer to and at the interface between the humus layer and the underlying natural beach. In addition to cultural debris, random charcoal lenses and decaying planks of wood were discovered in the uppermost section of the humus stratum. The discovery of the random charcoal lenses was attributed to a historic period fire in the area as they were not associated with any Little Passage materials, while the decaying wood planks were clear evidence of the past historical use of the site. Finally, the natural beach horizon was of an unknown depth and consisted of water worn pebbles and cobbles in a compact grey soil (see Figure 3.3). Cultural debris as well as a small amount of charcoal was encountered at the top of this layer. A red ochre deposit was also present in this stratum extending from the interface to approximately 30cm below the surface.

Once the site had been partially excavated we noticed small trench-like features occurring in the natural beach horizon. After a few days in the sun, the exposed strata of Layer 1 dried and revealed differences within the matrix that were shaped like small mounds. This change in matrix corresponded with the trench-like features in Layer 2, revealing where the residents of Triton had planted vegetables (see Figure 3.3). Due to the site location these vegetable furrows were most likely created by the use of a pick axe rather than machinery. This activity may have slightly disturbed the artifact distribution. Although only minimal, this disturbance was noted by the presence of a few larger flakes recovered from the upper section of Layer 1. However, artifacts were found to be still lying on Layer 2, within the furrow locales, indicating disturbance was minimal.
In addition to small scale farming activity, local residents claimed the area was also used for grazing animals. In spite of this, artifact displacement resulting from this activity was likely to have been minimal as the area is too small for large groups of animals, thus reducing the effects of trampling. Finally, natural processes at the site may also have played a role in some of the artifact displacement seen. Upon partial excavation of the site the crew and I noticed that following a heavy rainfall the ground would become very soft and water would pool in the area of the site. Poor drainage, in addition to any freeze/thaw processes during the changing seasons, could have aided in the displacement of some of the artifacts.
3.2.3 Features

While it was anticipated that the site would contain features the 2007 excavation revealed no evidence of any dwelling, hearths, or middens. This is not surprising as the large majority of Little Passage sites do not show signs of dwelling features. This could be due to the type of dwelling structures used by this pre-contact group. On the other hand, red ochre stains were found throughout the site. While the majority of these stains were very thin, one deposit continued to a depth of 30 cm below the surface of Layer 2. This deposit was located in unit S07 W40 and was confined to the NE and NW quadrants (see Figure 3.4). While four scrapers were excavated from the SE and SW quadrants of this unit no artifacts were found in the ochre deposit: however, mussel shells were recovered. Finally, a rock cluster containing a number of very large rocks was located in unit S07 W42 (see Figure 3.3). To determine the nature of this cluster another unit, S07 W43, was excavated. However, no cultural material was found in association with this rock collection.
3.2.4 Fauna

The most reliable way of determining the season of site occupation is by examining any faunal material that might be recovered. Unfortunately, no faunal remains were found at the site. However, mussel shells were recovered from a red ochre deposit located within the Little Passage culture layer. As mussel shells are the only definite remains indicating a seasonal subsistence pattern at Robert’s Cove I the tentative season of occupation is late spring to fall.

3.3 Radiocarbon Samples

In total, five charcoal samples were collected from Robert’s Cove I during the 2007 field season. Of these, two samples were sent to Beta Analytic Inc.’s laboratory in
Miami, Florida for radiocarbon dating. The samples considered for analysis were selected on size, quality and location. Location was of particular importance as there was a risk of contamination due to the aforementioned potato furrows. The first sample (DjAv5S02W39) was collected from Layer 2, approximately 10 cm below the surface in the NE quad of unit S02 W39. No diagnostic artifacts were found in this unit. However, this sample is taken from the same strata as the neighboring S02 W38 unit which did contain cultural material. The resulting conventional radiocarbon date for this sample is 1190+/−40 BP (see Figure 3.5).

![Radiocarbon Graph](image)

Figure 3.5: DjAv-05 (Radiometric Sample DjAv5S02W39 from L2).

The second charcoal sample (DjAv5S03W42) was collected from the top of Level 2, approximately 16 cm below surface in unit S03 W42. While this unit was considered to be at the periphery of the site it was found in proximity to an artifact. The analysis of this sample produced a conventional radiocarbon age of 1120+/−50 BP (see Figure 3.6).
Figure 3.6: DjAv-05 (Radiometric Sample DjAv5S03W42 from L2).

Although these samples were not found in direct association with diagnostic material they were recovered from the same cultural layer as our diagnostic finds. The dates are older than what is typically accepted as the beginning of the Little Passage complex, approximately 1000 BP. However, the Robert’s Cove I dates are very close to the occupation period for L’Anse à Flamme which dates to 1130+/-80 BP (Penney 1984).

3.4 Artifacts Recovered from the 1987 Survey

Artifacts recovered from the 1987 survey included a fragmented corner-notched projectile point, two utilized flakes, a large side-scraper and a linear flake (see Figure 3.7). All of the tools recovered were flaked from chert. Of these, two (including a utilized flake and the linear flake) were chipped from black chert while the three remaining
artifacts were flaked from gray chert. Two of the gray artifacts, including one utilized flake and the large side-scraper, were patinated. Although the material type for these tools was limited, the variety of tools recovered indicated a wide range of activities may have taken place at this site.

Figure 3.7: Artifacts Recovered From the 1987 Survey.

3.5 Artifacts Recovered from the 2007 Excavation

The lithic assemblage recovered from Robert’s Cove I is distinctive. While the collection is fairly small, incorporating only 70 artifacts, there is a variety of tool types present. Table 3.1 illustrates the frequency in which particular tools occur on the site. To summarize, the assemblage is dominated by scrapers which make up 37.1% of the total collection. Cores and core fragments and retouched flakes are the second most common artifact types. Seven specimens of both artifact types were recovered and each makes up 10.0% of the total assemblage. Biface preforms and notched bifacial points and fragments
follow with a frequency of 8.6% each of the total collection. Biface fragments and utilized flakes comprise a small portion of the recovered artifacts at 5.7% each. Bifacial knife fragments and flakes that exhibit evidence of both retouch and utilization each comprise 4.3% of the assemblage. Two unifacially worked preforms were uncovered and make up a small portion of the assemblage at 2.9%. Finally, one bifacial point preform and one bi-pointed biface preform complete the collection and each comprises a mere 1.4% of the total. These artifact types will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

Those who crafted the artifacts recovered from Robert’s Cove appeared to have preferred to use chert as the collection is dominated by this material type. It is unknown where most of the chert found at this site originated from but the frequency of some cherts, especially those gray in colour, suggest some may be locally available. While various shades of gray chert appear to be the norm, other material types used for the creation of tools included a small amount of quartz, Ramah chert, rhyolite and other unidentifiable cherts (see Table 3.2).
Table 3.1 Artifact Typology Frequency.

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<td>Biface Preforms</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bifacial Knife Fragments</td>
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<td>4.3</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bipointed Biface Preform</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Core and Core Fragments</td>
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<td>Notched Bifacial Points and Fragments</td>
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<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retouched Flakes</td>
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Table 3.2 Artifacts by Raw Material Type.

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<th>Material Types</th>
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<th>Percentage %</th>
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<td>Quartz</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramah Chert</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyolite</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentifiable Cherts</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>70</td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Description of Artifacts Recovered from the 2007 Excavation

3.6.1 Biface Fragments (N=4)

Four biface fragments were found on the site and the majority of these are too small to identify by type. Two of the recovered fragments exhibit curved bifacially worked edges and may have once been circular or round based bifaces (see Figure 3.8).
Of the two remaining artifacts, one is a very small perhaps medial piece of a once larger biface while the other may have been a larger triangular biface (see Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.8: Biface Fragments Recovered from Robert's Cove I (DjAv-05).

Figure 3.9: Biface Fragments Recovered from Robert's Cove I (DjAv-05).
3.6.2 Biface Preforms (N=6)

The biface preforms range in shape, size and stage of production. All six of the biface preforms are made of blue-grey chert while one is patinated (see Figure 3.10). The largest complete biface measures 53.7mm x 44.5mm x 18.3mm and weighs 41.1g while the smallest is 35.8mm x 30.5mm x 9.8mm and weighs 7.9g. Four are triangular in shape, one is square, and one fragmented biface may have been a round based lanceolate.

Figure 3.10: Biface Preforms Recovered from Robert’s Cove I (DjAv-05).

3.6.3 Bifacial Knife Fragments (N=3)

Three bifacially worked artifacts were unearthed from the site and are undoubtedly bifacial knives. Two of these, a base and upper blade portion, are made from a dark grey chert with white and crystalline inclusions while the third, another upper blade portion with the tip missing, is purple rhyolite possibly from Bloody Bay Cove located in Bonavista Bay. The base and upper blade fragments composed of dark grey
chert were found in units S06W38 and S07W39 respectfully, and upon closer inspection proved to be a complete tool (see Figure 3.11). Once refitted, the complete bifacial knife measures 60.3mm long, 28.2mm wide, 5.7mm thick and weighs 8.8g.

Figure 3.11: Bifacial Knife Fragments Recovered from Robert’s Cove I (DjAv-05).

3.6.4 Bifacial Point Preform (N=1)

A solitary bifacial point preform of blue-grey chert measuring 38.2mm long, 20.2mm wide, 6.4mm thick and weighing 4.2g was recovered from unit S03W40 (see Figure 3.12).
3.6.5 Bi-pointed Biface Preform (N=1)

A single bi-pointed biface preform of grey-blue chert was recovered from Unit S04W40 and measured 58.7mm long, 34.7mm wide, 20.0mm thick and weighed 33.3g (see Figure 3.13).
3.6.6 Cores and Core Fragments (N=7)

A total of seven core and core fragments were recovered from Robert's Cove I. All of these are made of grey cherts ranging from light grey to blue-grey with one patinated core (see Figure 3.14). The largest of these measures 78.2mm x 57.8mm x 46.7mm and weighs 244.7g while the smallest is 35.4mm x 23.4mm x 14.2mm and weighs 11.6g. The majority of these cores contain a number of flaking scars and appear to have been extensively used. However, a few exhibit minimal flaking scars. This could be contributed to the properties of the raw material which appears to fracture easily.
3.6.7 Notched Bifacial Points and Hafting Fragments (N=6)

A total of six bifacial points and point fragments were recovered. Of these, only one was complete; another two consisted of the hafting element and partial blade while the three remaining artifacts were hafting elements (see Figure 3.15). Of the points collected only three could be categorized by type. These included, one corner-notched expanding stem point, one corner-notched straight stemmed point, and one point which appears to contain a side-notch and a corner-notch.

