TANITE UET TSHINAUETAMIN?

A TRAIL TO LABRADOR: RECENT INDIANS AND THE NORTH COVE SITE

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By

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ABSTRACT

In 1997, North Cove (EgBf-08), a multi-component Recent Indian and Dorset Palaeoeskimo site, was test excavated during the first season of the Bird Cove Archaeology Project. During the 1998 field season, it was determined that the precontact occupation in Area A of North Cove was the result of a group of Recent Indians. This occupation had some unusual characteristics for a Recent Indian site on the Island, including several types of artifacts (such as a predominantly unifacial tool kit, discoidal scrapers and a large whetstone) and, of particular relevance, more than ten thousand pieces of Ramah chert, a lithic material used by the precontact Recent Indians of Labrador to the near exclusion of all other lithic types. The Recent Indian time frame in the Strait of Belle Isle area is composed of three complexes on the Island (Cow Head, Beaches and Little Passage), two in Labrador (Daniel Rattle and Point Revenge) and five along the Lower North Shore of Quebec (the *Flèche littorale* complex, the *Petit Havre* complex, the *Longue Pointe* complex, the *Anse Lazy* complex and the *Anse Morel* complex). Taking into consideration the evidence at North Cove and several other Recent Indian sites in the Strait of Belle Isle area, this thesis suggests that the Recent Indian time period was one of interaction between all of these groups. In particular, this interaction, of which North Cove is a prime example, is noted between the early and late Newfoundland Recent Indians (Beaches-Little Passage complexes) and the early and late Labrador Recent

Indians (Daniel Rattle-Point Revenge complexes). The direct result of this interaction is seen in the Strait of Belle Isle in the form of a group of Recent Indians with blended characteristics, this group can be informally referred to as a Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group[1]. The presence of this component on the Island supports the idea that the people of the Recent Indian Tradition[2] were more closely related than previously believed and that for this reason the definition of the Recent Indian period should be reconsidered.

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[1] This group includes Recent Indian period peoples from Newfoundland, Labrador and the Lower North Shore of Quebec.

[2] This Tradition is defined here as including the early and late Newfoundland Recent Indians (Beaches-Little Passage complexes), the early and late Labrador Recent Indians (Daniel Rattle-Point Revenge complexes).

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

1.1 The Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition

On the Island of the Newfoundland and Labrador Indian time period has been customarily presented as a series of complexes[3] known as the Cow Head, Beaches, and Little Passage complexes. The Beothuk Indians are the post-contact period descendants of the people identified with the Little Passage complex, and probably the people identified with the Beaches complex. Likewise, in Labrador, Recent Indian complexes are identified as the precontact Daniel Rattle and Point Revenge complexes. The Montagnais - Naskapi of the post-contact period, who are today known as the Innu of Quebec and Labrador, are the descendants of these precontact peoples.

Tuck (1988:160) suggested that the Cow Head complex may have been the first complex in a Recent Indian continuum on the Island, with all three eventually leading to the Beothuk of the post-contact period. However, recent work in Quebec and on the Great Northern Peninsula has uncovered evidence to suggest that the Cow Head complex, while it is part of the Recent Indian time period, may not be related to the Beaches or Little Passage complexes (Hartery

[3] A consistently recurring assemblage of artifacts or traits which may be indicative of a specific set of activities, or a common cultural tradition (Fladmark 1978:150).

2001; Pintal 1998; Teal 2001). Building on this research, this thesis will argue for the presence of a Recent Indian group in the Strait of Belle Isle area who possessed characteristics of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians (with the exception of the Cow Head complex). In particular, this group demonstrates the link between the Beaches-Little Passage complexes and the Daniel Rattle-Point Revenge complexes, allowing us to suggest that these groups form a single Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition[4]. While the Cow Head complex overlaps with the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition temporally, they are not considered part of this cultural tradition.

Along the Lower North Shore of Quebec there are five post-Archaic (Woodland period) complexes that are contemporaries of, and probably related to, the Recent Indian complexes in Newfoundland and Labrador: the *Flèche littorale* complex, the *Petit Havre* complex, the *Longue Pointe* complex, the *Anse Lazy* complex and the *Anse Morel* complex (Pintal 1998:169-248). According to Pintal (1998:248; 2001:22), the people of this last complex are the ancestors of the Mameet Innuat of Quebec.

In this thesis, the term Newfoundland Recent Indians refers to the precontact Beaches-Little Passage complexes that occupied the Island portion of the Province and the cultures they represent. The term Labrador Recent Indians

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[4] A continuum of gradational culture-change through time representing the unbroken development of a single culture (Fladmark 1978:161).

will be used to refer to the precontact Daniel Rattle-Point Revenge complexes of Labrador and their representative cultures. Finally, the terms Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians and Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition will refer to all of these groups collectively.

1.2 Introduction

Many archeologists have suggested that the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians were related (Cridland 1998:6; Fitzhugh 1972:193; 1978:173; Holly 2002:69-70, 97; Loring 1989:161; 1992:464; Marshall 2001:9-10; Pastore 1985:326; 1987:59; 1989:59; Renouf 1999:215; Robbins 1989:23; Schwarz 1984:68; Tuck 1988:160). Even during the post-contact period a relationship was suspected between their descendants. This is demonstrated in a paragraph written by Captain George Cartwright in 1792:

> "These Indians (Beothuk) are the original inhabitants of the Island of Newfoundland, and though beyond a doubt descended from some of the tribes upon the continent of America, and most probably from the mountaineers of Labrador, yet it will be very difficult to trace their origin. They have been so long separated from their ancient stock, as well as from all mankind, that they differ widely in many particulars from all other nations." (Cartwright 1792 cited in Howley 1915:46)

The mountaineers referred to by Cartwright are the Montagnais of Labrador who are the ancestors of the Innu who occupy part of Labrador and Quebec today (Mailhot 1986:385).

Despite the agreement among archaeologists on the existence of the

relationship between Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian groups, the way in which we have constructed this period does not easily lead to that conclusion. A prime example of this is the separate nomenclature of the five Recent Indian groups in the Province.

Evidence to be presented in this thesis demonstrates that even though we as archaeologists have separated the Recent Indian time period into Newfoundland groups, Labrador groups and Quebec groups, those boundaries did not exist in the precontact period and regular interaction did take place. North Cove (EgBf-08), a multi component Recent Indian and Palaeoeskimo site located outside the community of Bird Cove on Newfoundland's Great Northen Peninsula, and several other Recent Indian sites in the Strait of Belle Isle area (Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula, southern Labrador and the Lower North Shore of Quebec) will form the basis for this argument. These sites contain evidence that the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians were not geographically bounded to Newfoundland and Labrador respectively as their archaeologically assigned classifications imply and that our definitions are constructs of the archaeological record.

There is little doubt that contact occurred between groups in the Strait of Belle Isle. The difficulty lies in identifying contact when it occurs between groups on the Island and those in Labrador. As sites in the Strait of Belle Isle will demonstrate, contact in sites in this area is noticeable because of lithic raw

materials. Ramah chert in a Recent Indian site on the Island stands out, as do Newfoundland cherts in Quebec Lower North Shore and southern Labrador sites.

I will attempt to identify the Recent Indian occupants of Area A at North Cove. In doing so I will ask *Tanite uet tshinauetamin?*, or where are your family ties?, a question asked of Innu informants in their language, *Innu-aimun,* by José Mailhot (1997:133, 177). The answer to this question will demonstrate the inadequacies of the current Recent Indian model. The occupants of Area A were a Recent Indian group who exhibit a mix of Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian traits because their home area lies between two regional variants. This group came to exist because of the regular contact between Recent Indian groups in the Strait of Belle Isle area. Unfortunately, our rigid definitions of separate Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians have prevented us from recognizing them previously.

This thesis challenges the current Recent Indian cultural model. The presence of the Area A occupation on the Island supports the idea that the peoples of the Recent Indian Tradition of the province as a whole were related and that the definition of this period warrants reconsideration.

To clarify, this thesis is not suggesting that there was a another distinct Recent Indian group located in the Strait of Belle Isle area (according to the current model, there are already Newfoundland and Labrador groups). It is

suggested that within the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition there were many groups of regionally focused and related people. It is further suggested that in the Strait of Belle Isle area a group of people shared the features and attributes that we ascribe to the Newfoundland Recent Indians and Labrador Recent Indians and the contemporaneous Indians of the Lower North Shore of Quebec.

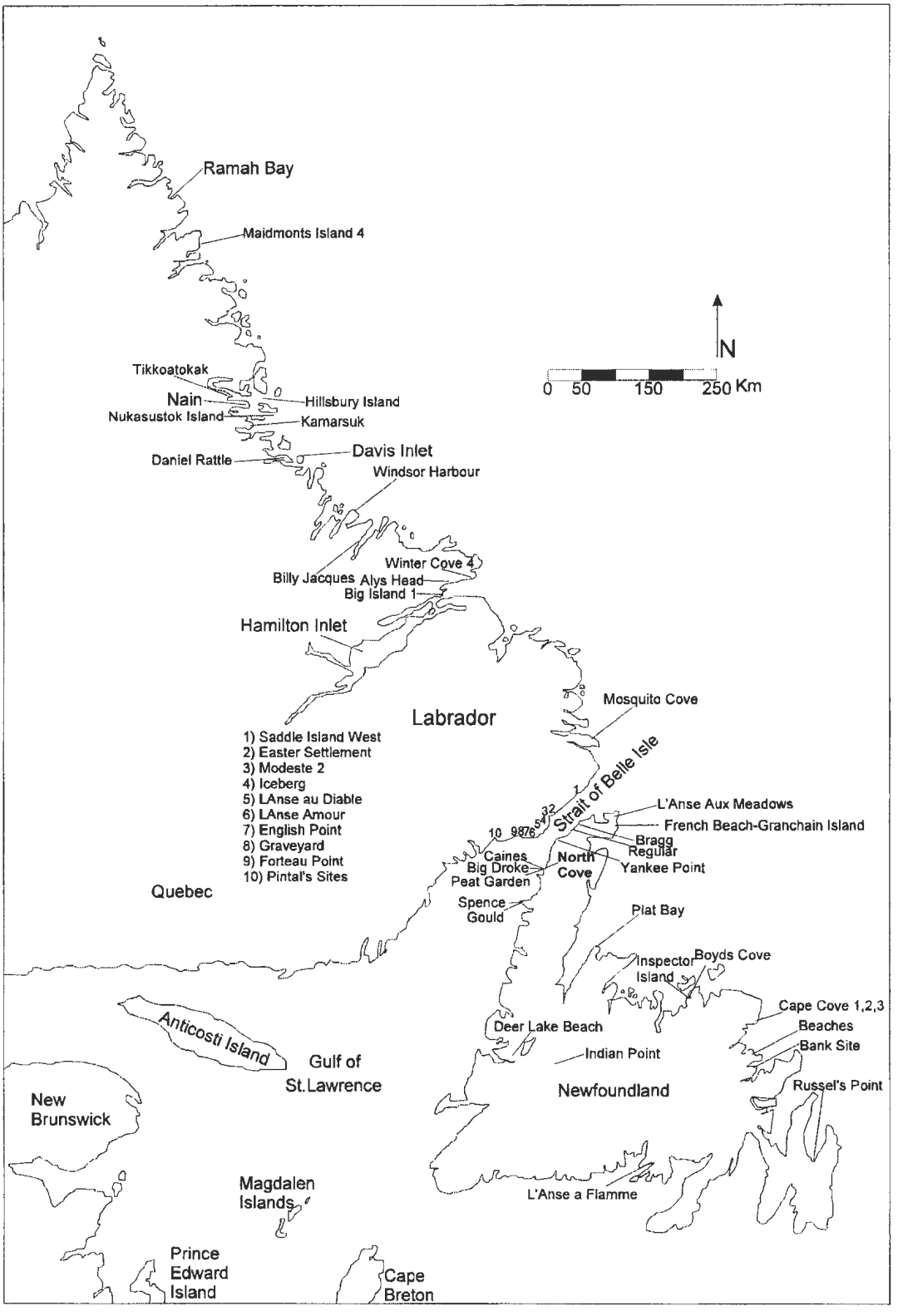

Figure 1.1: Sites and Places Mentioned in the Text

1.3 Thesis Outline

Chapter Two presents a synopses of our current understanding of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition by outlining the main characteristics of all the Recent Indian groups in the Province's past. The five contemporaneous Indian groups from the Lower North Shore of Quebec are also discussed. This chapter also includes a discussion of new ideas on the origin of the Cow Head complex, and as a result of these new ideas, a suggestion on clarification of Recent Indian nomenclature. This chapter ends with a discussion of the timing and origins of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian groups. In Chapter Three I examine the function, seasonality, dating and length of occupation of Area A at North Cove. Chapter Four deals with Recent Indian organization, territorial boundaries, or lack thereof, and the evidence that suggests Area A at North Cove was occupied by a composite Recent Indian group.

CHAPTER TWO

RECENT INDIANS

2.1 Introduction

More than 8000 years ago the first inhabitants of Newfoundland and Labrador, late Paleoindian groups, settled on the north shore of the Strait of Belle Isle (McGhee and Tuck 1975; Pintal 1998). By 5500 years ago (Renouf and Bell 2000), their descendants, the Maritime Archaic Indians, had spread over most of Labrador and had arrived on the Island of Newfoundland. Much of our knowledge of the Maritime Archaic Indians comes from the Port au Choix burial site (see Tuck 1976). By 3200 years ago, the Maritime Archaic Indians became archaeologically invisible on the Island of Newfoundland. Just after 4000 years ago, and shortly before the Maritime Archaic Indians disappear archaeologically from Labrador, we see an introduction of Palaeoeskimo groups in northern Labrador. The Maritime Archaic Indian disappearance also marks the beginning of the Intermediate Indian period, the most poorly understood period in the province's past. The Intermediate Indians, who are currently known only from Labrador sites, existed until approximately 2000 years ago in southern Labrador and until approximately 1500 years ago in central Labrador.

The Recent Indian Tradition in Newfoundland and Labrador began approximately 2000 years ago on both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle. The

relationship of these first Recent Indian groups to the earlier precontact Indians is not completely understood, but they probably represent an *in situ* development from the earlier Archaic population (Tuck 1988:162). The origins of the Newfoundland and the Labrador Recent Indians is considered later in this chapter.

2.2 Newfoundland Recent Indians

On the Island, the Recent Indian Tradition can be sub-divided temporally into an early Newfoundland Recent Indian period (*ca.*1900-800 B.P.) and a late Newfoundland Recent Indian period (*ca.*800 B.P.-European Contact), based on projectile point styles (Renouf 1992:100). These two periods form a cultural continuum from the precontact to the post-contact period. The early period projectile points are large and side-notched and were probably used as spear heads, whereas the late period projectiles are predominantly smaller, corner-notched or stemmed and may have been arrowheads. The technological-cultural pattern of the early period is known as the Beaches complex (*ca.*1800-800 B.P.), while that of the late period is known as the Little Passage complex (*ca.*800 B.P.-European contact). The Beothuk are not part of the precontact Recent Indian Tradition, but rather are descendants of the people of this tradition. The last known Beothuk Indian, Shanawdithit, died in 1829 (Pastore 1992).

The Cow Head complex (*ca*.1900-1000 B.P.) appears on the Island just prior to the start of the early Recent Indian time period on the Island. Recent research, to be discussed later in this chapter, suggests they are not part of the early/late Newfoundland Recent Indian continuum.

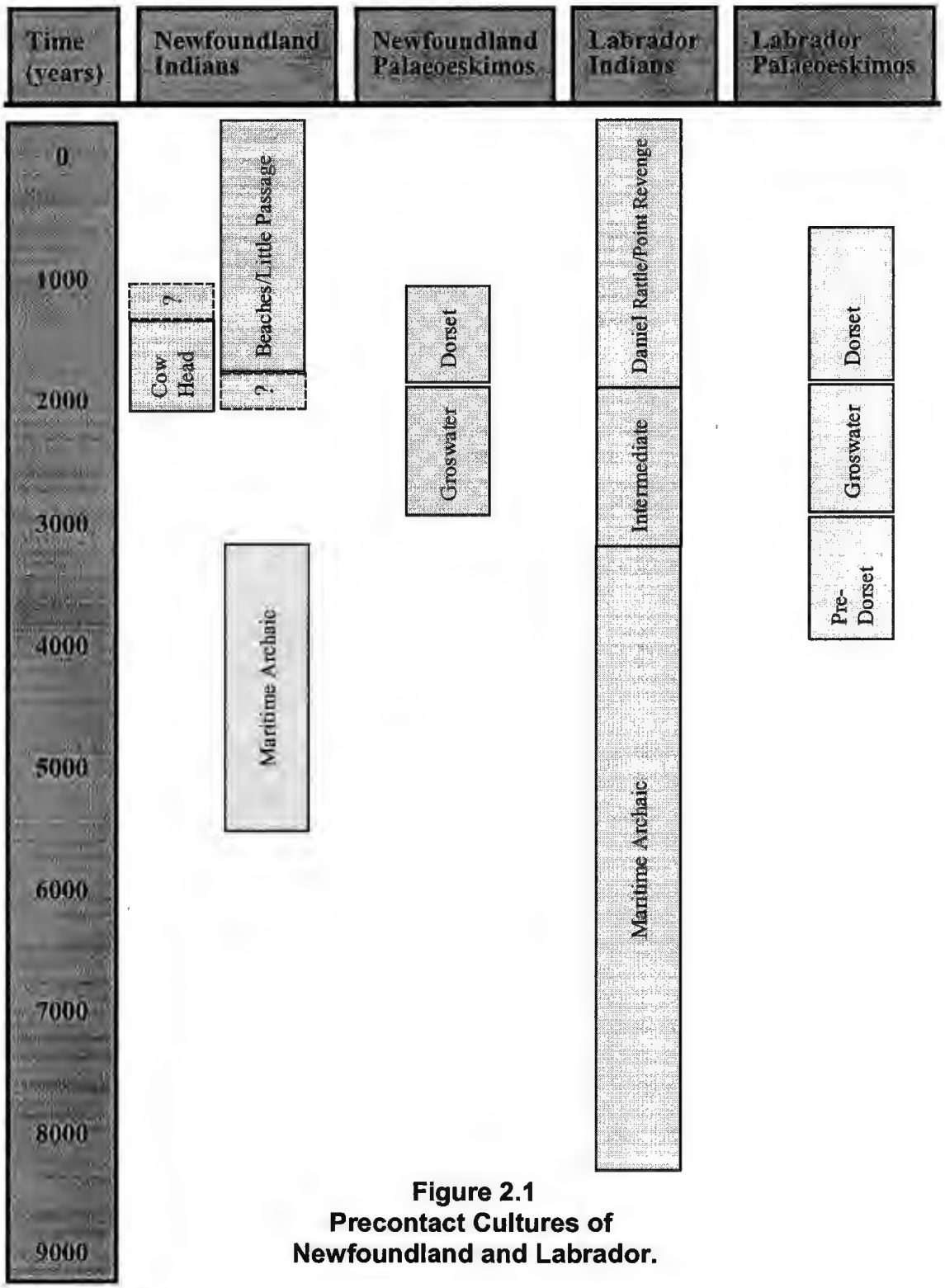

Figure 2.1
Precontact Cultures of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Table 2.1: Cow Head Complex Sites

BORDEN	SITE NAME	RADIOCARBON DATE (B.P.)
CjBk-01	Big Barasway 1	-
DeAl-02	Brown's Beach	-
DhAi-07	Cape Cove 3	-
DeAl-03	Cary Cove	-
DlBk-01	Cow Head, Spearbank	1640+/-123 (I-9627); 940+/-125 (I-9643)
CjBk-08	Father Hughes Point	-
EeBi-42	Gould Site	2080+/-40 (Beta 134147); 1950+/-60 (Beta 120796); 1870+/-60 (Beta 134149); 1520+/-60 (Beta 108552); 1510+/-40 (Beta 134155); 1500+/-40 (Beta 134156); 1480+/-70 (Beta 134150); 70+/-40 (Beta 134154)
CjBk-10	Hunter's Rest	-
DeBd-01	Indian Point Site	-
EiAw-01	Ireland's Bight	-
EjAv-01	L'Anse aux Meadows	1170+/-90 (T-368); 1140+/-90 (T-365)
EjAv-04	L'Anse aux Meadows Beach	-
EeBi-43	Old Boatyard Site	-
EgBf-06	Peat Garden	1795+/-45 (BGS 2170); 1730+/-50 (Beta 113157); 1595+/-45 (BGS 2172); 1570+/-60 (Beta 110142); 1439+/-45 (BGS 2250); 1432+/-50 (BGS 2169); 1430+/-50 (BGS 2171); 1423+/-40 (BGS 2173); 1350+/-60 (BGS 2249); 1289+/-45 (BGS 2251); 1153+/-40 (BGS2174)
EbBj-04	Portland Creek 4	-
EbBj-05	Portland Creek 5	-

2.2.1 Cow Head complex

Most of the 16 known Cow Head complex sites, named after the type-site near the community of Cow Head, are in Bonavista Bay or on the Northern Peninsula. This modest number of sites is the primary reason we have a limited understanding of this Recent Indian complex. Another impediment is that most of the known sites are lithic workshops, the excavation of which has resulted in the recovery of few finished tools. Thus, our sample of Cow Head complex material culture is primarily unfinished and broken tools (Tuck 1988:158).

The locations of the known components on or near the coast implies that maritime resources were an integral part of their subsistence-settlement patterns,

but certainly terrestrial food resources would also have been exploited. Archaeologists accept that a generalized terrestrial-marine subsistence pattern was used by all Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians (Holly 1997; Loring 1992; Rast 1999; Renouf 1999; Rowley-Conwy 1990; Schwarz 1994). We have no reason to suspect that the people of the Cow Head complex followed a different pattern.

Features at Cow Head complex sites are usually limited to hearths and lithic concentrations. The only evidence for a dwelling comes from the Gould site (EeBi-42) (Teal 2001:71). Cow Head complex hearths are often oval or irregular in shape, containing fire-cracked rocks on top of concentrations of charcoal. A peculiarity appears to exist in the hearths at three Northern Peninsula sites; the Gould (EeBi-42), Peat Garden (EgBf-06) and the L' Anse aux Meadows sites (EjAv-01). At these sites, hearths are constructed in, or result in the formation of, a shallow depression. It is unknown whether the formation of the depression was a functional, cultural, regional or environmental characteristic (Carignan 1977; Reader 1998a:19; Teal 2001). The lithic scatters found at most Cow Head complex sites consist of large amounts of stone tool manufacturing debitage, cores and broken or incomplete bifaces or preforms, which suggests that they are lithic workshops. For example, during the 2000 excavation of the Cow Head component at the Peat Garden site more than 24,000 flakes, 34 cores or core fragments and 14 bifaces or biface fragments were recovered (Hartery and Rast

2000:3). Teal (2001:71-85) has interpreted a large pit (three metres by 2 metres), designated feature 280, as a possible dwelling based on three lines of evidence; the distribution of cultural debris around a central hearth; similarities between this feature and descriptions of other precontact Indian dwellings and post-contact period Beothuk dwellings and; the activities inferred from the cultural material found around the hearth.

A lithic assemblage from a Cow Head complex site typically includes large ovate, lanceolate, and bi-pointed bifaces and broad bladed side-notched or broad stemmed points. Their assemblages also contain blade-like flakes, small flake end scrapers and large flake scrapers (Loring 1992:454; Renouf, Bell, and Teal 2000:107; Tuck 1988:158,163).

2.2.2 Cow Head complex Origins

Recent developments in Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador archaeology are drawing a clearer picture of the precontact relationships within the Recent Indian cultures of these areas. Specifically, it now seems that the people of the Cow Head complex are probably not the progenitors of the early/late Newfoundland Recent Indians on the Island. Furthermore, it appears that the Cow Head complex probably did not originate from the Maritime Archaic Indians, unlike the complexes of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition.

Until recently, it was suspected that the Cow Head complex may have been ancestral to the rest of the Newfoundland Recent Indian groups (Tuck 1988:160). In a re-examination of the original Cow Head site excavation (Tuck 1978) data, Hartery (2001) found that one of the layers bearing the definitive Cow Head complex material culture was radiocarbon dated to 995 B.P. (see also Renouf and Bell 2000:12). Hartery believes this date went unreported because, at the time of excavation, Tuck thought this material culture should be older (L. Hartery, pers. com. 2000). However, recent radiocarbon dates from the Cow Head complex component at the Peat Garden site (EgBf-06), support the possibility of this late date and place the Cow Head complex between 1800 B.P. and 1100 B.P. (Hartery and Rast 2001:20). If these dates are correct, they effectively remove the possibility of the Cow Head complex being ancestral to the early Newfoundland Recent Indians as the latter group appeared on the Island no later than 1500 B.P. and perhaps as early as 1800 B.P., as we shall see below. Further, Cow Head material culture has little in common with contemporaneous Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian material beyond lanceolate bifaces and linear flakes (Pintal 1998:171; Tuck 1988:159). A somewhat stronger cultural connection, based on similarities in lithics and timing, is apparent between the Cow Head complex and contemporaneous sites found in the first two in a series of five Recent Indian complexes identified by Pintal (1998) along the Lower North Shore of Quebec (Pastore 2000:44).

The five Lower North Shore of Quebec complexes, which will be discussed in further detail in section 2.4 below, include the *Flèche littorale* complex (*ca.* 2500-1500 B.P.); *Petit Havre* complex (*ca.* 1500-1300 B.P.); *Longue Pointe* complex (*ca.* 1300-1100 B.P.); *Anse Lazy* complex (*ca.* 1200-1100 B.P.) and the *Anse Morel* complex (*ca.* 1000 B.P. to present)(Pintal 1998:169-248). The first three of these complexes can be considered a continuum of the same people with lithic changes occurring at various temporal intervals (Pintal 1998:169). Incidentally, Loring sees a similar pattern for the early/late Labrador Recent Indian complexes (1992:343). We should probably view the early/late Newfoundland Recent Indian complexes on the Island in the same manner.

The *Flèche littorale* complex stone tool assemblage, based on material recovered predominantly during survey or limited excavations (Pintal 1998:172), appears to contain contracting stemmed, leaf-shaped, and bi-convex bifaces, some of which may exhibit weak shoulders. There are also large scrapers and limited evidence of polished stone tools (Pintal 1998:177). The *Petit Havre* complex stone tool assemblage contains leaf shaped or triangular, bi-convex, asymmetric bifaces which will occasionally be stemmed with weak shoulders. There are also variously shaped scrapers within the tool kit of this complex. Pintal also recovered two pieces of undecorated ceramic at a *Petit Havre* complex site (Pintal 1998:182, 186). The typical Cow Head complex broad

bladed, leaf-shaped bifaces with contracting stems and other bifaces resemble similar bifaces found in the *Flèche littorale* complex and the *Petit Havre* complex. For example, the broad stemmed and broad bladed projectile point from Pintal's EiBg-85 site (Pintal 1998:182, figure 77) and the Mistassini quartzite projectile point from Pintal's EiBg-86 site (Pintal 1998:188, figure 81) closely compare with typical Cow Head complex projectile points (Hartery 2001; Teal 2001:69; Tuck 1988:158-160.).

Further similarities between these two complexes and that of the Cow Head complex can be seen in their choice for lithic raw material and their temporal spans. Pintal (1998:174,179) notes that both the *Flèche littorale* complex and the *Petit Havre* complex used predominantly local lithic materials, particularly Blanc-Sablon quartzites. In an examination of a Cow Head complex site on Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula, Teal (2001:13) notes that the predominant lithic material on such sites are usually local in origin. Finally, the timing of the *Flèche littorale* complex (*ca.* 2500-1500 B.P.) and the *Petit Havre* complex (*ca.* 1500-1300 B.P.) would make the former slightly older and possibly ancestral to the Cow Head complex and the latter contemporaneous with the Cow Head complex if we accept the 1800 B.P. to 1100 B.P. dates from the Peat Garden site (Hartery and Rast 2001:20).

The lithic and temporal similarities between Pintal's complexes and the Cow Head complex, described above, suggest that a relationship existed

between these groups. As such, the *Flèche littorale* complex (*ca.* 2500-1500 B.P.) may be ancestral to the Cow Head complex, placing the origin of that complex in southeastern Quebec around 2500 years ago.

If this is correct, then what is the origin of Pintal's *Flèche littorale* complex and, ultimately, the Cow Head complex? Pintal has written that his earlier complexes are either from the interior of Quebec and Labrador, or they are related to people from that area, as well as the people of the North West River phase (*ca.* 1800 - 1400 B.P.)(Pintal 1998:206-207), an Intermediate Indian group identified in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972:152-155; Nagle 1978:124). In turn, the people of the North West River phase, as Fitzhugh has suggested, are thought to be an interior-oriented people derived from the older Shield Archaic (Fitzhugh 1972:116,131-132; Nagle 1978:124). This would imply a relationship between Pintal's first two complexes and the related Cow Head complex on the one hand, and the Shield Archaic on the other. If these hypotheses are correct, then the people of the Cow Head complex are effectively removed from being possible ancestors of the other Newfoundland Recent Indians who are, in all likelihood, descendants of the Maritime Archaic Indians (Tuck 1988) (section 2.6. below).

2.2.3 Nomenclature

If the proposal to remove the Cow Head complex from contention as the

ancestors of the Newfoundland Recent Indians is acceptable, then another proposal needs to be made. Perhaps we should start considering the Recent Indian complexes in the province as a whole, not as two separate entities, in essence a Tradition. The simplest way to begin this is to remove the divisive nomenclature. It is widely acknowledged that there is a relationship between the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian groups (Cridland 1998:6; Fitzhugh 1972:193; 1978:173; Loring 1989:161; 1992:464; Pastore 1985:326; 1987:59; 1989:59; Renouf 1999:215; Robbins 1989:23; Schwarz 1984:68;Tuck 1988:160). Recent Indian nomenclature should reflect this relationship. It is proposed here that we refer to the Daniel Rattle/Point Revenge continuum as the early and late Labrador Recent Indians. Similarly, the Beaches/Little Passage continuum should be referred to as the early and late Newfoundland Recent Indians. This is a proposal to change just the nomenclature and to unify the groups under the term the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition. The characteristics that are currently used to define the Daniel Rattle - Point Revenge and the Beaches - Little Passage would be maintained in order to be able to discuss specifically the early and late Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians.

Table 2.2: Early Newfoundland Recent Indian Sites

BORDEN	SITE NAME	RADIOCARBON DATE (B.P.)
DeAk-01	Beaches	1950+/-100 (Gak 1481)*[1]
CjBk-01	Big Barasway 1	-
DeAl-01	Bloody Bay Cove 1	1020+/-55 (S-999)*[2]
CkBm-01	Boat Hole Brook	-
DiAp-03	Boyd's Cove	960+/-50 (Beta 10235); 270+/-70 (Beta 6729)*[3]; 140+/-70 (Beta 6728)*[4]
DeAl-02	Brown's Beach	1165+/-80 (I-8248); 1155+/-80 (I-8249);1100+/-60 (S-998)
DhAi-06	Cape Cove 2	1815+/-55 (S-1861)
DhAi-07	Cape Cove 3	1920+/-130 (S-1863)*[5]; 1865+/-110 (S-1862)
DeAl-03	Cary Cove	-
DiAt-06	Charles Brook - 2	-
DhBi-06	Deer Lake Beach Site	1230+/-70 (TO 4308); 1220+/-60 (TO 4184); 1200+/-60, (Beta 77895)
CjAj-02	Dildo Island	-
CjBk-08	Father Hughes Point	-
DeAk-03	Fox Bar	1255+/-65 (S-1001)
EiAu-03	French Beach-Granchain Island	-
ClAl-01	Frenchman's Island	1870+/-180 (Beta 2142)
DdAn-02	Holloway	-
DeBd-01	Indian Point Site	-
EjAv-01	L'Anse aux Meadows	-
EgBf-08	North Cove 1	1250+/-50 (Beta-13955); 1220+/-60 (Beta 108556); 1110+/-50 (Beta-123954); 1060+/-50 (Beta-123953); 1030+/-60 (Beta 108557); 1030+/-50 (Beta 108558)
EaBa-07	Plat Bay Cove 1	-
DfBa-01	Pope's Point	-
DdBq-01	Port au Port	-
DfAw-10	Rushy Pond 1	-
DeAj-01	Sailors site	-
CkAl-04	Sampson's Head Cove	-
DfAw-07	South Exploits	-
EeBi-36	Spence	1420+/-70 (Beta 49754); 1360+/-80 (Beta 49753)
DdAp-02	Triton Brook 1	-
DeAj-03	Upper Flat Island	-
EhBe-02	Yankee Point 1	-

*[1] - Uncertain cultural affiliation, could date Dorset component.
*[2] - May date late Recent Indian component.
*[3] - *[4] These dates are from the Beothuk component of the site.
*[5] - Date based on charcoal associated with a late Recent Indian projectile point - date was rejected by the researcher (Austin 1984:119). This date may pertain to the early Recent Indian occupation of this site and is therefore placed in this table.

2.2.4 Early Newfoundland Recent Indians: Beaches complex

This complex, named after its type-site 'The Beaches' (DeAk-01) in Bonavista Bay, is better understood than the Cow Head complex primarily because there are 31 known sites containing early Newfoundland Recent Indian material culture. The locations of these sites vary from the outer exposed coast, to the islands, and inner bays of Newfoundland. Further, the Indian Point site (DeBd-01), found and excavated by Helen Devereux in 1969-70, is located in the deep interior of the Island on Red Indian Lake (Devereux 1970).

The specific subsistence-settlement pattern employed by the people of the early Newfoundland Recent Indian complex is unknown, but the ability to be flexible when adapting to the environment and prey species is a key to being a successful hunter-gatherer. To achieve that level of flexibility hunter-gatherers may have relied on various means such as resource diversification, storage, mobility, sharing, information networking and technological diversification (Binford 1980; 1982; Chatters 1987; Halstead and O'Shea 1989; Holly 1999; Kelly 1983; Renouf 1999; Rowley-Conwy and Zvelebil 1989). Recent Indians throughout the province would have followed the local resources very closely, adapting as necessary using any combination of the above strategies in a subsistence-settlement system that can be best described as generalized.

Some researchers have attempted to clarify the subsistence-settlement situation for the Recent Indian time period (e.g. Holly 1997; Schwarz 1994).

Schwarz proposes, based on patterns of site location, that the Recent Indian subsistence-settlement system focused on particular resources in the fall and spring; caribou and seals respectively. In the summer and winter, when no one specific resource was abundant, their subsistence-settlement system was more generalized. It is proposed that during this time that the Recent Indians would probably have relied most heavily upon stored resources such as dried caribou or seal. In the spring, groups would probably have focused on the harp seal migrations on the outer coast. Recent Indians would have spent their summers on inner-coastal sites seeking out various food sources, and they would have spent the fall hunting caribou from interior sites during their migration. In the winter, they probably would have settled in inner-coastal areas, allowing them easy access to both marine and interior winter resources. This is the optimal place to settle in the winter because it allows access to the greatest diversity of resources in the most difficult season. As well, it provides easy access to any resources stored in the interior or on the coast during times of plenty (Schwarz 1994:64-68). Schwarz bases this model on sites excavated in northeastern Newfoundland, therefore, it may not be directly applicable to sites in other areas of the province. Research conducted by Holly in the same general geographic area, supports the site location patterns revealed by Schwarz's (1997:29) work.

The Deer Lake Beach site (DhBi-06) reveals our only evidence of early Newfoundland Recent Indian dwellings and it may shed light on early

Newfoundland Recent Indian religious/ceremonial practices (Reader 1998a). The site contains a single early Newfoundland Recent Indian component with two house features, one of which has been partially destroyed by erosion.

The incomplete house was three metres away from, but parallel to the complete house. Within the house there was a single incomplete linear hearth that measured one metre by three metres, while the remaining portion of the house itself measured four metres by four metres (Reader 1998a:53).

The undisturbed structure measured five metres by ten metres (Reader 1998a:50). Based on the location of post-molds and a possible entranceway, Reader has identified the structure as oval or sub-rectangular in shape (1998a:50). Unlike later Beothuk dwellings, this dwelling was not constructed in a pit (Pastore 1992:21). The internal linear hearth measured approximately one metre by seven metres and contained a concentration of fire-cracked rock (Reader 1998a:50). On top of and mingled with the rocks was a charcoal concentration and a lens of finely fragmented calcined bone mash (Reader 1998a:50). This was an unusually large early Newfoundland Recent Indian hearth. Such hearths are usually composed of an irregular arrangement of fire-cracked cobblestones, little more than a metre or two in size, with a charcoal concentration on top of the stones.

In Labrador and Quebec Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi) sites, structures similar to the one described by Reader for the Deer Lake Beach site, were used

as multi-family dwellings and as *shaputuans* in which the ritual *mokoshan* or 'eat-all' feasts were held (Fitzhugh 1978a:159; Henriksen 1973:35-39; Loring 1992:235; Pastore 1986:221; Samson 1975, 1976). Along with Deer Lake Beach, this structure type is present at various other precontact sites on the Island of Newfoundland, Labrador and Quebec where it is similarly interpreted as either a ceremonial or multi-family dwelling structure. In either case the interior hearth could be a single linear hearth or there can be multiple hearths. But, we should not be too quick to suggest a direct correlation between the meanings of these structures for the precontact Indians of these areas and the post-contact Montagnais-Naskapi. The *mokoshan* feast may have been a recent religious/ceremonial practice developed only after the post-contact period Indians (particularly the Naskapi) became heavily reliant on caribou.

Unfortunately, like the Cow Head complex, our knowledge of the early Newfoundland Recent Indian complex material culture is limited to lithics. A typical early Newfoundland Recent Indian complex stone tool assemblage contains side-notched, and to a lesser extent, corner-notched points; linear flakes; triangular projectile point preforms or knives; lanceolate bifaces and 'thumbnail' scrapers. These tools are often made from coarse grain black and brown cherts and local rhyolites (Loring 1992:456; Pastore 2000:44; Tuck 1982:211; 1988:163).

Table: 2.3: Late Newfoundland Recent Indian Sites

BORDEN	SITE NAME	RADIOCARBON DATE (B.P.)
DdAk-05	Bank Site	-
DeAk-01	Beaches	760+/-110 (Beta 39285); 585+/-80 (Beta 34272); 460+/-80 (Beta 39286); 390+/-70 (Beta 39900)
CjBk-01	Big Barasway 1	-
CjBk-04	Big Barasway 4	-
DeAl-01	Bloody Bay Cove 1	1020+/-55 (S-999)*[1]
CkBm-01	Boat Hole Brook	450+/-100 BP (unknown lab number)
DfAw-03	Boom Island	-
EiBb-01	Bragg Site	-
DjAv-04	Brighton Tickle Island	-
DiAp-03	Boyd's Cove	-
DhAi-07	Cape Cove 3	1920+/-130 (S-1863)*[2]
DhAi-02	Cape Freels 2	1145+/-80 (I-8247)
DdAj-02	Chandler Reach Long Islands	-
DgBo-01	Childes Site	-
CjAj-02	Dildo Island	-
DdBq-04	East Bay Chert Outcrop	-
CjBk-08	Father Hughes Point	-
DeAk-03	Fox Bar	445+/-80 (I-7510)
ClAl-01	Frenchman's Island	1130+/-80 (I-11077)
CjBj-10	Grandy Island 1	-
DiAq-01	Inspector Island	610+/-60 (Beta 6730); 690+/-40 (Beta 3938)
DeBd-01	Indian Point Site	355+/-100 (I-6562)
CkAx-01	Isle Galet	-
DdBq-02	Isthmus Site	-
DeBd-03	June's Cove 1	-
CjAx-01	L'Anse a Flamme	1130+/-80 (I-11077)
DeAn-01	Marshlands Site	-
DdAk-01	Matchim	-
CjBj-01	Melbourne Site	-
DjAw-15	Oil Island	-
DgBm-01	Parke's Beach	-
DdBq-01	Port au Port	790+/-70 (Beta 7779)
DjAv-05	Robert's Cove 1	-
CiAj-01	Russell's Point	Dates Unavailable
CkAl-04	Sampson's Head Cove	830+/-130 (Beta 35837)
DiAs-02	South West Harbour	-
ChAs-01	Spanish Room 1	-
EeBi-36	Spence	840+/-90 (Beta 66440); 1020+/-60 (Beta 66441)
DlBk-05	St. Paul's Bay 1	-
CkAl-03	Stock Cove	-
DiAs-10	Swan Island	-
DaBj-01	Temagan Gospen	530+/-50 (Beta 38380)
DdAp-02	Triton Brook 1	-
CjBj-07	Upper Burgeo	-
DdBr-01	West Bay Chert Outcrop	-

*[1] - May date early Recent Indian component.
*[2] - Date based on charcoal associated with a late Recent Indian projectile point - date was rejected by the researcher (Austin 1984:119). This date may pertain to the early Recent Indian occupation of this site.

2.2.5 Late Newfoundland Recent Indian: Little Passage complex

In 1979 and 1980, Penney (1981:95) excavated L'Anse a Flamme (CjAx-01) on the south coast of Newfoundland, near the community of Gaultois. Based on the recovery of a unique lithic assemblage from the site, Penney defined the Little Passage complex, which he named after a nearby body of water. We have since recognized 44 late Newfoundland Recent Indian sites in the same general areas as the sites containing early Newfoundland Recent Indian complex components, namely, inland, outer exposed coasts, islands, and inner bays.

Cridland (1998) examined the faunal collections from the late Newfoundland Recent Indian components at both the Beaches (DeAk-01) and Inspector Island (DiAq-01) sites. Her work revealed that the faunal collections themselves were very similar in composition and that there was a preference for marine species, particularly harp and harbour seals. The analysis demonstrated that both sites were occupied during the same time of the year; late February to late June (Cridland 1998:251, 259, 263). Cridland (1998:264) proposed a generalized late Newfoundland Recent Indian subsistence-settlement system that is similar to the one proposed by Schwarz (1994) for the Newfoundland Recent Indians collectively. She suggested coastal sites were occupied by the late Newfoundland Recent Indians during the late winter and early summer. She also posited that this was not necessarily a continuous occupation (late winter through to early summer) and that the interior was occupied by the late

Newfoundland Recent Indians during the late fall and early winter (Cridland 1998:264).

Rowley-Conwy (1990:24) has suggested that, depending on the state of resources, particularly the caribou, late Newfoundland Recent Indians would have altered their movements to match those of the major resources over time. It has been documented that, over time, caribou populations exhibit a cyclical pattern of boom and bust, though the reasons are not fully understood (Couturier, et al.1990:9; Rowley-Conwy 1990:24). If these same cycles occurred in caribou populations in the precontact period, hunter-gatherers would have dealt with them by changing their subsistence patterns accordingly. Rowley-Conwy suggested that the late Newfoundland Recent Indians spent most of their time inland when caribou were plentiful. When the caribou were reduced in numbers they would have focused more on marine resources and spent more time on or near the coast. This would have allowed them to monitor both marine and terrestrial resources and therefore increase their chances of finding food (Rowley-Conwy 1990:24-27).

We have yet to find direct evidence for dwellings at any late Newfoundland Recent Indian site (Pastore 1992:20). We can speculate that all Recent Indians lived, for at least part of the year, in the stereotypical conical wigwam or a modified elongated wigwam. We base this conclusion on an often-perceived decline in the quantity of cultural debris beyond a metre or two from a

hearth that may delineate the boundaries of a dwelling (Carignan 1977:208; Pastore 1992:20-21; Loring 1992:244, 250, 265, and 315).

There is indirect evidence of a late Newfoundland Recent Indian structure at the Bank site (DdAk-05) in Terra Nova National Park. A two metre by five metre linear hearth found at the site by Schwarz suggests that late Newfoundland Recent Indians held a *mokoshan*-like feast (Schwarz 1992:64-72). Similar hearths have been found at other Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian sites. The description for those features included a supposed oval/sub-rectangular structure covering the hearth (Deer Lake Beach, DhBi-06, Reader 1998a:50; Boyd's Cove, DiAp-03, Pastore 1986:221-222; Winter Cove-4, GcBi-04, Fitzhugh 1978a:159; Daniel Rattle-1, GlCg-01, Loring 1985:129-130; 1992:250-259).

Late Newfoundland Recent Indian tool kits contain corner-notched projectile points that decrease in size and become small stemmed flake points. Along with the decrease in size comes a decrease in manufacturing complexity over time (Schwarz 1984:61-62, 66); triangular bifaces that are about the same size as the projectile points; small scrapers; retouched and blade-like or linear flakes, and large flake side scrapers (Penney 1985:184-185) that Tuck has suggested link them to the early Recent Indians (Tuck 1988:161). The people of the late Newfoundland Recent Indian complex preferred to make their stone tools from fine-grained green, grey-green and blue-green cherts. This

preference compares interestingly with the preferences of the Recent Indian people of Labrador for a specific lithic material found in northern Labrador called Ramah chert (Pastore 1984:323; 2000:44; Penney 1985:184-185; Schwarz 1984:51). Loring has suggested that the Labrador Recent Indians were so reliant on Ramah chert that it must have had some spiritual significance to them, including marking their identity as a people (Loring 1992; in press). Holly has suggested that the green, grey-green and blue-green cherts used by the late Newfoundland Recent Indians may have played a similar role in their culture (Holly 2002:100).

For several years, it was believed that the stone tools of the early Newfoundland Recent Indians represented the direct ancestors of the Beothuk Indians (Carignan 1975; 1977; Pastore 1984:323; Tuck 1976:62-75; 1982:211; 1988:160). However, during Penney's excavations of Recent Indian sites on the south coast of the Island, he found late Newfoundland Recent Indian material superimposed over early Newfoundland Recent Indian material, suggesting that the late Newfoundland Recent Indian material was younger and therefore the immediate precontact ancestor for the Beothuk (Tuck 1988:161; Penney 1981; 1985).

Boyd's Cove (DiAp-03) and Inspector Island (DiAq-01), in Notre Dame Bay, are important Newfoundland Recent Indian sites. The Boyd's Cove site demonstrates the link between the precontact Newfoundland Recent Indians and

the historically known Beothuk Indians and the Inspector Island site has radiocarbon results placing it between the early Newfoundland Recent Indian complex and the Beothuk.

Boyd's Cove, an important Beothuk site with 11 house pits, also contains a late Newfoundland Recent Indian component stratigraphically above an early Newfoundland Recent Indian component dated to 960+/-50 B.P. (Pastore 1985:323). This was the first date that established the antiquity of the early Newfoundland Recent Indians and is definitive proof that they are too old to be the direct Beothuk progenitor. As well, fourteen late Newfoundland Recent Indian projectile points and four triangular bifaces have been found with or above post-contact period artifacts at Boyd's Cove. Those post-contact period artifacts included various iron objects reworked into Beothuk spear points, Beothuk bone pendants, glass trade beads, European ceramics and nails. Pastore's discoveries at Boyd's Cove confirm that the late Newfoundland Recent Indians continued into the post-contact period as the Beothuk (Pastore 1985:323).

At Inspector Island, a late Newfoundland Recent Indian site in Notre Dame Bay, two radiocarbon dates of 610+/-60 and 690+/-40 B.P. place the late Newfoundland Recent Indians between the early Newfoundland Recent Indians and the post-contact Beothuk (Pastore 1985:323; Tuck 1988:162).

In addition, the work completed by Schwarz on late Newfoundland Recent Indian/Beothuk projectile points clearly shows a progression of projectile point

styles from the late Newfoundland Recent Indians to Beothuk (Pastore 1985:323; 1989:59; Schwarz 1984; Tuck 1988:163).

Table 2.4: Early Labrador Recent Indian Sites

BORDEN	SITE NAME	RADIOCARBON DATE (B.P.)
GfBw-05	Billy Jacques	985+/-60 (SI-3357)
GdBh-02	Cod Bag Head 1	1020+/-60 (Beta 22408)
GlCg-01	Daniel Rattle 1	1890+/-50 (SI-6712); 1500+/-120 (SI-6714)
FkBe-21	Fish Cove 1	1580+/-90 (Beta 56251)
FjCa-20	Henry Blake 1	895+/-105 (GX-1578)
HdCi-04	Hillsbury Island East 4	-
HbCj-01	Kamarsuk	1670+/-80 (SI-6716); 1075+/-60 (SI-5544)
GfBw-06	Merle Gear	1080+/-90 (SI-3350); 865+/-65 (SI-3356)
HaCh-03	Merryfield Inlet 2	-
GlCh-01	Sango Mountain Stream	-
HcCk-07	Satosoak 1	1375+/-70 (SI-5827); 1005+/-65 (SI-5826)
HbCm-20	Uemistikushisset 2	-
GfBm-01	Webeck Harbour 1	-
GhBw-01	Windsor Harbour 1	1560+/-90 (SI-6711); 1120+/-40 (SI-6710)
GkCc-01	Windy Tickle 1	1580+/-70 (SI-1795)
GlCg-05	Wolf Island 4	-

2.3 Labrador Recent Indians

As on the Island, the Recent Indian Tradition in Labrador can be divided into an early and late period based on projectile point styles. The early Labrador Recent Indian projectile points are characteristically large and side-notched, whereas the projectiles of their descendants, the late Labrador Recent Indians, are predominantly smaller and corner-notched (Loring 1989:62-63; 1992:224-225, 329-330). The early Labrador Recent Indians are the people of the Daniel Rattle complex (*ca.* 2000 B.P. - 1000 B.P.) and the late Labrador Recent Indians are the people of the Point Revenge complex (*ca.* 1000 B.P. - 350 B.P.) (Loring

1989:62-63; 1992:8-9). Archaeologists believe that these precontact complexes, along with their descendants the Innu, living in Labrador and Quebec today, form a two-thousand year old cultural continuum and that the Innu are therefore, the last manifestation of the precontact Recent Indian Tradition in Labrador (Loring 1992:8-9).

The late Labrador Recent Indian complex was defined by Fitzhugh (1972:123,127 and 155; 1978) in the Hamilton Inlet area. It was the first complex defined within the Labrador portion of the Recent Indian Tradition. Loring later added the early Labrador Recent Indian complex (Loring 1989:62-63; 1992). In Loring's view, "The application of a distinct complex designation serves primarily as a chronological device since there is no break in the cultural continuity, and the archaeological evidence suggests that the basic mixed economy, utilizing both maritime and terrestrial resources, continues" (Loring 1992:343). Therefore, both complexes are dealt with together in the following section.

2.3.1 Early/Late Labrador Recent Indians: Daniel Rattle and Point Revenge complexes

The 16 known early Labrador Recent Indian sites (Table 2.4) have been found in areas of diverse environmental and geographical conditions, ranging from the bottoms of sheltered bays and dense boreal forest localities to exposed headlands and outer islands (Loring 1992:334-342).

The 34 known late Recent Indian sites (Table 2.5) are found in similar

Table 2.5: Late Labrador Recent Indian Sites

BORDEN	SITE NAME	RADIOCARBON DATE (B.P.)
GcBk-11	Aly's Head 1	325+/-80 (SI-1276)
GiCb-01	Avertok (Hopedale)	-
GbBn-06	Beach Pass Surface Collection	-
GbBm-01	Big Island 01	720+/-130 (GSC-1196)
HcCk-24	Boulder Point 2	-
FbAw-05	Crew Site	-
GlCg-02	Daniel Rattle 2	425+/-65 (SI-5829)
HeCj-06	Double Island Point 4	-
HcCv-02	Goodyear 3	-
IaCp-04	Harp Isthmus 4	-
GeBm-01	Jeanette Bay	-
HbCi-02	Kikkertavik South	-
HdCg-22	Koliktalik 05	735+/-60 (SI-2985)
GlCs-03	Kupitan Uministuk	650+/-50 (Beta 152210)
IcCp-04	Maidmonts Island 4	780+/-110 (Beta 11001)
GlCt-04	Matnueuiskueu	1230+/-50 (Beta152209);1150+/-50 (Beta 152208)
HbCu-04	Moon Base Lake 4	-
GjCc-12	Napatalik North 6	-
IbCp-20	Nulliak Cove 1	-
HdCg-06	Oakes Bay 2	-
EjBf-10	Old Anglican Church	-
FaAw-08	Pleasure Harbour Bight 1	-
GfBw-01	Postville 1	-
GfBw-02	Postville 2	-
GfBw-03	Postville 3	-
FjCa-41	Road Site 3	-
IcCp-37	Saglek Air Base 7	-
GcBi-11	Shell Island 1	-
IdCq-22	Shuldham Island 09	-
IaCp-15	Takkatat Bay 1	-
HdCl-01	Tikkoatokak 1	1450+/-60 (Beta 20125); 1180+/-80 (Beta 20126); 1030+/-130 (Beta 20124)
FjCa-45	Town Hall Site	-
EjBe-65	West St. Modeste 6	-
GcBi-04	Winter Cove 4	465+/-45 (SI-1281); 435+/-90 (SI-1282)

areas; outer exposed headlands, islands and inner sheltered bays (Fitzhugh 1978a:169).

Based on site localities and size, types of raw material used, technology and faunal remains Fitzhugh has devised subsistence-settlement 'types' for archaeological cultures in Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972; 1977). According to his

scheme, the Labrador Recent Indians had a "modified-interior" settlement pattern which

> ". . . includes both interior and coastal regions, usually linked by a major river drainage or ocean inlet. Generalized use of interior resources during fall, winter, and spring. Summer occupation of coast and lower river valleys or bays, but without extensive use of marine mammals." (Fitzhugh 1977:2)

This is a generalized economy of hunting marine (particularly seal, see below) and terrestrial animals and fishing, similar the pattern followed by the Recent Indians of Newfoundland, discussed earlier. The type of faunal remains recovered from Labrador Recent Indian sites as well as the locality of the sites reflects this generalized economy and its similarity to the system used by Newfoundland Recent Indians (Loring 1992:334-342). For example, faunal remains recovered from Area IV at Daniel Rattle (GlCg-01), located on the inside of Sango Bay, included seal, walrus, bear, caribou and duck. The remains from Aly's Head (GcBk-11), located in Groswater Bay behind Black Island, and Tikkoatokak (HdCl-01), located at the mouth of Tikkoatokak Bay behind a series of small islands, both included seal and caribou. Finally, the faunal remains at Kamarsuk (HbCj-01) Area II, located inside Voiseys Bay in a sheltered cove, included seal and bear (Loring 1992:253, 276, 354, 384).

Of the 16 early Labrador Recent Indian sites, 13 contain at least one

hearth[5]. While 14 of the 36 late Labrador Recent Indian complex sites contain hearths[6]. All of these hearths typically fall into one of two categories;

1. Either a small hearth of less than one metre in diameter, composed either of a cluster of cobbles (Billy Jacques, GfBw-05; Loring 1992:313) or a ring of cobbles (Maidmonts Island-4, IcCp-04; Loring 1992:399).
2. A large, elongated hearth, variously described as either oval or sub rectangular. It is usually composed of a cluster of cobbles or a ring of cobbles and is occasionally raised above the surrounding earth (Daniel Rattle-1, GlCg-01, Winter Cove-4, GcBi-04, Kamarsuk, HbCj-01; Fitzhugh 1978a; Loring 1992:240-281, 347-352).

At least two sites have been found (Winter Cove-4, GcBi-04 and Daniel Rattle-1, GlCg-01) that have evidence for large oval tent structures which may have been used by more than one family and may have been used for ceremonial purposes.

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[5] Daniel Rattle (GlCg-01); Kamarsuk (HbCj-01); Hillsbury Island (HdCl-04); Satosoak (HcCk-07); Sango Mountain Stream (GlCh-01); Wolf Island 4 (GlCg-05); Windy Tickle (GkCc-01); Windsor Harbour (GhBw-01); Webeck Harbour (GfBm-01); Billy Jacques (GfBw-05); Merle Gear (GfBw-06); Cod Bag Head (GdBh-02); Henry Blake (FjCa-20).

[6] Winter Cove 4 (GcBi-04); Big Island 1 (GbBm-01); Road Site 3 (FjCa-41); Alys Head 1 (GcBk-11); Island west of Nunaksaluk (GkCc-03); Shoal Tickle South (No Borden); Daniel Rattle 2 (GlCg-02); Koliktalik 5 (HdCg-22); Tikkoatokak (HdCl-01); Maidmonts Island 4 (IcCp-4); Pleasure Harbour Bight 1 (FaAw-08); Moon Base Lake 4 (HbCu-04); Goodyear (HcCu-02); Double Island Point (HeCj-06)

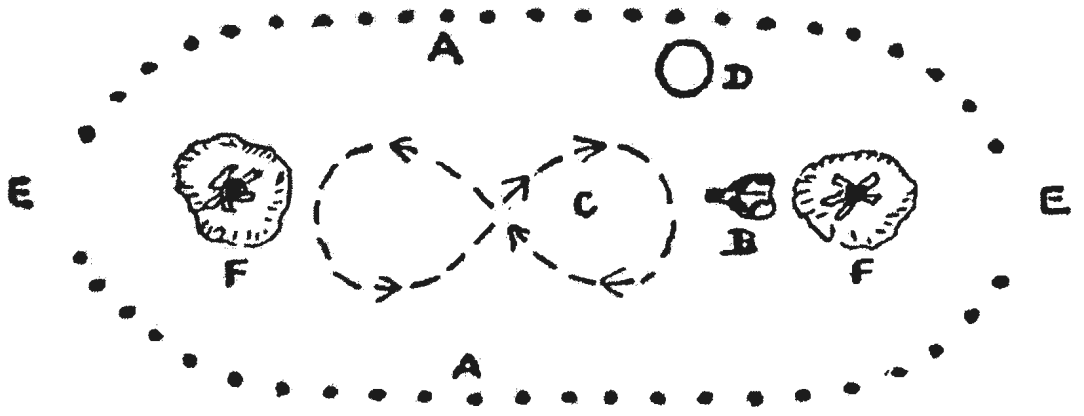


Figure 2.2 Elongated/Oval Dwelling with Multiple Hearths as Recorded by Speck in 1931

Diagram of feasting lodge *(cabatowa'n)* from native drawing by man of Michikamau band. (**A**) spectators seats; (**B**) bear skull, when feast celebrates eating of bear meat; (**C**) direction taken by dancers; (**D**) tambourine drum hung from roof poles; (**E**) entrances at ends of lodge; (**F**) fires on flat stones (Speck 1935:104).

At the late Labrador Recent Indian type site of Winter Cove-4 (GcBi-04), Fitzhugh (1978) excavated a four by eight metre oval tent ring outlined by large rocks with a central hearth. Outside the structure a further nine hearths were found and excavated (Fitzhugh 1978a). At the early Labrador Recent Indian type site of Daniel Rattle-1 (GlCg-01), Loring excavated what he believes to be a four by eight metre tent ring with a four and a half by one metre internal linear hearth flanked by four smaller hearths. Unlike the hold down rocks outlining the dwelling at Winter Cove-4, the dwelling outline at Daniel Rattle-1 was identified based on a lithic drop-off zone (Loring 1992:347-352).

As in Newfoundland Recent Indian sites, these oval structures with one

elongated hearth or multiple hearths are interpreted as possible *shaputuans* used to house *mokoshan*-like feasts or multi-family dwellings (Fitzhugh 1978a; Loring 1985:129-130; 1992:250-259; Samson 1976). We base these interpretations on similarities to Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi) structures and ceremonies (Figure 2.2) (Henriksen 1973; Samson 1975, 1976; Speck 1935). Of course, the structures could also have been, and often were, used as multi-family dwellings. Le Jeune, a Jesuit missionary, visited an oval shaped seventeenth-century Montagnais summer home with three fireplaces arranged down the middle of the dwelling (Rogers and Leacock 1981:175).

Other Labrador Recent Indian sites contain the remains of small tent rings, usually between three and five metres in diameter, suggesting the use of a tipi-like dwelling, similar to those suspected to have been used by the Newfoundland Recent Indians. These sites may contain direct evidence of these structures such as hold down rocks or external earthen mounds (Kamarsuk, HbCj-01; Loring 1992:265-268). More often, as has been suggested for Newfoundland Recent Indian sites, the decline in the quantity of cultural debris beyond a metre or two from a hearth suggests the boundaries of a dwelling (Daniel Rattle-1, GlCg-01, Kamarsuk, HbCj-01, Billy Jacques, GfBw-05; Carignan 1977:208; Loring 1992:244, 250, 265, and 315). This style of dwelling was also recorded as being used by the Montagnais in the seventeenth-century (Rogers and Leacock 1981:175).

Finally, a clear evolution in chipped stone tool styles is recognized from early to late Labrador Recent Indians. Early Labrador Recent Indian tool assemblages consist of broad side-notched projectile points, in the late Labrador Recent Indian time period these become narrow corner-notched points and eventually flake points; large lanceolate, square-based bifaces evolve into small triangular bifaces; and large, unifacial end and side scrapers are eventually replaced by 'thumbnail' scrapers. Ground slate celts or spalls from the celts are also found in both complexes. A heavy reliance on Ramah chert is a defining characteristic of Labrador Recent Indians (Fitzhugh 1977:14; 1978:164; Loring 1989:62-62; 1992:330, 344-345).

2.4 Late Precontact Indian complexes of the Lower North Shore of Quebec

Any discussion of the origins and nature of the Newfoundland Recent Indian cultures would be incomplete without a consideration of Pintal's recent archaeological research relating to the complexes and cultural events occurring along the Lower North Shore of Quebec, near the community of Blanc-Sablon, dating to the period from 2500 B.P. to the contact (Pintal 1989; 1990;1992; 1998; 2001). Pintal (1998:169-248) divides the 2500 B.P. to contact time period along the Lower North Shore of Quebec into a series of five complexes; the *Flèche littorale* complex (*ca.* 2500-1500 B.P.); the *Petit Havre* complex (*ca.* 1500-1300 B.P.); the *Longue Pointe* complex (*ca.* 1300-1100 B.P.); the *Anse Lazy* complex

(*ca.* 1200-1100 B.P.) and the *Anse Morel* complex (*ca.* 1000 B.P. to present). Any deficiencies or misinterpretations of this material are the result of this authors translation of Pintal's work into English.

Pintal (1998:169-248) divides the 2500 B.P. to contact time period along the Lower North Shore of Quebec into a series of five complexes; the *Flèche littorale* complex (*ca.* 2500-1500 B.P.); the *Petit Havre* complex (*ca.* 1500-1300 B.P.); the *Longue Pointe* complex (*ca.* 1300-1100 B.P.); the *Anse Lazy* complex (*ca.* 1200-1100 B.P.) and the *Anse Morel* complex (*ca.* 1000 B.P. to present).

In the early part of the period, 2500 B.P.-1500 B.P., the sites are concentrated a short distance from the shoreline, on rivers and lakes, suggesting a more interior-oriented people with a reduced reliance on marine resources. Pintal suggests that these people are related to the people of the Intermediate Indian North West River phase of Hamilton Inlet, Labrador. He also notes interaction with groups from central Quebec and further west, based on lithics found on his Blanc-Sablon sites, such as Mistassini quartzite from central Quebec. From about 1500 B.P., the number of sites on the coast increases, suggesting the people developed an increased reliance on maritime resources. It is after this time that Pintal notes increased interaction between the people of his complexes, particularly the *Anse Lazy* and the *Anse Morel* complexes, and those of Newfoundland and Labrador. This is based on the increasing amounts of lithic material originating from Newfoundland and Labrador which he found on

the Blanc-Sablon sites as well as similar stone tool styles (Pintal 1998:204-208).

According to Pintal (1998:169) 2500 to 1100 BP (the time frame of the first four complexes) is a period of territorial realignment. What he means by this is, with the decline of the Archaic period groups, the post-Archaic Indian groups are adjusting to how they relate to one another and their cultural environment particularly in light of the influx of the Palaeoeskimo groups in the Strait of Belle Isle. Pintal suggests that it appears as though previously important contacts and trading relationships decline in significance and are replaced by new contacts and trading relationships. The archaeological evidence for this period suggests an increase in cultural interaction and a progression towards a more sedentary way of life (Pintal 2001:20). The increase in interaction is demonstrated by the various raw lithic materials used and the changes in the stone tools produced during each of the chronologic stages from 2500 to 1100 B.P. (Pintal 1998:170).

The first of Pintal's complexes during the period of territorial realignment is the *Flèche littorale* (*ca.* 2500-1500 B.P.). Sites of this period (EiBg-82, 83, 84, 87, 88, and 92) are usually found along the western shore of the Blanc-Sablon River at approximately six metres above sea level. They often contain an elongated central hearth, averaging one and a half metres long by one metre wide and ten centimetres thick, surrounded by flakes and stone tools. The hearths usually contain numerous fire-cracked rocks and calcined bones. Most of the associated faunal material has been identified as seal. The distribution of

flakes and stone tools around the hearths at EiBg-82, 83, and 88 suggest the presence of dwellings that average five to six metres in diameter (Pintal 1998:172-174).

Many of the sites within this complex are lithic workshops where the predominant materials being worked are quartzite, quartz and sandstone. The quartzite used comes from various areas, along the North Shore of Quebec and Labrador, but some sources are unidentified. Ramah chert and cherts from Newfoundland, all of which were important during the period 3500-2500 B.P., appear to decrease in importance until after 1500 B.P. An exception is a sandy chert that has pink or grey inclusions that Pintal believes derives from the Port au Choix area (Pintal 1998:174). Pintal (2001:21) attributes this decrease in importance to the presence of Palaeoeskimo groups in the Strait of Belle Isle area.

Most of the stone tools of this period were recovered during survey or limited excavations (Pintal 1998:172), and include contracting stemmed, leaf-shaped, and bi-convex bifaces, some of which may possess poorly defined shoulders. There are also large scrapers and limited evidence for polished stone tools (Pintal 1998:177).

The second complex in Pintal's period of territorial realignment is the *Petit Havre* complex (*ca.* 1500-1300 B.P.). Characterized by sites EiBg-85 and 86, this complex shows an increase in interaction with groups in Newfoundland and

Labrador as well as western groups. This is based on the use of cherts from Newfoundland and Labrador and the discovery of two undecorated ceramic sherds at EiBg-85 and a complete Mistassini quartzite notched projectile point. Similar to the previous complex, sites within this complex often have large elongated hearths (as long as two metres and as thick as 20 centimeters) with oval dwellings around them. These hearths often contain fire-cracked rock and a large quantity of calcined faunal material, most of which has been identified as seal. Other species, such as beaver, caribou, ducks, various shore birds, and possibly fish, have also been identified suggesting that the people made use of the various resources around them (Pintal 2001:21-22). Pintal (2001:22) proposes that during this period the people were intensively using smaller territories, spending most of their time at the coast or not far inland on lakes and rivers.

The stone tools of this complex, like the earlier *Flèche littorale* complex, are made from mainly local lithic materials, particularly Blanc-Sablon quartzite, with lesser amounts of Newfoundland cherts and Ramah chert (Pintal 1998:174-179). The latter appear to increase in occurrence over time. The stone tool assemblage contains scrapers, and asymmetric bifaces that are leaf shaped or triangular and bi-convex in cross-section. These are occasionally stemmed with weak shoulders. Two pieces of undecorated ceramic were also recovered at the EiBg-85 site (Pintal 1998:182, 186). These first two complexes appear to be

related to the Cow Head complex (Hartery 2001).

The third complex in Pintal's period of territorial realignment is the *Longue Pointe* complex (*ca.* 1300-1100 B.P.) which is characterized by site EiBh-109. Pintal believes the material culture of this complex demonstrates a period of transition during which the people make a switch from the local lithic material to an almost exclusive use of material from Newfoundland and Labrador. Despite this change, he believes the people of this complex are related to both the preceding complexes and those yet to come (Pintal 1998:190). Pintal (2001:22) indicates that this change in lithic material focus is the result of the withdrawal of the Dorset Palaeoeskimo from Newfoundland.

Pintal excavated two hearths at this site. The first was a sand mound that was one metre in diameter and five centimetres thick. It contained charcoal, a small quantity of calcined faunal material and possible boiling stones. The second hearth was also a sand mound but was somewhat larger than the first, measuring 1.2 metres long, one metre wide and ten centimetres thick. This hearth contained a lot of calcined faunal material including birds, salmon or sea trout, porcupine, seal, as well as a quantity of soft shelled clams (*Mya arenaria*) (Pintal 1998:190-192).

The stone tools of this complex include a leaf shaped, biconvex side-notched biface with acute angled shoulders. As well, there are various forms of asymmetrical triangular, biconvex knives. Some of the knives are essentially

unifacial with bifacial retouch along just the edge, a characteristic similar to the knives of the Labrador Recent Indians and the Daniel Rattle complex in particular (Loring 1989:63). The bases of these knives vary from short stems to a slightly expanding base that appears to have shallow side-notches. The tool kit also includes various scrapers and at least a single polished schist axe (Pintal1998:194-195). The lithic material used by the people of this complex and their stone tool kit suggests they are interacting with the people of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians Tradition.

The last complex in Pintals' period of territorial realignment is the *Anse Lazy* complex (*ca.* 1200-1100 B.P.) which is characterized by the site EiBg-01D. From this point on, there is a clear relationship between the Indian groups of the Lower North Shore of Quebec with the groups of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition, this is particularly evident within the stone tool assemblages. This complex and the succeeding *Anse Morel* complex differ from the earlier Lower North Shore of Quebec groups in their choice of lithic raw materials, the shape of their stone tools and the form of their hearths. However, they maintain the same settlement-subsistence system (Pintal 1998:192).

The EiBg-01D site contained a three metre long by one and a half metre wide hearth that was composed of more than 100 assembled stones. The pattern of stone tools and flake debris around this hearth, of which more than 80% was Ramah chert, and possible hold down rocks, suggest the presence of a

five metre by six metre dwelling. There were no faunal remains found in the hearth other than the soft shell clams (*Mya arenaria*) (Pintal 1998:197-200).

According to Pintal, sites of this complex are numerous in the Blanc-Sablon area and the occupants relied heavily on Ramah chert for making their stone tools. He ties this heavy reliance on Ramah chert to the withdrawal of the Dorset Palaeoeskimo from the Strait of Belle Isle area (Pintal 2001:22). The artifacts associated with this site and this complex include bifacial side-notched points with wide, shallow notches, the base of which is narrower than the shoulders. There are also various leaf shaped bifacial knives, flake scrapers, and various other unifacial expedient tools such as utilized flakes (Pintal 1998: 201-202).

The last of Pintal's (1998:211-248) complexes, *Anse Morel*, are from a period of time he refers to as the second cultural crystallization, 1100B.P. - 400 B.P. By this he means the tendencies noted in the previous period towards increasing relations with Newfoundland groups crystalize during this period. This is demonstrated by the manufacturing of side- and corner-notched points and other Recent Indian artifacts and the increased use of Newfoundland cherts. Numerous sites derive from this period. Those from the western bank of the mouth of the Blanc-Sablon River were less than six metres above sea level and most were less than 200 metres from the shoreline. Evidence at the sites indicate recurring occupations, prolonged stays, an almost complete reliance on

cherts from Newfoundland and an intensive exploitation of seals (Pintal 1992:64); similar to that noted by Cridland (1998) for the late Newfoundland Recent Indians and as was noted in section 2.3.3 for the Labrador Recent Indians. Several sites characterize this complex, including EiBh-69, EiBg-1A and B, EiBg-9, EiBg-46, and EiBg-123.

The sites usually contain at least one or more hearths that are somewhere in the vicinity of one metre in diameter and composed of a sand mound. Some of the hearths also contain small stones which Pintal suggests may be evidence of stone boiling for cooking food. The hearths often contain calcined faunal material including seal, dolphins or porpoises, geese or ducks, grouse, shore birds such as terns, plovers and sea gulls, as well as cod and red fox. As with the previous complexes, and some sites with the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian complexes, the distribution of tools and flakes around a central hearth has been interpreted at some sites as a possible dwelling feature (Pintal 1989; 1998:211-248).

Newfoundland derived cherts dominate the lithic assemblages with lesser amounts of Ramah chert and local materials. The stone tools manufactured from these materials included triangular to pentagonal shaped knives with straight or convex bases, side- and corner-notched projectile points, scrapers and unifacial flake scrapers, cores, utilized flakes, and flakes of polished stone tools (Pintal 1998:211-248). Pintal (1989:44) suggests that prior to 1000 B.P.,

sites around the Blanc-Sablon area, *Anse Lazy* complex, correspond to the Point Revenge complex and the sites after 1000 B.P., *Anse Morel* complex, are influenced by the Little Passage complex.

2.5 Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians: The Timing

If the Cow Head complex can be removed from contention as possible Newfoundland Recent Indian ancestors, as was discussed in section 2.2.2, then from whom did the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians arise? To answer this question we first need to know when these complexes began. In Labrador, radiocarbon dating has placed the start of the Recent Indian Tradition at approximately 1900 B.P. (Loring 1992:250,253, 272). The timing for the initial occupation of the Island by the early Newfoundland Recent Indians is somewhat less clear. For example, Loring (1992:451) placed it at around 1200 B.P., Renouf (1999:408) suggested their occupation began somewhere around 1500 B.P. and Pastore (2000:44) has written that the emergence may have been as early as 1600 B.P. Based on sites in the Bonavista Bay area, it is possible that the dates for the early Newfoundland Recent Indian group can be pushed back far enough so that they are almost contemporaneous with those of Labrador.