Of the six points and point fragments two (33%) are made from blue-grey chert with white inclusions, one (17%) is made from beige chert, one (17%) is grey chert, one (17%) is made from Ramah chert and one (17%) is grey chert with crystalline inclusions.

Finally, of particular interest is the corner-notched straight stemmed point fragment. Upon close inspection of this artifact it appears to have been retouched, perhaps to serve as a scraper after it was broken (see Figure 3.16).
3.6.8 Retouched Flakes (N=7)

Seven flakes were discovered that had retouch along at least one edge.

Three of these are of dark gray mottled chert with crystalline inclusions while the
remaining four flakes are made of grey chert. The largest flake measures 44.5mm long, 36.1mm wide, and 18.9mm thick and weighs 26g. The smallest flake is 17.2mm x 15.6mm x 2.05mm and weighs 0.6g. The evidence of retouch on this flake is confined to one side and encompasses a very small area: however, this may be due to the fact that it was found fragmented. While the majority of flakes have retouch on only one side, two of the recovered flakes have retouch on multiple sides. These particular artifacts were manufactured from the dark gray mottled chert and may have had more than one function.

3.6.9 Scrapers and Scraper Fragments (N=26)

Of the 26 scraper and scraper fragments unearthed, 17 (65.4%) are made from various shades of grey chert ranging from light grey to blue-grey, while one is a grey and white banded specimen (see Figure 3.17). Of the remaining nine scrapers, two (7.7%) are made from red-brown chert, two (7.7%) from white chert, two (7.7%) from white chert with grey and red-brown inclusions, one (3.8%) is made from black chert with crystalline inclusions, one (3.8%) from green chert and one (3.8%) is made from quartz. These scrapers range in length from 45.3mm to as little as 15.1mm. Only 16 (61.5%) are complete and of these, five (31.3%) are linear, four (25.0%) are trapezoidal, four (25.0%) are ovate, two (12.5%) are triangular and one (6.3%) is circular. Many of the complete scrapers were formed on the distal end of flakes and were clearly exhausted. Although there are a number of incomplete scrapers I believe 25 (96.2%) are end-scrapers and one (3.8%) exhibits retouch on both the distal end and side indicating it
could have been used as both an end-scraper and side-scraper. Finally, 10 (40.0%) of the end-scrapers are of the thumbnail variety (Penney 1981, 1984; Pastore 1985).

Figure 3.17: Scrapers and Scraper Fragments Recovered from Robert’s Cove I (DjAv-05).

3.6.10 Uniface Preforms (N=2)

Two artifacts collected from Robert’s Cove I exhibit some unifacial working. Both are made of chert with one showing signs of patination (see Figure 3.18). Only one of these is complete and is triangular in shape, perhaps intended to be a rudimentary projectile point. The remaining uniface is incomplete and unidentifiable as to form.
3.6.11 Utilized Flakes (N=4)

Four flakes were recovered that show evidence of being utilized along one edge. All of these are made from chert, three from gray chert and one from white chert. All appear as though they would have been utilized for scraping. The largest of these flakes measures 26.2mm x 26.9mm x 6.5mm and weighs 3.9g while the smallest is 15.4mm x 9.6mm x 1.7mm and weighs 0.3g.

3.6.12 Utilized and Retouched Flakes (N=3)

Three artifacts from the site show signs of both retouch and utilization. These flakes are all made from grey chert, the largest measuring 60.8mm x 36.7mm x 10.6mm and weighing 18.6g, the smallest 23.2mm x 10.3mm x 5.1mm and weighing 1.4g. It is difficult to ascertain how these artifacts were used; however, they could have been employed for slicing, scraping, or in one case perhaps chopping.
3.7 Artifact Analysis Introduction

After the 2007 excavation it became evident that while there were a variety of tools used at the site, the assemblage was dominated by scrapers, a detail unknown from the small 1987 survey collection. The toolkit is noticeably specialized. In addition, the lack of a permanent structure or midden indicates the site was of short duration, perhaps used as a specialized exploitation camp when a resource was abundant. Thus, the aim of this section is to assess what kind of technological strategies and activities were employed by the Little Passage population at Robert’s Cove I, based on the evaluation of tools recovered. To accomplish this I moved beyond the analysis of form and function, and also examined raw material types, the energy expenditure required for the manufacture of specific tool technologies present, and artifact design.

3.7.1 Artifact Analysis

By describing and analyzing the toolkit from DjAv-05 a variety of facts can be stated about the site and those who occupied it. First and foremost, a number of the tool types exhibit characteristics of both Little Passage and Beaches complex lithics. Again, the characteristic Beaches toolkit is composed of side-notched projectile points, scrapers, small triangular bifaces, linear flakes and lanceolate bifaces. Conversely, the typical Little Passage toolkit consists of small corner-notched and expanding stem projectile points, small triangular bifaces, thumbnail end-scrapers and linear flakes.

Beginning with the recovered projectile points, one of the points contained both a side-notch and a corner-notch (see Figure 3.15). This point may attest to the early date of the site and possibly to a transition phase between Beaches and Little Passage. It is
possible that the artifact may be an example of a mistake incurred during the manufacturing process, resulting in an alteration to the side-notch. Still, side-notching is considered a feature of the Beaches complex tool technology. As a result, this point may be an example of a continuing Beaches tradition at DjAv-05.

The two remaining projectile points exhibit features of Little Passage projectiles. One of the points is corner-notched with an expanding stem while the other, also corner-notched, has a straight stem (see Figure 3.15). According to Schwarz (1984:64), expanding stem points are an early characteristic of Little Passage points and through time point stems became straight or contracting. Undoubtedly, the expanding stem point corresponds to the early date of the site. Conversely, the straight stem point indicates a later presence. However, the site is a single-component site which does not appear to have been revisited. Dates from the site support a short term occupation. Thus, the straight stemmed point may be evidence of early modification to Little Passage projectile points or variability within the assemblage.

Finally, size may be an indicator of a lingering Beaches influence. Specifically, the projectile points appear slightly larger than those typically found in Little Passage assemblages. In addition, only 10 of the 25 end-scrapers resemble thumbnail scrapers. A number of the remaining end-scrapers were flintknapped on large flakes. Thus, by reviewing the toolkit it can be suggested that Robert’s Cove I may be a transitional site where lithic forms between the Beaches and Little Passage complexes changed.

From the artifact description it is evident that some tools would not have been as energy-efficient as others, for example bifacially worked projectile points required much more energy expenditure to manufacture in comparison to retouched flakes. For this
reason I have created two tool categories, one incorporating those tools that exhibit minimal flaking modifications, which I refer to as expedient, and secondly tools that exhibit extra effort for manufacture, which I refer to as customized. In the category of expedient tools I have included retouched and utilized flakes while customized tools include scrapers and bifacially worked tools such as projectile points and knives. As Figure 3.19 illustrates, customized tools at Robert’s Cove I were manufactured from a wider array of raw materials than expedient tools. Some of these materials including Ramah chert, from Northern Labrador, and rhyolite, from Bonavista Bay, are not found in the surrounding area, indicating that at least some customized tools may have been flintknapped elsewhere and brought to the site. Cherts appear to have been more widely available and used to make expedient tools when customized tools could not be used to perform a particular function. It is also possible that it may have been more important to make some tools from a particular material. For example, when Ramah chert was available it could have been the preferred material to make projectile points. Two suggestions why this may have been the case are: the material was of a higher quality for flintknapping and it was rare or exotic. The presence of these materials on site may also indicate a trade connection or relationship to other groups with better access to these more exotic materials.

3 Preforms and cores were not included in these categories as they are used to manufacture items or have not reached the final stage(s) of production.
From examining the toolkit it is apparent that Little Passage populations were also concerned with aspects of reliability and transportability. The bifacially worked points were small and easily transportable. This notion is supported by the presence of a bifacially worked, corner-notched hafting element from a Ramah chert projectile point at DjAv-05. While the style may have varied between corner-notch and side-notch, the hafting element is always present, indicating some consistency and reliability. Lastly, there does not appear to be any evidence for flexibility within the assemblage recovered from DjAv-05. For example, the preforms found on site did not exhibit evidence that they were used. In addition, the majority of scrapers recovered from the site exhibit one working edge as opposed to several. Again, the expedient tools found could indicate design limitations in the toolkit. Evidence that may support flexibility in tool use at the site is artifact DjAv-05:23 which, after the tip had been broken, had been used as a scraper (see Figure 3.16). However, this single tool may in fact represent recycling rather than flexibility in the assemblage.
The toolkit at Robert’s Cove I is characterized by a low frequency of most artifact types including complete projectile points and knives, but a high percentage of scrapers. Similar to projectile points, scrapers are known to have multiple functions including scraping flesh from hides and woodworking. However, in the context of the site I believe scraping hides is the most plausible activity as no woodworking debris or specialized woodworking tools were found.

3.8 Debitage Analysis

The examination of debitage discussed in the following sections is a result of a flake analysis. This analysis incorporates both flake count by size and mass, in addition to a cortical flake and pressure flake count. The pressure flakes included in this analysis were confined to the <1/4” category. I specifically examined the smallest pieces of debitage within the <1/4” category to increase the likelihood that these flakes were created as a result of re-sharpening. The analysis of the debitage from DjAv-05 was performed on both the 1987 survey collection and the collection gathered during the summer 2007 field season. This method was used to gain further insight into the technological strategies employed at the site.