In the early 1980s, Austin excavated Cape Cove 1, 2 and 3 (DhAi-05-07) (Austin 1981; 1984). At Cape Cove 2 and 3, early Newfoundland Recent Indian layers were radiocarbon dated to 1815+/-55 B.P. and 1865+/-110 B.P.

respectively. Both dates, he argued, were the result of early Newfoundland Recent Indian occupations and that despite the fact that the dates were 650 years older than he expected, we should tentatively accept both dates as accurate (Austin 1984:125). As such, these dates would make the start of early Newfoundland Recent Indian complex contemporaneous with the start of the early Labrador Recent Indian complex in Labrador.

2.6 Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians: The Origins

From the previous discussion, it appears as though the Recent Indian Tradition began around 1900 B.P. in Labrador and slightly later on the Island, if we accept the Bonavista Bay dates. To reiterate the question proposed at the start of section 2.5; from whom did the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians arise? The answer probably lies within the Maritime Archaic Tradition. Based on differences in material culture this Tradition has been divided into a northern and a southern branch.

The northern branch dates to slightly earlier than 8000 B.P., and represent the earliest known Maritime Archaic Indians. By 6000 B.P. they have moved to central and northern Labrador where most of their sites are found. During their occupation of this area we have divided them into a series of related complexes based on typological differences. The tool kit during the earlier period of the northern branch Maritime Archaic Indians is usually made of quartz

or quartzite and is composed of tiny scrapers, bifacial knives and pièces esquillées. Their projectile points evolve through time from early small triangular points to nipple based varieties through to contracting stemmed forms. Gradually the other tools in the tool kit also change, the small scrapers and pièces esquillées disappear, the bifacial knives continue to be present and eventually tiny flake points appear, which are probably arrowheads. These tools are most often made from various cherts including Ramah which becomes very popular towards the end of the northern branch time period. Ground slate tools, such as spear points, ulus, axes, adzes and gouges, also become popular. By 3500 B.P. the northern branch Maritime Archaic Indians disappear from the archaeological record (Tuck 1988:34-35; 1982:204; Fitzhugh 1978b).

Slightly before 6000 B.P. a new tool kit is recognized in southern Labrador. It is composed of large broadly side-notched or expanding stemmed points, bifacial knives, end scrapers and linear flakes. These flake stone tools are made from various cherts. Occasionally, as at sites such as Forteau Point (EiBf-02), the tool kits also include ground slate tools, such as spear points, axes, adzes, celts and gouges. Southern branch Maritime Archaic components are also found at such sites as Graveyard (EiBf-06), L'Anse Amour, Area 10, (EiBf-04) and the Black Island sites in Hamilton Inlet. By 5500 B.P. the southern branch Maritime Archaic Indians spread to Newfoundland. It is within this southern branch that we see the origin of the Recent Indians.

Madden suggested the notion of the late Maritime Cultural Tradition as an intermediate step between the earlier groups in Tuck's Maritime Archaic Tradition (Tuck 1971:350) and "those later but obviously related cultural groups who inhabited Newfoundland and Labrador from 4000 B.P. onwards" (Madden 1976:117). Today, we refer to these later groups as the southern branch Maritime Archaic Indians (ca 6000 B.P. - 3200 B.P.), Intermediate Indians (ca 3000 B.P. - 2000 B.P. in southern Labrador) and Recent Indians (ca 2000 B.P. - post-contact period). She informally referred to these groups as the "notched point people". Madden's main point was that her "notched point people" had several general attributes in common throughout their time span including their subsistence-settlement cycle and geographic distribution, and she noted evolutionary trends in their lithic technology (see Table 2.6) (Madden 1976:117).

Table 2.6: Similar Characteristics of Madden's "Notched Point People"

southern branch Maritime Archaic Indians	Intermediate Indians	Recent Indians
SETTLEMENT-SUBSISTENCE: Interior Maritime generalized winter adaptation, specialized coastal adaptation during the summer (Fitzhugh 1972:158).	**SETTLEMENT-SUBSISTENCE: Interior Maritime** generalized winter adaptation, specialized coastal adaptation during the summer (**Brinex-Charles**: Limited coastal adaptation in summer. Generalized winter caribou economy on interior.) (Fitzhugh 1972:158)	**SETTLEMENT-SUBSISTENCE: Modified Interior** generalized interior adaptation; limited to generalized coastal a adaptation. Winter caribou hunting on interior; summer lake and coastal hunting and fishing (Fitzhugh 1972:158).
GEOGRAPHICALLY: somewhat evenly spread over sheltered inner coastal and outer coastal areas with a small use of interior resources.	**GEOGRAPHICALLY:** on or near the coast in protected areas such as sheltered bays and inner islands with access to inner runs and bays	**GEOGRAPHICALLY:** sheltered locations on the coasts, islands and inner bays with access to the interior.
TOOL KIT: lanceolate bifaces, broadly side-notched bifaces, linear flakes, side and end scrapers and ground slate axes, adzes bayonets and gouges.	**TOOL KIT:** lanceolate and leaf shaped bifaces, flake points, linear flakes, unifacial scrapers and large side and corner-notched projectile points (Madden 1976:136)	**TOOL KIT:** **early Recent Indian** - side-notched projectile points, triangular projectile point preforms or knives, lanceolate bifaces, linear flakes and large unifacial cutting and scraping tools **late Recent Indian** - triangular knives or projectile point preforms, small unifacial scrapers, utilized and linear flakes and corner or less often side-notched projectile points and small often stemmed flake points

With respect to the lithic similarities, she outlined the relationship within the "notched point people" using typological continuities in major tool classes including bifaces, flake points, linear flakes and scrapers. However, her best evidence of the relationship was a seriation of stylistic changes in projectile points. She noted alterations through time in blade form, shoulder shape, notch angle and stem/total length ratios from the earliest southern branch Maritime

Archaic points to the latest side and corner-notched points used by the Recent Indians (Madden 1976:110-111; 117).

Stating that McGhee and Tuck had already outlined the earliest portion of the series, Madden focused on the last 3000 years of projectile point morphology (Madden 1976:104-105). Madden believed that starting at around 4500-3000 B.P. in southern and central Labrador the points had straight to expanding irregularly shaped stems. Between 3500 and 3000 B.P. she noted the presence of notched-points with the same long, narrow lanceolate blade form as the earlier type except these points have broad asymmetric side-notches with right angled shoulders. Both of these earlier types appeared to her to have been crudely worked, a characteristic she attributes to the coarse-grained cherts and quartzites on which they were made. By 2900 B.P. she notes that the workmanship of the points improves, the reason for which she believes is the use of better quality materials such as Ramah chert. At this stage the points have well defined, almost symmetrical notches with a triangular blade that has convex sides, as opposed to the earlier lanceolate variety blades. At 2400 B.P. she notes corner-notched points with slightly barbed shoulders as opposed to the previous obtuse or right-angled shoulders. There were no dated examples for her to use between 2400-1800 B.P, a problem she attributes to inadequate sampling, so a temporal gap exists in her data. Unfortunately, this temporal gap still exists. From 1800-1100 B.P. the points have straight sided triangular blades

with side and or corner notches resulting in pronounced barbed shoulders (Madden 1976:106-110). This seriation is meant to point out overall trends and was not meant to be taken as the final definitive statement of the relationships between these groups (Madden 1976:106).

I believe that in the last phase inadequate sampling at the time may have led Madden slightly askew in her seriation. Most points in the 1800-1100 B.P. time range, as now known, are broadly side-notched with convex or straight sided triangular blades. In the 1100 B.P. to European contact time period the points gradually become smaller and deeply corner-notched, with convex or straight sided triangular blades. Occasionally however, side-notched points still show up in this period. Nearest the European contact period the points become crude, very small and stemmed (Loring 1992:329-330, 344-345; Tuck 1988:160-162).

Another characteristic shared by all three groups, according to Madden, was the settlement pattern inferred mainly from site location. Geographically, Maritime Archaic sites are somewhat evenly spread over sheltered inner coastal and outer coastal areas with a limited use of interior resources. In essence, they were found on or near the coast, near exposed headlands, on outer and inner islands, in sheltered bays and occasionally in river valleys suggesting access to the interior resources (Fitzhugh 1977:7; Holly 1997:22; Pastore 1986:133; Renouf 1999:406; Schwarz 1994:60; Stopp 1997:122). Fitzhugh has suggested

that the Maritime Archaic used an Interior-Maritime Adaptive system; this is the same system Madden used to describe the "notched point people" (Fitzhugh 1972:159-160; 1977:2; Madden 1976:90,93 - see Table 2.6, this thesis). The sites of the Intermediate Indian "notched point people" in southern Labrador and the related Intermediate Indian Brinex (*ca.* 3200 - 3000 B.P.) and Charles complexes (*ca.* 3000 - 2700 B.P.) of central Labrador (when located on the coast, sites of these complexes are known as the Saunders complex - see Nagle 1978) were found on or near the coast in protected areas such as sheltered bays and inner islands with access to inner runs and bays (Fitzhugh 1972:143-147; Madden 1976:90; Nagle 1978). The Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian subsistence-settlement system (Loring 1992:463; Rowley-Conwy 1990; Schwarz 1994) have been classed as Modified-Interior (Fitzhugh 1972:158; 1977:2; Pastore 1985:326 - see Table 2.6, this thesis). Newfoundland Recent Indian sites are located on the coasts, islands and inner bays with access to the interior (Pastore 1992:10; Penney 1981:180,188; Tuck 1988:157-164). Labrador Recent Indian sites are found in sheltered locations on the coast, near shore islands, and in sheltered inner bays with access to the interior (Loring 1992:334-342). The only difference between the system used by the Maritime Archaic and the Intermediate Indian "notched point people" versus the Recent Indian system, is that the former may have used the coast for a longer duration during the seasonal round (Fitzhugh 1972:159; Madden 1976:130).

With the broad similarities noted in lithic technology, particularly in the projectile point category, geographic distribution and subsistence-settlement cycles, Madden postulated that all three groups were related. She also suggested that her southern Labrador Intermediate Indian "notched point people" were related to the people of the Brinex (*ca.* 3200 - 3000 B.P.) and Charles complexes (*ca.* 3000 - 2700 B.P.)(1976:130) (the Saunders complex, *ca.* 3200 - 2800 B.P.) and that the Labrador Recent Indians developed from these Intermediate Indian complexes of Hamilton Inlet (1976:130). She was not alone in this idea. Fitzhugh (1978:172) also highlighted typological and settlement similarities between these cultures. Tuck has written that the Labrador Recent Indians may have evolved *in situ* from Intermediate Indian groups (Tuck 1988:153) and Pastore (2000:43) has written that early Labrador Recent Indian artifact styles show no sharp break in style from those of the Intermediate Indian period. Madden further postulated that the Newfoundland Recent Indians were descendants of the "notched point people" and were therefore related to the Labrador Recent Indians (1976:134,138).

2.7 Summary

In light of the data presented in this chapter a brief synopsis of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition now seems in order. The following is a description of an hypothesized precontact Indian cultural continuum

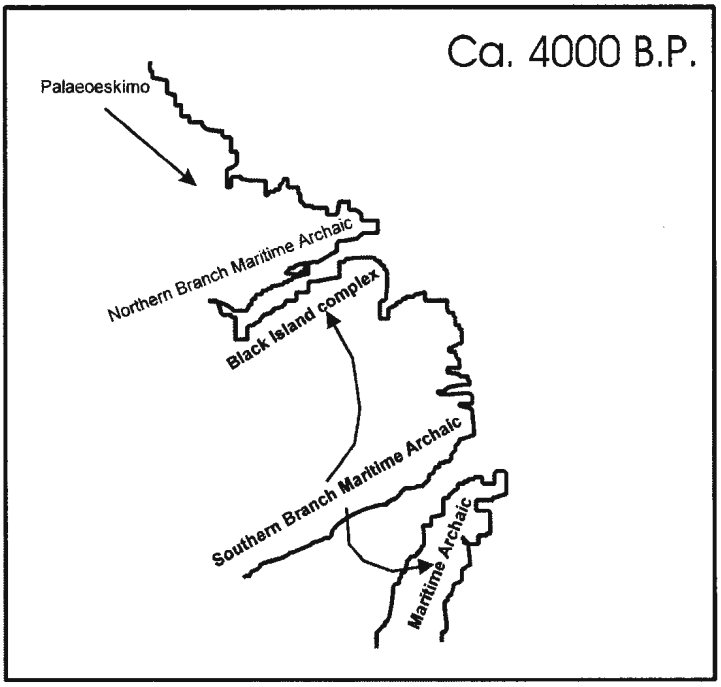


Figure 2.3: Precontact Indian Cultures, circa 4000 B.P.

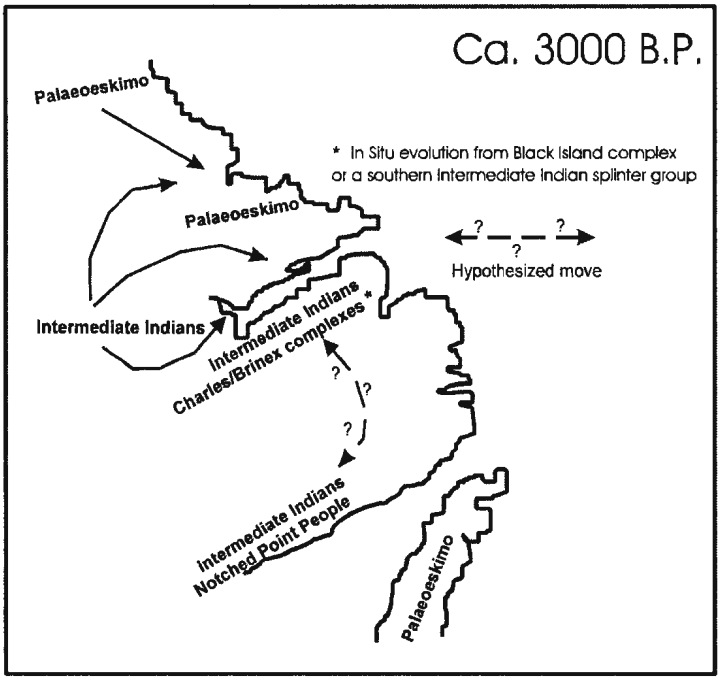


Figure 2.4: Precontact Indian Cultures, circa 3000 B.P.

extending from 6000 B.P. to the European contact period.

By 6000 B.P. the southern branch Maritime Archaic Indians were firmly entrenched in southern Labrador (Tuck 1988 49-51), by 5500 B.P. they had spread to Newfoundland (Renouf and Bell 2000) and by 4500 B.P. they were in the Hamilton Inlet area where they are known as the Black Island complex (Fitzhugh 1975:122-125). At around the same time we see the first Early Palaeoeskimo groups entering northern

Labrador (Figure 2.3).

The southern branch Maritime Archaic Indians were ancestral to the Intermediate Indian "notched point people" who existed from 3500 B.P. to about 2000 B.P. Groups who appear to be related to the southern Labrador Intermediate Indian "notched point people", are recognized in central Labrador around 3200 B.P. These new groups are associated with the Brinex complex (*ca.* 3200 - 3000 B.P.) and Charles complex (*ca.* 3000 - 2700 B.P.), that is, the Intermediate Indians of Hamilton Inlet and the Saunders complex (*ca.* 3200 - 2700 B.P.) of the central Labrador coast. These central Labrador Intermediate Indian groups may have developed *in situ* from remnant southern branch Maritime Archaic groups (Black Island complex) or they may have been a southern Labrador Intermediate Indian "notched point people" splinter group who moved from southern to central Labrador (Figure 2.4). Shortly after 3000 B.P. Early Palaeoeskimo groups had made their way as far south as the Island of Newfoundland.

The Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians probably originated from one or both of these two groups of Intermediate Indians (Brinex/Charles complexes or the southern Labrador Intermediate Indian "notched point people"). Exactly how is unclear; three possibilities are suggested:

1. They may have originated *in situ* from the Brinex/Charles and Saunders people at around 2000 B.P. in central Labrador and, from there, spread to

the rest of Newfoundland and Labrador (Figure 2.4). The earliest Recent Indian site in Labrador at 1890+/-50 B.P. is Daniel Rattle (GlCg-01) which is in central Labrador (Loring 1992:272). This would seem to support this possibility. However, no trace of the Brinex/Charles and Saunders people has been recognized post-2700 B.P. Therefore, there is a gap of approximately 800 years between them and the early Recent Indians in central Labrador.

2. The Recent Indians may have originated *in situ* from the southern Labrador Intermediate Indian "notched point people", eventually moving to the rest of Newfoundland and Labrador some time very shortly after 2000 B.P. If small remnant populations of Brinex/Charles and Saunders people, Black Island complex descendants, were still in existence in central Labrador they may have been absorbed by their southern relatives when they moved north. Given that the latest dates at the Iceberg site (the last of the Intermediate Indian "notched point people" in southern Labrador) fall in the area of 2400-2100 B.P. (Madden 1976:154) and the lack of Indian cultural material evidence between 2700 B.P.-2000 B.P. in central Labrador, there is evidence to support this option.

3. A cultural change may have occurred in both areas at approximately the same time, perhaps due to environmental changes or social reasons, resulting in the formation of the Recent Indians. There is some evidence to support this option as well. By 3000 B.P. Ramah chert, from northern Labrador, becomes an important lithic material at southern notched point sites (Madden 1976:132) and dominates the lithic assemblages of the Labrador Recent Indian sites. This introduction indicates a cultural expansion resulting in, undoubtedly, increasing familiarity and contact with other environments and perhaps cultural resources.

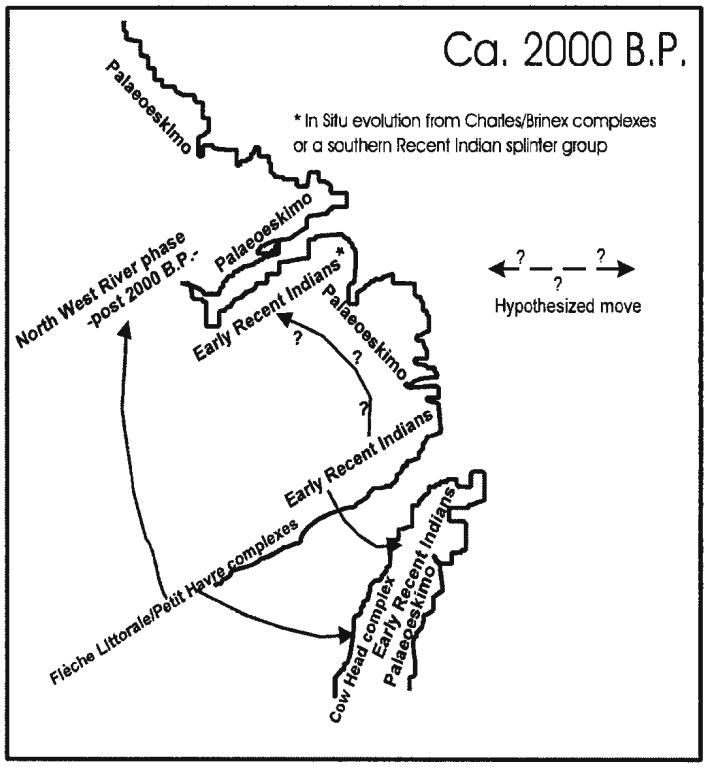


Figure 2.5: Precontact Indian Cultures, circa 2000 B.P.

In any case, related groups of early Recent Indians are recognized in central Labrador and Newfoundland by around 1900 B.P. and 1800 B.P., respectively (Figure 2.5). The early Newfoundland Recent Indians appear to have arrived on the Island slightly after the people of the Cow Head complex and

both groups probably arrived slightly after the Dorset people. Considering how geographically close all of these Indian groups were to each other in the Strait of Belle Isle area, they were probably in regular contact. With that came exchange in ideas, technology and perhaps marriage partners. This is certainly the case for the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians. Around 1000 B.P. the Cow Head complex is no longer visible in the Newfoundland archaeological record. In fact, at around the same time, late Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian groups appear to have inhabited Newfoundland and southern and central Labrador as well as the Lower North Shore of Quebec (Figure 2.6).

At approximately 1200 - 1100 B.P. North Cove is occupied by a group of Recent Indians who seem to have a tool kit and, therefore presumably, a culture that has characteristics of both Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians.

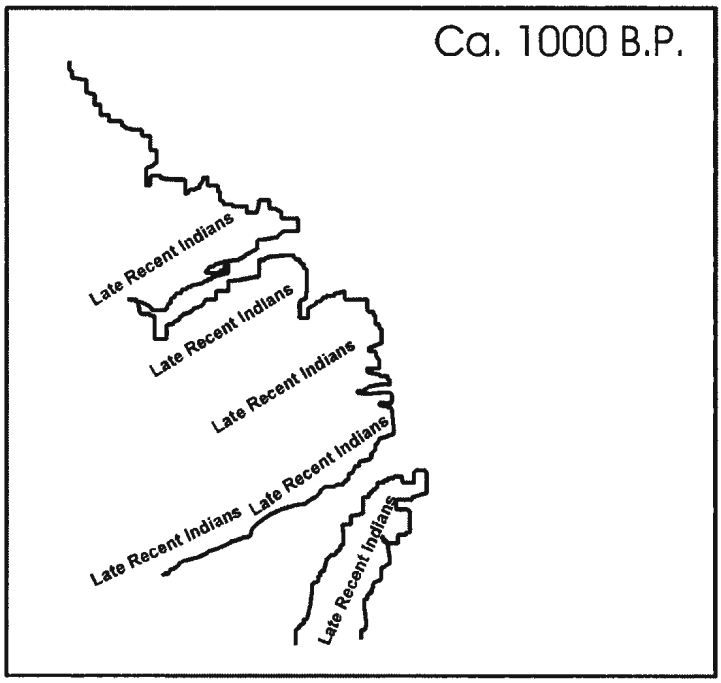
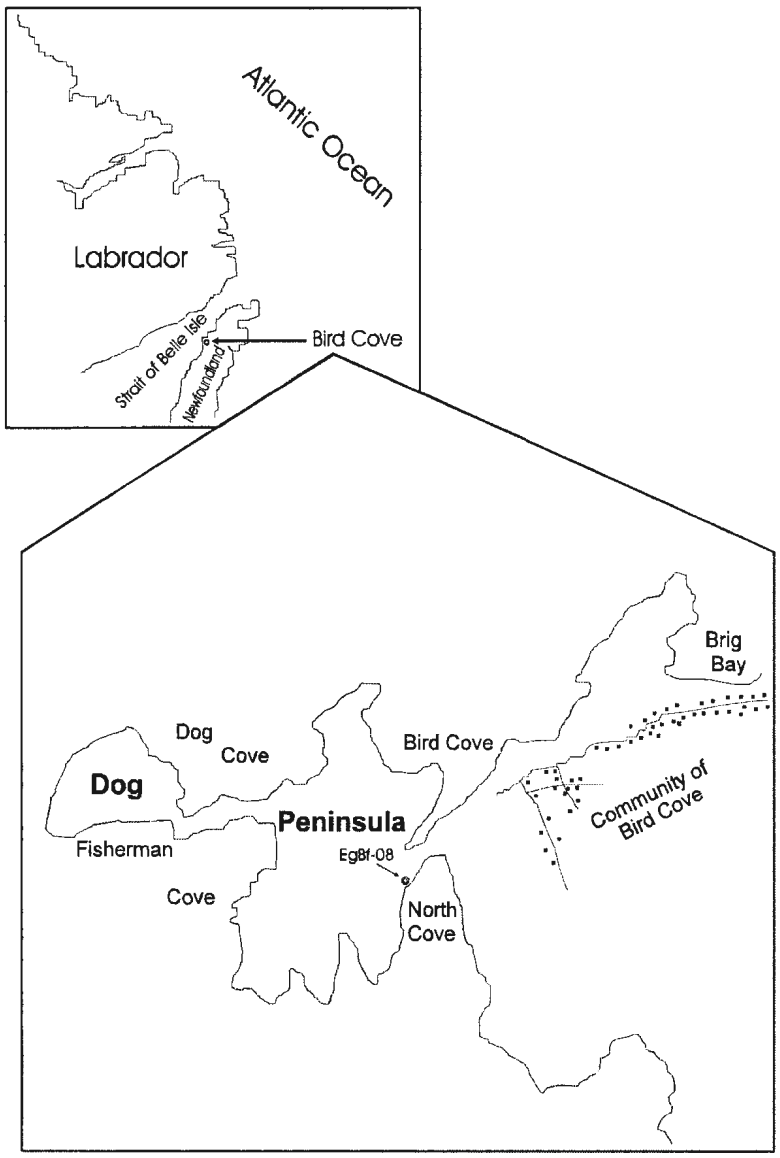


Figure 2.6: Precontact Indian Cultures, circa 1000 B.P.

CHAPTER THREE

SITE DESCRIPTION / DATA

3.1 Location of North Cove



The town of Bird Cove is located on the western side of the Great Northern Peninsula (Figure 3.1). The North Cove site is a 20 minute walk southwest of the town of Bird Cove, on the northwest shore of the small sheltered bay named North Cove, which is on the southeastern portion of the Dog Peninsula.

Figure 3.1: Location of North Cove

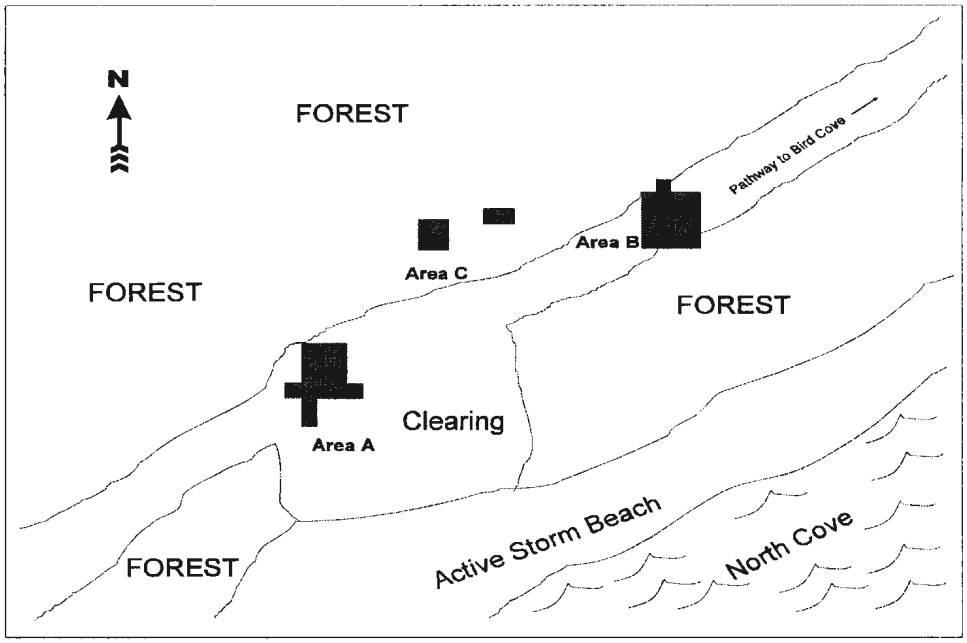


Figure 3.2: North Cove Map

The site is on a well-worn path that is several metres wide, and several hundred metres long and is parallel to the current beach approximately 10 metres to the south (Figure 3.2). Dense stands of spruce, fir, alders, and scattered deciduous trees cover both sides of the path. Part of the site, the area that is the focus of this thesis, is in a clearing in the middle of the path. This clearing provides a view of the bay called North Cove. According to local residents, this path has been in use for decades and the clearing had once been used for the construction of a small boat. In recent years, it has become a hangout for teenagers. Vehicles have driven over the site and much of the peat cover in the clearing has been removed. Despite such recent activity, the site itself has received minimal disturbance.

3.2 Previous Archaeological Work at Bird Cove and North Cove

In 1982, William Fitzhugh identified several archaeological sites during a cursory survey of the Dog Peninsula and other portions of the Northern Peninsula (Fitzhugh 1983). The discovery of further archaeological sites just outside Bird Cove by locals prompted the Town of Bird Cove to initiate an archaeological research program.

In the spring of 1996, the Town of Bird Cove contacted Dr. James Tuck of Memorial University who went to Bird Cove and tested the area. His test pits at North Cove uncovered chert flakes, which he suspected were precontact Indian, as well as charcoal and fire-cracked rocks from a hearth (J. Tuck, pers. com. 1998). In July of 1996, Dr. Priscilla Renouf of Memorial University also tested North Cove. She found chert flakes, which she suspected were Recent Indian in origin (P. Renouf, pers. com. 1998).

In 1997, the Town of Bird Cove received money from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) and the Department of Human Resources and Development to conduct a thorough investigation of the archaeological potential of the area. With this funding, they hired a field crew of 12 local people, David Reader as project leader (a Ph.D. student at the University of Toronto), and myself as field crew chief.

3.3 Site Areas

In two seasons at North Cove, we excavated 59 m^2. In 1997 we excavated 34 m^2, and learned that the site extends approximately 85 metres east-west, 15 to 20 metres north-south (grid directions) and that it has both Recent Indian and Dorset Paleoeskimo components. In 1998, we excavated an additional 25 m^2, focusing on three areas tested in 1997 (Figure 3.2): 1) the clearing in the west end of the site (Area A) which contains, among other things, a substantial Ramah chert flake concentration and a possible dwelling from an early Recent Indian occupation; 2) the east side of the site (Area B) which contains a Dorset Palaeoeskimo and an early Newfoundland Recent Indian occupation and; 3) the north end of the site (Area C) where, in 1997, we recovered one diagnostic early Recent Indian artifact and in 1998 we recovered several diagnostic Dorset Palaeoeskimo artifacts. While the specific artifacts and features from these areas will be thoroughly described in the Appendix, the focus of this chapter is on the results of the analysis of the artifacts and features from Area A. This area is the focus of this thesis since it presents the intriguing possibility of contact between Recent Indians from insular Newfoundland and Labrador and probably Quebec. As such, this area has implications for understanding the Recent Indian precontact period of the province.

Table 3.1: 1997 and 1998 Artifact Frequencies for Area A

Area A Artifacts	Total	Percentage of Total	Total made of Ramah chert	Percentage of each type made of Ramah chert from total number of artifacts
Utilized flakes	50	41.32%	36	29.75%
Utilized flake/ Expedient scraper?	19	15.70%	18	14.87%
Biface and Biface?	15	12.40%	8	6.1%
Scraper	11	9.09%	6	4.96%
Blade-like flake	7	5.79%	6	4.96%
Retouched flake	4	3.31%	3	2.48%
Bipolar core	4	3.31%	0	0
Cobble	3	2.48%	0	0
Core	2	1.65%	0	0
Uniface	1	0.83%	0	0
Whetstone	1	0.83%	0	0
Retouched/ Utilized flake	1	0.83%	1	0.81%
Microblade core**	1	0.83%	0	0
Microblade**	1	0.83%	0	0
Side Scraper /Graver**	1	0.83%	0	0
TOTAL	121	100.03%	78	63.93%

? - Uncertain artifact classification
** - Probable Dorset artifacts.
Note: the number of artifacts in this table do not correspond directly with the artifact map because some of the artifacts on this table were found in flake bags.

3.4 Summary Discussion of Area A Occupation: Site Function

The artifact frequencies, as seen in Table 3.1, suggest two possible functions for this area. The most abundant artifacts are classed in the unifacial tool category[7], of these, 28 are scrapers and utilized flake/expedient scrapers (UF/ES). Both artifact types are normally associated with hide preparation activities. The recovery of seal (*Phoca sp.*), caribou (*Rangifer sp.*)and black bear (*Ursus* sp.) remains from the hearths suggests the occupants may have had access to large hides that needed to be processed. As well, one of the Ramah

[7] The Unifacial tool category at this site includes utilized flakes, utilized flakes/expedient scrapers, some scrapers (8 in total, see Flake Scrapers in Area A Appendix), blade-like flakes, retouched flakes, a uniface and a retouched/utilized flake.

chert bifaces recovered resembles an awl or punch (Plate 14), another tool normally associated with hide working activities.

Table 3.2: Scraping Tool Distribution in Area A

Unit	UF/ES	Scraper
N5E0	0	1
N6E0	0	0
N7E0	1	0
N7E1	1	(1 flake bag)
N7E2	0	0
N7E3	0	1
N7W0	(3 flake bag)	(1 flake bag)
N8E0	1	0
N8E1	0	3
N8E2	0	0
N9E0	(5 flake bag)	(1 flake bag)
N9E1	1 (1 flake bag)	2
N9E2	0	0
N10E0	(5 flake bag)	0
N10E1	(1 flake bag)	2
N10E2	0	1

Most of the Area A scraping tools were little more than Ramah chert flakes which would have been expedient and probably unhafted. Since "unhafted tools tend to accumulate at or close to the loci of their last use" (Keely 1991:259), in this case most of the unhafted tools were near the two western hearths (Appendix Figure 2), we suspect that the hide preparation activities may have been focused on the west side hearths of the site. Unfortunately, with more than 10,000 pieces of Ramah chert having been recovered in the area it was inevitable that some flake tools, such as flake scrapers and UF/ES, were mistakenly collected during excavation as flakes and their exact provenience is unknown beyond level and unit (Table 3.2). However, using the tools with known provenience and the unit distribution of the other tools collected as flakes, it is still possible to suggest that hide preparation activities in Area A focused around the west side (N7W0, N9

and N10E0) of the site near the two larger hearths (Appendix Figure 2).

Biface manufacture/retouch/retooling is another probable function of Area A. Several flake characteristics suggest that the latter stages of biface manufacture or retouch occurred at the site. For example, the presence of bifacial striking platforms on many of the Ramah chert flakes attests to the reduction of bifacial preforms or blanks (Magne 1989:18). As well, we recovered more than 800 tertiary Ramah chert flakes (Table 3.3), many of which were notching flakes, from Area A. Only in the last stage of biface manufacture, rehafting or during the retouch of a completed biface are tertiary and notching flakes produced (Magne 1989:17-18). Finally, just 149 Ramah chert flakes had cortex present on their dorsal surfaces (Table 3.3) indicating that the Ramah chert that came onto the site had been knapped elsewhere, possibly into biface preforms. Biface manufacture is also established by the presence of three blue-grey chert bifaces (Plate 13), two of which were found in a concentration of debitage of the same material. The third biface was less than a metre from the concentration. One of these bifaces retains a mass on one face that the manufacturer attempted to remove, but in the process removed part of the lateral edge (Plate 13:D). We also recovered a broken side-notched Ramah chert biface fragment (Plate 12) (distal portion, artifact was broken through the notches) and a lateral fragment of another Ramah chert biface that may have been impact damaged (Plate 15:G). With the presence of the two broken side-

notched bifaces (the previously mentioned possible awl and the above projectile point) and the possibly impact damaged biface it is also suggested that retooling of hafts occurred in Area A. Considering the evidence, it appears that Area A might have been both a centre of hide processing and biface manufacture/retouch/retooling (For a Detailed Description of the these Artifacts see the Area A Section of the Appendix).

3.4.1 Area A Ramah Chert Debitage

The main Ramah chert concentration, feature 11-1997[8], was much larger than we anticipated. The debitage recovered weighed 2.1592 kg, was spread over an area approximately 2 m^2 in total and, in places, was several centimeters thick.

We divided the debitage into four categories: primary flakes, secondary flakes, tertiary flakes and shatter. Primary flakes were defined as usually being thick and having a pronounced bulb of percussion, crushing at the point of impact, a simple platform, a large amount of cortex on the dorsal surface and less than three dorsal ridges and therefore few negative flake scars. Secondary flakes were usually wider and flatter than the primary flakes. They were defined as having a less pronounced, possibly absent, bulb of percussion, a multi-faceted (bifacial), wider and thinner platform with a ventral surface lip, and a

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[8] For a Complete List and Description of Area A Features, see Appendix Area A

more complex dorsal surface showing several negative flake scars and little if any cortex. Tertiary flakes were defined as small, thin and narrow and possessing a multi-faceted (bifacial), small platform and no cortex present on the dorsal surface which should have numerous negative flake scars. Shatter was defined as little more than small unidentifiable pieces. We also recorded the number of flakes that were burned or retained cortex. Table 3.3 displays the results.

Table 3.3: 1997 and 1998 Ramah Chert Flake Types and Totals for Area A

Excavation Unit	Primary Flakes	Secondary Flakes	Tertiary Flakes	Shatter	Total Flakes
N5E0-97	0	3	2	14	19
N6E0-97	0	0	4	20	24
N7W0-97	14;1C	14	17	109;1C	154
N7E0-98	11	14	0	28;1C	53
N7E1-97	6	13	10	71;5C	100
N7E2-98	5	3	3	24;1C	35
N7E3-98	2	2	0	15;4C	19
N8E0-97 and 98	18;3C;1B;1C	28;4B	24	172;2C;18B	242
N8E1-98	19;1C	13	14	64;4C;1B	110
N8E2	5	2	7	11	25
N9E0-97 and 98	145;16C;1B	194;3C;1B	235	2918;28C;5B	3492
N9E1-98	74;4C	120;1C	40;1C;1B	631;17C	865
N9E2-98	7;1C	3	1	10	21
N10E0-98	239;5C	209;6C	405	2656;33C	3509
N10E1-98 and Baulk	88;4C	109	39	657;7C;6B	893
N10E2-98	4	3	2	11	20
BACK DIRT	0	1	0	9	10
TOTALS	**637**	**729**	**803**	**7420**	**9591**
CORTEX	**35**	**10**	**1**	**103**	**149**
BURNED	**2**	**5**	**1**	**33**	**41**
WEIGHT (g)	**397.2**	**525.7**	**58.1**	**1178.2**	**2159.2**

Note: 657; 7C; 6B means there were 657 flakes in that unit, seven had some area of cortex, and six were burned.

The main Ramah chert concentration was in units N9E0 and N10E0, and to a lesser extent in N9E1 and N10E1 (Appendix Figure 2). These four units account for 8759 pieces or 91% of the Ramah chert debitage. This distribution suggests that either the four units were the main area of knapping at the site or they were the main debitage dumping area (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Percentage of Each Flake Type at North Cove, 1997- 1998

Unit	Primary flakes	Secondary flakes	Tertiary flakes	Shatter	Total flakes
N9E0	4.2%	5.6%	6.7%	83.6%	3492
N10E0	6.8%	6.0%	11.5%	75.7%	3509
N9E1	8.6%	13.9%	4.6%	72.9%	865
N10E1	9.9%	12.2%	4.4%	73.6%	893

The quantity and distribution of flake types is similar within these four units, particularly between N9E1 and N10E1 and between N9E0 and N10E0. For example, between N9E0 and N10E0, secondary flakes account for approximately six percent of the total number of flakes found in those units and they have 3492 and 3509 flakes respectively. Such a pattern of flake types and total quantity is not likely the result of a random dumping of knapping debitage from elsewhere on the site. It is more likely to result from someone knapping the material *in situ*. If the flakes had been dumped, such a uniform pattern would not be expected.

A primary context hearth in N10E1 supports the *in situ* knapping scenario. With only 13 pieces of burned debitage in the four units, there is little evidence

for the concentration extending into the hearth. As well, very little Ramah chert was recovered from the top of the hearth or around the edges of the hearth. The debitage does not extend into, under, or on top of the hearth and the debitage exhibits a pattern that probably could not be made by a random dumping of flaking debris. Such evidence suggests the deposit is the result of knapping Ramah chert within these four units, around the hearth.

This pattern of lithic debitage associated with a hearth is present in another part of Area A. In units N8E2 and N7E2 milk-white quartzite flakes (219 flakes), the main area of which is in N8E2 (163 of the 219 flakes), are directly associated with the Feature 3-1998 hearth in N7E2.

3.4.1.1 Implications of the Ramah Chert Debitage

Just 149 pieces or 1.6% of the debitage we found at North Cove retained any cortex. In the few instances in which cortex was present on a flake, it was usually only a small area. This evidence is not surprising considering that the nearest Ramah chert quarry is thousands of kilometres north in northern Labrador. "If you are going to carry stones over mountains on your back, you want to reduce the weight, and the prehistoric knappers were flaking off the useless cortex..." (Whittaker 1994:276), with respect to the Ramah chert at North Cove, exactly where the initial shaping and cortex removal occurred is unknown. Many of the secondary flakes had multi-faceted, bifacial striking platforms

suggesting that they were struck from previously reduced pieces of bifacially worked Ramah chert, probably biface preforms, as opposed to cores or unworked pieces. This suggests that most of the primary reduction of the Ramah chert, the removal of cortex and initial shaping, likely occurred elsewhere. Only the later stages of the reduction continuum, thinning, shaping and, when necessary, notching and sharpening of the bifaces, occurred at North Cove (see Magne 1989:17-18).

Stopp excavated a Recent Indian site called Mosquito Cove (FcAw-05), on the central coast of Labrador, and recovered 602 Ramah chert flakes of which 188, or 31.2% retained some area of cortex (Stopp 1997:127). This is a very different pattern than that manifested at North Cove. A radiocarbon date from Mosquito Cove of 1220 B.P. makes it contemporaneous with North Cove (Stopp 1997:127).

Approximately 17 km north of Nain is the site of Hillsbury Island - 4, (HdCi-04). It is the most northerly early Labrador Recent Indian site yet identified, and therefore the closest to the Ramah chert quarries. Loring described the Ramah chert debitage recovered from this site as "small blocks and chunky pieces retaining weathered cortex" (Loring 1992:286). Of the 30 Labrador Recent Indian sites described by Loring (1992), this is the only instance in which he describes the recovered Ramah chert debitage with these characteristics (see Loring 1992:223-334).

The amount of cortex on the Ramah chert at North Cove, Mosquito Cove

and Hillsbury Island - 4 may be linked to a process that Binford referred to as staging (Binford 1979:268). According to Binford, staging occurs when the manufacturing of lithic items takes place in episodes. He also suggests that staged production may be related to travel junctures; where lithic items are partially processed at one site, packed away, then further processed at the next site along the travel route of the particular group (Binford 1979:268). This process would result in differential lithic debris at various sites in the subsistence-settlement system. If Binford's concept of staging were at work in the Recent Indian subsistence-settlement system you would expect that sites closest to the Ramah chert quarries would have large pieces of unworked chert with a lot of cortex, such as at Hillsbury Island - 4 . Sites further away would have lesser amounts of unworked chert and the material would have lesser amounts of cortex, such as at Mosquito Cove. In the sites farthest away, you would expect the material to be fully worked and formed with little or no cortex evident, such as at North Cove. The evidence from these three sites would seem to support Binford's idea of staging within the Recent Indian subsistence-settlement system. Of course, this example is based on just three sites, nevertheless it is intriguing.

There are other ways to explain why the Ramah chert at North Cove had so little cortex. The Recent Indians may have reduced the Ramah chert to finished products at the quarries. This would imply that the Recent Indians directly accessed the quarries themselves. Alternatively, Stephen Loring has postulated that the Recent Indians may have traded or somehow obtained

Ramah chert from the Dorset Palaeoeskimos (Loring 1988:161). In this case the Dorset may have reduced the Ramah chert to large preforms and bifaces before trading the material.

The inhabitants of Area A left behind fewer than 10 formal Ramah chert artifacts, most of which were broken. We recovered no complete preforms, no cores and no large worked or unworked pieces of Ramah chert. While finding few formal tools is not that unusual at such Recent Indian sites (see Loring 1992), the lack of preforms, cores and large pieces of Ramah chert is unusual. It may indicate that the occupants of Area A simply picked over the Ramah chert flake scatter and kept any useful pieces. If Binford's idea of staging is applicable, then by the time the people reached North Cove they may have reduced the Ramah chert to the point that there was no large pieces left for us to recover. It is even possible that other site occupants from Areas B and/or C picked over the lithic scatter removing any usable pieces. The scattered appearance of the hearth found in N8E0 (feature 6-1997) with charcoal and fire-cracked rocks scattered through N7and 6E0 may lend credence to this latter suggestion.

3.4.2 Area A Dwelling

While Area A does not contain direct evidence of a dwelling, such as a ring of hold down rocks or an external earth mounded ring, indirect evidence in

the north end of Area A in the form of 22 artifacts and a dense Ramah chert concentration (feature 11-1997) clustered around or directly associated with the feature 2-1998 hearth does suggest the presence of a dwelling (Appendix Figure 2). The decline in the quantity of cultural debris beyond a metre or two from the feature 2-1998 hearth suggests the boundaries of a dwelling. The hypothesized dwelling would centre around this hearth and would extend a few metres beyond it in all directions making the dwelling approximately three to four metres in diameter. Similar evidence has been used at other Quebec, Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian sites to indicate the presence of possible dwellings; EiBg-01A (Pintal 1998:217); Cape Freels-1 and 3, DhAi-01 and 03 (Carignan 1977:208); Daniel Rattle-1 Areas II and IV, GlCg-01, Area I at Kamarsuk, HbCj-01, and Area I at Billy Jacque's Site, GfBw-05 (Loring 1992:244, 250, 265, and 315). All of the sites had chert debitage and discarded tools clustered around at least one cobblestone hearth. It has been hypothesized that this sudden decline in debitage/tools delineates the approximate walls of a dwelling (Carignan 1977:208; Loring 1992:244). During use of the dwelling, debris would spread out over the floor, but its walls would constrict the debris to the inside. This pattern has also been used to suggest the presence of a dwelling at the Maritime Archaic site of Nukasusutok Island (HcCh-07) (Hood 1993:168-170).

However, at North Cove the position of the feature 1-1998 hearth, directly on the edge of where the dwelling would be, may present a problem (Appendix Figure 2). Since there is no vertical separation of the feature 1-1998 and 2-1998

hearths and the feature 11-1997 flake concentration, all three were likely created at the same time. As such there would be a hearth and flake concentration inside the dwelling and a hearth very close to the wall or inside of the dwelling. As such, several scenarios present themselves. It is possible that the feature 1-1998 hearth was next to the dwelling wall as at Winter Cove-4 where Fitzhugh recorded the presence of nine hearth features on "...the outside of the tent ring and quite close to its wall..." (Fitzhugh1978:154). Alternatively, the feature 1-1998 hearth was inside the proposed structure, meaning there were multiple hearths inside the dwelling, as was the case at Daniel Rattle-1, Area IV (GlCg-01) (Loring 1992:250). Another possibility is that the hearth was outside the dwelling such as at Kamarsuk Area 1 (HbCj-01) where Loring recorded a dwelling with internal and nearby external hearths (Loring 1992:265). A fourth option is that the identification of a dwelling is incorrect.

3.4.3 Area A Faunal Analysis

Faunal material in Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian sites, as well as those in Quebec (see section 2.4), is often directly associated with a hearth. In Labrador, for example, faunal material has been found in association with hearths at such Recent Indian sites as the Daniel Rattle (GlCg-01) type site, Kamarsuk (HbCj-01), Big Island 1 (GbBm-01), and Tikkoatokak (HdCl-01). Similarly, on the Island faunal material has been recovered in association with

hearths at Recent Indian sites such as North Cove, the Gould site (EeBi-42), the Spence site (EeBi-36), Peat Garden (EgBf-18), Boyd' s Cove (DiAp-03), Russell's Point (CiAj-01) and Deer Lake Beach (DhBi-06). At each of these sites the recovered faunal material was either in a hearth or very close to it. We know that historically the bones of animals hunted and consumed by the Innu were treated with a great deal of respect. For example, they often placed the bones in a fireplace so that they were consumed by the fire and therefore were not walked on by people or gnawed on by dogs or other scavengers (Loring 1992:333; Pastore 2000:43). Other Innu practices also demonstrated respect for animals. For example, bear skulls were often painted red and yellow and placed on poles or in trees. The skulls and other bones of other animals were also often placed in trees. Further, it was forbidden to allow dogs to chew the bones of any animal other than fish. We also know that the crushed bone produced from the *mokoshan* feast was disposed of in the fire (Henriksen 1973:35-39; Speck 1935:102, 122-123).

Stewart (1999) identified the faunal material recovered from the 1997 and 1998 excavations in Area A. She found several mammal species including black bear (adult and sub-adult) (*Ursus* sp.), ringed (*Phoca hispida*) and possibly harbour and/or harp seal (*Phoca* sp.). As well, a single piece of burned and fragmented bone originally thought to be from a white tailed deer was re-identified as caribou (*Rangifer* sp.) by Arthur Speiss (A. Speiss, pers. com.

1999). Stewart was also able to identify flatfish (*Pleuronectidae*) and sculpin (*Cottidae*). She (1999) stated that "The assemblage appeared to have been originally comprised of a large number of birds, but the elements were too fragmented to be identifiable". She was able to identify Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*) and tern (*Sterne* sp.) (Stewart 1999).

From the seasonal availability of the identified animals we can suggest an occupation period for Area A. Black bears could be hunted at any time of the year. Nevertheless, ethnographic references record that the Montagnais-Naskapi hunted bears in winter and spring while they were hibernating (Jesuit Relations 6:307; Speck 1935:99-100). The Canada goose and tern both fly south for the winter and return in the spring. The presence of sculpin and flatfish remains at North Cove suggests a warm season occupation. The presence of ringed seal elements suggests the site was occupied at least in the spring and possibly through some part of the winter, as these animals prefer to live on and near winter ice. Stewart (1999) also recorded that there may be harbour and/or harp seal elements present. The harbour seal is found around Newfoundland all year long and therefore cannot help in the identification of the season of site occupation. While the harp seal can be found off Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula as early as December or January, it returns in April or May, and therefore may assist in the identification of the season of site (Banfield 1977; Lien 1985). Unfortunately, the single piece of caribou bone identified cannot

help in the identification of the season of site occupation either.

The identified faunal elements for which a seasonal availability could be determined suggest a broad season of occupation between the late winter and fall, meaning that Area A was occupied sometime in that period. However, the archaeological deposit in Area A does not suggest it was occupied for such a long period. The recovered cultural material appeared to be in primary context which generally indicates a short term stay (Murray 1980; Reader 1993:27; Schiffer 1987:64). As well, we did not find an extensive midden and the hearths did not appear to have been frequently reused, both of which are indicators of a long term stay at a site. Therefore, Area A was probably occupied for only a short portion of the late winter to fall period. Unfortunately, the exact time and length of the stay cannot be precisely determined.

Other indirect evidence such as the presence of hearths, flaking debris and other cultural material outside the proposed structure also suggest a warm weather season of occupation (Loring 1992:323).

The faunal remains also suggest that the Recent Indians using Area A practiced a generalized subsistence pattern of hunting for marine and terrestrial animals and possibly fishing. This pattern, discussed in Chapter Two, is typical of the Recent Indian Tradition.

3.5 The Recent Indian Evidence

The physical evidence gathered from Area A at North Cove suggests that the occupation occurred sometime between late winter and fall. The occupants may have constructed a dwelling on the site and it appears they had at least four hearths. They made use of the local resources such as seal, bear, birds, fish and caribou and they worked on their tool kits during their stay. But, who were these people and where did they come from?

Several lines of evidence can be used to derive the culture of the occupants of Area A. The elevation (3.1 masl) and physical location (the bottom of a sheltered bay) of Area A are typical of Recent Indian sites. More specifically, the occupation of Area A by an early Recent Indian group is indicated by the recovery of one broken, side-notched projectile point (Plate 12), as well as various other artifacts such as bifaces, linear flakes and scrapers and the results from the Area A radiocarbon dates which date the site to *ca.* 1000-1200 B.P. (see Appendix Table 2). However, specifically categorizing the occupants as either Labrador or Newfoundland early Recent Indians is a more difficult task, as will be seen below.

The single broken side-notched projectile point and the location of the site on insular Newfoundland suggest the area was occupied by an early Newfoundland Recent Indian group. Such projectile points, when found on the Island, are hallmarks of the early Newfoundland Recent Indians. Therefore, we

can suggest that the occupants of Area A may have been people of this complex. However, the amount of Ramah chert found in Area A is not typical of this group. Indeed, it is not typical of any of the Newfoundland Recent Indian groups, but, it is typical of Labrador Recent Indian groups.

So, along with vast quantity of Ramah chert, some of the artifacts from Area A suggest it was occupied by a Labrador Recent Indian group. The artifact types include two round or discoid scrapers, the predominantly unifacial tool kit recovered from the site (utilized flakes, flake scrapers, expedient scrapers/utilized flakes, etc.) and again the single broken side-notched projectile point which is a hallmark of the early Recent Indian in Labrador.

No reference in the archaeological literature concerning precontact Newfoundland Recent Indian sites specifies round scrapers as a part of their assemblage. The same is not true of the literature about similar sites in Labrador. Fitzhugh and Loring have recorded the presence of round scrapers on such Recent Indian sites as Aly's Head (GcBk-11) (Fitzhugh 1978a) and Kamarsuk Area II (HbCj-01) (Loring 1985; 1988). Fitzhugh recorded round scrapers as one of two types of scrapers found in the late Labrador Recent Indian tool kits (Fitzhugh 1978a:164). Loring (1988) has written that these scrapers are part of the evidence suggesting an *in situ* evolution from the Intermediate Indians to the late precontact Recent Indians of Labrador. The 1998 excavations at North Cove produced two round or discoid scrapers that are

similar to those described by Fitzhugh and Loring.

The unifacial tool industry is an integral part of the early and late Labrador Recent Indian tool kit. In Fitzhugh's 1978 article in which he defined the Point Revenge complex he included unifacial tools (unifacial points, flake tools and utilized flakes) as a category in the Recent Indian tool kit (Fitzhugh 1978a:164). In the 1989 article that defined the Daniel Rattle complex, Loring (1989:63) included unifacial cutting and scraping tools as part of their tool kit. By far the most common tools in Area A were unifacial cutting and scraping tools.

However, perhaps the most compelling evidence that Area A was occupied by a Labrador Recent Indian group is the Ramah chert. In Labrador,...

> "Ramah uniformly dominates lithic assemblages from Recent Indian sites, regardless of the distance from the source; this is true to some extent as far south as southern Labrador and eastern Quebec (J.-Y. Pintal, pers.comm.). Across the Strait of Belle Isle the frequency of this material abruptly drops. This pattern is unusual, and especially perplexing, since it does not correspond with any stylistic/cultural boundaries in the region". (Schwarz 1992:69)

Area A in North Cove contained 2.1592 kilograms of Ramah chert. The area was literally "paved" with Ramah chert debitage, a descriptive word used to characterize Recent Indian sites in Labrador by Stephen Loring (1988). Of the more than 30 Labrador Recent Indian sites discussed by Loring in his Ph.D dissertation (Loring 1992), Ramah chert debitage weights are given for nine sites. By weight, the North Cove Ramah chert debitage ranks as the fourth heaviest (Daniel Rattle GlCg-01 - 7.803 kg; Kamarsuk HbCj-01 - 3.260 kg;

Winter Cove GcBi-04 - 4.5 kg). The quantity of Ramah chert and the types of tools recovered from Area A are typical of Labrador Recent Indian sites, and yet significantly, the site is located on the Island.

Specifically classifying the occupation of Area A under the current scheme for Recent Indians causes problems because it presents characteristics of Labrador Recent Indians in the form of artifacts and the quantity of Ramah chert, and yet the site is on the Island which, following our definitions of the Recent Indian complexes, suggests it was occupied by Newfoundland Recent Indians.

I believe that North Cove was occupied by a Recent Indian group who lived in the Strait of Belle Isle area who regularly moving from southern Labrador/Lower North Shore of Quebec to Newfoundland, depending on the season, resources and potentially social considerations. There is archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence to support the claim for this Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group.

CHAPTER FOUR

RECENT INDIAN RELATIONSHIPS

4.1 Boundaries or Perceptions?

Based on apparent differences in such things as material culture, social organization or physical geography, we, as anthropologists, sometimes perceive and create boundaries between groups that may never have actually existed (see Goodby 1998). We see these differences as occurring in specific areas, often our study areas, and we therefore assume the cultures are limited to these areas (i.e. demarcation of boundaries). Then we use these boundaries to delineate groups for ease of study (Wobst 1978). However, the boundaries we perceive/create may not have been observed by the groups we are studying. By making these assumptions we place limits on the potential of the culture of the group involved, perhaps ignoring or blinding ourselves to the possibility of such things as interaction with other groups. In essence we place the cultures in a vacuum.

> "Anthropologists . . . seek to define boundaries for hunter-gatherer groups as a way of defining differences between groups. Frequently the differences have an ecological-economic basis with a sharply drawn line (instead of a more realistic cline) dividing one group from the other, coinciding with either a prominent environmental change, a geographical feature or, as a compromise, a line drawn to split the difference between the two "observed" groups". (Loring 1992:36)

4.2. Recent Indian Organization

Currently, the Strait of Belle Isle and Ramah chert are the main points used to differentiate Newfoundland from Labrador Recent Indians. This division may be more real in the collective mind of Newfoundland and Labrador archaeology than it was in the Recent Indian reality. For example, while it may be quite justifiable to assign an Indian site dating to 1200 B.P. in central Labrador to the early Labrador Recent Indians and a site dating to 1200 B.P. in Bonavista Bay to the early Newfoundland Recent Indians, there may be less justification for drawing this distinction between contemporaneous sites on either side of the Strait of Belle Isle. Area A at North Cove falls into this latter category. If we ignore the geographical separation of this body of water, sites in northern Newfoundland and southern Labrador and the Lower North Shore of Quebec may have been occupied by the same people or even closely related peoples, a Recent Indian group tied to the Strait of Belle Isle.

Our construction of the Recent Indian time period promotes the idea of a fixed and rigid boundary between Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians, obscuring what was probably a more complex organization. For example, other than Tuck's unpublished volume on the Atlantic Region (Tuck 1988) this is the only study which considers the Recent Indian Tradition for the entire province. All other treatments of the Recent Indian Tradition are written from the perspective of either the Labrador or Newfoundland Recent Indians, generally

with only passing reference made to the other group. As a result, even our Recent Indian literature tends to cultivate the notion of separate Recent Indian groups within the province. Yet the essence of this problem, a perceived rigid boundary, is seen in the separate nomenclature of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians which results in a group of Newfoundland and a group of Labrador Recent Indians. The definitions for each were created by several archaeologists at different times and at a very broad scale of insular Newfoundland and Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972:123,127 and 155; 1978; Loring 1989:62-63; 1992; Tuck 1982:211; 1988:163). But, the convenient boundaries they used to define the complexes did not exist in the precontact period. Hence, these cover terms were created by them to organize the broad patterns and characteristics they perceived in the archaeological record in Labrador and insular Newfoundland. At a smaller scale, focusing on an area of probable interaction (just the Strait of Belle Isle area), the differences used to demonstrate the existence of the separate Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians become less relevant.

Darnell (1998:97) has suggested that, in a similar manner, Europeans also created the terms Cree, Ojibwa, Montagnais and Abenaki to organize the numerous and various post-contact period native groups. In particular, she suggests that the term Cree became a cover term during the fur trade for numerous smaller groups who were spread over a huge land area. Darnell writes that within the Jesuit Relations, the Cree were actually four distinguishable

nations: *Nipigon*, *Attawabiskat*, *Nipissing* and eastern James Bay Cree and that they were distinguishable by geographical location, with socio-territorial units distributed on major river systems (Darnell 1998:97). The Recent Indians we have lumped under the terms Labrador Recent Indians and Newfoundland Recent Indians were likely organized in a similar fashion; small, mobile and related groups, with their own specific characteristics, tied to land areas.

Perhaps we should consider that there may have been more to Recent Indian organization than how we currently conceptualize it. Perhaps not every Recent Indian group would fit our current model. For example, there may have been groups in Labrador, Newfoundland, Quebec, and groups in the middle that shared the characteristics of all the areas. All of these groups were likely related, ultimately they may have all originated from the same ancestral stock and they probably maintained relationships through visits, migration, adoption and exchange of information, technology and marriage partners.

Interestingly, according to Mailhot (1997:39-40), the Innu band at Sheshatshui can be subdivided into four groups; the Tundra people, the Musquaro people, the Sept Iles people and the McKenzies. While the subdivisions are products of the 20th century, they are, according to Mailhot, loosely based on past social organizations called local bands which were close-knit groups of less than one hundred people who occupied a particular river basin and were known by the name of that area (Mailhot 1997:39). In 1977,

Tanner made a similar suggestion for the Innu of North West River or Sheshatshui. He stated that they could be divided into five groups based on distinct regions that the groups used for hunting and that the territory occupied by each group contained at least one caribou herd. However, these divisions were not hard boundaries. By way of marriage, adoption and migration all of the groups were related - they were not physically or socially bounded units (Tanner 1977:62-65). Like other northeastern Algonquian groups, the Beothuk too were organized into local bands (Marshall 1996, 2001; Pastore 1992)

The concept of small groups being tied to specific areas, but yet willing and able to flow to other areas and interact with neighboring groups is how we should be conceptualizing the Recent Indian Tradition. This concept is further demonstrated in the writing of William Duncan Strong who spent the winter of 1927-1928 with a group of Montagnais-Naskapi (Leacock and Rothschild 1994). Strong was taken to a trout fishing place, called *Kapakwa'napen*, that was much favored by the Davis Inlet people he accompanied. His informants, *Mistāna'bish* and *Shū'shebish*, told him this was their fishing spot and that they did not mind sharing it with other Indians. They also told him that other bands had similar places within their territories which that band claimed as their own. For example, the caribou crossings on Indian House Lake were believed to belong to the Barren Ground people. As well, *Mē'hīkunnipī* or Wolf Lake was the possession of the White Whale River Indians. But, they too would share those places with

other Indians. In fact, sharing of resources and movement to and from other band areas were so common that when questioned by Strong no Indian could give a list of real boundary markers. For example, Strong was assisted by hunters from four different bands to draw a map of portage routes but, he was never able to get a definite statement as to the boundaries between the bands for the map. In fact, Strong cautions that the map gives ". . .the relative positions and general locale of the bands, but it should be remembered that the definite boundaries between them seem hardly, if at all, to exist in Indian consciousness" (Leacock and Rothschild 1994:88-89).

4.3 Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian Group

In order for the occupation of Area A to make sense within the current understanding of the Recent Indian Tradition, the occupants would have to have been either;

1) a Newfoundland group who went to Labrador and came back;

2) or a Labrador group who came to the Island.

Either way North Cove suggests that interaction may have occurred between the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians and that the Strait of Belle Isle was not a territorial boundary as the current understanding of the Recent Indian Tradition would suggest. However, given the similarities within the Recent Indian Tradition throughout the province it is more likely that these scenarios were a

regular occurrence and therefore a third possibility presents itself as a result of scenario one and two;

3) a Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group.

Such a group would bridge the seemingly apparent gap between the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians, being composed of a mixture of the characteristics we use to define both groups, and thus allowing us to propose a Recent Indian Tradition. Rather than being tied to an area on just the Island or Labrador, the people would relate to the Strait of Belle Isle area, crossing that body of water, probably on a regular basis throughout their seasonal cycle. As a result of being in the middle of the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian area they present characteristics of both groups. As such, I am proposing that, at least one and possibly more than one, small groups of Recent Indians moved seasonally throughout northern Newfoundland, southern Labrador and the Lower North Shore of Quebec.

To be clear, I am not suggesting there was a third Recent Indian group located in the Strait of Belle Isle area (according to the current model, there are already two groups; Newfoundland and Labrador). I am suggesting that within the Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian Tradition there were many pockets of regionally focused and related people. In the Strait of Belle Isle area a group of people shared the characteristics and traits that we assign to the people of Newfoundland Recent Indians and Labrador Recent Indians and the Recent Indians of the Lower North Shore of Quebec.

4.3.1 Previous Suggestions

This is not the first time that the existence of a Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group has been proposed. In 1987, Pastore suggested that there was a ". . . proto-Beothuk/Montagnais population. . ." occupying the Lower North Shore of Quebec, southern Labrador and Newfoundland (Pastore 1987:59).

Pintal's research also suggests the presence of such a group. Many of the artifacts recovered from the *Anse Morel* complex sites around Blanc Sablon were made of Newfoundland cherts, according to Pintal, and were very similar to those used by contemporaneous Newfoundland Recent Indians. He suggests that while it cannot be confirmed that the same group occupied both Newfoundland and the Lower North Shore of Quebec, there is little doubt that the two groups were very close, regularly visiting one another and exchanging material goods, information and marriage partners (Pintal 1998:244). If such visits and exchange of ideas and materials occurred, and there is evidence to suggest that it did, then it is very likely that a blended group existed as a result of this interaction.

Further, Pintal proposes that the same sites relate to early spring to late autumn occupations and that the precontact Indians who occupied those sites may have spent the other seasons on the edge of the near interior lakes or even in Newfoundland. Finally, he writes that the 16th century Indian occupants of the Eastern Lower North Shore of Quebec were either the Beothuk or a very closely

related group (Pintal 1998:247).

The earliest known reference to the term Montagnais comes from a document written in 1625 by a Basque historian. He is apparently referring to events that occurred in the late 1500s on the north shore of the Strait of Belle Isle area when he refers to the "esquimaos" as being hostile but the "montañeses" or "canaleses" being much more friendly (Barkham 1980:54; Martijn 1990:230). Martijn and Pintal have speculated on who the "canaleses" were. Martijn has suggested that the term "canaleses" may refer to a more coastal-oriented Montagnais group focused on the resources of the Strait of Belle Isle. Pintal has suggested to Martijn that the term "canaleses" may refer to a coastal-adapted Little Passage group that used both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle (Martijn 1997:123). In essence, they are arguing for the existence of a Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group.

Marshall suggests that, based on similar tool styles, precontact Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians had contact and may have traded with each other (Marshall 2001:9). She goes on to suggest that the two groups may have even intermarried. This means that their descendants, the Innu and Beothuk, were culturally and genetically related as well (Marshall 2001:9). While she does not specifically suggest the existence of a Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group, the foundation of this eventual Innu-Beothuk relationship would most likely have had its inception in this area because of the precontact groups proximity to one another on either side of the narrow Straits.

4.4 Archaeological Evidence

Evidence to support the suggestion of the existence of a Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group has been found in six known sites on the Lower North Shore of Quebec and southern Labrador and four known sites on the Northern Peninsula of the Island.

4.4.1 Labrador Recent Indians on the Island

Beginning on the Northern Peninsula, the Bragg, (EiBb-01) Regular, (EiBb-02) (P. Renouf, pers. com. 1998) Yankee Point (EhBe-02), (Erwin 1999) and Granchain Island - French Beach (EiAu-03), (Bell, Renouf, and Hull 2001) sites all have evidence of Recent Indian contact with Labrador in the form of Ramah chert artifacts.

The Bragg site has a complete corner-notched Ramah chert projectile point indicative of the late Recent Indians, while at the Regular site a Recent Indian Ramah chert biface tip was found. The Yankee Point site contains the base of another probable side-notched Ramah chert point. Finally, a complete side-notched Ramah chert projectile point, in the possession of a local collector, was reported to have come from the Granchain Island - French Beach site. The latter points appear to be from the early half of the Recent Indian Tradition.

These sites are all on the Northern Peninsula, which according to our current Recent Indian definition places them within the Newfoundland Recent

Indian group. However, they all have Ramah chert artifacts which are indicative of Labrador Recent Indians. If Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indian interaction did occur, then the Northern Peninsula is a likely place to see the results. Therefore, we cannot specify which Recent Indian complex occupied these sites and, they should be referred to as just early or late Recent Indians, depending on the artifact style.

Further, there are other Recent Indian sites on the Island that contain Ramah chert projectile points, but these are not on the Northern Peninsula. While they may not have been occupied by a Recent Indian group in direct regular contact with Labrador, they do hint at interaction with such groups. The sites include Deer Lake Beach (DhBi-06), Plat Bay Cove (EaBa-07), Boyd's Cove (DiAp-03) and the Bank site (DdAk-05). This last site is very unusual in that of the 38 complete and fragmented late Recent Indian bifaces recovered from a hearth at the site, 13 were made of Ramah chert. This is the largest single collection of Recent Indian Ramah chert tools found on the Island (Schwarz 1992:68). Unless the people at the Bank site were Labrador Recent Indians, in all likelihood the Ramah chert tools they possessed were traded into Newfoundland. Schwarz writes that while the amount of Ramah chert recovered at the site is anomalous for Newfoundland, it may hint that more Ramah chert was in circulation in Newfoundland ". . . than its frequency in archaeological contexts normally suggests." (Schwarz 1992:70), and thus hinting at more frequent Labrador-Newfoundland contact.

4.4.2 Newfoundland Recent Indians in Southern Labrador and the Lower North Shore of Quebec

Recent Indian sites in southern Labrador and the Lower North Shore of Quebec contain considerable lithic evidence of Recent Indian contact with Newfoundland. For example, EiBh-69, EiBg-01A, EiBg-46 and EiBg-01B are all sites from Pintal's Anse Morel complex which dates between 1000 B.P. to present (Pintal 1998:211-248).

Nearly 700 flakes were recovered from the late Recent Indian site of EiBh-69 near Blanc Sablon, Quebec. According to Pintal, more than 80% of those flakes are Newfoundland cherts. This site was radiocarbon dated to 1040 +/- 50 B.P. (Pintal 1998:214). Further, Newfoundland cherts comprise more than 96% of the 9940 flakes recovered from the late Recent Indian site of EiBg-01A. Most of the flakes and 84 of the tools were recovered from just one hearth. With several possible structures and six hearths this site was intensively used by its Recent Indian occupants. A radiocarbon date of 980 +/- 50 B.P. came from one of the hearths (Pintal 1998:220). Four hearths were identified at the late Recent Indian site of EiBg-46 and 4264 flakes were recovered, 93% of which were made from Newfoundland cherts (Pintal 1998:225-231).

Finally, at the late Recent Indian site EiBg-01B, Pintal identified four hearths and a possible dwelling, and recovered 11,805 flakes, 11,800, or 99%, of which were made from Newfoundland cherts. He believes that this site may have been a base camp occupied for several weeks or months focused on

hunting seals. According to Pintal the density of these and other sites suggests that they were not single occurrences but rather recurring events (Pintal 1998:232-239). The evidence at these and other sites support Pintal's claims that after 1500 B.P. contact between the Recent Indians of his complexes and those of Labrador and Newfoundland increased (Pintal 1998:207-208).

The Recent Indian component in Red Bay (EkBc-16, Saddle Island West) also contains lithic evidence of contact between the Island and Labrador during the Recent Indian Tradition (Robbins 1989:29; Tuck 1988:155-156). The lithics recovered from the site are made from both Ramah chert and Newfoundland cherts. As a result, Robbins writes ". . . I hesitate to refer to this southern Labrador Recent Indian assemblage as either "Little Passage" or "Point Revenge," as either label would necessarily carry implications regarding external relationships." (Robbins 1989:29).

At the L'Anse au Diable site (EjBe-03) recently recovered lithics also suggests interaction by Recent Indians in the Strait of Belle Isle. The recovered lithics consist of a small, finely worked, biface tip and 176 flakes. The biface tip and 138 of the flakes are a distinctive white/grey chert that has square holes where crystals have eroded out (Hull 2001). This same material has been found at the Recent Indian sites of North Cove (EgBf-08), Peat Garden (EgBf-06) and Yankee Point (EhBe-02) on the Island.

4.4.3 Ethnohistoric Evidence

Further evidence of the relationship between the precontact Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians can be seen in the relationship between their descendants, the Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi) and the Beothuk, as is evident in the ethnohistoric documentation.

Shanawadithit, the last known Beothuk who died in 1829, told John Peyton in the 1820s that Beothuk traditions were descended from those of the Indians from Labrador. She also told Peyton that her people were friendly with an Indian group whom they called the *Shaunamunc* and that the two groups traded and mutually visited each other. The *Shaunamunc* are believed to be the Montagnais - Naskapi, or the modern day Innu of Quebec and Labrador (Howley 1915:26, 256; Marshall 1996:59-60; Martijn 1990:236). Speculatively, they could also have been descendants of the Strait of Belle Isle Recent Indian group. Further, there is a Mi'kmaq oral tradition which suggests that the last of the Beothuk went back to Labrador (Howley 1915:257).

It is well documented that the Montagnais-Naskapi made regular visits to the Island during the post-contact period. Whether they came to intentionally contact and trade with the Beothuk is not known for sure (Martijn 1990:227-245). However, Pastore has suggested that such a trade may indeed have occurred up to the nineteenth century based on his recovery of blue and translucent trade beads at the Beothuk site of Boyd's Cove (Pastore 1987:55-59).

There is little evidence that a French-Montagnais relationship existed before 1702 when Courtmanche received a commission to set up a post on the Labrador side of the Strait. Courtmanche then recruited the Montagnais to assist him in his venture (Marshall 1996:56-57; Martijn 1990:231). Marshall believes that it was the French who would encourage the Montagnais to trap in Newfoundland when resources in Labrador were low (Marshall 1996:57). Martijn argues that there is no evidence to support this statement and that the Montagnais came to the Island on their own (Martijn 1990:232) and that the voyages may in fact represent an ancient pattern of trade and interaction (1990:240). For example, sites such as North Cove, Yankee Point, Boyd's Cove and the Bank site may have evidence for these patterns.

Marshall appears to contradict herself when she suggests that just because the Montagnais were here does not mean they were in contact with the Beothuk, she then states that the Montagnais trappers seemed to be the only people informed about the Beothuk on the Northern Peninsula. They knew of the areas the Beothuk inhabited, that they were numerous and painted themselves red, that they used birchbark canoes and that they hunted caribou using pole fences, all suggesting some form of Beothuk - Montagnais relationship (Marshall 1996:56-57).