3.8.1 Brief History of Debitage Analysis

In the past, flake debris from archaeological sites was not often given the analytical treatment it receives today. Debitage only became a major focus of archaeological investigation as the result of both the New Archaeology focus on
technological detail combined with the quantity of debitage recovered from Cultural Resource Management based studies (Larson 2004). Not only has this led to the increased examination of debitage but it has also resulted in various controlled experiments (Amick and Mauldin 1989). Perhaps the single most important reason for this increased interest in debitage is that flake/debitage analysis can indicate the various stages of manufacture and the processes which produced the debitage (Andrefsky Jr. 1998, 2004; Bradbury and Carr 2004).

Due to the fact that the Robert’s Cove I lithic assemblage is comprised mainly of flake debris, a mass analysis was conducted. This type of debitage analysis looks at the size of flakes from large collections of flake debris (Carr and Bradbury 2004). In this approach it is understood that stone tool manufacture is a reductive process which can be modeled in terms of stages of manufacture. In mass analysis it is recognized that as tool production intensifies, the number of small flakes increases. This increase is due to the number of tools nearing completion. As tools near completion the flintknapped flakes become smaller as the tool is reduced to the optimal size. A decrease in average flake weight in the small flake classes is also expected with the increase of production. Lastly, as core reduction persists, a decrease in the quantity of flakes with cortex is expected (Baumler and Davis 2004; Bradbury and Carr 2004). This method separates the lithic refuse into groups based on flake sizes. By using flake tallies, weight measurements and frequencies generalizations can be made about the technology that created them (Andrefsky Jr. 2004).
3.8.2 Debitage Analysis of DjAv-05

The main goal in carrying out a debitage analysis was to sort the debris so that more could be deduced about tool production/reduction at the site. The mass analysis of the debris involved passing the debitage through a series of nested screens. This allowed for the separation of debitage greater than 2” followed by 2″ (Size Grade 4), 1″ (Size Grade 3), ½″ (Size Grade 2), ¼″ (Size Grade 1) and less than ¼″. In many, if not all, debitage studies the resulting categories of debitage are referred to by the size grades rather than by the inch. Because a large amount of debitage was recovered from Robert’s Cove I, I incorporated two additional class sizes, greater than 2” referred to as Size Grade >4 and Size Grade <1 corresponding to debitage less than ¼”.

It should be noted here that this debitage analysis is based on the premises that a high proportion of Size 1 flakes are representative of retouch related activities such as edge maintenance and tool sharpening, the presence of Size 2 flakes suggests that late stage manufacture and biface shaping occurred and the occurrence of Size 3, 4 and >4 flakes reveal that early and middle stage reduction activities such as the production of bifacial preforms, transportable cores or usable blanks were part of the flaking activities. Therefore, the inclusion of Size Grade >4 flakes will assist in indicating if the group using Robert’s Cove I had access to or brought along raw material to the site. Whereas, the presence of tiny Size Grade <1 flakes will point toward the extent of tool retouch and finish. Once the flakes were sorted according to size they were counted and weighed to
the nearest tenth of a gram. The data gained from this course of action is presented in tables and bar charts to illustrate the count and mass frequencies of each flake-size class.

3.8.3 Flake Analysis of the 1987 Collection

The small, 48 flake, collection from the 1987 survey was analyzed to see if such a sample size could reveal anything about flaking activities at the site. From Table 3.3 it can be deduced that a minimal amount of time was spent on early or middle stage reduction activities, represented only by the presence of three Flake Size 3 specimens. This statement is supported by the fact that no cortical flakes were present in the collection. On the other hand, late stage manufacture specifically retouch activities, represented by Flake Size 1 and <1 and comprising 58% of the total, were of higher importance at the site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flake Size</th>
<th>Flake #</th>
<th>#%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt;4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mass measurements for the 1987 debitage collection could not be recorded as many of the flakes returned a reading of <0.0g. In addition, a discussion of the debitage raw material types was not plausible as the majority of flakes were too tiny to assign a material type with any accuracy.
3.8.4 Flake Analysis of the 2007 Collection

Table 3.4 points toward a variety of flaking activities taking place at Robert’s Cove I. However, retouch activities appear to be prevalent at the site, a fact also demonstrated by the small 1987 survey sample. Many debitage studies have stated that a high proportion of Size 1 flakes are representative of retouch related activities such as edge maintenance and tool sharpening. By incorporating debitage less than the frequently used Size 1 the importance of retouch activities is truly realized as Size 1 and <1 debitage make up a combined count percentage of 82% (see Figure 3.20). In addition, by examining the smallest flakes recovered, it was discovered that 98 of the 188 were complete flakes rather than shatter (see Figure 3.21). This further corroborates that retouch activities were commonplace at the site. The quantity of Size 2 flakes present suggests that late stage manufacture and biface shaping were also occurring in the area although in a more limited manner. As a final point, the number of Size 3, 4 and >4 flakes reveal that early and middle stage reduction activities such as the production of bifacial preforms, transportable cores or usable blanks were part of the flaking activities at the site. This detail is supported by the fact that many of the bifaces found on the site.

Table 3.4: DjAv-05 Size Grade Data for All Flakes Recovered from the 2007 Excavation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flake Size</th>
<th>Flake #</th>
<th>#%</th>
<th>Flake Mass (g)</th>
<th>Mass %</th>
<th>Avg. Flake Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt;4</td>
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<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
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<td>100</td>
<td>2520.1</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
were considered to be in the preform stage, still exhibiting some cortex. In addition, of the 30 flakes recovered with cortex 15 or 50% correspond to Size 4 and 3 flakes (see Figure 3.22). The remaining 50% occurred in Size 2 and 1 flakes, pointing towards raw material being available in the area or partially worked blanks being transported to the site.

Figure 3.21: Count vs. Percentage for the Smallest Fakes Recovered from DjAv-05.
3.8.5 Discussion on Flake Analysis

Having analyzed the smaller collection from 1987, it was hypothesized that late stage manufacture and retouch were important activities at Robert's Cove I. Analysis of the larger 2007 collection supported this hypothesis. However, unlike the 1987 collection, the 2007 analysis illustrated that early and middle stages of manufacture were also occurring at the site. This was supported not only by the presence of larger flake sizes but also by the presence of cortical flakes.

It is not surprising that retouch activities were practiced at the site. Many of the recovered tools were exhausted, having been broken or were minute in size. The debitage analysis illustrates the significance of this late manufacturing stage with 82% of flakes recovered representing this phase. This factor may be an indication of the use of transportable tools at Robert’s Cove I or that there was limited material near the site which could be used to make tools, therefore exhausting what they had taken with them. Once these tools were exhausted the Little Passage population at DjAv-05 could have
used transportable blanks to flintknapp additional tools. This hypothesis may be supported by the presence of early stage manufacture debitage including a number of flakes which display cortex. In particular, the majority of cortical flakes occurred within Size 3 flakes, at 44% (see Figure 3.22). The least amount of cortical flakes occurred in Size 4 flakes, 6%. Although the Size 4 flake sample is small it may be an indicator that the Little Passage group occupying Robert’s Cove I didn’t have access to local raw material. Alternatively, blanks brought to this site may have been previously worked, to the point that cortex was no longer present. With the larger percentage in Size 3 flakes, in addition to 50% of cortical flakes occurring in Size 2 and 1 flakes, it can be hypothesized that this group either expected to engage in a particular task at this site or carried small partially worked blanks with them. Accordingly, it is clear various lithic flintknapping activities were taking place at Robert’s Cove I, but the emphasis was on retouch and re-sharpening of existing tools. Given the large number of scrapers and utilized flakes, this makes sense.

3.9 Conclusions

The toolkit at Robert’s Cove I is characterized by a low frequency of a number of artifacts, including complete projectile points and knives, with a high percentage of scrapers. The toolkit is noticeably specialized. The lack of a permanent structure or midden, indicates the site was of short duration. It is possible that the site functioned as a specialized exploitation camp. In contrast, larger base camps usually exhibit a range in both the toolkit and as a result, thedebitage. Thus, the perception of this site as a short
duration, specialized camp is reinforced by the large amount of debitage, the presence of retouch and sharpening flakes, utilization of various artifacts as scrapers, and exhausted scrapers. Radiocarbon dates obtained from the 2007 field season also point toward single use of the site as both samples produced similar dates. Furthermore, the variation present within recovered projectile points at DjAv-05, along with the larger size of these points and a number of scrapers, indicates the site may have been formed during a transitional phase between the Beaches and Little Passage complexes. A number of Recent Indian sites have been recognized as containing transitional lithics. One is the multi-component Indian Point site (DeBd-01), located on Red Indian Lake in the Newfoundland interior (Gilbert 1996:7-10). Due to the actions of artifact collectors, there are various inaccuracies concerning artifact provenience which has made site interpretation very difficult. As a result, Robert’s Cove I is currently the only single-component Recent Indian site whose lithic assemblage exhibits signs of a transitional period. Finally, the projectile points recovered from DjAv-05 support the claim that transition from Beaches to Little Passage is defined by corner-notched points replacing side-notched items.