In the end, what we can say is that the Montagnais were on the Island in the post-contact period, that they knew of the Beothuk and they were not hostile toward each other. We do not know for sure if they did, or did not trade with the

Beothuk.

4.4.4 Regionalism in Other Aboriginal Groups

Based on the archaeological evidence from North Cove and the other Recent Indian sites in the Strait of Belle Isle there appears to be one (or several) Recent Indian groups tied to this area, regularly crossing the Strait for various reasons, keeping in contact with other Recent Indian groups on both sides of the Strait. Based on the ethnohistoric evidence this precontact pattern may have continued into the post-contact period. This concept of a group of people focused on and tied to a specific area and moving around within that area seasonally in order to acquire needed resources and maintain social ties has been suggested for several aboriginal groups within Atlantic Canada.

In 1997, LeBlanc proposed a subsistence-settlement system for the Groswater Palaeoeskimo in which groups who frequented the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland also made use of the Lower North Shore of Quebec and southern Labrador. Depending on the season and resources available the Groswater groups could be in either area (LeBlanc 1996:120-123). Part of the basis for this proposed subsistence-settlement system is seen in the presence of western Newfoundland Cow Head cherts that appear in Groswater sites on the Lower North Shore of Quebec, southern Labrador, as well as Newfoundland. She believes that the same people moved around the Gulf of St. Lawrence

taking advantage of the available resources including the western Newfoundland Cow Head cherts (LeBlanc 1996:120-123).

In 1989, Charles Martijn suggested that Cape Breton Island, southern Newfoundland, the Magdalen archipelago and the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were a single post-contact period territorial range for the eastern Canadian Mi'kmaq (Martijn 1989:210-11). While there is no definitive proof that this situation existed in the pre-contact period, the Mi'kmaq believe that they did inhabit the Island of Newfoundland at least before the 18th century, referring to the early inhabitants as the *Sagewedjdkik* or Ancients. There is also archaeological evidence consisting of stone tools made from a grey siliceous shale, the source for which may be near Cape Breton Island, that the eastern Canadian Mi'kmaq made use of the Magdalen Islands in the precontact period. Since the distance between the Magdalen Islands and Cape Breton Island is similar to the distance between Cape Breton Island and southern Newfoundland, it is conceivable that southern Newfoundland was part of a Mi'kmaq precontact sphere (Martijn 1989:211-212).

A similar situation can be suggested for the Maritime Archaic in the Strait of Belle Isle based on an artifact style and a particular lithic material, both of which are found in several sites on both sides of the Strait. The 'Graveyard' style point (McGhee and Tuck 1975:57,97) is found at the type site, Graveyard (EiBf-06), and other sites including Forteau Point (EiBf-02), Easter Settlement (EjBe-

32), and Modeste 2 (EjBe-06) (McGhee and Tuck 1975:57,97). On the Island, a complete and an incomplete 'Graveyard' style point were found at the Big Droke site (EgBf-11) (Reader 1998b:6).

A recurring distinctive, white/grey, possibly weathered, chert is found in the southern Labrador sites of Graveyard (EiBf-06), English Point (EiBf-05), Iceberg (EjBe-21) and L'Anse Amour (EiBf-04) (McGhee and Tuck 1975; see also Tuck 1988:51) and the Northern Peninsula sites of Caines (EgBf-15) and Big Droke (Reader 1998b:5,10,15). At some of the southern Labrador sites and the Big Droke site this white chert is the predominant lithic material recovered.

The presence of the 'Graveyard' point type and the white chert may indicate that the Maritime Archaic people moved around the Strait of Belle Isle and were in regular contact with both areas for some time, in a manner similar to that proposed by LeBlanc for the Groswater and the Recent Indians in this thesis.

Finally, Robbins has inferred the existence of three distinct regions of Dorset culture on the Island based on distinct endblade characteristics, different food resources within the regions resulting in localized settlement pattens and different lithic materials within each region. He then suggested there was a 'Western', 'Northeastern' and 'Southern' expression of the Dorset culture on the Island (Robbins 1985:138-145).

4.5 Conclusion

I believe that during the Recent Indian Tradition small Recent Indian groups were tied to certain land areas and connected to their neighbors through both physical and social relationships, such as the trade of cultural items, information exchange and kin ties. Recognizing all of these local groups may be impossible archaeologically. However, we need to be aware that they existed because by not recognizing them, occupation events like Area A at North Cove do not make sense, and we try to force them into either the Newfoundland or the Labrador Recent Indian classification, when in reality they were probably the result of both. We end up ignoring the fluidity of the Recent Indian culture.

Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians did interact and exchange items and ideas resulting in and perpetuating close ties between the Island and Labrador groups, but it was not at the broad level of Newfoundland and Labrador Recent Indians. It occurred on a much smaller scale amongst family groups, bands, and other small scale organizational levels (see Leacock 1969:8-12). It is at this small scale that the Area A occupation at North Cove makes sense.

North Cove, and the other Recent Indian sites within the Strait of Belle Isle area, help to demonstrate that the Recent Indians were one cultural group, a tradition, spread across a vast land area. North Cove itself serves as an example of how these Recent Indian groups within the Strait of Belle Isle maintained contact with one another. In fact, one of the most important points to

be gained from this thesis is the notion of interaction and contact maintained between groups on the Island and the mainland. It is also important to acknowledge that North Cove is not the only example of this activity. As was discussed earlier, there are numerous other sites in Labrador, Quebec and on the Island that attest to Recent Indian interaction within the Strait of Belle Isle area. As Fagan has suggested, "Human settlement patterns are not just site dots on maps. They are complex and constantly changing networks of human interaction, of trade, religion and social ties, of differing adaptations to local environmental challenges." (Fagan 1988:178). The Recent Indian sites within the Strait of Belle Isle are no different.

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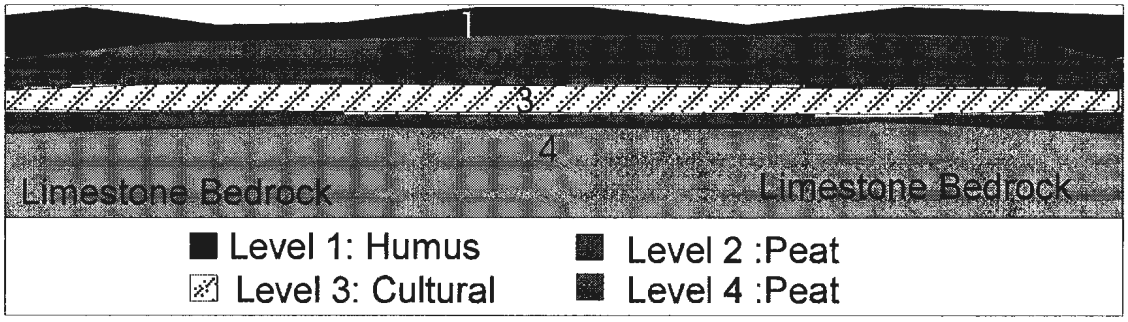
APPENDIX

DISCUSSION OF FEATURES AND ARTIFACTS FROM AREAS A, B AND C

Area A

Area A Stratigraphy and Excavation

The stratigraphy (Appendix Figure 1) throughout most of Area A consists of an overlying humus layer, which is level one, and a peat layer beneath. In unit N7W0, (Appendix Figure 2) most of level one has been eroded due to use of the pathway that cuts into the site (Figure 3.2). Level two is the top of the peat layer under the humus. We occasionally found cultural material within level two, particularly in unit N7W0. Level three, also composed of peat, is the main culture bearing level in Area A. Level four is the thin layer of peat beneath the culture bearing layer and just above the limestone base of the site.



Appendix Figure 1: Stratigraphy of Area A

Throughout the site, all artifacts were recorded using three-dimensional provenience based on 1 m^2 units. Where present, we collected lithic debris and faunal material in bulk from each unit excavated by level, and we collected soil and charcoal samples from all of the hearths.

Description of Area A

After two years of excavations at Area A (Figure 3.4), 118 Recent Indian lithic artifacts have been recovered, of which 78 (almost 64%) were made of Ramah chert. Three lithic Palaeoeskimo artifacts have also been recovered. Further, we collected soil and charcoal for radiocarbon dating and more than 12,000 faunal specimens.

Appendix Table 1: Area A Features

Feature Number	Type	Location
3-1997	Flake concentration	N7W0
6-1997	Hearth	N6E0; N7E0; N8E0
8-1997	Flake concentration	N7E1
11-1997	Flake concentration	N9E0; N9E1; N10E0;N10E1
1-1998	Hearth	N9E1
2-1998	Hearth	N10E1
3-1998	Hearth	N7E2
4-1998	Midden-Calcined Faunal	N7E2

In 1997 we designated five features in this area; two hearths and three flake concentrations (Appendix Table 1). The flake concentrations were composed mainly of Ramah chert. The hearths excavated in both years were composed of charcoal, charcoal-stained soil, calcined bone and fire-cracked, predominantly quartzite, rocks.

We later determined that features 5 and 6-1997 are actually the same hearth, so the feature 5-1997 designation was dropped. A more thorough description of this will be found under the feature 6-1997 description. As of 1998, there are a total of four 1997 features in this area; one hearth (feature 6-

1997) and three flake concentrations (features 3, 8 and 11- 1997).

Our 1998 excavations in this area uncovered four new features and expanded feature 11-1997, a flake concentration, into three additional units. Of the two 1998 hearths (features 2 and 3 - 1998), the feature 3-1998 hearth contained so much calcined faunal material that the faunal material itself was designated as a separate feature, 4-1998. Feature 11-1997, the main Ramah chert concentration from the previous year, extended into three units we excavated in 1998; N9E1, N10E0 and N10E1.

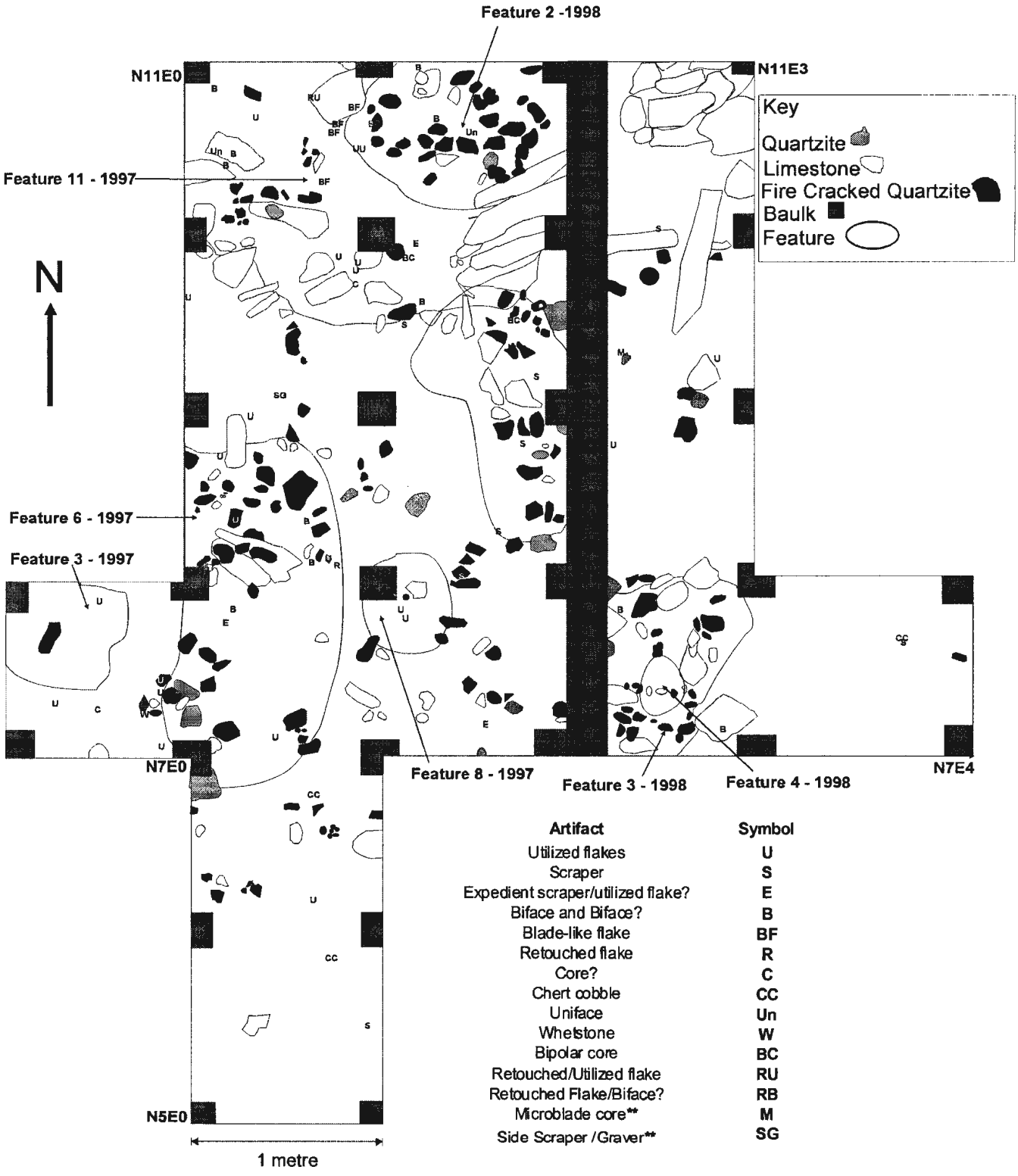
Area A Features

Feature 3 -1997 Ramah chert flake concentration - **N7W0**

Evidence of erosion due to foot and ATV traffic in the form of flakes on the surface of the pathway was noted in N7W0 (Appendix Figure 2). Therefore, level one and probably most of level two were missing from this unit. The feature was composed mostly of Ramah chert debitage along with lesser amounts of other cherts. The concentration was approximately ten centimetres below the surface of the northwest corner of the unit. It measured approximately 65 centimetres east-west by 70 centimetres north-south. The Ramah chert debitage was a mix of primary, secondary and tertiary flakes.

We recovered a single utilized flake, chert debitage and a charcoal sample for radiocarbon analysis from inside this feature. Less than ten

centimetres away, to the south of the feature, we recovered another utilized flake and a possible core. Approximately 20 centimetres to the southeast of this feature we recovered three more utilized flakes and a large whetstone. However, these latter four artifacts are more closely associated with feature 6-1997.



Appendix Figure 2: Area A Feature and Artifact Map

Feature 6 -1997 Hearth- **N6E0; N7E0; N8E0**

The main area of this hearth, found in N8E0, was composed of a cluster of fire-cracked rock, charcoal, charcoal-stained soil and a dense lens of burned and fragmented faunal material[9]. We found charcoal and scattered fire-cracked rocks in N7E0 and another small amount of charcoal in the northwest corner of N6E0. In all three units the hearth was between 20 and 30 centimetres below the surface. The hearth in the latter two units did not appear to be *in situ* and probably was scattered from N8E0. The total area of the hearth material throughout the three units was approximately 195 centimetres north-south and between 80 and 85 centimetres east-west.

We excavated N6E0 and N8E0 in 1997 defining a hearth in each unit, features 5 and 6 respectively. After the 1998 excavation of N7E0, we realized that features 5 and 6 1997 were not two separate hearths, rather, there was one hearth in N8E0 and material from that hearth had been scattered throughout N6E0 and N7E0. This may have been due to Area A inhabitants or post-abandonment disturbance. Based on this information and the fact that no calcined bone or burned soil was found in those two units, the designation of separate hearths and features in N6E0 and N7E0 are now inappropriate.

Charcoal collected from feature 6 was returned a date of 1220 +/-60 B.P. (Beta 108556) (calibrated 1275-975 B.P., 95% probability). Ten artifacts were

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[9] The identifiable portion of this faunal material was identified as probable ringed seal (Stewart 1999).

found inside the area of this hearth including four utilized flakes, two biface fragments, two expedient scraper/utilized flakes, one retouched flake and an artifact we classed as a retouched flake which could also be part of a biface (it is represented on Appendix Figure 2 map as a biface). Less than ten centimetres to the north of this feature we recovered another utilized flake and a side scraper/graver, while a chert cobble was found slightly southeast of the feature. As mentioned under feature 3-1997, there were three utilized flakes and a whetstone found just outside the southwest boundary of 6-1997.

Feature 8 -1997 Ramah chert flake concentration- **N7E1;N8E1**

This was a small concentration of predominantly Ramah chert debitage approximately 30 centimetres under the surface measuring approximately 25 centimetres east-west by 30 centimetres north-south. It was clustered in the northwest corner of N7E1, and extended into the southeast corner of N8E1. We recovered two utilized flakes inside this flake concentration, while less than five centimetres away (to the northeast) we found a scraper.

Feature 11 -1997 Ramah chert flake concentration - **N9E0; N9E1; N10E0; N10E1**

This feature was found at approximately the same depth in all four units, around 40 centimetres below the surface. It continued into the un-excavated north and west units beyond N10E0 and E1. However, the density

of the concentration noticeably decreased, indicating that the flake concentration may end in those un-excavated units. In the excavated units it varied between 80 and 200 centimetres east-west and 35 to 150 centimetres north-south covering approximately 2 m^2 in total.

We found this to be a very dense concentration of predominantly Ramah chert flakes that ranged from large primary (some with visible cortex) to small tertiary flakes. A quantity of flakes of a fine-grained, dark chert were also recovered in these units.

We recovered four utilized flakes, four biface fragments, four blade-like flakes, one unifacial tool, one core, one retouched/utilized flake, one expedient scraper/utilized flake and half a bipolar core from inside this feature. Two utilized flakes and the second half of the bipolar core were found on the edge of feature 2-1998, close to feature 11-1997. A single bifacial disk scraper was recovered just on the edge of feature 11-1997. As well, we collected charcoal for radiocarbon dating, soil and faunal samples and lithic debitage.

Feature 1 -1998 Hearth-
N8E1; N9E1

The feature 1-1998 hearth was identified based on the presence of a scattered charcoal deposit, charcoal-stained soil, fire-cracked rocks (mostly quartzite) and a small amount of calcined bone. The calcined faunal material came from in between the fire-cracked rocks, which were 40-45 centimetres below the surface, in the centre of the east side of N9E1. The charcoal was concentrated in the southern half of

N9E1 and the east side of N8E1 to the east side of the unit. In terms of artifacts, we retrieved just three scrapers and the second half of the bi-polar core found in feature 11-1997 inside this feature. We also collected a soil sample and a charcoal sample. One of the scrapers was a bifacial disk scraper similar to one found just to the northeast of this feature.

Feature 2 -1998 Hearth-
N10E1

We identified this hearth based on the presence of charcoal, charcoal-stained soil, fire-cracked rocks and calcined faunal material mixed in among the fire-cracked rocks. The fragments of bone that were identifiable consisted of black bear, arctic or common tern, Canada goose and flatfish (Stewart 1999).

The hearth was composed mainly of fist-sized, fire-cracked, quartzite cobbles densely clustered in the northern portion of the unit at 40 to 45 centimetres below the surface. This feature extended into the un-excavated N11E1. In N10E1, it measured 70 centimetres north-south by 80 centimetres east-west. It yielded an ample charcoal sample that returned a date of 1110 +/- 50 B.P. (Beta 123954) (calibrated 1095-930 B.P., 95% probability).

Despite the size of this hearth and its clear definition, we found few artifacts associated with it. We found part of a uniface, two utilized flakes, part of a bi-polar core and three pieces of a biface/scraper that all join together (seen as two bifaces on the map because two of the three pieces were found together). A soil sample was also collected.

Feature 3 -1998 Hearth-
N7E2
Feature 4-1998 Midden - Calcined Faunal Remains-
N7E2

This hearth was identified by a considerable amount of charcoal, charcoal-stained soil, fire-cracked rock and a great deal of fragmented, calcined faunal material. We designated the faunal material as a separate feature; 4-1998. Some of the fire-cracked rocks in this unit, most of which were quartzite, formed a loose ring around the faunal material, which was roughly in the centre and slightly to the north of the ring. The faunal material was level with or just below the fire-cracked rocks. The identifiable faunal fragments came from black bear, Canada goose and possibly flatfish, sculpin, (Stewart 1999) and caribou (A. Speiss, pers. com. 1999).

The hearth was spread throughout the unit at approximately 30-35 centimetres below the surface, with the exception of the southeast corner where it was absent. It measured between 20 and 65 centimetres east-west and was the full length of the unit north-south. The midden was just slightly under the fire-cracked rock between 33-38 centimetres below the surface. It was situated in the approximate centre of the unit and was about 28 centimetres east-west and 35 centimetres north-south.

Some of the flakes recovered within this unit had pot lid scars on their surfaces suggesting that they were disposed of in the fire. This hearth was not evident in either of the units directly north or east of N7E2. The charcoal collected returned a date of 1060 +/- 50 B.P. (Beta 123953) (calibrated 1065-915

B.P., 95% probability).

We found only two fragments of a biface in N7E2, one of which was found inside the hearth feature. One portion of the biface was burned and had turned to a milky white colour, we later realized the two fragments joined, forming what might be an awl. This hearth is also associated with a quantity of milk-white quartzite flakes found in this unit and N8E2.

Area A Artifacts[10]

In total 121 artifacts (118 Recent Indian, 3 Palaeoeskimo) were recovered from Area A during the two years of excavation. Most of the Recent Indian artifacts from Area A are expedient in nature (i.e., utilized flakes, blade-like flakes, retouched flakes, expedient scraper/utilized flake, some flake scrapers, a retouched/utilized flake and a uniface) and will be dealt with first. For the purposes of this thesis, expedient tools are non-hafted tools (meant to be used in the hand) probably made on site for short duration use, close to their area of manufacture. Non-expedient tools are those that may be hafted, curated and used in various locations on and off the site. At the North Cove site, this class includes the whetstone, various biface fragments and intentionally formed scrapers (Keeley 1982, 1991). The final group of Recent Indian artifacts to be discussed will fall under the category of 'Other' which will include the cores and

[10] Average measurements for any complete artifacts will usually be found in section title boxes and less frequently with the discussion of the particular artifact.

cobbles. The Palaeoeskimo artifacts will be dealt with in a separate category.

Expedient Tools

Utilized flakes
50 Utilized flakes, 43 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 33.9 mm
Average Width: 25.9 mm
Average Thickness: 5.08 mm

Most of the utilized flakes (Plate 1) are secondary or large tertiary flakes, with use-wear most often present on the distal edge. When use-wear is present on more than one edge, it usually encompasses all the edges of the flake. In terms of raw material, 36 of the flakes are made of Ramah chert, 12 are made of other types of cherts and two are made of quartzite. Of the seven incomplete flakes, six are made of Ramah chert while just one is made from another type of chert. On all seven of the incomplete flakes, the missing portion is part of the utilized edge, possibly indicating that the tool broke during use.

Utilized flakes/expedient scrapers
19 Utilized flakes/expedient scrapers, 17 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 25.8 mm
Average Width: 21.3 mm
Average Thickness: 3.76 mm

Lawrence (1979) suggests that flake scars that are oriented perpendicular to a tool edge are caused by the tool being used in a scraping motion. By contrast, he notes that flake scars obliquely oriented to a tool edge, are caused by use of the tool in a cutting motion (Lawrence 1979:118). Admittedly this is a subjective classification of artifacts based on the

author's impression of the orientation of the use-wear flake scars and the steepness of the working edge exhibited by the flake. Nevertheless, the use-wear exhibited on these 19 artifacts (Plate 2) does differ from the wear exhibited on the regular utilized flakes.

As with the utilized flakes, most of the utilized flakes/expedient scrapers are secondary or large tertiary flakes. Unlike the utilized flakes, use-wear on the utilized flakes/expedient scraper flakes is often found on the distal edge and or the lateral edges. It is rarely on all the edges. Often the edge of the flake that exhibits use is straight. This is either an intentional trait chosen by the user, or it may be the result of the use of the flake. Eighteen of these artifacts are made of Ramah chert and one is made of an unidentified type of chert.

Blade-like flakes
7 Blade-like flakes, 2 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 26.9 mm
Average Width: 27.5 mm
Average Thickness: 4.25 mm

Normally, blade-like flakes (Plate 3) have lengths that are two or three times their widths with a medial arris that runs the length of the dorsal face (Madden 1976:79). However, none of the specimens from this area meet the metric requirement for this class of artifact. Therefore, they should probably be seen as possible blade-like flakes, at best. Six of the seven artifacts are made of Ramah chert while the other specimen is of an unidentified chert.

Retouched flakes
4 Retouched flakes, 3 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 33.6 mm
Average Width: 12.6 mm
Average Thickness: 4.07 mm

This category includes any flakes with just retouch on one or more edges. Three of the retouched flakes (Plate 4) recovered, all of which are made of Ramah chert, are complete. On all four of the flakes the area of retouch is found on just one edge.

Scraping Tools

Of the 13 scraping tools recovered in the field, four are fragments that were mended in the lab forming two scrapers, meaning that there are actually 11 distinct scrapers in Area A. Of those 11 tools, eight are essentially flakes that have been retouched to form the steep working edge that is typical of scrapers. The intentional retouch is the characteristic that separates these artifacts from the previously discussed utilized flake/expedient scraper category. These eight will be discussed separately from the other three scrapers because they are expedient flake scrapers.

Flake scrapers
8 Flake scrapers, 5 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 45.5 mm
Average Width: 34.5 mm
Average Thickness: 12.9 mm

Five of the eight flake scrapers (Plate 5) are made from Ramah chert. All are flakes that exhibit definite scraping damage and retouch, usually on the dorsal face of one or more edges. One of the scrapers (Plate 5: A) is square and exhibits scraper damage/retouch on the dorsal and ventral faces of the opposing lateral edges. Another of the more

interesting scrapers (Plate 6) is a large flake (57.6 mm long, 56.0 mm wide, 11.7 mm thick) that exhibits prominent retouch flakes and heavy use-wear scars on the distal and one lateral edge. The proximal end of the flake is missing. Judging by the amount of raw material used to make this artifact and its overall size (the largest Ramah chert artifact at the site) it may have been a curated tool.

Uniface

A single, salt and pepper coloured quartzite uniface (Plate 7) was recovered from Area A. Since it appears to be incomplete its measurements are not given. The material of this artifact resembles several hundred quartzite flakes that were associated with features 3 and 4-1998. The uniface, as the name implies, is roughly worked on one face and may be a rough biface preform or possibly a flake core. The artifact has several large fractures that are the result of the material having been burned.

Retouched/utilized flake
1 Retouched/utilized flake, 1 complete and measured:
Average Length: 33.5 mm
Average Width: 26.7 mm
Average Thickness: 5.7 mm

This artifact (Plate 8) is a thick secondary flake with a pronounced lip and bulb of percussion. It has negative flake scars over most of the dorsal face with extensive retouch on all edges, except at the point of percussion. A corner of the distal end is missing, probably due to a natural fracture in the material. Some use-wear is

evident on the retouched edges and the artifact was probably used as a scraper.

Non-Expedient Tools

Whetstone
1 Whetstone, 1 complete and measured:
Average Length: 410.0 mm
Average Width: 283.0 mm
Average Thickness: 34.4 mm

This is a very large, tear-drop shaped brown quartzite whetstone (Plate 9). Both faces are flat and smooth. There is a slight possibility that this is due to natural weathering. However, on one face there are numerous linear striations, many of which criss-cross one another. Eight of the more prominent striations measure on average 80-100 mm long and one mm wide. This is an unusual find both because of the size and because the ground tool industry in the Recent Indian Tradition is not well known, particularly on the Island.

Scrapers
3 Scrapers, 2 Round scrapers were complete and measured:
Average Length: 36.8 mm
Average Width: 33.5 mm
Average Thickness: 12.9 mm

Two of the three scrapers are classed as round or discoid scrapers (Plate 10), the third scraper is an elongated biface (Plate 11) that exhibits scraping damage on one lateral edge. The two discoidal scrapers are made of chert while the elongated biface is made of a black chert or possibly a rhyolite.

The discoidal scrapers are bifacially worked. The smaller of the two is somewhat rectangular and exhibits scraper damage on one and possibly a

second edge. The larger discoidal scraper exhibits use-wear all the way around its circumference.

The elongated biface was found in the feature 2-1998 hearth in three pieces and is suspected to have been a scraper. As such, it is a completely different type of scraper from the discoidal scrapers, therefore its measurements are given here: 88.1 mm long, 46.5 mm wide and 17.4 mm thick. While the artifact may have been broken before it was placed into the hearth, it does exhibit several large pot lid scars, one of which may have split the artifact in half. The artifact is essentially a long cigar shaped biface with convex lateral edges. Along the thicker lateral edge, possible scraper damage is evident.

Bifaces
15 Bifaces, 1 complete and measured:
Average Length: 41. mm
Average Width: 21.0 mm
Average Thickness: 6.0 mm

This class of artifacts contains the one culturally diagnostic artifact found in Area A. It is the distal end (blade portion) of a side-notched Ramah chert projectile point (Plate 12) which is indicative of an early Recent Indian group. This point fragment has been snapped transversely through the notches and has been retouched on the opposing lateral edge of each face (i.e., on a dorsal face lateral edge and on the opposite lateral edge on the ventral face).

The only complete biface (Plate 13: D) in this class is made of a blue-grey mottled chert. It has a straight base with definite convex sides. This artifact has a large mass of raw material in the centre of one face that the manufacturer

attempted to remove. Unfortunately, the manufacturer only succeeded in removing a large portion of the lateral edge.

Along with these artifacts there are several other biface fragments in this class, some of which join to form nearly complete bifaces, including two fragments that form a straight based, un-notched, convex sided biface (Plate 13: A). This artifact is made of a blue-grey mottled chert and was snapped in the middle. It is missing a basal tang and the extreme distal tip, both of which are cleanly snapped leaving no distinctive fracture termination.

Another biface fragment, of the same material as the former, consists of two fragments of a distal tip (Plate 13: B and C). The larger medial portion has a transverse fracture that terminates in a slight hinge. The smaller portion is the triangular shaped, distal tip of the previous piece. It also terminates in a hinge fracture. Evidentially this tip broke during manufacturing of the biface using pressure flaking. According to Ahler such breaks are called lateral flake fractures and occur ". . . as a result of excessive force application during removal of a pressure flake from a lateral tool margin, and it is therefore a fracture type particularly indicative of failure during the manufacturing process" (Ahler 1992:42).

There is another side-notched biface (Plate 14) made of Ramah chert that is also broken transversely through the notches. However, the exact function of this artifact is unknown. Referring to it as a biface may be somewhat of a misnomer because the artifact is just retouched on the lateral edges of both

faces, flake scars do not cover all of both faces. The proximal portion of this artifact has a slightly green cast and has been carefully side-notched and basally thinned. The distal end is light grey to white and has been burned, as is evidenced by the white colouration on one corner. The distal tip of the artifact may have functioned as an awl.

Another biface base (Plate 15: D), similar to the former in that it is made of Ramah chert and is just retouched on the lateral edges of both faces, is un-notched and broken through the width of the artifact. This biface has convex blade edges and a convex base.

Of the six remaining artifacts identified as being parts of bifaces, five are made of Ramah chert while the other is a fine grain brown chert with a light blue streak. This latter artifact is a small corner of a finished biface (Plate 15: C). The five remaining fragmentary Ramah chert artifacts represent various parts of bifaces, four appear to be from finished bifaces. One is an almost complete base (Plate 15: F) and another is a small portion of a corner of a biface (Plate 15: B). There is also a flake with a bifacially worked corner which looks like it was broken from a biface (Plate 15: A). As well, there is another lateral edge from a preform biface (Plate 15: E). Finally, there is a long, thin lateral edge from a completed biface (Plate 15: G). The manner in which this biface was broken may be indicative of an impact fracture. According to Ahler, an "Impact fracture is characterized by a fracture plane with evidence of propagation in a direction essentially parallel to the longitudinal axis of the arrowpoint" (Ahler 1992:44).

According to Dockall this type of impact damage, which he refers to as lateral macrofracture, closely resembles and is often confused with, intentional burin blows (Dockall 1997:325-326). Unfortunately, neither Ahler or Dockall describe the type of termination typical of these fractures. However, judging by the similarity and confusion with intentional burin blows, it can be assumed the fracture terminates in a near 90^0 angle. While the 'long, thin lateral edge' biface fragment from Area A does not terminate in a 90^0 angle, it does terminate in an abrupt angle change that is almost perpendicular to the original line of force that initiated the fracture.

Other Tools

Flake cores
2 Flake cores, 1 complete and measured:
Average Length: 72.1 mm
Average Width: 32.6 mm
Average Thickness: 19.6 mm

Bipolar cores
4 Bipolar cores (2 join), 1 complete and measured:
Average Length: 37.3 mm
Average Width: 23.0 mm
Average Thickness: 20.9 mm

In total six core fragments came from Area A, two are flake cores (Plate 16) with numerous negative flake scars on one or both faces and the other four are bipolar cores (Plate 17) that exhibit negative flake scars initiating from two opposing ends. Two of the latter join to form a single bipolar core (Plate 17 A and B). So, in total there are five cores in Area A made of various types of cherts and none are made of Ramah chert. One flake core and one bipolar core

are incomplete.

Cobbles
3 Cobbles, 3 complete and measured:
Average Length: 54.0 mm
Average Width: 38.8 mm
Average Thickness: 29.4 mm

Three natural cobbles (Plate 18) came from Area A, two are chert and one is a reddish quartzite.

Palaeoeskimo Tools

Graver

The single graver (side scraper?) (Plate 19: A) is probably incomplete, missing the distal tip. The artifact, made from a microblade that has been heavily retouched on one lateral edge forming a distinct arc in the blade, is made from a semi-translucent, very fine-grained, brown chert which is a common material in Area B.

Microblade

The single microblade (Plate 19: B) is incomplete, missing the proximal end. It is a small (16.5 mm long) quartz crystal microblade fragment that has been lightly retouched on both lateral edges (one or two pressure flakes removed from each side) of the distal end forming a stem for hafting. Similar specimens were recovered from Area B.

Microblade core
1 Microblade core, 1 complete and measured:
Average Length: 23.1 mm
Average Width: 18.4 mm
Average Thickness: 14.2 mm

This microblade (Plate 19: C) core is made from part of a quartz crystal. At least three, possibly four negative microblade scars are evident on the core.

Appendix Table 2: 1997 and 1998 Area A Radiocarbon Dates

Lab Number	B.P. Date	B.P. Calibrated*	Context
Beta-108556	1220+/-60	1275-975**	Feature 3 and 6 -1997
Beta-123953	1060+/-50	1065-915	Features 3 and 4-1998
Beta-123954	1110+/-50	1095-930	Features 11-1997 and 2-1998

*Calibrated to 2 sigma, 95% probability (**Reader, pers. com. 1997)

Area A Paleoethnobotanical Analysis

A paleoethnobotanical analysis was conducted on soils collected from Areas A and B (O'Driscoll 1998). No carbonized seeds were recovered, but the presence of charred spruce and fir needles suggests that residents of both areas were using these species as fuel for fires.

Area A Faunal Analysis

During the 1997 - 1998 excavations nearly 12,500 pieces of faunal material were recovered from Area A. This material, analyzed by Kathlyn Stewart of the Canadian Museum of Nature (Stewart 1999), allows us to suggest a possible subsistence strategy practiced by the Area A occupants and their

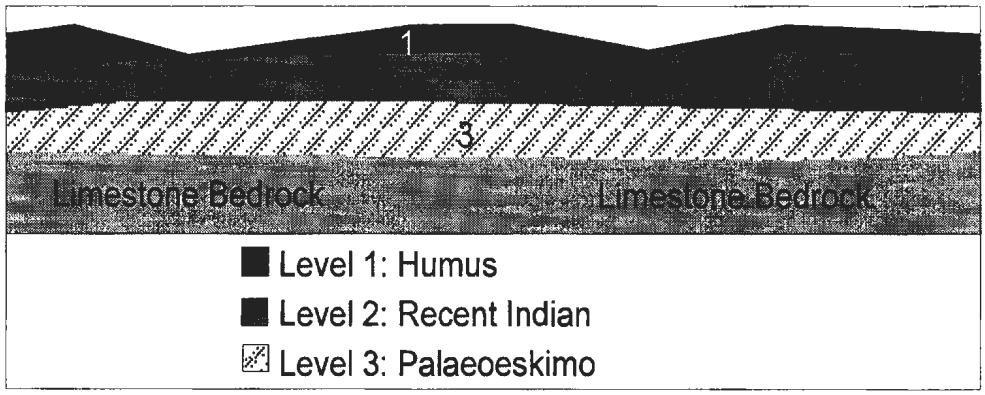
season of occupation (see Chapter Three above). Most of the faunal material was found in association with the hearths and was therefore calcined and greatly fragmented. The result is a possibly biased sample with less than two percent (1.9% or 233) of the elements identified to Class or lower. This also means the sample probably favours more robust elements such as phalanges. Therefore, minimum numbers of individuals (MNI) were not calculated (Stewart 1999).

Stewart identified black bear (adult and sub-adult) (*Ursus* sp.), ringed (*Phoca* cf *hispida*) and possibly harbour and/or harp seal (*Phoca* sp.), Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*) and tern (*Sterne* sp.), flatfish (*Pleuronectidae*) and sculpin (*Cottidae*) (1999). Further, a single piece of burned and fragmented bone originally thought to be from a white tailed deer was re-identified as caribou (*Rangifer* sp.) by Arthur Speiss (pers. com. 1999).

Area B

Area B Stratigraphy and Excavation

As in Area A, the cultural deposits in Areas B and C are found within the peat. Despite having been occupied by both an early Recent Indian group and a Dorset Palaeoeskimo group, there is rarely any soil difference that would indicate the start of the cultural level within Area B or C, with the exception of a few places in Area B. In those places the Palaeoeskimo cultural level can be noted by a slightly darker coloured peat. As such, a generic profile diagram for Areas B and C will suffice.



Appendix Figure 3: Areas B and C Stratigraphy

In both areas level one is the humus layer above the peat deposit (Appendix Figure 3). Small areas of erosion were noticeable in Area B in both level one and level two from use of the pathway that passes through the site in that area (Figure 3.2). Level two is the peat layer that contained the majority of the Recent Indian cultural material. Level three is also composed of peat and it contained the Palaeoeskimo cultural material.

Description of Area B

Dr. Renouf first tested this area of the site in 1996, recovering fire-cracked rocks and flakes that she suspected were Recent Indian in origin (pers. com. 1998). Area B is the eastern limit of the 1998 excavations at North Cove, but it is not the eastern limit of the site.

During our two years of excavation in this area we uncovered 624 Recent Indian and Palaeoeskimo artifacts and designated nine features, five Recent Indian, three Dorset and one of undetermined cultural affiliation. The Recent Indian features (Appendix Table 4) include two hearths (features 1 and 12-1997) first recognized in 1997 and expanded in 1998, two flake concentrations (features 8 and10-1998) and a small area of red stained soil with a red stained pebble (feature 12-1998) in a hearth identified in 1998. We identified two of the three Dorset features (all were flake concentrations) in 1998 (features 7 and 9-1998), the other was uncovered in 1997(feature 14-1997). The one remaining Area B 1998 feature was a midden deposit (feature 6-1998) that we could not positively link to the Dorset or Recent Indian occupants of North Cove.

Appendix Table 3 : Area B Features

Feature	Type	Location	Culture
Feature 1 -1997	Hearth	**N21E25; N22E25; N21E24; N22E24**	Recent Indian
Feature 12 -1997	Hearth	**N19E22; N20E22; N19E23; N20E23; N19E24; N20E24**	Recent Indian
Feature 14 -1997	Flake Concentration	**N20E24**	Palaeoeskimo
Feature 6 -1998	Midden, Faunal Dump	**N23E23**	Undetermined
Feature 7 -1998	Flake concentration	**N21E23**	Palaeoeskimo
Feature 8 -1998	Flake concentration	**N19E23; N20E23**	Recent Indian
Feature 9 -1998	Flake concentration	**N19E23; N19E22**	Palaeoeskimo
Feature 10 -1998	Flake concentration	**N21E22**	Recent Indian
Feature 12 -1998	Pebble with red soil	**N19E22**	Recent Indian

Throughout Area B we noted that the early Recent Indian and Dorset components were somewhat mixed due to a lack of vertical separation of their components. This was particularly noticeable in areas of erosion along the path. Although, generally throughout the area Dorset artifacts were deeper than those of the early Recent Indian. As well the components could be sorted based on diagnostic artifacts, raw material and the size of the flakes (see Renouf 1992:93).

Appendix Table 4: Radiocarbon Dates from Area B

Lab Number	B.P. Date	B.P. Calibrated	Context
Beta-108557	1030+/-60	1060-785**	Feature 1-1997
Beta-108558	1030+/-50	1045-800**	Feature 1-1997
Beta-13955	1250+/-50	1280-1060	Features 12-1997 and 8 and 9-1998

*Calibrated to 2 sigma, 95% probability (**Reader, personal communication 1997)

Area B Features[11]

Feature 1 -1997 Hearth
N21E25; N22E25; N21E24; N22E24

In 1997 we thought this feature was a linear hearth within units N20, N21 and N22E24. However, N20E24 does not contain any fire-cracked rocks associated with this feature, therefore the hearth probably did not originally extend into this unit. A cluster of fire-cracked quartzite cobbles, charcoal and hard, burned soil under the rocks define this feature.

In 1998 we extended the hearth to include the northwest corner of N21E25 and southwest corner of N22E25. These units are the eastern limits of the feature 1-1997 hearth.

Throughout all the units, the hearth was at approximately the same depth, therefore we defined it as one large hearth. We now believe that this feature was not a linear hearth, and it may have been two separate hearths because it consists of two distinct clusters of fire-cracked rocks. One cluster was in the western half of N22E24 and the other in the southwest corner of N22E25, the northwest corner of N21E25 and the eastern half of N21E24. Between these clusters we found charcoal and charcoal-stained soil.

Two radiocarbon dates based on charcoal from N21E24 returned dates of 1030+/-60 B.P. (Beta 108557) and 1030+/-50 B.P. (Beta 108558) calibrated to 1060-785 B.P. and 1045-800 B.P. respectively (95% probability). Based on

[11] Faunal, charcoal, and soil samples, as well as flakes, were collected from both of the hearths in Area B.

these dates, the depth of the feature, the quantity of fire-cracked rock and the associated lithics we designated it as a Recent Indian hearth.

In spite of the size of this feature we retrieved just nine artifacts within its boundaries including five utilized flakes, two bifaces, one blade-like flake, and one core.

Feature 12 -1997 Hearth
N19E22; N20E22; N19E23; N20E23; N19E24; N20E24

In 1997 we uncovered this feature in the western portion of N19E24 and the southwest corner of N20E24. In 1998 we discovered that it was concentrated in N19 and N20E23. The western end of this hearth was found in N19 and N20E22. The feature is defined by fire-cracked quartzite cobbles, charcoal, charcoal-stained soil and burned chert flakes in all the units. As well, it was raised above the limestone base of the site at approximately the same level within all the units. Based on the radiocarbon date, the quantity of fire-cracked rock, the depth of the feature and the fact that both the associated Recent Indian material and the hearth itself were at a similar depth, we designated the feature Recent Indian. The date returned on charcoal collected in N19E23 is 1250+/-50 B.P. (Beta 123955) which when calibrated is 1280 - 1060 B.P. (95% probability).

Nearly half of the Recent Indian artifacts found in Area B came from within the boundaries of this feature. As well, three other features (8, 10 and 12-1998) were found within feature 12-1997. As such, there is little doubt that this feature

was the centre of activity for the Recent Indians in this area. The artifacts found within the boundaries of this feature include 15 blade-like flakes, 13 utilized flakes, two chert cobbles, one retouched flake, one biface, one core, and one expedient scraper/utilized flake. There were also 12 Dorset artifacts within this feature including two cores, two retouched flakes, two utilized flakes, one blade-like flake, one piece of tabular chert and one expedient scraper/utilized flake.

Feature 14 -1997 Flake Concentration
N20E24

We excavated this dense feature from the northwest corner of the unit recovering mainly finishing and bifacial thinning flakes from on top of the limestone bedrock and from within a natural fissure in the bedrock. We noted that the soil around the feature was very dark and greasy in texture. We believe that the Dorset people who inhabited the area created this concentration because of the depth, the type of material and the size of flakes that compose it.

We found 11 lithic artifacts within the boundaries of this small feature. They include three microblades, two bifaces, two utilized flakes one tip flute spall, one chert cobble and one schist flake as well as a Recent Indian blade-like flake.

Feature 6 -1998 Midden, Faunal Dump
N23E23

This feature consists of a collection of unburned faunal material located above the limestone base of the site and for the most part in the

southern half of N23E23. It continues west into the un-excavated unit N23E22. Most of the units in this area of the site lacked large limestone rocks, however, several were present in N23E23, some of which covered the top of the midden. Whether the midden was intentionally covered by the people who created it or was inadvertently covered by later site occupants (Recent Indian) is unknown. The only artifact recovered in the unit (not the feature area) was a scraper recovered at 25 centimetres below the local datum, plus several chert flakes, none of which are culturally diagnostic. Therefore, the identity of the people who created the midden is unknown.

The midden consisted of vertebral elements, articular surfaces and a section of a large rib that could be from a large seal or possibly a caribou. On most of the pieces the articular surfaces are fully fused, therefore the midden probably consists of adult animals.

Feature 7 -1998 Flake concentration
N21E23

This is a small concentration of secondary and retouch flakes in the extreme southwest corner of the unit. Just one artifact was found inside this feature, a retouched and utilized flake. However, there were several other artifacts found on the edge of the feature including three scrapers, a blade-like flake, and a microblade fragment. This feature was almost directly on top of the limestone base, which, along with the associated artifacts, suggests that it is associated with the Dorset occupation of the site.

Feature 8 -1998 Flake concentration
N19E23; N20E23

We defined this concentration based on its presence in the southern portion of N20E23 and in the northeast corner of N19E23. The depth of the feature was consistent in both units. It is composed of large, white, primary chert flakes and smaller grey to black chert flakes. The white chert flakes were associated with a large, white, tabular chert scraper/core found in N19E23. This white chert is found in several other sites in the Bird Cove area associated with Maritime Archaic and Recent Indian occupations (Reader 1998b). As well, it has been found in several Precontact Indian sites on the northern Peninsula and southern Labrador. Based on the depth of the concentration and the fact that it was primarily composed of material believed to have been preferred by Recent Indian peoples, we assigned this feature a Recent Indian cultural affiliation.

The artifacts we recovered associated with this flake concentration included five blade-like flakes, three utilized flakes, one biface fragment and one retouched flake. There was also a core and blade-like flake recovered in the feature area that are believed to be Dorset.

Feature 9 -1998 Flake concentration
N19E23; N19E22

This flake concentration is composed of small grey to dark-green chert flakes as well as quartz flakes. We found it in the west side of N19E23 where it continued west into N19E22 concentrated along the east wall. We discovered most of the flakes in N19E23 below the Recent Indian hearth feature 12-1997 and below and

to the southwest of the Recent Indian flake concentration feature 8-1998. Therefore it seems likely that this is a Dorset flake concentration.

We retrieved many artifacts from inside this feature area. They included six utilized flakes, four tip flute spalls, three scrapers, three microblades, three slate flakes, one core, one biface fragment and one blade-like flake. We also found a Recent Indian retouched flake.

Feature 10 -1998 Flake concentration
N21E22

This is another flake concentration composed of large, white, primary chert flakes that we found in the southeast corner of the unit. As well, we retrieved grey mottled chert flakes that have a vitreous luster and are broken irregularly due to heating. Initially we suspected that the occupants of this area were heat treating chert. However, we recovered no bifaces, preforms or unworked large pieces of this chert. Therefore, it seems likely that these flakes were dumped into a fireplace. Based on the depth of the deposit and the presence of the white chert we assigned this feature a Recent Indian cultural affiliation. We recovered two utilized flakes, a scraper and a core within this feature. A Dorset blade-like flake was also recovered.

Feature 12 -1998 Pebble with red soil
N19E22

This feature was a small area of red ochre stained soil with a small ochre stained pebble in the middle. It was found in the east wall of the unit in a lens of calcined

and highly fragmented faunal material, charcoal and charcoal-stained soil. We collected the soil and pebble. Based on the characteristics of the feature and its depth we assigned it a Recent Indian cultural affiliation.

Area B Artifacts

In total 624 artifacts (147 Recent Indian, 393 Palaeoeskimo, 84 Undetermined culture) were recovered from Area B during the two years of excavation. For convenience the artifacts have again been divided into expedient and non-expedient tool categories. Similar to the artifacts found in Area A, most of the Recent Indian artifacts are expedient in nature (i.e.; Utilized flakes, Blade-like flakes, Retouched flakes, Utilized flake/ Expedient scraper?, and some Flake scrapers). Once again these will be dealt with first. Non-expedient Recent Indian tools found in Area B include various biface fragments and intentionally formed scrapers. The final group of Recent Indian artifacts to be discussed will fall under the category of other which will include the cores, cobbles, the single hammerstone and the tabular chert. The Palaeoeskimo artifacts in Area B will be discussed in a separate section.

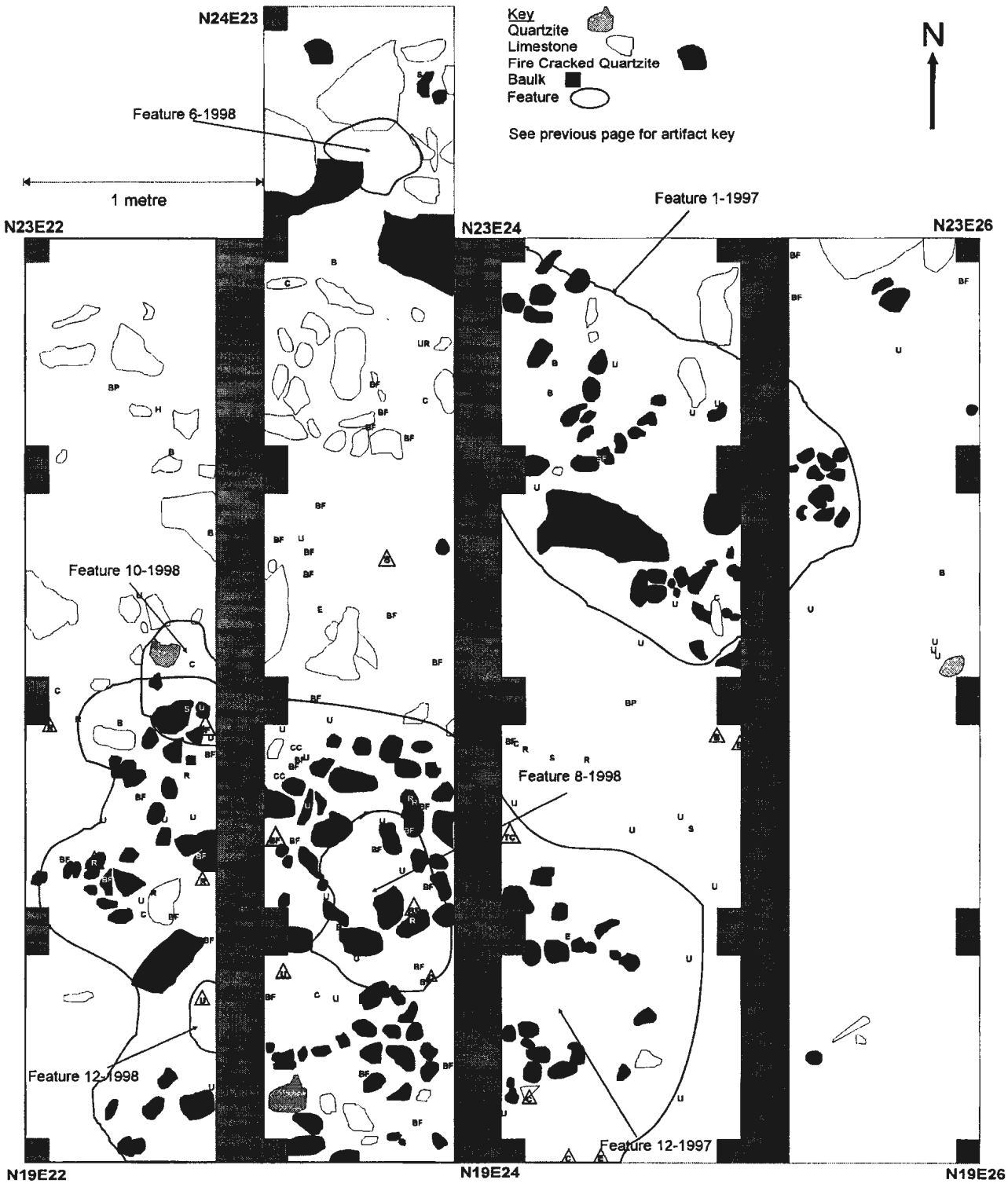
Appendix Table 5: Area B Recent Indian Artifacts

Artifact Type	Total Number of Type
Utilized Flake	60
Blade-like Flake	35
Biface	16
Core	11
Retouched Flake	10
Scraper	8
Utilized Flake/ Expedient Scraper?	4
Tabular Chert	2
Cobble	2
Hammerstone	1
TOTAL	147

Appendix Table 6: Artifact Key for Appendix Figure 2

Artifact	Symbol
Utilized flakes	U
Scraper	S
Expedient scraper/utilized flake	E
Biface	B
Blade-like flake	BF
Retouched flake	R
Core	C
Chert cobble	CC
Tabular Chert	TC
Hammerstone	H

This symbol denotes Recent Indian artifacts found in the Dorset Level.



Appendix Figure 4: Area B early Recent Indian Features and Artifacts

Area B Recent Indian Artifacts

Expedient Tools

Utilized flakes
60 Utilized flakes, 55 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 32.9 mm
Average Width: 23.7 mm
Average Thickness: 6.01 mm

The 60 utilized flakes (Plate 20) are made from a range of cherts including one made from Ramah chert, at least 12 are made from a white-grey chert that is found on several precontact sites in the Bird Cove area and other precontact Indian sites on the Northern Peninsula and southern Labrador. It is distinctive because it often has small pits where crystals have eroded out of the material. The rest are dark coloured cherts (black, brown, grey) often associated with Recent Indian sites. Fifty-five of the 60 flakes are complete, on most the use-wear is evident on just one edge, usually the distal edge on the dorsal face. There is one flake that has use-wear on opposing edges, on the dorsal and ventral faces. At least eight of the flakes show signs of burning.

Blade-like flakes
35 Blade-like flakes, 10 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 28.0 mm
Average Width: 13.9 mm
Average Thickness: 3.77 mm

Unlike the complete blade-like flakes from Area A, the 10 complete blade-like flakes from Area B (Plate 21) do meet the metric requirements for typical blade-like flakes of lengths that are two or three times their widths with a medial arris that runs the length of the dorsal face (Madden 1976:79). Nine of the artifacts exhibit

evidence of burning and five may have been utilized on one edge. Ten of the artifacts are made from the white-grey pitted chert and the rest are made from various dark coloured cherts.

Retouched flakes
10 Retouched flakes, 10 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 46.3 mm
Average Width: 29.2 mm
Average Thickness: 9.43 mm

Two of the 10 retouched flakes (Plate 22) joined, meaning there are nine complete retouched flakes in total in Area B. All of the artifacts are retouched on one edge, usually on the dorsal face. One is retouched on two edges, while five of the artifacts exhibit use-wear and retouch. All are made from dark cherts (grey, black, brown), with the exception of one which is made of a green chert.

Utilized flakes/expedient scrapers
4 Utilized flakes/expedient scrapers, 4 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 54.7 mm
Average Width: 24.8 mm
Average Thickness: 9.25 mm

Essentially, these are flakes (Plate 23) that exhibit use wear and scraper damage and are not intentionally made scrapers. One of these artifacts exhibits possible scraper damage near the striking platform, which, judging by similar artifacts found at this site is unusual. Another utilized flake/expedient scraper from Area B has use-wear on the distal edge while the other two exhibit use-wear on a lateral edge. One of these artifacts has been burned. Three are made from dark cherts (grey, brown, black) and one is made from the white-grey pitted chert.

Scrapers

Of the eight scrapers recovered from Area B, five are flakes that are retouched forming the steep working edge that is typical of scrapers. Retouch is the characteristic that separates these artifacts from the utilized flake/expedient scraper category. Therefore these five will be discussed separately.

Flake scrapers
5 Flake scrapers, 5 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 38.8 mm
Average Width: 26.8 mm
Average Thickness: 7.34 mm

These five expedient flake scrapers have no more than one working edge and are all made from dark cherts (Plate 24). These artifacts are flakes that had a manufactured scraping edge.

Non-expedient Tools

Scrapers
3 Non-expedient scrapers, 2 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 26.5 mm
Average Width: 22.4 mm
Average Thickness: 7.45 mm

Two of these scrapers (Plate 25) have a single working edge and one of the three appears burned. All are made from the cherts typical of the Recent Indian occupation in Area B. These artifacts are intentionally made scrapers.

Bifaces

Since the bifaces recovered from Area B are in various stages of manufacture, the measurements are given in this discussion where possible. A

total of 16 Recent Indian bifaces are represented in Area B (2 fragments join), only two are complete and finished. One is a culturally diagnostic early Recent Indian side-notched projectile point (Plate 26) made from a dark green chert (42.3mm long, 18.6mm wide and 6.20 mm thick). The point is not carefully made, having one straight and one convex side, notches that are unequal in width, a blunt tip and a convex base.

The other complete biface is an unusual tri-pointed object (Plate 27) made of white-grey coloured chert, the exact function of which is unknown. Two of the 3 points on the artifact are thinned, while the third is much thicker. While no direct cultural ties are being implied, the object does bear a resemblance to the killer whale effigy recovered from the burial of a male Maritime Archaic Indian in the grave site in Port au Choix (Tuck 1976:62, 236).

There are 6 fragments of finished bifaces; 3 tips, 2 bases and 1 fragment which may be a tip or a base. The first biface fragment to be discussed is a distal portion made from a black-brown fine-grained chert (Plate 28:C). It is missing the extreme distal tip. The proximal end of this artifact terminates in a large hinge fracture, a characteristic Dockall uses to identify impact fractures which he terms longitudinal fractures (1997:325). Another of the tips, made from a dark and light grey chert, also terminates in a hinge fracture, again possibly indicating an impact fracture (Plate 28: B). Both of these tips exhibit somewhat crude flaking.

The final tip is made from a dark grey-black chert (Plate 28: A). It is very

finely flaked and lenticular in cross-section. The sides are straight and meet distally forming a sharp tip. The type of nondescript fracture that caused this tip to break away from its base is termed a transverse fracture and could have occurred during use or during manufacture (Dockall 1997:236; Ahler 1992:44).

The two finished un-notched bases are broken across the middle in nondescript transverse fractures (Dockall 1997:236; Ahler 1992:44). The larger of the two bases (Plate 29: B) has a straight base and straight sides forming distinct basal corners. It is made from a grey fine-grain chert that has numerous small pits where crystals have eroded out. The other base (Plate 29: A) has been very badly burned, both faces are heavily scarred with pot lid fractures and numerous other heat fractures. As with the other base, this artifact was finely flaked and had straight sides. However, due to the numerous pot lid and heat fractures, it is unclear if this artifact had a straight base. It is difficult to tell the type and colour of the material due to the extensive burning this artifact has suffered.

The final biface fragment (Plate 29: C), made from a grey streaked fine grain chert, may be either a base or a tip, identification is difficult. The artifact has not been carefully flaked and is somewhat thick in cross-section.

The last six bifacial artifacts (Plates 30-33) from Area B are all crudely manufactured; none appear to have been finished artifacts. All exhibit some degree of bifacial flaking, usually limited to the edges on one or both faces. Four are made from grey cherts while the last two are made from a brown chert.

Other Tools

Cores
11 Cores, 3 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 104.7 mm
Average Width: 56.5 mm
Average Thickness: 27.2 mm

Given that just three of the cores are judged to be complete and one of those is 177.0 mm long, 81.0 mm wide and 31.4 mm thick and hence would skew the results, the averages above may not be particularly relevant. The particularly large core (Plate 34) is actually a tabular piece of white-grey chert that has received minimal flake reduction. One edge of the artifact is very sharp and looks to have possible scraper damage. Five (Plate 35) other artifacts are made of a grey-dark grey mottled/streaked chert and are essentially broken pieces of cores that have some negative flake scars. The final 5 artifacts listed under the category of cores are made from a grey-brown coloured chert. One of these artifacts again shows signs of scraper damage on opposite faces of opposing long edges.

Cobbles
2 Cobbles, 2 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 57.1 mm
Average Width: 48.1 mm
Average Thickness: 27.0 mm

Neither cobble (Plate 36) shows signs of intentional flaking, but one may have been utilized on one edge. This same cobble appears to have been burned.

Hammerstone
1 complete Hammertone measured:
Average Length: 49.7 mm
Average Width: 46.7 mm
Average Thickness: 39.0 mm

The single possible hammerstone (Plate 37) from Area B is made from a brown

quartzite material. It measures 49.7 mm long, 46.7 mm wide and 39.0 mm thick. It is unclear if the stone shows sign of use. Since it was practically the only water worn rounded quartzite rock found in Area B it was probably transported onto site for a purpose. Given its rounded shape, use as a hammerstone seems logical.

Tabular Chert
2 pieces of Tabular chert, 2 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 109.4 mm
Average Width: 59.8 mm
Average Thickness: 23.5 mm

Both pieces of tabular chert (Plate 38) are natural and therefore unworked. Both are composed of a mixed grey, brown and black chert. One piece appears to have been burned.

Area B Dorset Artifacts

Microblades
77 Microblades, 24 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 27.4 mm
Average Width: 8.1 mm
Average Thickness: 2.7 mm

Of the 77 microblades (Plate 39) from the Palaeoeskimo component in Area B, 57 were made from chert, including five made of Ramah chert and 20 were made from quartz or quartz crystals. Fifteen of the 77 exhibited some use-wear, most often on just one edge and 4 of the 77 had been retouched. One chert microblade (Plate 40) has notches on both edges and 9 of the quartz or quartz crystal microblades exhibit very fine notches, most often on one side.

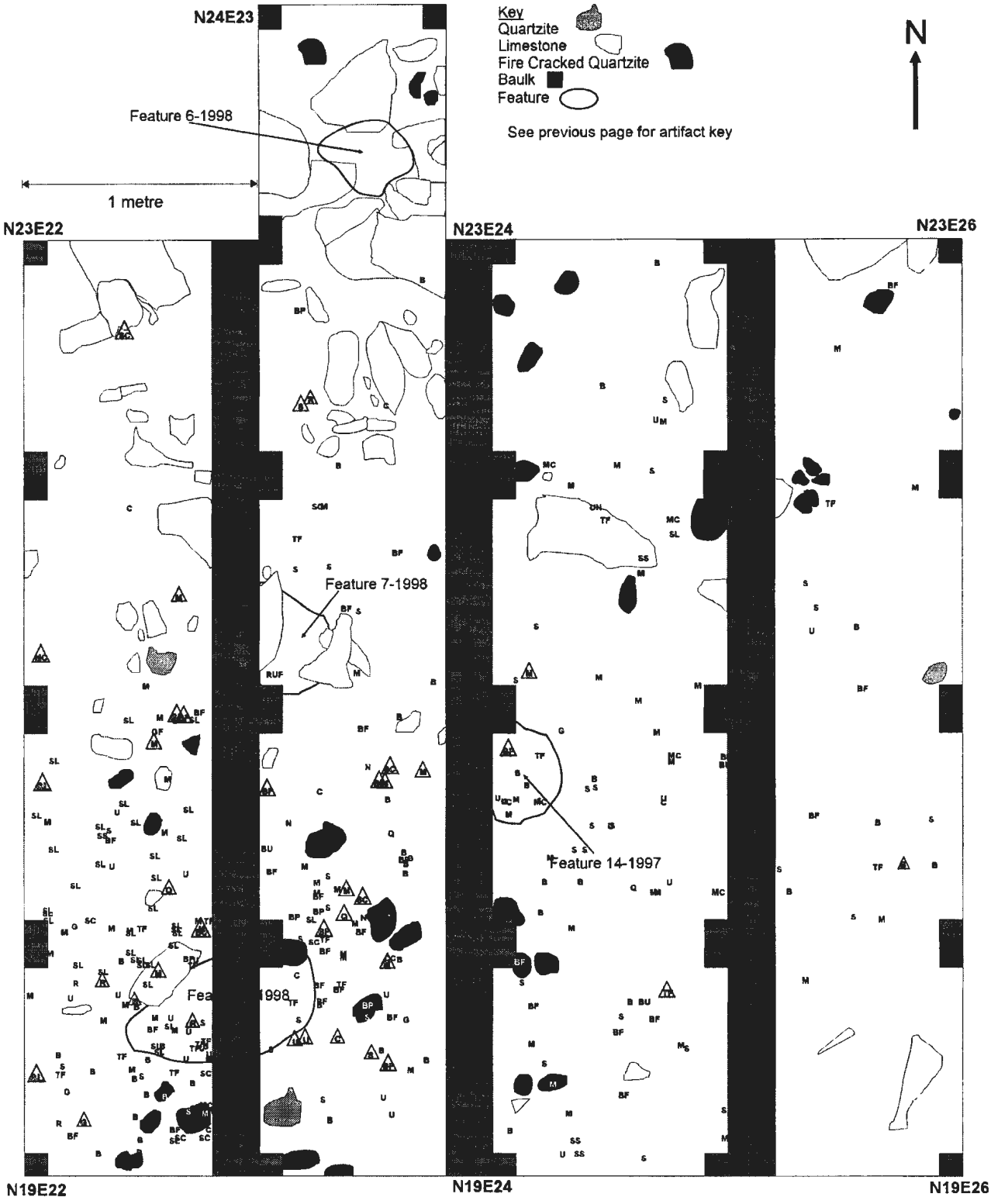
Appendix Table 7: Area B Dorset Artifacts

Artifact Type	Total Number of Type
Microblade	77
Biface	62
Slate Flakes	45
Scraper	40
Tip Flute Spalls	38
Blade-like Flakes	36
Utilized Flakes	32
Schist Flakes	16
Cores	9
Microblade Cores	7
Graving Tools	6
Soapstone	5
Burin like Tools	4
Quartz Crystals	4
Retouched Flakes	4
Ground Nephrite	4
Cobble	1
Side Blade	1
Uniface	1
Whetstone	1
TOTAL	**393**

Appendix Table 8: Artifact Key for Appendix Figure 5

Artifact	Symbol
Microblade	**M**
Biface	**B**
Biface Preform	**BP**
Slate Flakes	**SF**
Scraper	**S**
Tip Flute Spalls	**TF**
Blade-like Flakes	**BF**
Utilized Flakes	**U**
Schist Flakes	**SC**
Cores	**CC**
Microblade Cores	**MC**
Graving Tools	**G**
Soapstone	**SS**
Burin like Tools	**BU**
Quartz Crystals	**Q**
Retouched Flakes	**R**
Ground Nephrite	**N**
Cobble	**CC**
Uniface	**UN**

Denotes Palaeoeskimo artifacts found in the Recent Indian level.



Appendix Figure 5: Area B Dorset Features and Artifacts

Bifaces
62 Bifaces, 11 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 25.7 mm
Average Width: 15.0 mm
Average Thickness: 4.4 mm

Thirty-nine of the bifaces appear to have been endblades, just 11 of which are complete. With the exception of one miniature slate endblade (Plate 41), all of the bifaces are made of chert including one made of Ramah chert. The miniature endblade is very small (19.0 mm long, 8.0 mm wide and 2.5 mm thick) and therefore was probably not a functioning harpoon endblade. Rather, it may have served an ornamental or possibly magico-religious purpose. Of the complete endblades (Plate 42) (including the miniature slate endblade) all are convex sided, with concave bases, with the exception of three that have straight bases. All the complete endblades are tip fluted with the exception of the miniature slate endblade and the straight based endblades.

All of the other Palaeoeskimo bifaces from Area B are broken pieces of knives, endblades and preforms of both classes of artifacts. One was probably a double side-notched grey coloured slate knife (endblade?) (Plate 43: A). The artifact has a straight base, is broken at the notches and is missing a large portion of one face. The notches were cut into the side of the artifact in 'V' shape. Another biface, made of a grey-green coloured fine grain chert, has a straight base and two very fine notches on one side and one on the opposite side. The artifact is broken through the mid section and is missing its distal end (Plate 43: C).

There are four biface preforms. Three have been flaked enough so that

they can be identified as probable endblade preforms while the fourth is a crude, bifacially flaked piece of chert. This artifact is 11.4 mm thick at its widest point but the distal end has been tip fluted on the left and right sides. This is an indication that tip fluting was used as a bifacial reduction technique and as a finishing technique.

Finally, seven of the biface fragments are endblade tips that appear to have been broken during tip fluting. Most often the tips are blunt and thick, however, at least three appear to have been successfully tip-fluted at least once.

Slate Flakes

We recovered 45 grey to silver slate flakes (Plate 44) in the Palaeoeskimo component. Thirty-one of these flakes appear to have been ground on at least one face, although, it is difficult to tell for sure if grinding has occurred because the material appears to break in natural flat planes giving the appearance of grinding.

Scrapers
40 Scrapers, 33 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 22.1 mm
Average Width: 17.2 mm
Average Thickness: 5.1 mm

Most of the Palaeoeskimo scrapers (34) (Plate 45) found in Area B are of the typical form found at Dorset sites, with a steep working edge that is slightly convex, little or no flaking on the ventral face and a somewhat triangular outline. Two of the scrapers are made of

Ramah chert, 14 are made of a semi-translucent chert that is common in this area of the site and the rest are made from various other cherts. Three appear to be made on the distal end of a microblade, while the rest are made from flakes. The complete specimens vary greatly in size, the largest scraper is 39.8 mm long, 23.7 mm wide and 8.3 mm thick while the smallest is just 10.9 mm, 10.9 mm and 2.5 mm respectively.

Tip flute spalls
38 Tip flute spalls, 20 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 20.5 mm
Average Width: 9.1 mm
Average Thickness: 2.7 mm

Since tip flute spalls are essentially flakes that are broken at the distal end, it is difficult to tell if a tip flute spall is complete or incomplete. Nevertheless, 20 of the 38 tip flute spalls (Plate 46) from Area B appear to be complete specimens. Thirty-four of the specimens are made from various types of cherts including seven made from the semi-translucent material common in this area of the site and four are made from Ramah chert. At least two appear to be made of the same material as several tip flute spalls found in Area C, indicating a possible link between the two areas.

Blade-like flakes
36 Blade-like flakes, 10 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 21.6 mm
Average Width: 7.8 mm
Average Thickness: 2.3 mm

According to the definition of blade-like flakes in Madden (1976:79) the 10 complete Palaeoeskimo blade-like flakes (Plate 47) in Area B do meet the metric requirements for such artifacts and they all have just one dorsal face arris line. Nineteen of the blade-like flakes

are made from various forms of chert, 15 are made from quartz or quartz crystal (four of which are notched on at least one side on the proximal end) and two are made from Ramah chert. Three show signs of use-wear while another has use-wear and retouch. One of the quartz crystal blade-like flakes retains the weathered cortex of its original crystal shape (Plate 47: D).

Utilized flakes
32 Utilized flakes, 30 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 30.3 mm
Average Width: 20.3 mm
Average Thickness: 6.1 mm

Most of the Palaeoeskimo utilized flakes (Plate 48) are made from dark cherts (30) including dark grey, black and brown, just two are made from Ramah chert. The largest utilized flake is 53.6 mm long, 37.0 mm wide and 7.4 mm thick and is utilized on the curved distal end. Most of the flakes show use-wear on just one edge while seven have use-wear on more than one edge. One of the flakes may have been part of a flake core, while there is another utilized flake that can be refitted with a core (Plate 48: C). Just one of the flakes has been retouched.

Schist flakes
16 Schist flakes, 15 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 19.3 mm
Average Width: 7.4 mm
Average Thickness: 2.3 mm

Most of the schist flakes (Plate 49) are very small fragments (the smallest is just 13 mm long) possibly broken from the schist whetstone (which will be discussed in more detail later). They are all made from a grey-silver coloured schist and as many as 10 may exhibit some form of grinding on one face. All of the flakes are from the same material as the

possible schist whetstone. It is likely that the 31 ground slate flakes found in this area were formed using the schist whetstone.

Cores
9 Cores, 6 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 46.0 mm
Average Width: 34.1 mm
Average Thickness: 17.1 mm

All of the Palaeoeskimo cores (Plate 50) from Area B were made from dark (black, brown, grey) cherts. Just three of the cores have flaking on both faces, six still retain some area of cortex and one may be part of a bi-polar core.

Microblade cores
7 Microblade cores, 5 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 32.3 mm
Average Width: 22.8 mm
Average Thickness: 10.4 mm

All of the microblade cores (Plate 51) exhibit negative microblade scars. Five of the cores are made from chert and two are made from quartz. One of the cores appears to be expended. This same core is extensively retouched on one edge, indicating that it may have been used for another purpose after it was no longer useful as a microblade core.

Graving tool
6 Graving tool, 5 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 37.1 mm
Average Width: 11.3 mm
Average Thickness: 5.5 mm

These artifacts (Plate 52) are made from microblades (some still retain their double arris lines on the dorsal face) that have been retouched on one edge forming an arc in the blade which becomes the working edge. Some of these tools end in a sharp point distally,

while others are blunt and unworked on the distal end. Therefore, they may have functioned as side scrapers or, if the sharp tip was used, possibly gravers. All of these tools are made from dark fine-grained cherts (black, brown dark grey).