The most reliable way of telling what season a site was occupied is through the analysis of any faunal material that is recovered. As mussel shells are the only remains at Robert’s Cove I that can be used to indicate a seasonal subsistence pattern, the tentative season of occupation is late spring to fall. Details concerning the season of occupation of this site can also be determined from the toolkit. In particular, numerous scrapers were recovered from the site. While these tools have multiple functions, including scraping the flesh from hides and woodworking, in this context scraping hides is most plausible as no other woodworking tools were found. This deduction indicates that harvesting skins for
the production of clothing and mamateek coverings occurred here. During the proposed late spring to early fall occupation, resources such as sea birds, harp, harbour and potentially hooded seal, caribou and various other land mammals would have been available: however, caribou are only readily available in the fall. It is improbable that other resources would account for the amount of scraping activities at the site. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the Little Passage group at this site were exploiting caribou as the site does not contain a structure or a hearth which would have been needed during the colder fall weather. Thus, a spring occupation is most plausible.
Chapter 4
Regional Comparison and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to determine why a transitional site such as Robert’s Cove I would manifest in the Notre Dame Bay region and what this site may contribute to our understanding of the Recent Indian period. Due to the early dates obtained from Robert’s Cove I and the fact that the site assemblage appears transitional between the Beaches and Little Passage, it will be necessary to discuss both Recent Indian complexes in some detail. Thus, all Beaches and Little Passage complex sites on the Island of Newfoundland will be reviewed and examined in order to situate the Robert’s Cove I site within a larger context. To accomplish this, various lines of evidence, including the location of both Beaches and Little Passage sites, their period of occupations, and the function of the occupations will be examined to add to the understanding of Recent Indian cultures. In addition, discussion will focus on the importance of different regions of the province to both the Beaches and Little Passage populations. By sorting Beaches and Little Passage complex sites into specific site types and placing them within a regional category it is possible to interpret what activities these populations were involved in and where these activities were taking place. It is believed that the resultant information from this examination will aid in divulging why a transitional site manifested in the Notre Dame Bay region.
4.2 Site Types and Region Categories

A quick review of Beaches complex sites and Little Passage complex sites in Newfoundland suggests that certain areas of the province were exploited by these populations more than others. Thus, this chapter includes a discussion about the importance of different regions of the province to Recent Indian settlement. These regions are categorized according to their geography and differing environments. They include the Avalon/Trinity, South Coast, Northeast Coast, Interior, West Coast and the Northern Peninsula. The Avalon/Trinity region is comprised of the Avalon Peninsula, including eastern Trinity and Placentia Bays; the South Coast stretches from western Placentia Bay to Cape Ray; the Northeast Coast extends from western Trinity Bay to eastern White Bay; the West Coast includes the area north of Cape Ray to the base of the Northern Peninsula; the Northern Peninsula includes the peninsula itself as well as western White Bay; and the Interior extends from the center of the province to within approximately 10km of the various bays and inlets (see Figure 4.1).

To establish why Beaches and Little Passage groups were more active in particular regions I have examined all Beaches and Little Passage sites and separated them into specific site types for the purpose of interpreting general settlement patterns and any similarities or differences to these patterns during the two culture phases. For this examination, I reviewed the Newfoundland and Labrador Archaeological Site Record Forms, associated reports and artifact collections to establish where sites were located, what activities were taking place at these sites, and where possible, the season when these activities were taking place. Available radiocarbon dates were also included to gain a
better idea of when Recent Indian groups were active in particular areas. Finally, faunal information was included when available as this information can also reveal the season of use of a site. Based on function, size, date, and artifact assemblage, a total of 34 Beach complex sites and 50 Little Passage complex archaeological sites were categorized into six site types. The site types used include habitation areas, camp sites, find spots, quarries, burials and undetermined sites. The criteria for each of these categories are as
follows: habitation sites are defined by long-term use, perhaps a season or beyond. These sites generally include features such as dwellings, middens, or in some cases the presence of a number of hearths. These features indicate extended stays in an area. In addition, tool assemblages found at habitation sites are usually larger and more generalized as a greater variety of activities would be carried out at these locations. On the other hand, camps can be considered short-term occupations. In many cases camp sites do not have features. However, some camp sites may have a hearth(s), but smaller, more specialized lithic assemblages than would be expected at a habitation site. I have defined find spots as those sites where only one artifact relating to a Beaches or Little Passage presence was recovered. Quarry sites are defined as areas were naturally occurring lithic raw materials were extracted and/or worked. Burial sites include those areas where a human body was deliberately interred. Lastly, the category “undetermined” was used for sites where information was ephemeral or where sites had been subject to considerable erosion or disturbance. The various site types were then examined regionally and compared to determine how both Beaches and Little Passage populations settled the land.

Finally, many scholars have recognized significant resource zones within the province (Holly 1997, 2002; Pastore 1986; Schwarz 1992b, 1994a) which allow different resources to be exploited in different locales and which may have had considerable influence on pre-contact aboriginal settlement and subsistence patterns. There are four primary resource zones in Newfoundland which include the outer coast, inner coast, the near interior and deep interior. Pastore (1986:131) classified the outer coastal zone as consisting of exposed headlands, shorelines and islands, and the inner coastal zone as the “bottoms” of sheltered bays and protected islands. Resources available in the outer
coastal zone are limited to marine species such as seal, while resources along the inner coastal zone can include marine as well as terrestrial species. Near interior sites are those sites that remain close to the coast but are located further inland from protected islands and sheltered bays. Resources in this zone are primarily terrestrial such as caribou or beaver. However, limited access may be gained to marine species. Interior zones are not discussed as frequently, but are considered to be places located in the deep interior, closer to the centermost point of the island with restricted or no access to coastal resources.

4.3 Sites Omitted from this Study

After reviewing 90 site record forms, numerous reports, and examining available collections it became apparent that a number of sites have been incorrectly attributed to both the Beaches and Little Passage complexes (for my revised list see Appendix 1 and 2). Sites that I have omitted from this study include the Beaches components of Dildo Island (CjAj-02), Brown’s Beach (DeAl-02), Charles Brook II (DiAt-06), and St. Paul’s Bay II (DiBk-06), and the Little Passage components of Upper Burgeo (CjBj-07), Parks Beach (DgBm-01) and Cape Freels II (DhAi-02). In addition, the Beaches and Little Passage components at L’Anse aux Meadows (EjAv-01) have been completely eliminated as Tuck’s (1988) assessment pointed towards a Cow Head origin. Furthermore, Hartery (2007) indicates that the Recent Indian component of the L’Anse aux Meadows collection that cannot be attributed to the Cow Head complex is unidentifiable.
Originally, raw material discovered in Area C of Dildo Island suggested that this area was used by an early Recent Indian group, likely Beaches (Gilbert 2003:11). However, during the 2004 excavation a complete biface was found that indicated the site was occupied by a Cow Head complex population (Gilbert 2006:7). In addition, dates from the site fit within the range of other known Cow Head site dates (Gilbert 2006:7). Thus, the site is unlikely to be affiliated with the Beaches complex. The easiest way to decipher Beaches activity at a site is through the presence of projectile points. Due to the lack of projectile points and the fact that many of the artifacts recovered from Brown’s Beach were preforms or miscellaneous bifaces a Beaches association cannot be confirmed. DiAt-06 was also omitted because it lacked distinct Beaches material. Finally, the 2008 archaeological excavation of St. Paul’s Bay II concluded that the site was affiliated with the Cow Head complex rather than Beaches complex (Lavers pers. comm. 2009).

Upper Burgeo was omitted from the list of Little Passage sites due to the presence of a flint scraper and a date, 350 ± 60 B.P, both of which correspond better with early Beothuk activities (Rast 1997). Park’s Beach was also omitted because Recent Indian artifacts from this site were Beothuk rather than Little Passage. The collection from Cape Freels II (DhAi-02) was examined by Rast (2003) who concluded that the Recent Indian artifacts were likely Beaches rather than Little Passage. As a result, DhAi-02 has been included in the Beaches site list. With these sites reclassified, the list has been revised to include 34 Beaches complex sites and 50 Little Passage complex sites which are discussed below, and summarized in Appendix 1 and 2.
4.4 Examination of Recent Indian Sites

The Beaches complex was first recognized at the Beaches site, located in Bonavista Bay, from whence the name originates. Early excavations at the site focused on the retrieval of information concerning the Beothuk and their ancestors (Carignan 1975; Devereux 1969). As a result, much of the prehistoric material recovered was classified as proto-Beothuk or Beothuk. However, archaeologists now recognize that various phases of the Recent Indian period occur at the Beaches site, including the Beaches complex (McLean 1999). As archaeological investigations into the province’s prehistory increased, it became clear that Beaches complex populations were active within all regions and resource zones on the island with most sites occurring in the Northeast Coast (see Figure 4.2). Likewise, Little Passage sites are located in every region of the province but are particularly abundant in the northeastern and southern sections of the province (see Figure 4.3). Initially, Little Passage settlement was thought to be confined to the southern portion of the island as many of the earliest recognized sites were located there, and were either absent (specifically in the Northern Peninsula), or poorly represented elsewhere. As a result, some scholars felt that the Little Passage complex was a regional expression rather than an island-wide trend (Tuck 1982:211). With successive surveys and excavations, many more Little Passage sites have been located and this hypothesis was dropped. In recent years attempts have been made to explain the dispersal of Recent Indians across the island. For example, Holly’s (2002) examination suggested that following the disappearance of the Paleoeskimo population, Recent Indian groups were able to disburse throughout the island as competition for resources and settlement locations was eliminated.
Figure 4.2: Location of All Known Beaches Complex Sites in Newfoundland.
Avalon/Trinity  6 (12%)
Interior       7 (14%)
Northern Peninsula 3 (6%)
West Coast    5 (10%)
South Coast  12 (24%)
Northeast Coast  17 (34%)

50

Figure 4.3: Location of All Known Little Passage Complex Sites in Newfoundland.
I will briefly discuss Beaches and Little Passage resource use as well as the number, type and dates (where available) of sites that are found within the six geographical regions of Newfoundland (see Figure 4.1). Unfortunately, some regions are better represented than others. Due to coastal erosion along the Avalon Peninsula, south coast and Bonavista Bay some sites have been lost or highly disturbed. In addition, some areas of the province, particularly the northeast coast, have been more widely surveyed for archaeological content. These factors influence the distribution pattern of Recent Indian sites. However, the known sites do provide some insight into Recent Indian activities. I will begin by discussing Beaches sites within the various regions of the island followed by Little Passage sites within the same regions.

4.4.1 Beaches Sites in the Avalon/Trinity Region

After reviewing the available data it appears that the Beaches populations made little use of the Avalon/Trinity region (see Figure 4.2). With only two confirmed sites, totaling 6% of all known Beaches sites, little can be interpreted concerning Beaches activity in the area. The lack of Beaches sites in the region may be a result of coastal erosion along the shoreline or limited archaeological surveying. The two known Beaches sites are located in the inner coast with one site, CkAl-04, containing faunal remains (see Appendix 1). These remains included beaver, caribou, and thick billed murre bones, as well as sea urchin and clam, suggesting an occupation between late fall and early spring (Thomson 1990:20). Regrettably, this site contains evidence of a number of culture groups and it is uncertain if these faunal remains can be directly associated with the Beaches occupation. Still, the few Beaches artifacts that were recovered were found in
association with a possible feature suggesting that the site was used as a camp (Newfoundland and Labrador Specimen Record Form:1989). ClAl-01 also exhibited evidence of a Beaches presence but this was confined to one side-notched projectile point (Erwin pers. comm. 2009). While the Beaches complex activity is limited in this region, at least two sites, CkAl-04 and ClAl-01, were used and Recent Indian activity increased over time as more Little Passage sites are located in this region.

4.4.2 Beaches Sites in the Interior

In comparison to other regions of the province, the Beaches population was very active in the interior of Newfoundland. The number of sites found here is second only to the Northeast coast. Seven sites, or 21% of all Beaches sites, are located here (see Figure 4.2). Of the seven sites, six are located in the deep interior and one is located in the near interior (see Appendix 1). In addition, two are habitation sites, one is a camp and the remaining four are undetermined. Erosion has affected, and continues to affect, the stability of many sites in the interior. In particular, the interior camp site, Birchy Lake IX (DiBd-01), has been actively disturbed by wave action and flooding along the Birchy Lake shoreline. However, in-situ deposits revealed a concentration of bone mash which has been interpreted as evidence of grease rendering (Erwin and Holly 2008). Unfortunately, the faunal remains were too fragmented to identify species. The only site from the interior that contains identifiable faunal material associated with Beaches activity is the Deer Lake Beach site (DhBi-06). The majority of these remains consisted of beaver and caribou, indicating a fall to early-winter occupation (Reader 1998:53). In addition, botanical analysis of soil samples produced pin cherry,
knotweed/smartweed, buttercup and a probable blueberry (Reader 1998:55). The presence of pin cherry and the probable blueberry reinforces the season of occupation as both plants do not ripen until the early fall (Reader 1998). Finally, DhBi-06 is the only dated site from the interior. The three dates from this site indicate an occupation beginning as early as AD 688 and extending to AD 936 (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Available Dates from Beaches Complex Sites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Site Name</th>
<th>Calibrated Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northeast Coast</td>
<td>Cape Freels II</td>
<td>AD 778-AD 987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>Deer Lake Beach Site</td>
<td>AD 688-AD 890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 692-AD 890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 723-AD 936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Peninsula</td>
<td>North Cove I</td>
<td>AD 692-AD 890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 889-AD 993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 901-AD 1020</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 979-AD 1029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 981-AD 1025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.3 Beaches Sites on the Northern Peninsula

The Northern Peninsula appears to have been an important region for the Beaches population. Fifteen percent of known Beaches sites are located here. Only the interior and northeast coast were more populace (see Figure 4.2). All five Northern Peninsula sites are located on the outer coast and include one habitation site, two camps, one find spot and one undetermined site (see Appendix 1). Both camp sites, DIBk-01 and EeBi-36, are multi-component and are believed to be lithic workshops (Renouf 1992, 1993). While dates were obtained for EeBi-36 the possibility for contamination was high because no stratigraphic layers separated the Paleoeskimo occupation from the Recent Indian artifacts (Renouf 1992). North Cove I, EgBf-08, contains the only definitive Beaches complex dates for this region. At this site, five radiocarbon dates indicate an occupation dating between AD 692 and AD 1029 (see Table 4.1). North Cove I is
believed to be a short duration habitation site where interactions between groups on the island and in Labrador might have occurred (Hull 2002). This is based on the lithic assemblage from the site which contains a large amount of Ramah chert. In addition, the designation of EhBe-02 and EiAv-03 to the Beaches complex is based on the presence of artifacts such as a biface base and a projectile point which are stylistically similar to artifacts from other Beaches sites, and which are flintknapped from Ramah chert. From the current available data it appears that this region was intrinsically linked to the acquisition of lithic materials from the Northern Peninsula and Labrador and to the manufacture of tools. Support for this suggestion comes from the two camp sites, DiBk-01 and EeBi-36, where lithic reduction is believed to be the primary activity, and the presence of numerous Beaches artifacts made from Ramah chert. More specifically, it has been suggested that caches of Ramah chert located in southern Labrador were redistributed to groups in Newfoundland and along the Quebec North Shore in order to maintain social and economic connections between regionally disparate hunter-gatherer groups (Rankin 2008; Stopp 2008). These long-distance connections between hunter-gatherer groups created a safety net in case resources were poor in one region and aided in the transfer of information.

It has also been suggested that Beaches sites on the outer coast of the northern portion of the province were settled primarily to exploit harp seal (Holly 2002). Unfortunately, faunal information from the Northern Peninsula remains very slim. At EeBi-36 faunal remains were limited to bone mash, while at EgBi-08 fragmentation and calcination resulted in less than 2% of bones being identified (Hull 2002:140). The presence of so many Recent Indian sites on the outer coast may be related to the seasonal
exploitation of harp seal, but given the abundance of Ramah chert and amount of lithic reduction occurring at these sites, the presence of harp seal does not appear to be the sole reason for the Beaches occupation in this region.

4.4.4 Beaches Sites on the West Coast

Much like the Avalon/Trinity region, the west coast appears to have been sparsely settled by the Beaches population (see Figure 4.2). The two known sites linked to a Beaches occupation in this region contain very small assemblages and as a result the site types remain undetermined. DdBq-01 contained only one Beaches projectile point and one biface base (Simpson 1986: 189). Artifacts from the remaining site, CIBu-02, included a side-notched projectile point, scraper and 50 flakes (Penney 1994:16). Because of the small assemblages and the lack of any associated features or dates, deciphering Beaches activity in the area is impractical, if not impossible. However, the two sites in this area are divided between the outer and inner coasts (see Appendix 1). It is therefore possible to speculate that Beaches activity was not centered in one area, but dispersed to take advantage of as many resources as possible.

4.4.5 Beaches Sites on the South Coast

While Beaches activity on the south coast is more evident than in the Avalon/Trinity or west coast regions, only four sites have been found to date (see Figure 4.2). These sites are located along the inner coast (see Appendix 1). One is a single component site, while the remaining three are multi-component. Regrettably, all four sites are eroding into the sea. As a result, interpreting Beaches subsistence patterns and
activity in this region is very difficult. Nevertheless, an understanding of the resources available in the region can provide some assistance when interpreting site seasonality. The inner coast resource zone, where all the sites on the south coast are located, could provide groups with access to a variety of marine species and easy access to terrestrial resources. Accordingly, this resource zone was likely most attractive in late spring and summer when smelt, capelin, and cod were available either close to or onshore, and salmon ran upriver. During this time, harbour seals also come ashore to deliver their pups (Banfield 1974). In view of this, it is not surprising that researchers have suggested a late spring to summer occupation for inner coastal south coast sites without the aid of faunal remains (Rast 1999; Penney 1986:13).

4.4.6 Beaches Sites on the Northeast Coast

With 41% of all Beaches complex sites occurring on the northeast coast it appears that the Beaches population was most active in this region (see Figure 4.2). However, this could be due in part to the amount of surveying that has been conducted in the area especially by the Beothuk Archaeology Project (Marshall 1980; Sproull-Thomson 1980). Of the 14 sites located here 10 are situated on the outer coast while only four are in the inner coast. In addition, three are habitation sites, four are camp sites, two are find spots and five remain undetermined (see Appendix 1). While it is evident that the Beaches preferred outer coast locations for their settlements, two of the three known habitation sites are located in the inner coast. These two sites, DeAk-01 and DiAp-03, continued to function as habitation areas for the succeeding Little Passage complex.
The majority of faunal remains recovered from the Beaches site, DeAk-01, were found in association with Little Passage components. However, many researchers believe that these remains are still a good indicator of what their predecessors would have consumed. Thus, groups occupying DeAk-01 appear to have focused on hunting mammalian and avian resources as seals and birds dominate the faunal assemblage (Cridland 1998:190-198). Specifically, the presence of harp seals, juvenile seals, double-crested cormorant and Canada goose suggests an early spring to early fall occupation (Cridland 1998:246-247). In addition, DeAk-01 is located very close to a rhyolite outcrop, suggesting raw material acquisition was also an important activity. This assumption is also supported at Bloody Bay Cove I, a nearby Beaches site, used as a lithic reduction camp following visits to the Bloody Bay quarry. Hunting, processing skins and tool manufacture also occurred at smaller outer coastal camps in this region. In particular, evidence from Cape Freels II indicates all three activities were occurring at the site (Carignan 1977:89-92). Due to shifting sands it is difficult to interpret Beaches activity at the habitation site of Cape Cove II and camp site Cape Cove III, but both sites are located very close to Cape Freels II, potentially indicating similar pursuits. Finally, Plat Bay Cove I is the last known Beaches camp site. Located on the outer coast, Erwin (1999a) has suggested that the site’s purpose was for the production of hunting and butchering tools. Clearly, hunting and fishing were important and necessary elements of life on the northeast coast but lithic acquisition and manufacture were also significant activities for Beaches groups in the region.

As stated before, the Beaches site is an inner coastal Beaches complex habitation site. Furthermore, information concerning Beaches complex subsistence at this site may
be skewed due to the fact that much of the faunal information comes from Little Passage contexts. While it is entirely possible that the Beaches occupants had similar subsistence practices, the majority of remaining Beaches complex sites in this region are located on the outer coast. It has been suggested that these outer coastal locations may have been preferred for hunting harp seal (Holly 2002). With the available information it appears that subsistence practices of the Beaches population on the northeast coast were focused on obtaining harp seal, but given the number of sites in the inner bay, resources from this locale as well as the interior may also have been important.