Soapstone

Five pieces of soapstone, or steatite, were recovered from Area B. Three of those pieces fit together (Plate 53: B, C and D) to form part of an edge and lip of a vessel. The material used to make this vessel is not a high quality soapstone, therefore the vessel has thick walls (11.1 mm). The fourth piece (Plate 54) is also a side and lip fragment of a vessel; it has a gouged suspension hole near the top of the edge. However, this vessel fragment is made from a better quality material and as a result the piece is just 7.3 mm thick. The last piece of soapstone is little more than a flake and may not actually be soapstone (Plate 53: A) .

Burin-like tools
4 Burin-like tools, 2 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 22.8 mm
Average Width: 14.0 mm
Average Thickness: 2.4 mm

All four of these artifacts (Plate 55) are made from a grey to light brown coloured slate, similar to the slate flakes found in this area. Interestingly, the thickness of all four artifacts ranges between 2.4 and 2.9 mm. This may indicate that all four were made to fit one particular

handle. The three complete specimens are notched and prepared for hafting.

Quartz Crystals

We recovered 4 small natural quartz crystal fragments (Plate 56) in this area of the site. Three are the tip of crystals and all appear to be natural. The fourth is the mid-section of a crystal and may have been battered in an attempt to prepare it for flaking.

Retouched flake
4 Retouched flakes, 4 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 33.4 mm
Average Width: 22.9 mm
Average Thickness: 2.8 mm

All four of the retouched flakes (Plate 57) are made of dark chert, one is made of Ramah chert. One is retouched bifacially, one is retouched on opposing edges, another is retouched and utilized on one edge and the last is retouched on just one edge.

Nephrite
4 Nephrite flakes , 4 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 20.7 mm
Average Width: 13.4 mm
Average Thickness: 4.3 mm

All of the pieces appear to be flakes or small worked pieces (Plate 58). Three of the pieces are ground on just one face forming a sharpened edge, while the third is ground on three faces forming a rectangle. The first three may be flakes from a nephrite axe or celt.

Cobble

A single unworked piece of chert (Plate 59) was found in the Palaeoeskimo context of Area B. The material has cortex on one end which is brown-grey in colour and the inside is a dark grey. The material is common within the Palaeoeskimo tool kit recovered from this area of the site.

Side Blade

This artifact (Plate 60) is a small, thin, bi-pointed artifact, unifacially worked and leaf shaped. It may be a broken portion of another artifact.

Uniface

This artifact could be classed as a stemmed smokey quartz material utilized microblade (Plate 61). The proximal end has been retouched on both edges forming a broad stem.

Whetstone

This artifact (Plate 62) is ground smooth on part of one face; it is probably a flake knocked from a schist tool such as a whetstone. Schist is such a soft material that it would make a good whetstone, particularly for grinding another soft material such as slate.

Appendix Table 9: Area B Culturally Undetermined Precontact Artifacts

Artifact Type	Total Number of Type
Utilized Flakes	38
Blade-like Flakes	13
Bifaces	9
Core	5
Retouched Flake	4
Scraper	4
Utilized flake/ Expedient scraper?	4
Cobbles	2
Quartzite pebbles	2
Ground Flake	1
Hammerstone	1
Uniface	1
TOTAL	84

Area C

Description of Area C

This area, first tested in 1997 by David Reader, contains two flake concentrations, one each identified in 1997 and 1998 and a hearth identified in 1998. We excavated only 6 m^2 in this area mainly because the cultural deposits are buried under almost a metre of peat. Despite this, a culturally diagnostic early Recent Indian artifact came from this area in 1997, a lanceolate biface. In 1998, we identified a Dorset Palaeoeskimo occupation in this area which is the northern limit of the site.

Appendix Table 10: Area C Features

Feature	Type	Location	Culture
Feature 9 -1997	Flake Concentration	**N18E7**	Recent Indian
Feature 13-1997	Hearth	**N20E11**	Recent Indian
Feature 5 -1998	Flake concentration	**N19E7**	Palaeoeskimo

Area C Features

Feature 9 -1997 Flake Concentration
N18E7

This is a concentration of large white chert flakes that we found approximately ten centimetres above the limestone base of the site at 50-60 centimetres below the surface. The soil around the feature is stained black from charcoal, some of which we collected for a radiocarbon sample. We assigned this feature a Recent Indian classification based on two lines of evidence; the feature's elevation above the limestone site base, and the fact that the predominant lithic type in the concentration is white chert. This chert type is found at other areas in North

Cove and is always associated with the Recent Indian occupation.

There are no artifacts within this flake concentration. Indeed, just four artifacts were found in the four units around the feature, they included a biface, and three blade-like flakes.

Feature 13-1997 Hearth
N20E11

This feature is defined by charcoal, charcoal-stained and burned subsoil and a few fire-cracked rocks. Most of the hearth is concentrated in the western half of the unit and is well above the limestone base of the site at 46-50 centimetres below surface. Based on this depth and the only associated artifact, the base of a Recent Indian biface, the hearth is part of the Recent Indian occupations of the site.

Feature 5 -1998 Flake concentration
N19E7

This concentration is composed mainly of primary, fine-grained dark green and beige chert flakes. We found the flakes over an area of 30 centimetres by 40 centimetres in the southwest corner of the unit almost directly on top of the limestone base of the site. However, the majority of the flakes were clustered in the centre of this area. Considering the depth from which they originate and the material type they are likely due to the Dorset occupation of the site. There were no artifacts inside of this feature

Area C Recent Indian Artifacts

Appendix Table 11: Area C Recent Indian Artifacts

Artifact Type	Total Number of Type
Blade-like Flake	3
Utilized Flake	2
Biface	2
Retouched Flake	1
TOTAL	8

Blade-like flakes
3 Blade-like flakes, 3 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 27.9 mm
Average Width: 10.9 mm
Average Thickness: 3.1 mm

The three blade-like flakes (Plate 63) above do meet the requirements for such artifacts as described by Madden (1976:79). All three are made from the same brown/black fine-grained chert. Two of the flakes have an area of use-wear along one edge.

Utilized Flake

Only one of the two utilized flakes (Plate 64) found in this area were complete and this is just a possible utilized flake. This flake has what appears to be use-wear on the distal end and a lateral edge, while the other flake has use-wear on just a small portion of a lateral edge. The possible utilized flake is made from the same material as the three blade-like flakes. The other utilized flake is made from a coarse white chert.

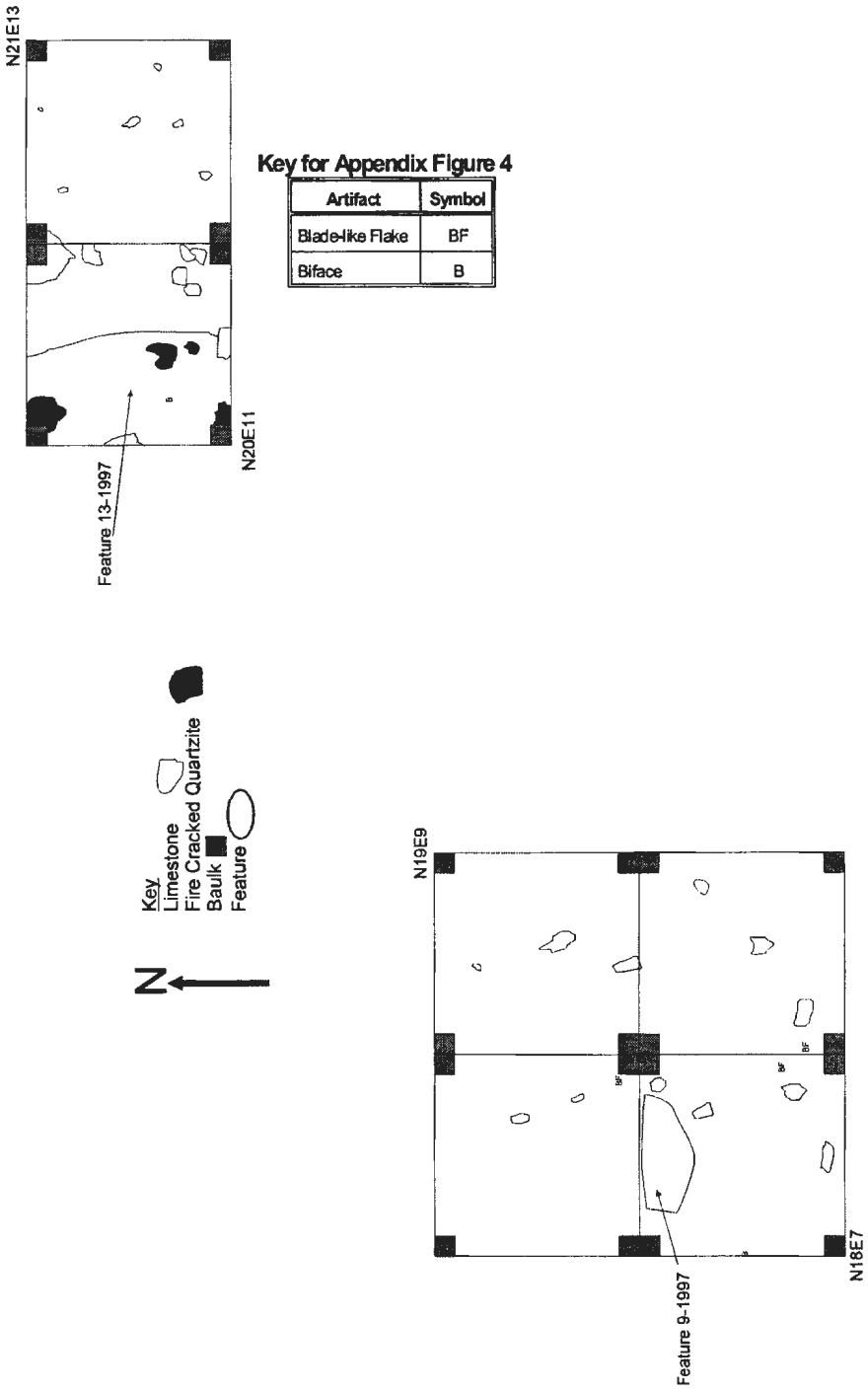
Bifaces

Two Recent Indian bifaces were found in Area C, one thin lanceolate

biface (Plate 65: B) with a rounded tip and a straight base and one rounded biface base fragment (Plate 65: A). The lanceolate biface is 89.4 mm long, 38.8 mm wide and 9.2 mm thick. Such bifaces are most often associated with early Recent Indian groups.

Retouched Flake

The only retouched flake (Plate 66) from this area looks to be a portion of a larger flake. Again, it is made from the same material as the possible utilized flake and the three blade-like flakes.



Appendix Figure 6: Area C Recent Indian Features and Artifacts

Area C Dorset Artifacts

Appendix Table 12: Area C Dorset Artifacts

Artifact Type	Total Number of Type
Tip Flute Spall	19
Microblade	4
Blade-like Flake	3
Scraper	2
Quartz Crystal	2
Utilized Flake	1
Schist Flake	1
Biface	1
TOTAL	30

Tip flute spalls
19 Tip flute spalls, 13 were complete and measured:
Average Length: 15.7 mm
Average Width: 8.8 mm
Average Thickness: 2.8 mm

Two pairs of tip flute spalls (4 spalls in total) overlap each other and hence are from the same endblade. It is difficult to tell if a tip flute spall (Plate 67) is complete because it is essentially a flake that is broken at the distal end. Despite this difficulty 13 of the tip flute spalls appear to be complete. All of the spalls in Area C are made from various types of dark cherts, similar to those found in Area B, with the exception of four; three are made from a grey-white chert and the fourth is made from a light green chert. Several of the spalls appear to be made of a material that was found in Area B.

Microblade

Four incomplete microblades (Plate 68) were also found in this area. Three are made from chert and one is made from quartz. Even though they are incomplete neither looks to have been large when complete.

Blade-like Flakes

Of the three blade-like flakes (Plate 69) found one is made from black chert and two are made of quartz, one of which is complete. The complete artifact (Plate 69: B) is notched on the proximal end, has a single dorsal face arris line and measures 20.5 mm long, 8.2 mm wide and 2.8 mm wide, thus it meets the requirements for a blade-like flake laid out by Madden (1976:79).

Scraper

Of the two scrapers (Plate 70) found in the Palaeoeskimo component in Area C, one is made of quartz and is incomplete and the other is complete and made of a green chert. Both are typical Dorset scrapers, unifacially worked and somewhat triangular in outline with steep working edges.

Quartz Crystals

Two small natural quartz crystal fragments (Plate 71) were recovered in this area of the site. Both are the tip of crystals and are unworked.

Utilized Flake

The single utilized flake found is a secondary flake made of black chert. It has been utilized on a distal corner (Plate 72).

Schist Flake

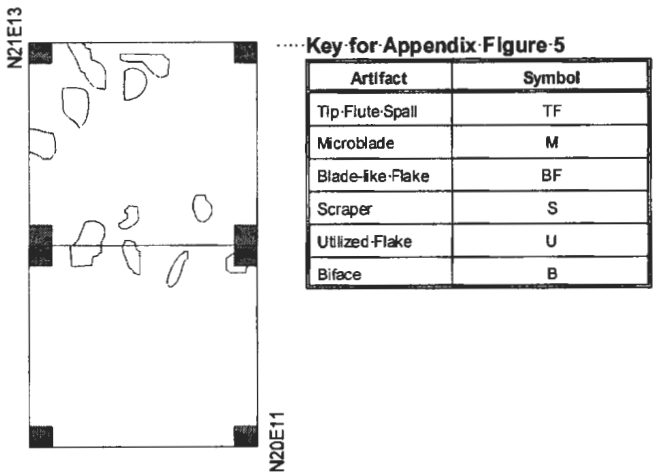
A single silver coloured schist flake (Plate 73) measuring 11.1 mm long, 6.5 mm wide and 2.1 mm thick was found in Area C. The artifact may have been ground on one or both faces.

Biface

Finally, we recovered one side-notched biface (Plate 74) base from this area. One of the notches is very wide, almost forming an expanding base on that side. The biface broke just above the notches where a linear intrusion of white material appears. The base appears to have been basally thinned.

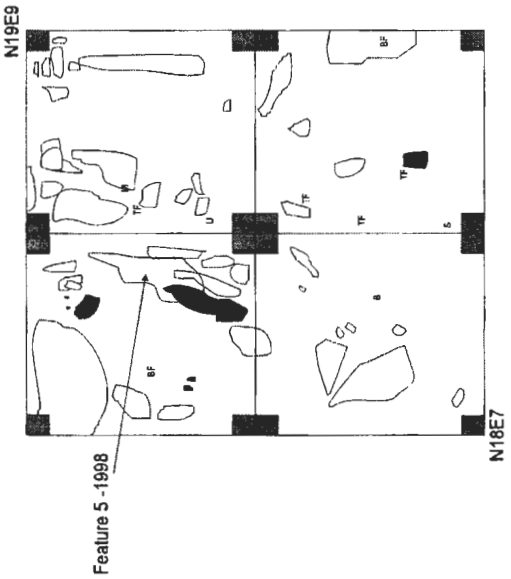
Appendix Table 13: Area C Culturally Undetermined Precontact Artifacts

Artifact Type	Total Number of Type
Utilized Flakes	1
Cobbles	1
TOTAL	2



Key for Appendix Figure 5

Artifact	Symbol
Tip Flute Spall	TF
Microblade	M
Blade-like Flake	BF
Scraper	S
Utilized Flake	U
Biface	B