4.4.7 Beaches Complex Seasonal Round on the Island

After reviewing the available data from known Beaches sites on the island it is clear that some regions were more significant than others. Due to the small number of sites and lack of faunal information it is impossible to interpret seasonality in all regions. Currently, site information from only four of the six regions can suggest a season of occupation. Furthermore, faunal assemblages corresponding to a Beaches context have only been found in two regions. To date, the season of occupation at Beaches sites cannot be determined for the Avalon/Trinity region or the west coast. In addition, Beaches sites located on the south coast are heavily eroded, leaving only a portion of the lithic assemblage and no evidence of faunal remains for examination. However, researchers (Rast 1999; Penney 1986) have suggested a late spring to summer occupation on the south coast, given the placement of sites on the inner coast. On the northeast coast much of the information concerning Beaches subsistence and seasonality is found at multicultural sites. Unfortunately, most faunal remains are more closely linked with Little
Passage components. Nonetheless, an early spring to fall occupation centered on obtaining marine and terrestrial resources is suggested for the Beaches occupation of this region, assuming the Beaches population exploited similar resources as the Little Passage groups did.

Faunal information from the interior Deer Lake Beach site indicates a fall to early winter occupation focusing on terrestrial resources. Finally, faunal materials recovered from the Northern Peninsula site, North Cove I, suggest a broad season of occupation between late winter and fall. The species identified from North Cove I suggest the Beaches population followed a generalized subsistence pattern based on hunting marine and terrestrial animals and occasional fishing. During their occupation on the Northern Peninsula it has been suggested that in addition to hunting, Beaches groups interacted with groups from Labrador and acquired lithic materials. Hunting activities were also a part of the seasonal round in the interior, during the fall/winter, and the northeast coast from spring to fall. Evidence for skin processing and lithic acquisition and manufacture also comes from sites located on the northeast coast. It is clear that Beaches groups engaged in different activities in the various regions; however, Little Passage groups made much more use of the entire island.

4.4.8 Little Passage Sites in the Avalon/Trinity Region

Like many of the prehistoric cultures that occupied Newfoundland the Little Passage population appears to have made little use of the Avalon/Trinity region. Six sites have been found to date comprising only 12% of all known Little Passage sites (see Figure 4.3). However, of the six sites discovered two can be considered habitation
sites, three are camps and one is a find spot (see Appendix 2). The fact that one third of the sites found are habitation sites leads one to believe that resources were stable enough to sustain the Little Passage population and that this area was not insignificant to them. Perhaps the limited frequency of Little Passage sites in this region has more to do with inadequate surveying or the loss of sites through coastal erosion. The coast along the Avalon/Trinity region has many high cliffs and although there are sheltered bays they are usually zones of historic settlement, impeding archaeological investigations. Finally, it is possible that sites remain undiscovered in areas such as the interior of the region that have yet to be examined.

Dates from the Russell’s Point site indicate an early and extended occupation into the Beothuk period (see Table 4.2). Unfortunately, dates from other sites in this region, such as CkAl-04 and CLAl-01, could not be included because they were extracted from disturbed contents (Evans 1982; Newfoundland and Labrador Specimen Record form:1989). In addition, a few Beothuk sites have been found in the Avalon/Trinity region suggesting continued use of this area into the historic period (Gilbert 2002; Tuck 1993, 1996).

Russell’s Point is located in the near interior while the other four sites from this region are located in the inner coast. Russell’s Point contains the only faunal data from the region. In total, 1,023 pieces of bone were recovered from various hearth, midden and fire-cracked rock features (Gilbert 2002:81-83). Due to the fragmented and calcined condition of the remains only 6.8% could be identified. However, a large majority of the identified remains came from Little Passage features. Species identified include beaver, caribou, muskrat and seal. Beaver provided both food and clothing, and as a result, would
likely have been harvested in late fall or winter when their coats are in prime condition. Thus, the site has been designated as a fall and winter habitation area.

Table 4.2: Little Passage Site Dates and their Corresponding Region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Site Name</th>
<th>Dates Calibrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avalon/Trinity</td>
<td>Russell’s Point</td>
<td>AD 970-AD 1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 990-AD 1285</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 1295-AD 1420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>Temagan Gospen</td>
<td>AD 1331-AD 1435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Peninsula</td>
<td>Spence Site</td>
<td>AD 1043-AD 1279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast</td>
<td>Port au Port</td>
<td>AD 1191-AD 1284</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Coast</td>
<td>L’Anse au Flamme</td>
<td>AD 781-AD 997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boat Hole Brook</td>
<td>AD 1405-AD 1616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast Coast</td>
<td>Beaches</td>
<td>AD 1298-AD 1424</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fox Bar</td>
<td>AD 1415-AD 1488</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schamblers Cove</td>
<td>AD 1259-AD 1379</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Inspector Island</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>AD 1297-AD 1406</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AD 880-AD 980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.9 Little Passage Sites in the Interior

With seven sites discovered, or 14% of the total, this area was traversed more than the Avalon/Trinity, Northern Peninsula or west coast regions (see Figure 4.3). Of the seven sites found two are designated as habitation sites, four are camp sites and one remains undetermined. Three of these sites are located in the near interior, while four were found in the deep interior (see Appendix 2). Some of these camp sites may have been used specifically for obtaining interior resources. However, there are two habitation sites here indicating an extended residency, perhaps for a season. It is thought that some of these interior sites were used primarily for obtaining caribou (Penney 1990). Of course this area could have been used for additional purposes. For example, it has been
suggested that interior river systems provided important transportation links for prehistoric populations (Erwin 2004:22, 2005:11; Erwin and Holly 2006:2). Interior river systems might have been used by Little Passage populations for travel between areas of the island, particularly between the northeast coast and south coast where Little Passage activity appears most abundant. Therefore, sites along the rivers may have been used for obtaining caribou or rest areas when traveling.

Unfortunately, only one date has been obtained from an interior site, Temagan Gospen. Alone, this date of AD 1331-AD 1435 indicates that the interior may have been exploited towards the end of the Little Passage era (see Table 4.2). However, we know that Beaches groups also used this region (Holly 2002) suggesting that Little Passage groups likely used the interior earlier than suggested by the lone radiocarbon date. Temagan Gospen also contained the only faunal data from Little Passage sites in the interior. At this site, bits of caribou bone were recovered in association with Little Passage material (Penney 1990:4). It is likely that this site and other interior sites were occupied during the fall season as this is when caribou are rich in fat and their pelage is in prime condition. Little Passage exploitation of the interior differed from both their ancestors and successors. While Beaches and Beothuk groups appeared to focus on deep interior resources, Little Passage groups concentrated on the near interior. Both the near interior and deep interior contain the same resources. However, by focusing on the near interior, the Little Passage population could monitor the coastal zone in order to take advantage of coastal resources such as seal, when they became available. This settlement pattern increased the chances of obtaining sustenance for Little Passage groups in the interior. It has been suggested that while a caribou hunt would sustain groups during the
autumn, the near-interior locale would offer access to the greatest possible diversity of terrestrial and maritime resources during the winter (Schwarz 1994a:65).

4.4.10 Little Passage Sites on the Northern Peninsula

As previously stated Little Passage sites are uncommon on the Northern Peninsula. Holly (2002:107) lists two Little Passage sites on the Northern Peninsula and I have included a third, the Bragg site (see Figure 4.3). Unfortunately, this site does not provide a lot of additional information as it is little more than a find spot. The other two sites include a multi-component Little Passage lithic workshop camp and a second site of an undetermined type. All of these Little Passage sites are located on the outer coast of the Northern Peninsula. The lone radiocarbon date from this region was obtained from the Spence camp site and is calibrated to AD 1043-AD 1279 (Renouf 1993) (see Table 4.2). This date occurs early within the accepted date range for the Little Passage complex. With so few sites found in this region the early date may indicate that activity in the area declined over time. A number of hypotheses have been proposed concerning the scarcity of Little Passage sites in this region. The first explanation for this phenomenon was that a sudden lack of sea ice caused a decrease in the seal population resulting in a decline of aboriginal activity in this region (Robbins 1989; Tuck and Pastore 1985). However, as Holly (2002:108) points out, Dorset Paleoeskimo and early Recent Indian sites were common during the period preceding the appearance of the Little Passage complex. While this would appear to discredit resource scarcity on the Northern Peninsula it does not rule out a localized climate change during the Little Passage period (Holly 2002:108). Finally, archaeological investigations, or lack thereof, may play a role in the number of
Little Passage sites identified here. Inadequate surveying in the area may account for the small number of identified sites. Furthermore, the specific activities undertaken by Little Passage groups may not have left as much archaeological evidence for researchers to identify (Holly 2002). For example, at trading sites, and short duration exploitation sites structures may not have been necessary and the amount of archaeological material remaining from such activities would be minimal.

Although it is clear that Little Passage activities were limited on the Northern Peninsula the question still remains as to why this area was exploited. The faunal evidence from sites in this region is very limited. Both St. Paul's Bay I (DIBk-05) and the Spence site (EeBi-36) contain faunal materials. Unfortunately, the fauna at St. Paul's Bay I was limited to a single canine molar and a calcined bird bone (Penney 1989b:9). Likewise, the Spence site fauna was largely restricted to deposits of bone mash (Renouf 1993). Only caribou remains could be accurately identified from the Spence site, and it is believed that this fauna is associated with a Beaches component (Holly 2002). Acidic soil conditions may have ensured the decomposition of faunal remains. Consequently, it remains unknown if Little Passage groups ventured to the region to exploit locally available resources.

Other lines of evidence may provide some insight concerning Little Passage exploitation of the region. Specifically, the Spence site has been designated as a lithic workshop camp due to the amount of lithics recovered (Renouf 1992). In addition, the Bragg site, though only a find spot, contains a Little Passage projectile point made of uncommon Ramah chert. Ramah chert is rarely seen in great quantities on the island. However, its presence in other Little Passage sites such as the Bank site (DdAk-05),
Robert’s Cove I (DjAv-05), and Russell’s Point (CiAj-07) may indicate early treks to, or trade relationships with groups from, the Northern Peninsula. Thus, Little Passage activity on the Northern Peninsula may have centered on the acquisition and working of lithics. Finally, the presence of Ramah chert in Little Passage contexts may suggest a continuation of the social and economic traditions their ancestors, the Beaches complex, potentially held with groups in Labrador.

4.4.11 Little Passage Sites on the West Coast

The west coast of the island was sparsely used by Little Passage groups. Five sites comprising only 10% of the total sites known are located here (see Figure 4.3). Four of these sites are located in the inner coastal resource zone while one is located on the outer coast. With regard to site type, one site has been designated a camp, one is a find spot, two are quarries and one is undetermined (see Appendix 2). The two quarry sites, containing a grey-blue/green chert, appear to have been used by the Little Passage population who occupied the Port au Port camp site (Simpson 1984). This particular colour chert is popular in Little Passage assemblages. However, lithic source analysis of similarly coloured cherts from other sites on the island revealed they did not originate from the Port au Port quarries (Simpson 1986:117-122,214). This analysis suggests that Little Passage groups across the island practiced a localized lithic procurement strategy. Holly (2002:100-101) suggests that events in Labrador may have played a role in the shift toward the acquisition of high quality local chert. This hypothesis suggests that the retreat of Paleoeskimo groups to Northern Labrador, and influx of Thule peoples to the same region, limited access by Amerindian populations to the Ramah chert quarry and resulted
in smaller supplies of Ramah chert making its way south to trading partners in Newfoundland. In any event, Ramah chert is rare in Recent Indian assemblages (Holly 2002:119), particularly Little Passage assemblages. This may have contributed to the shift, by Little Passage groups, to using high quality local cherts.

Furthermore, as Ramah chert exchange networks disintegrated, an increase in Newfoundland chert is found across the Strait of Belle Isle, into southern Labrador and Quebec (Pintal 1998; Reader 1993:47). It is proposed that this increase may reflect a demand for high quality Newfoundland cherts as Ramah became scarce (Holly 2002:101). Alternatively, Little Passage populations may have used these high quality Newfoundland cherts to maintain social and economic ties with hunter-gatherer populations outside of Newfoundland which had been previously sustained by the trade of Ramah chert. I would suggest that with the lack Port au Port chert in other Little Passage assemblages, and the location of the site on the west coast, it is plausible that this site could be a source for Newfoundland cherts found off the island.

The only faunal assemblage from the west coast comes from the Port au Port site. Unfortunately 96% (by weight) of the remains collected could not be identified. Those that could be identified included bald eagle, a goose or duck, caribou, beaver, marten and auk. Although the site itself is located on the coast, faunal remains suggest some interior resources were obtained for subsistence. These consisted mainly of caribou and beaver bones (Simpson 1986:203). Both resources can be found in areas relatively close to this coastal site so extended trips into the interior would not have been needed. Information regarding resource zones in this region also suggests that trips to the interior were not prevalent as all five sites are located on the coast. Finally, the lack of more coastal
species within the faunal assemblage may have more to do with the condition of the remains than the activities of Little Passage groups in this area, given that most species were not identifiable.

4.4.12 Little Passage Sites on the South Coast

Unlike previously discussed regions of the island, the south coast saw a lot of Little Passage activity. Of the 50 Little Passage sites discovered thus far, 12 are located on the south coast (see Figure 4.3), meaning that over a quarter of all known Little Passage sites are found here. Two of the sites are located in the outer coastal resource zone with the remaining 10 on the inner coast. Unfortunately, nine of these sites are of an undetermined site type because rising sea levels and erosion have disturbed site conditions (see Appendix 2). Two of the remaining sites, located in the inner coast, are camp sites. These two sites, L’Anse au Flamme and Boat Hole Brook, date to AD 781-AD 997 and AD 1405-AD 1616 respectively (see Table 4.2). Little Passage groups were clearly using this region very early on. The absence of dates, between AD 997 and AD 1405, likely has more to do with disturbance experienced at many of the sites in this region rather than to a lack of Little Passage activities, as over a quarter of known Little Passage sites occur here.

Regrettably, due to the erosion of over 80% of the south coast sites, information concerning Little Passage activities in this region is vanishing. There is a lack of faunal remains at south coast sites which may be a direct result of the erosion occurring here. Therefore, we must rely on the location of sites and the environment of the region to provide clues to Little Passage subsistence here. Holly (2002:111-112) suggests that outer
coastal sites on the south coast may have been used for bird hunting in the spring and summer. Resources such as harbour seals, smelt, capelin, and cod would have also been available along the inner coast during this period (Rast 1999; Penney 1986:13). Alternatively, this region may have acted as a fall-back zone in the winter and early spring (Holly 2002). Throughout this time of year the south coast remains relatively free of ice, unlike ice-choked northern portions of the island. It is believed that access to harbour seals could have supplemented a poor fall caribou hunt or unsuccessful spring harp seal hunt.

4.4.13 Little Passage Sites on the Northeast Coast

The northeast coast is home to the majority of Little Passage complex sites. Seventeen of the 50 sites, or just over one-third, are located here. Nine of the sites are located on the inner coast while the remaining eight are on the outer coast (see Figure 4.3). Although a few sites have been affected by rising sea levels and other smaller disturbances, enough information has been gathered to determine a site type in many cases. Specifically, the outer coast contains one find spot, three camp sites and four undetermined sites, while the inner coast contains one find spot, three camp sites, three habitation sites and two undetermined sites. Obviously, many activities were taking place in this region. Specifically, the Northeast coast contains the only Little Passage site (DdAk-05) that appears to have had a ritual or ceremonial purpose. Finally, a wide variety of dates have been obtained from sites in this region. These dates range from AD 780 into the contact period (see Table 4.2), and illustrates continued use of the area throughout the Little Passage era.
The majority of information concerning Little Passage subsistence patterns on the Northeast coast comes from two inner coastal habitation sites, the Beaches (DeAk-01) and Inspector Island (DiAq-01). At the Beaches site, identifiable species from Little Passage contexts included beaver, pine marten, river otter, harbour seal, harp seal, caribou, double-crested cormorant, Canada goose, common raven and Atlantic cod (Cridland 1998:202-203). Two other species, wolf and longhorn sculpin, were considered to be identified with 95% confidence. Finally, it was determined that some species of eider and gull were present in the assemblage. The presence of these species indicates that Little Passage people occupied the Beaches site between late February and the beginning of September (Cridland 1998:246).

Finally, an examination of the bone fragments recovered from Inspector Island indicated the presence of species such as beaver, red fox, black bear, pine martin, otter, harbour seal, caribou, Canada goose, red-breasted merganser, black guillemot, rainbow smelt, Atlantic cod, and shorthorn sculpin (Cridland 1998:118). While the majority of these species are available year round, there is an overlap of species that were available from late February to the end of June. While faunal remains from other regions of the province are very slim, the sites from the northeast coast provide some insight into Little Passage subsistence patterns and preference.

The faunal remains recovered from this region indicate that Little Passage groups practiced a generalized subsistence pattern, often selecting locations with access to the outer headlands as well as the interior and thus various resources. This hypothesis can be expanded to the rest of the island, given the number of inner coast Little Passage sites across the island (28 of 50 or 56%) (see Figure 4.4). Nevertheless, the settlement pattern
on the northeast coast is a little different from other regions of the island as inner coastal sites do not dominate the settlement system. Rather, Little Passage groups divided their time almost evenly between the outer and inner coast. Marine species may have played a larger role in subsistence in this region. It is also possible that the many bays and inlets in the region allowed groups to monitor the availability of outer and inner coastal resources from a single vantage point. Interestingly, the inner coastal locations on the northeast coast might have been able to provide subsistence throughout the year. However, the
faunal information from various sites in the region indicates that most sites were seasonal occupations inhabited between early spring and late fall.

4.4.14 Little Passage Seasonal Round on the Island

Various Little Passage groups may have had differing seasonal rounds. Support for this hypothesis comes from the examination of Little Passage sites from the various regions of the province. The analysis indicates that many regions were used throughout the Little Passage era. In addition, faunal data has revealed that the various regions were used during different seasons. Specifically, the Avalon/Trinity region was occupied during fall and winter, the interior in fall, the south coast between winter and summer and the northeast coast from spring until fall. The current information suggests that the northeast coast was the only region in which Little Passage activities extend beyond two seasons. It is possible that the larger number and variety of sites on the northeast coast may be the result of increased numbers of Little Passage groups coming together and occupying the area from spring until fall. This may be due to the geography of the region which allowed for easy exploitation of both inner and outer coastal resources. Easy access to both coastal zones would have made this area a more resource rich region capable of supporting a larger population. With the arrival of the fall season a portion of the population may have departed to the Avalon/Trinity region or the interior to take advantage of caribou herds. Those groups who occupied the interior during the fall may have ventured south for the winter/spring season where harbour seal could have been more easily obtained than in the north. Conversely, groups who inhabited the Avalon/Trinity region may have exploited resources in other areas during the spring.
4.5 Importance of the Northeast Coast to Both Populations

The apparent significance of the northeast coast to the Beaches complex has been based on the number of known sites. While 42% of all known Beaches sites occur here, the numbers maybe skewed due to the amount of archaeological survey that has been completed here in comparison to other regions. Nonetheless, the Beaches populations used this region regularly for both subsistence and lithic raw material acquisition. No where is this more evident than at DeAk-01. This multi-component, inner coastal site provided access to both marine and terrestrial resources while rhyolite was extracted from a nearby quarry. The region may have been preferred by Beaches groups as the many bays, inlets and offshore islands could provide easy access to marine species and allow them to simultaneously maintain a watch on terrestrial resources.

The northeast coast was also important to Little Passage subsistence strategies throughout the year. Faunal evidence indicates this region was the only one occupied for more than one or two seasons at a time, typically between early spring and late fall. While the popularity of the area may have originated because of resource availability, the Bank site may indicate an additional significance. At the Bank site (DdAk-05) a large linear hearth was uncovered, as was a large amount of Ramah chert. Ramah chert accounted for roughly one third of the finished diagnostic artifacts recovered from the site (Schwarz 1992a:28). As previously stated, Ramah chert is infrequently found at Recent Indian sites and never in such abundance, clearly making this a significant site. Schwarz (1992a) has suggested that this find may represent a communal ritual event where exotic Ramah artifacts were offered to the flame. Loring’s work at the Daniel Rattle site (GlCq-01) in central Labrador indicates that a similar ritual was undertaken.
(Loring 1985, 1989a, 1992). Loring (1989b:61-62, 1992:333) hypothesized that artifacts he recovered from the Daniel Rattle hearth symbolized a ritual sacrifice of exotic Ramah, perhaps similar to the ritualized offerings of unconsumed food to the hearth’s flames in ethnographically documented mokoshan ceremonies. Furthermore, Loring (1992) suggests this type of ritual behaviour reaffirmed the social significance of Ramah chert which bonded people to all facets of procurement, distribution, use and consumption, creating a strong force in social identity. However, this type of sacrifice on the island is unprecedented as Ramah was very scarce during this period. Furthermore, the fact that this type of event occurred on the northeast coast is of particular interest as the raw material used to make the Ramah chert artifacts were likely obtained from trading activities on the Northern Peninsula. It is possible that the northeast coast provided a central location where a larger portion of the Little Passage population could congregate because there were ample subsistence resources here. Ritual activity may well have been associated with these aggregations. Alternatively, if Little Passage groups thought of this region as their homeland it may have been the place where rituals, focused on identity and connections, took place.

Furthermore, by examining the activities of Little Passage successors, the Beothuk, it would appear that the importance of this region grew over time. While the northeast coast was not the only region where Beothuk groups buried the dead, 13 of 25 authenticated burials, or 52%, are located here (Marshall 1996:412-414). Coastal burials appear to have been preferred by the Beothuk. Cormack (1829:325) claims that the Beothuk carried their dead from a distance to [the seacoast] to bury them. Holly (2003:67) has suggested that as Beothuk populations were removed from the places
where their traditions lay, the placement of burials on the coast, specifically the northeast coast, may have been a way for these people to maintain a claim to their sacred landscape. Coastal burials may have also sustained the Beothuk’s coastal identity, history and ancestry and ensured a link to their past (Holly 2003:68). Thus, the custom of Beothuk burial suggests that this region was important not only to the Beothuk but also to Beothuk identity, and this identity derived from their ancestors who clearly imparted the significance of this area. The ritualization of the region may well have begun with the Little Passage population.

After reviewing both Beaches and Little Passage complex sites across the island it is evident that change occurred in terms of the amount of activity and importance of particular regions (see Figure 4.2 and 4.3). Even though there was a 7% drop between the number of Beaches sites to Little Passage sites on the northeast coast, it is evident that the area not only maintained, but increased in importance over time. The Little Passage site, DdAk-05, indicates that the region took on a new importance, beyond resource exploitation, perhaps becoming the center of Little Passage ritual behaviour.

Elsewhere, Little Passage groups appear to have preferred to occupy inner coastal areas, the Northern Peninsula being the only exception. However, where Little Passage activity was most abundant, on the northeast coast, inner and outer coastal areas were exploited almost equally. This division of time spent between the resource zones may have allowed for greater subsistence stability during the Little Passage era. The ability to obtain both marine and terrestrial resources with ease may have allowed for the development of a richer ceremonial and ritual tradition as seen at DdAk-05.
4.6 Significance of Robert’s Cove I

After reviewing both Beaches and Little Passage complex sites across the island it should not be surprising that a transitional site would appear on the northeast coast. DjAv-05 has been dated to AD 780 – AD 980, a date considered early for the Little Passage complex or late for the Beaches complex. Although these dates do overlap with some Beaches sites Robert’s Cove I exhibits characteristics of both the Beaches and Little Passage complexes. These two cultures had different preferences for site location and lithic material types and were both very active in the northeast. Robert’s Cove I contains aspects of both complexes. For example, Robert’s Cove I is located on the outer coast, a resource location preferred by the Beaches. In addition, the lithic assemblage includes elements attributed to both cultures. While the majority of the complete or nearly complete projectile points are stylistically Little Passage, one point appears to contain an expression of both complexes having an obvious side-notch and a corner-notch.

Furthermore, the lithic raw material types recovered from Robert’s Cove I hint at a Beaches connection. After viewing various Beaches and Little Passage lithic assemblages it is evident that they preferred different lithic materials. The Beaches population used more rhyolite and appears to have had better access to Ramah chert. The Little Passage complex is synonymous with the use of blue-green/grey cherts. While the blue-green/grey cherts preferred by Little Passage populations dominate the Robert’s Cove I assemblage, a unique looking dark and light mottled grey chert with white and crystalline inclusions did stand out. Eight of the 70 artifacts recovered, or 11%, were flintknapped from this material, including one of the smaller Little Passage projectile
points (see Figure 3.15). What is interesting is that this material type also shows up in the Beaches assemblage found at Cape Freels II. In addition, the presence of Ramah chert may be an indicator of the continued value this material had to Recent Indian groups. This material type is present in Little Passage archaeological assemblages in the Avalon/Trinity region (Gilbert 2002), the south coast (Rast 1997), the northeast coast (Schwarz 1992a), the Northern Peninsula (NL Site Record Form n.d.c), and at Robert’s Cove I. Therefore, aspects of the Beaches complex remain at Robert’s Cove I, but a clear shift from Beaches to Little Passage culture traditions was actively occurring.

Robert’s Cove I demonstrates the connection between the Beaches and Little Passage complexes which were succeeding cultures with ties to the northeast coast region. The northeast coast was likely valued by both Recent Indian groups due to the availability of resources. Their ongoing use of the region, not surprisingly, resulted in a transitional site. However, the use of this area changed over time. This change can be seen by examining the settlement systems of each group. Beaches groups preferred the outer coast and Little Passage groups divided their time almost evenly between the outer and inner coast. During the Little Passage phase, a site exhibiting ceremony and ritual activity appeared in the northeast coast archaeological record. While Beaches groups undoubtedly practiced some form of ritual, evidence for such activities have not been discovered to date. However, it is known that ritual practices continued on into the historic period as Beothuk groups continued to bury family in this region. Thus, a thorough examination of Beaches complex and Little Passage complex sites, in addition to reviewing Beothuk culture history, suggests that these cultures all maintained strong ties to this region. Cultural traditions in the northeast initiated by Beaches populations
were maintained by ancestral populations such as the Little Passage and Beothuk. Through time this region became a stronger focus in Recent Indian life that extended beyond subsistence. The addition of a ritual site suggests that by the Little Passage era the northeast coast may have become the focus of a ceremonial tradition continued by the Beothuk and initiating the development of the sacred landscape during the contact period.

4.7 Summary

After reviewing Beaches and Little Passage sites to establish site number, type, region of settlement, available dates, and subsistence information, it is clear that different areas of the province were used during various seasons. The lack of faunal information from the Avalon/Trinity and west coast, for Beaches settlements and the Northern Peninsula and West coast, for Little Passage settlements, makes it difficult to interpret a seasonal round in these particular regions. However the Northern Peninsula and the west coast do appear important, particularly in relation to the acquisition of lithic raw material through both stages of the Recent Indian period. Nowhere were Beaches and Little Passage groups more active than the northeast coast. Access to resources here was clearly important to the Recent Indians. Perhaps, as a result of the increased activity in this region, a Little Passage site exhibiting ritual practice appeared in the archaeological record. These Recent Indian traditions and rituals increased during the historic era, as seen in the Beothuk archaeological record.
Chapter 5
Conclusions

The archaeological recognition of the Recent Indian period in Newfoundland began with a fascination to learn more about a historic people known as the Beothuk. Through archaeological survey and excavation the goal to identify Beothuk ancestors was achieved. These Beothuk ancestors are now referred to archaeologically as the Little Passage complex and the Beaches complex. One survey in particular unearthed evidence of a Little Passage site in Robert’s Cove. Twenty years after the fact, this site was revisited and excavated in full. While the site was comparatively small, an analysis of the toolkit suggests the occupants preferred to be equipped with tools that were reliable and transportable. Specifically, bifacially worked points were small and easily transportable and although the style may have varied between side-notch and corner-notch, the hafting element is always present indicating some consistency and reliability. Support for this hypothesis also came from an analysis of the debitage. The analysis of 3,199 flakes from this site showed that the collection consisted mostly of very small flakes representing late stage manufacture. The high levels of retouch support the suggestion that Little Passage groups preferred transportable tools as sharpening and repair of these types of tools would be needed. Alternatively, transportable tools may have been used at this site as access to local raw material was limited.

The assemblage recovered from Robert’s Cove I also provides some suggestions regarding why the site was occupied and the activities that took place there. Specifically, the toolkit from DjAv-05 is characterized by a low frequency of a number of artifacts,
including complete projectile points and knives, with a high percentage of scrapers. The toolkit is noticeably specialized. The lack of a permanent structure or midden, indicates the site was of short duration. It is possible that the site functioned as a specialized exploitation camp when a resource was abundant. Larger base camps, on the other hand, usually exhibit a range in both the toolkit and as a result, the debitage. Thus, the perception of this site as a short duration, specialized camp is reinforced by the amount of debitage, the presence of retouch and sharpening flakes, utilization of various artifacts as scrapers, and exhausted scrapers. Although scrapers have multiple functions, including scraping the flesh from hides and woodworking, in the context of this site scraping hides is most plausible as no other woodworking tools were found. In addition, the presence of mussel shells indicates a warm season of occupation. This time frame suggests that scrapers would likely have been used to scrape the hides of seasonally available resources. This deduction indicates that animals were not only harvested for food, but also for their skins to produce clothing and mammateek coverings.

Finally, the lithic assemblage and dates, 1120+/-50 BP and 1130+/-80 BP, from Robert’s Cove I suggests that the site may have been transitional from Beaches to Little Passage. Specifically, the projectile points recovered from DjAv-05 support the claim that the transition from Beaches to Little Passage is defined by corner-notched points replacing side-notched items.

A review of both Beaches and Little Passage sites across the island indicated that the region in which DjAv-05 is located in was important to both groups. While the Beaches complex activities here appear to have focused on obtaining marine, terrestrial and lithic resources, the Little Passage appear to have participated in ceremonial activities
as well. The importance of Robert’s Cove I is that it supports the connection between the Beaches and Little Passage complex. In addition, it supports the fact that both groups believed the region in which the site is located was important. Recent Indian groups deepened this connection to the land and the region through developing a ritual context which continued into the historic period.
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Tuck, James and Ralph T. Pastore
## Appendices

### Appendix 1
Beaches Sites on the Island

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