Appendix Figure 7: Area C Dorset Features and Artifacts

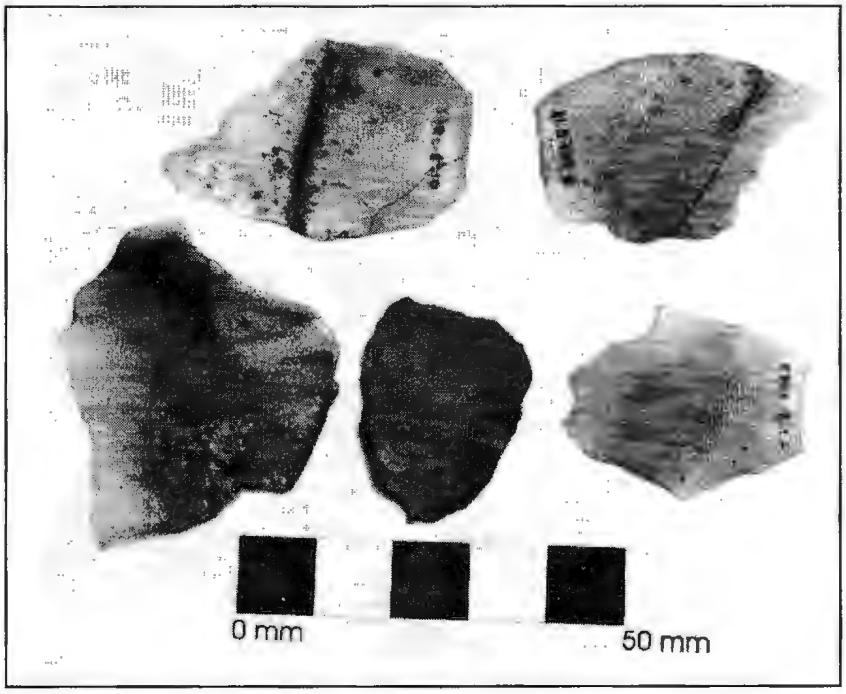


Plate 1: Selected utilized flakes from Area A

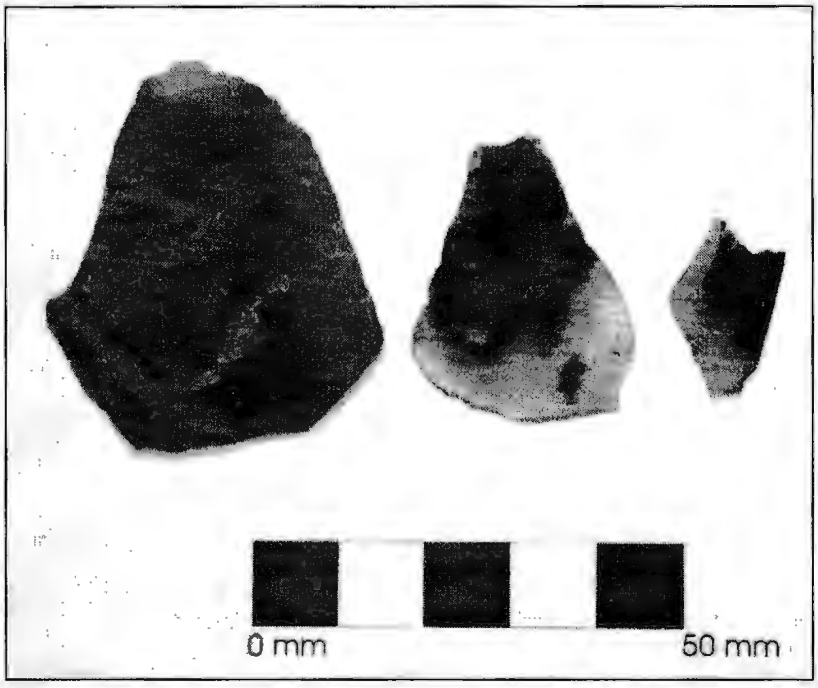


Plate 2: Selected utilized flakes/expedient scrapers from Area A

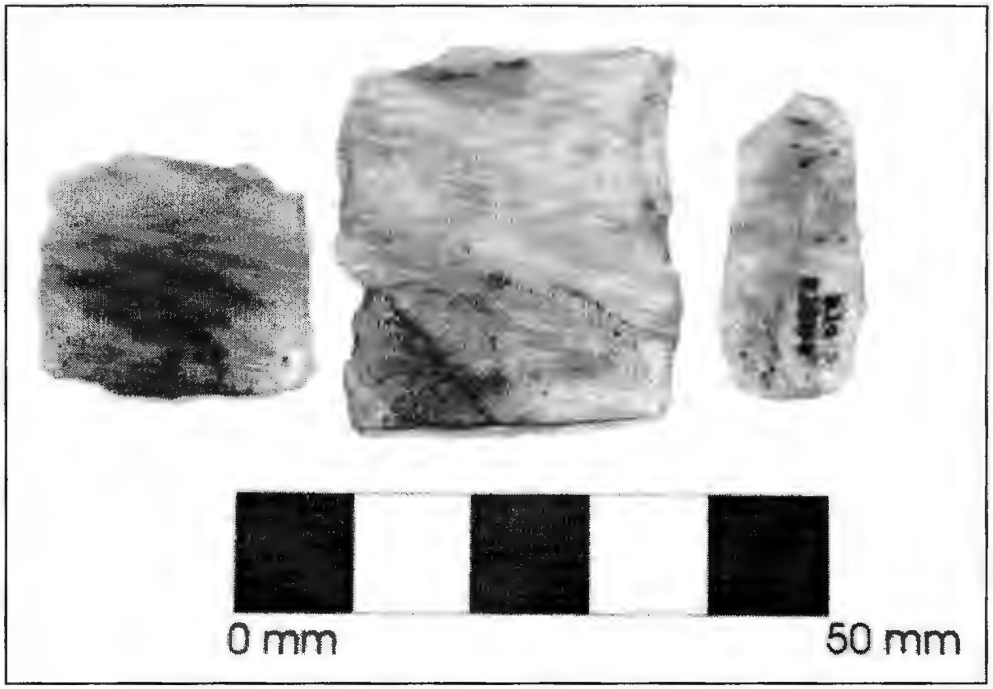


Plate 3: Selected blade-like flakes from Area A

Plate 4: Selected retouched flakes from Area A

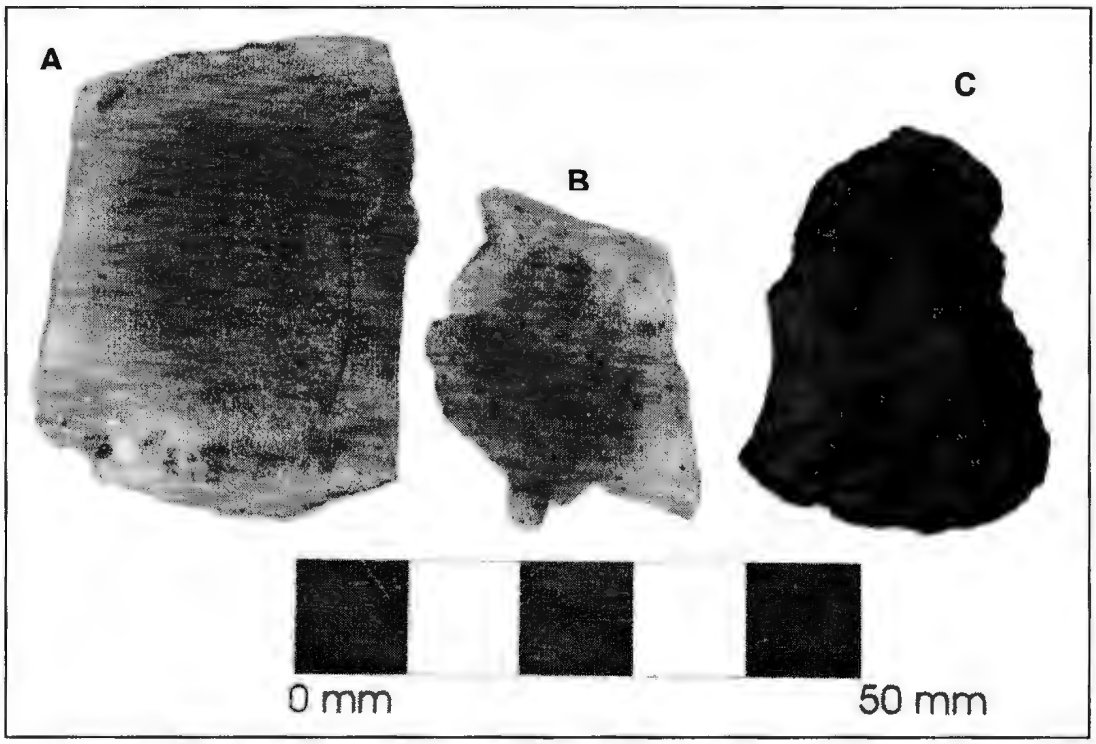


Plate 5: Selected flake scrapers from Area A

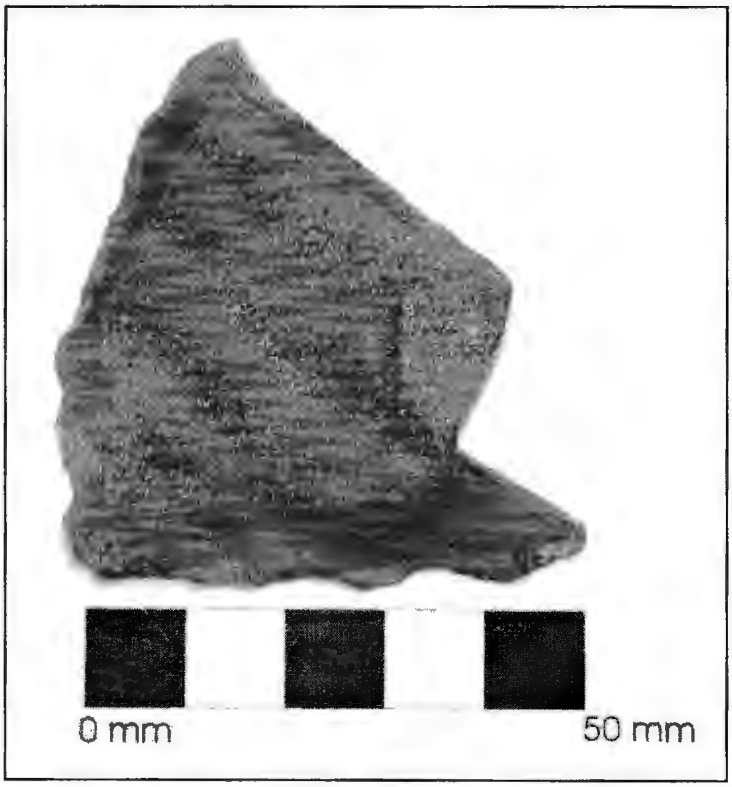


Plate 6: Large flake scraper from Area A

Plate 7: Uniface from Area A

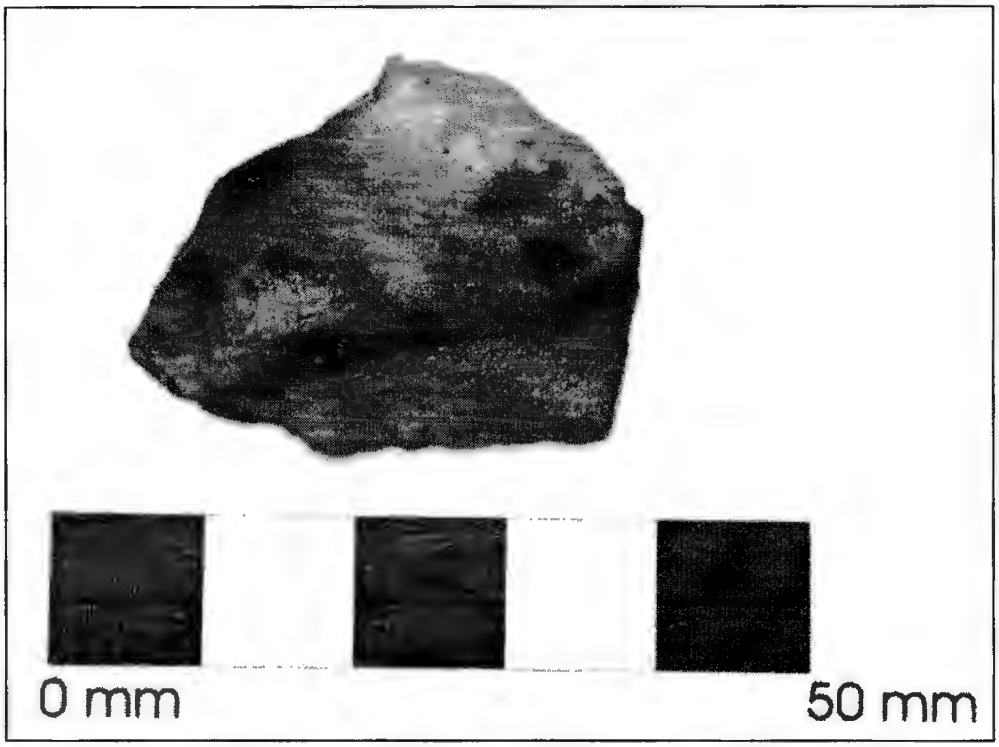


Plate 8: Retouched/utilized flake from Area A

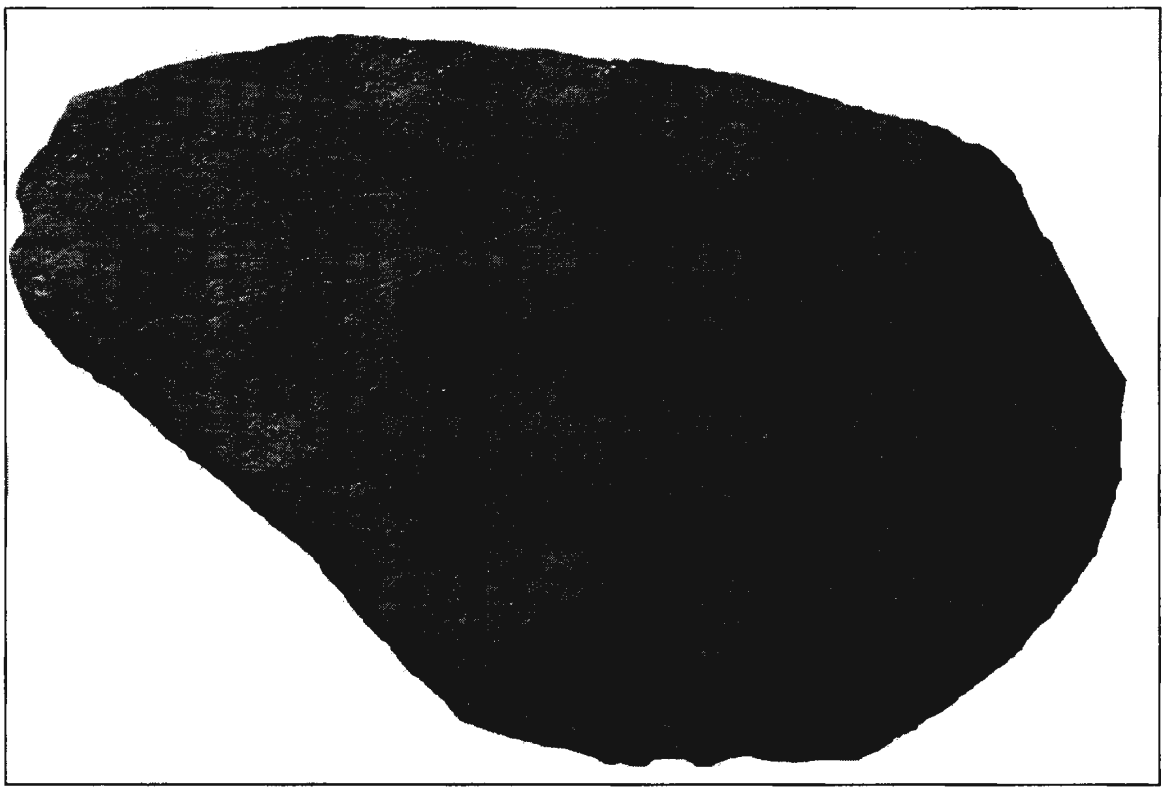


Plate 9: Forty centimetre long quartzite whetstone from Area A

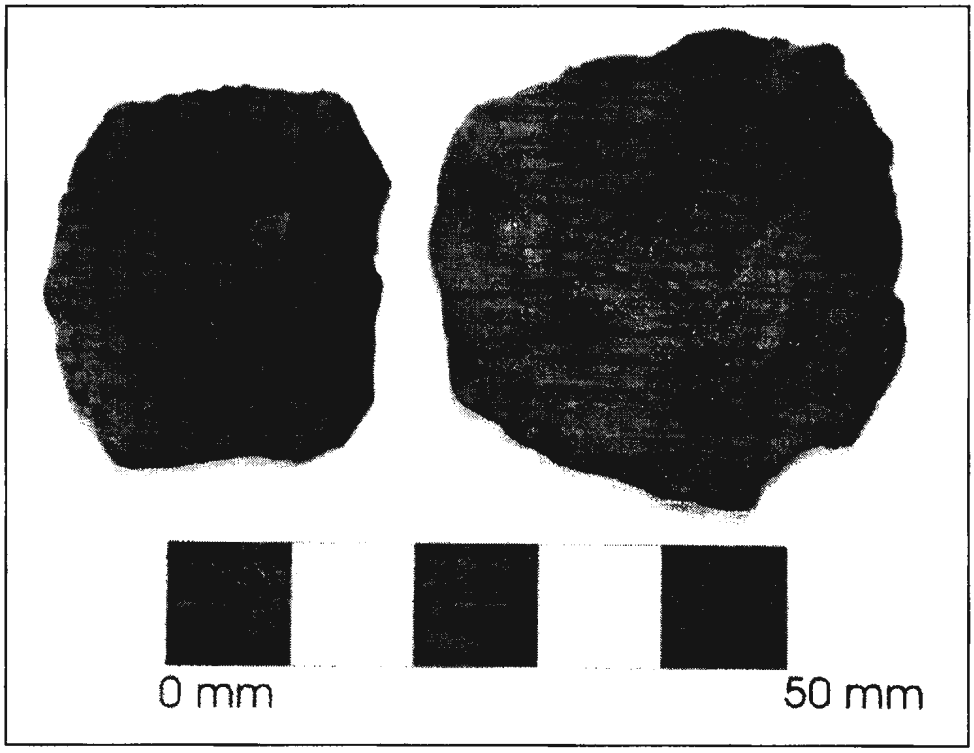


Plate 10: Discoidal scrapers from Area A

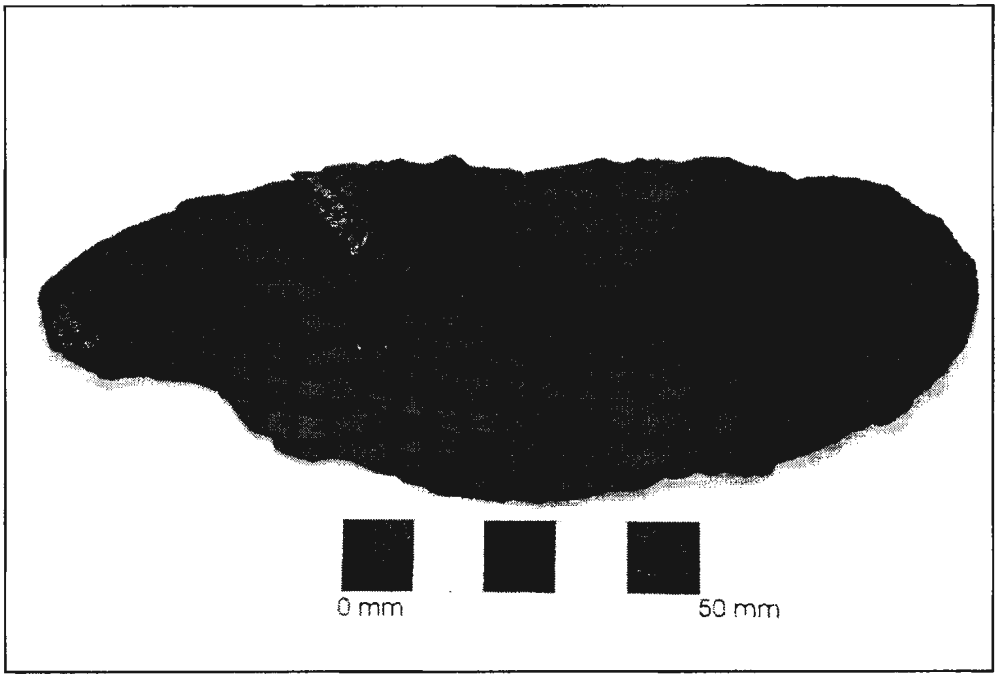


Plate 11: Elongated biface/possible scraper from Area A

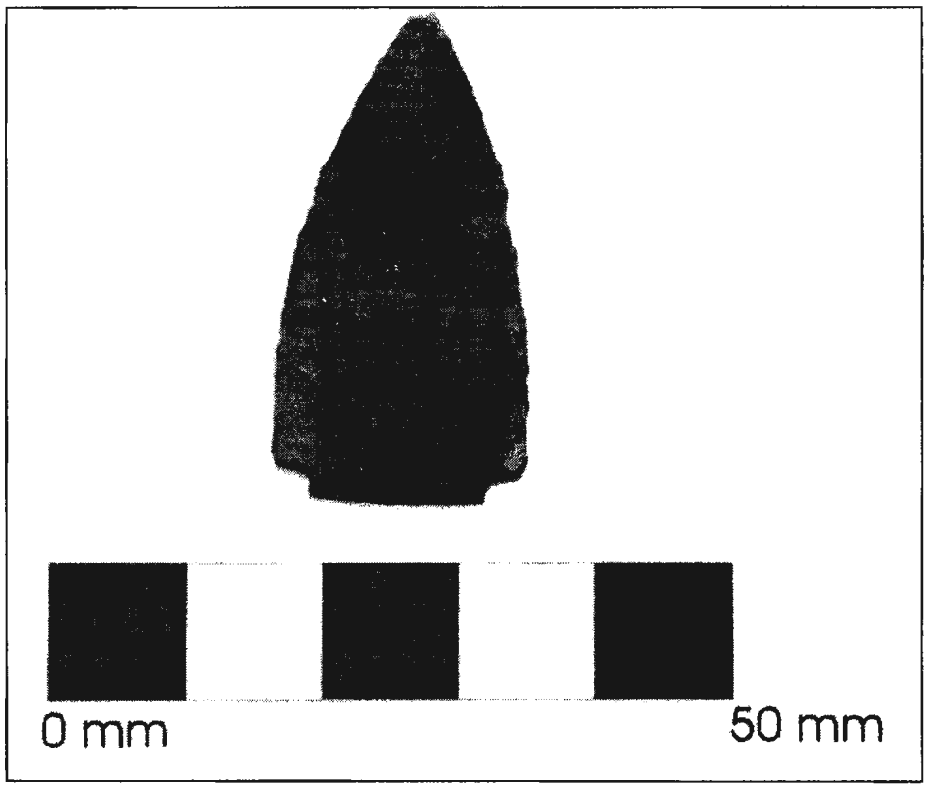


Plate 12: Side-notched early Recent Indian projectile point from Area A

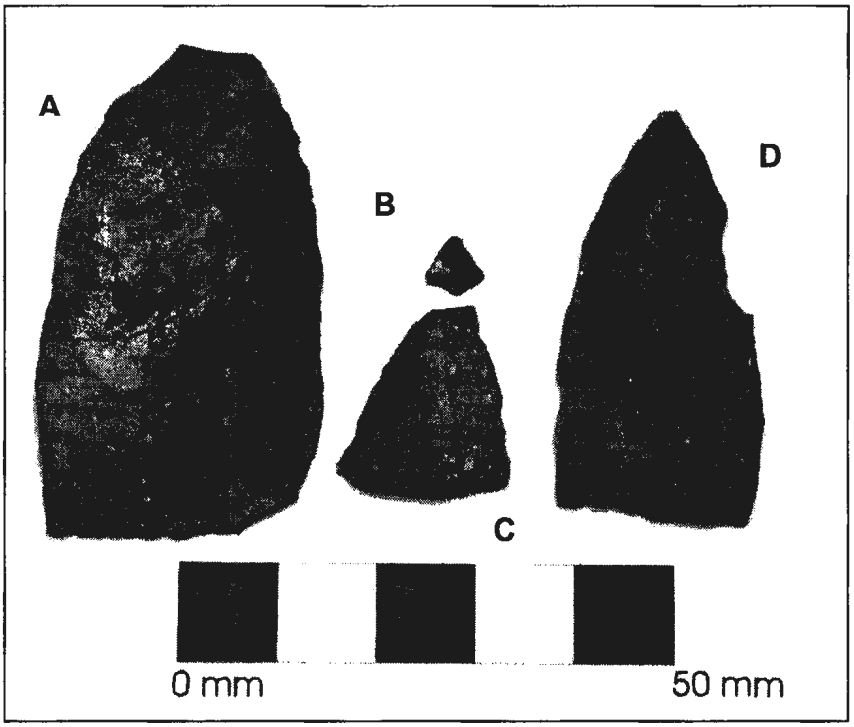


Plate 13: Recent Indian bifaces from Area A

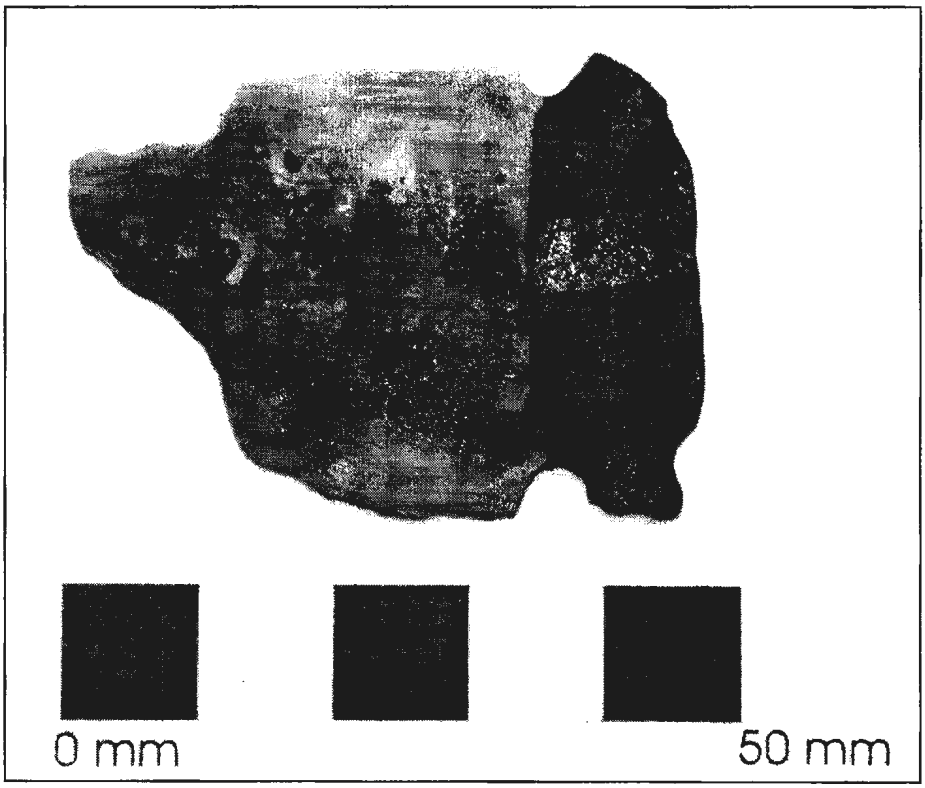


Plate 14: Possible awl from Area A

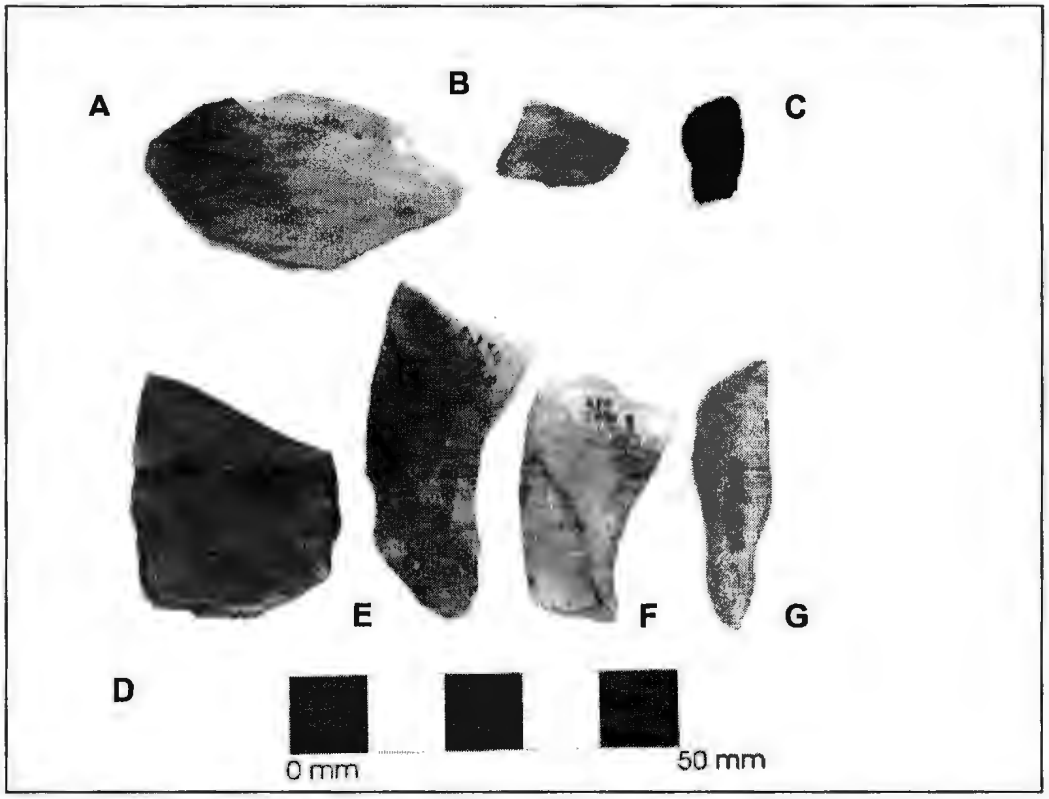


Plate 15: Biface fragments from Area A

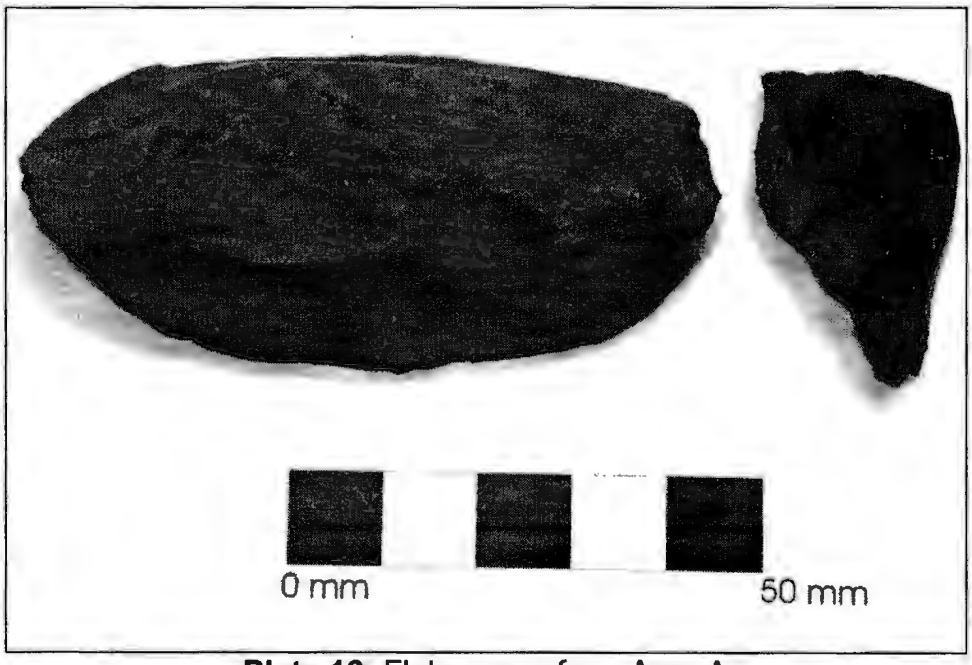


Plate 16: Flake cores from Area A

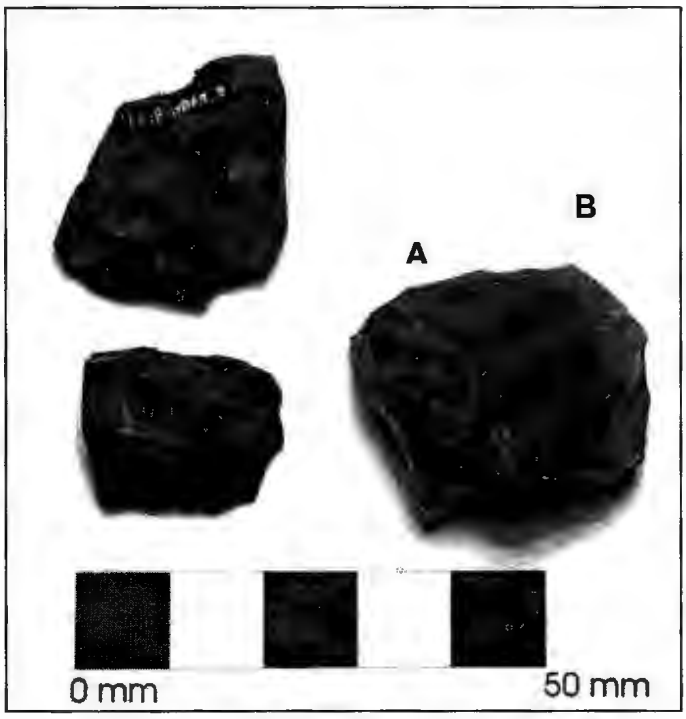


Plate 17: Bi-polar cores from Area A

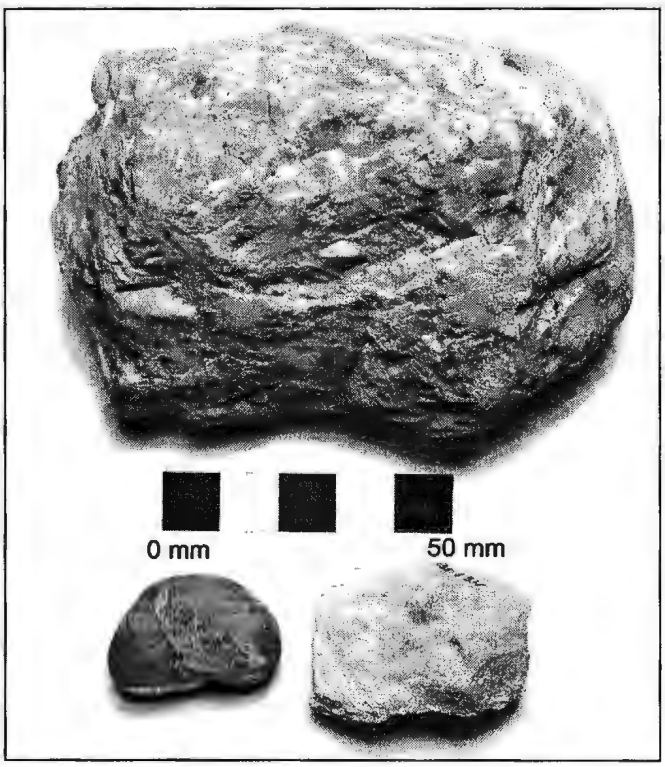


Plate 18: Cobbles from Area A

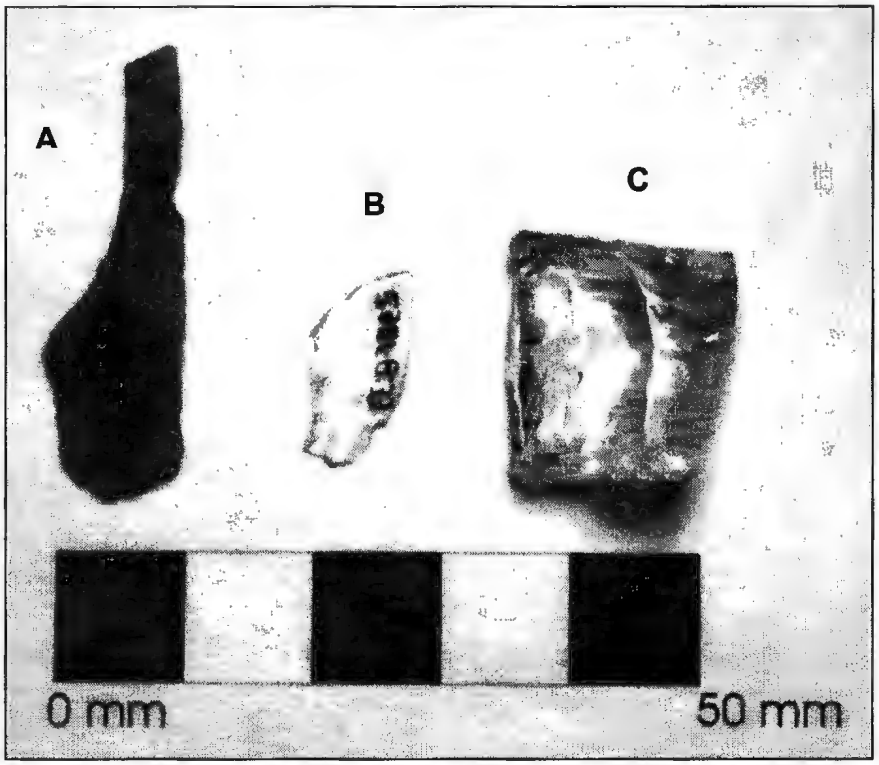


Plate 19: Palaeoeskimo artifacts from Area A

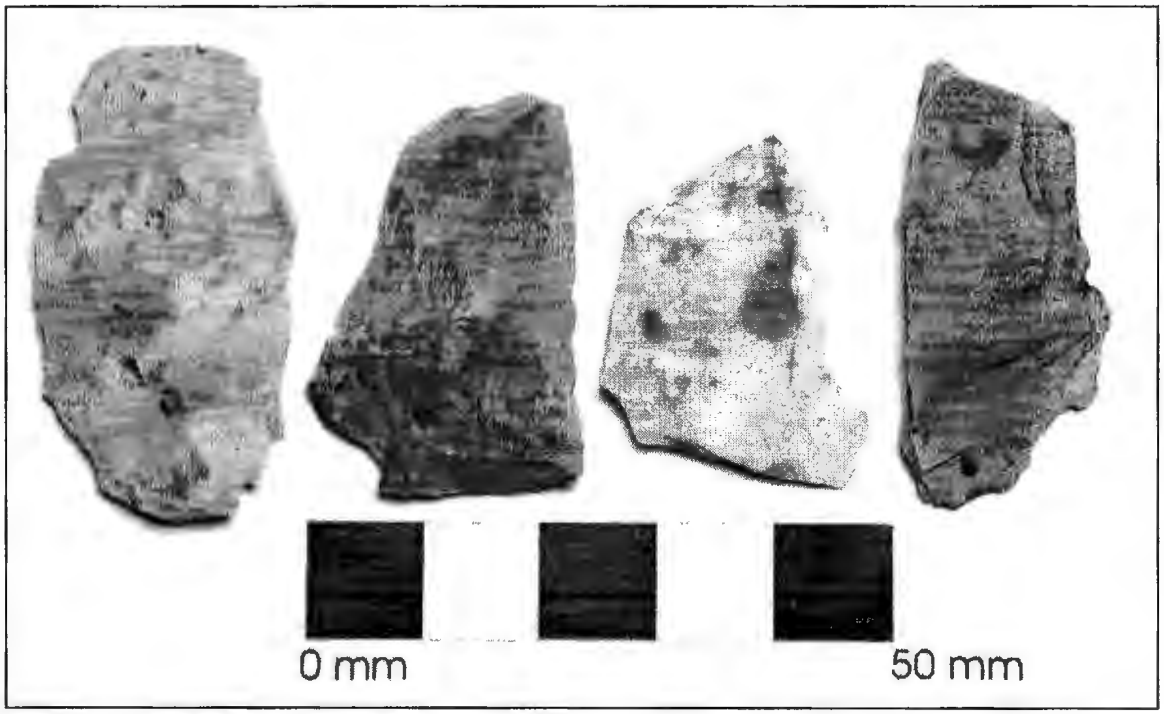


Plate 20: Selected Recent Indian utilized flakes from Area B

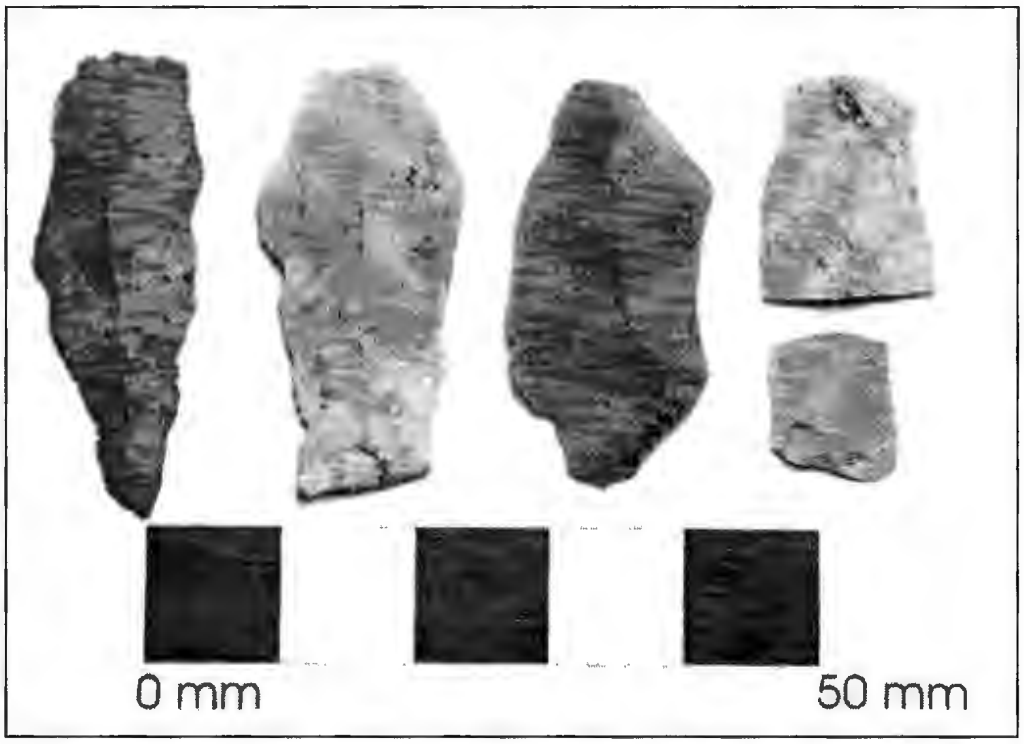


Plate 21: Selected Recent Indian blade-like flakes from Area B

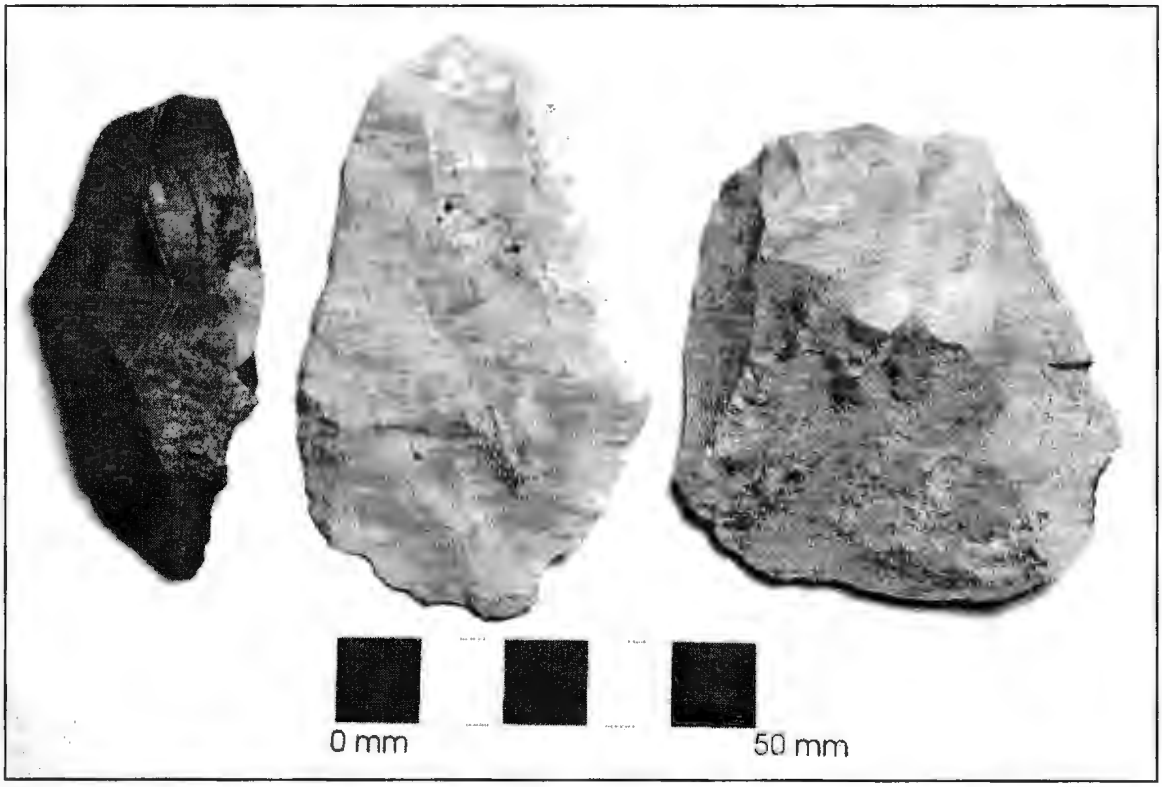


Plate 22: Selected Recent Indian retouched flakes from Area B

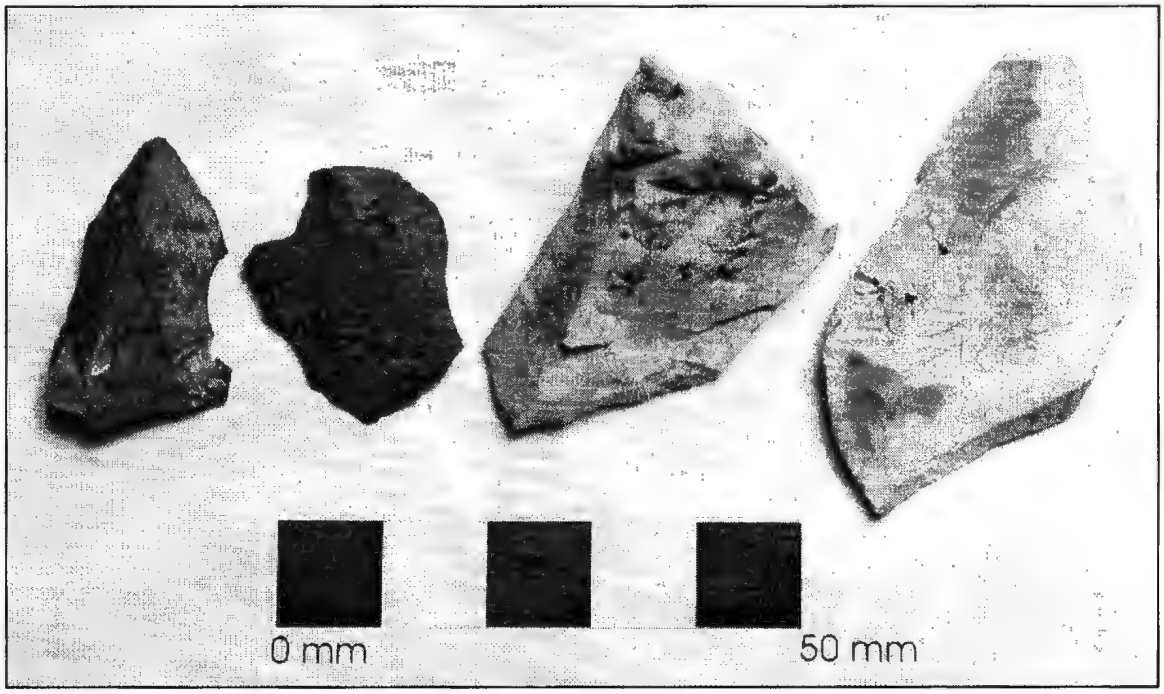


Plate 23: Selected Recent Indian utilized flake/expedient scrapers from Area B

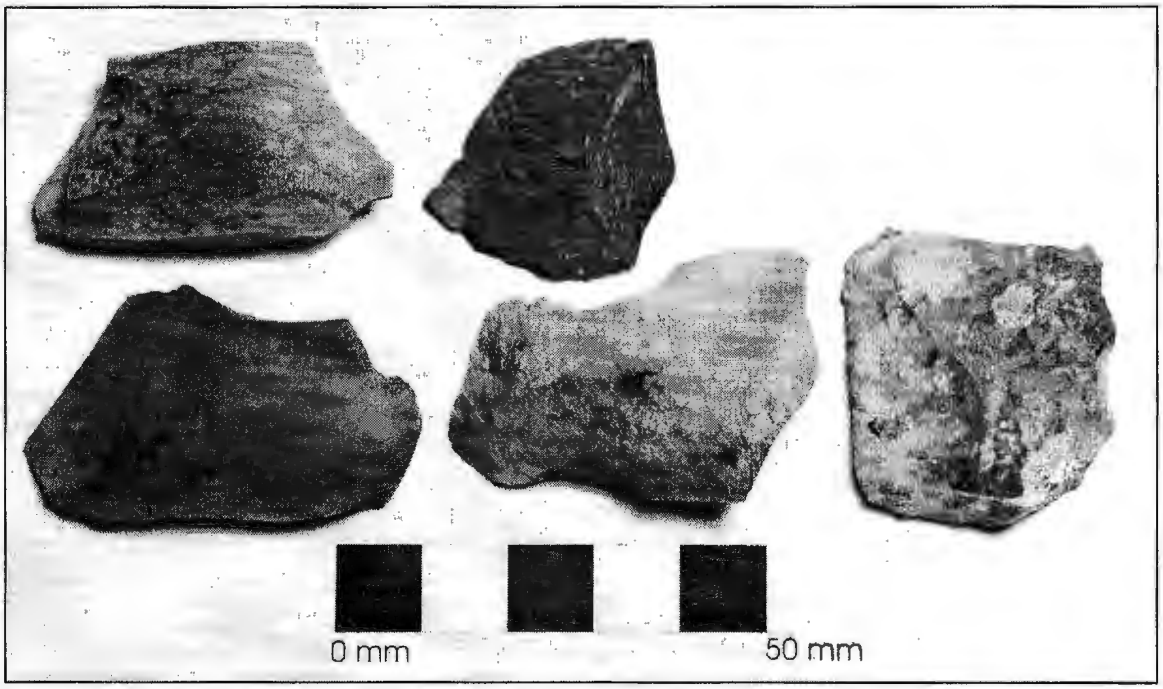


Plate 24: Selected Recent Indian expedient flake scrapers from Area B

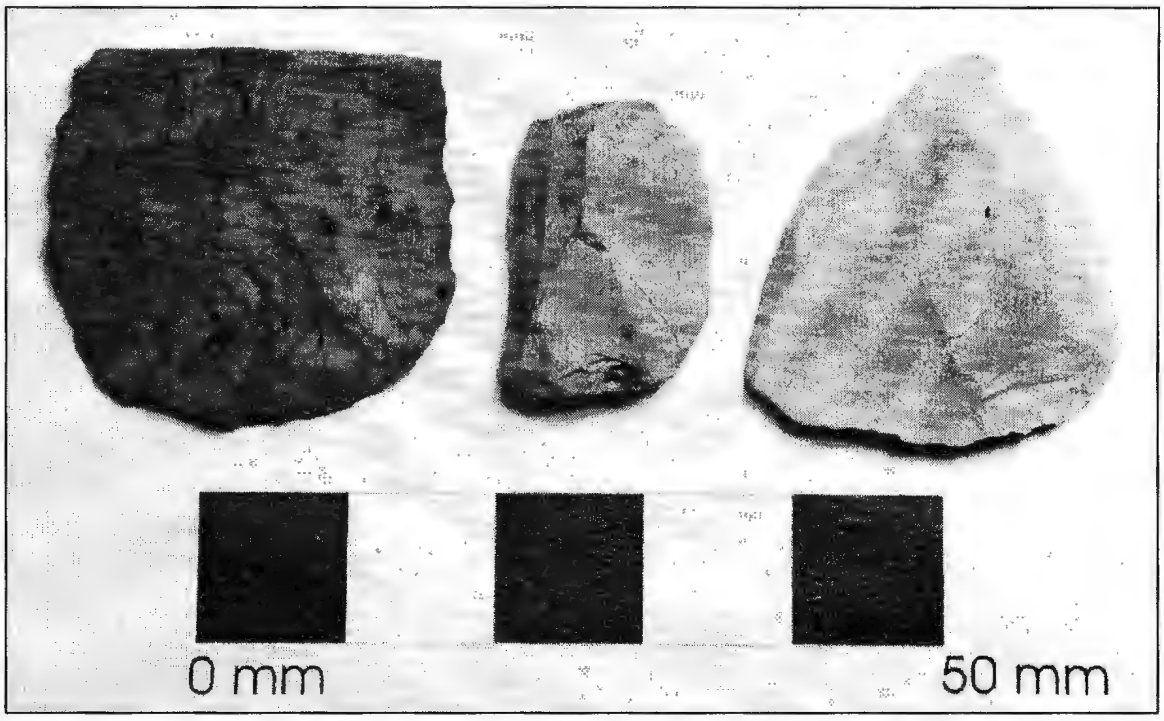


Plate 25: Recent Indian scrapers from Area B

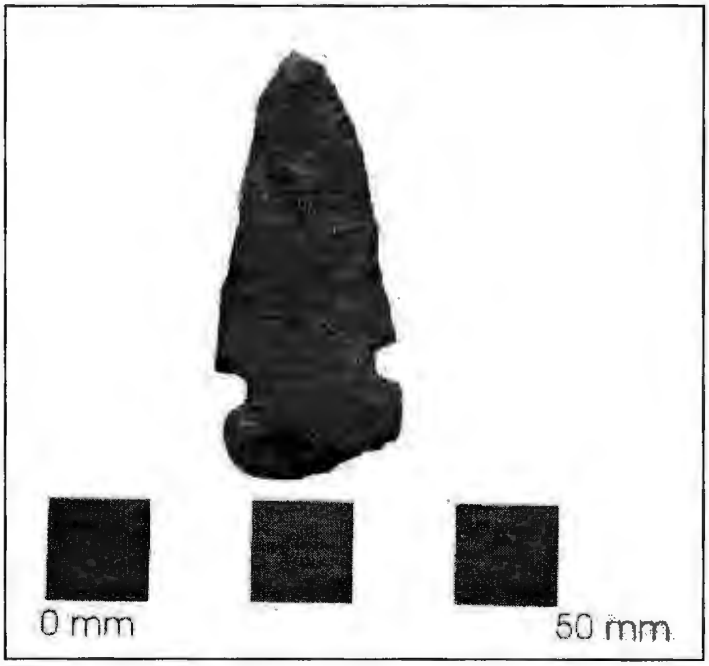


Plate 26: Diagnostic early Recent Indian side-notched point from Area B

Plate 27: Tri-pointed biface from Area B

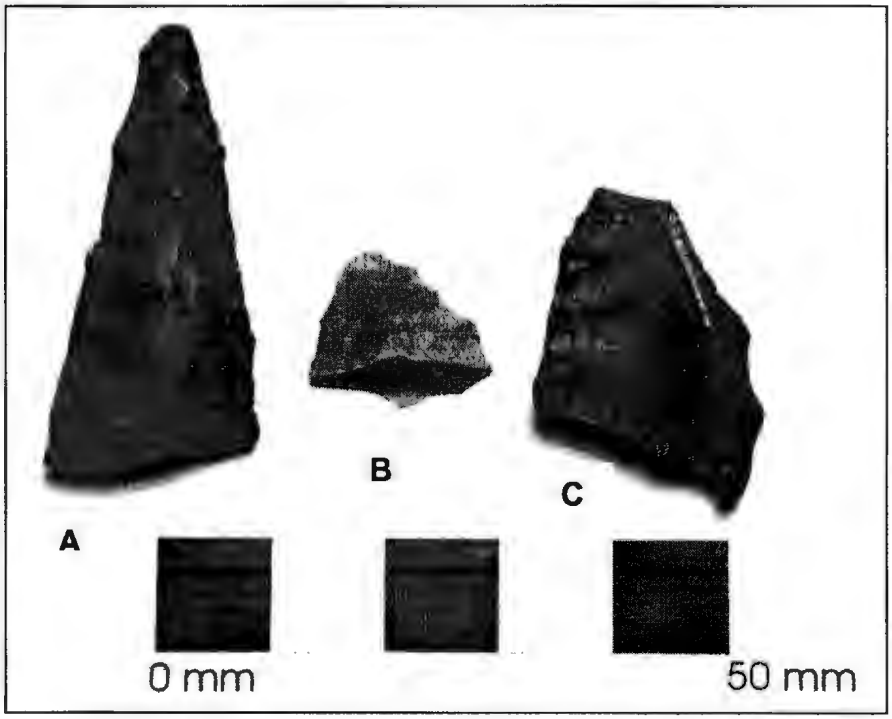


Plate 28: Recent Indian biface tips from Area B

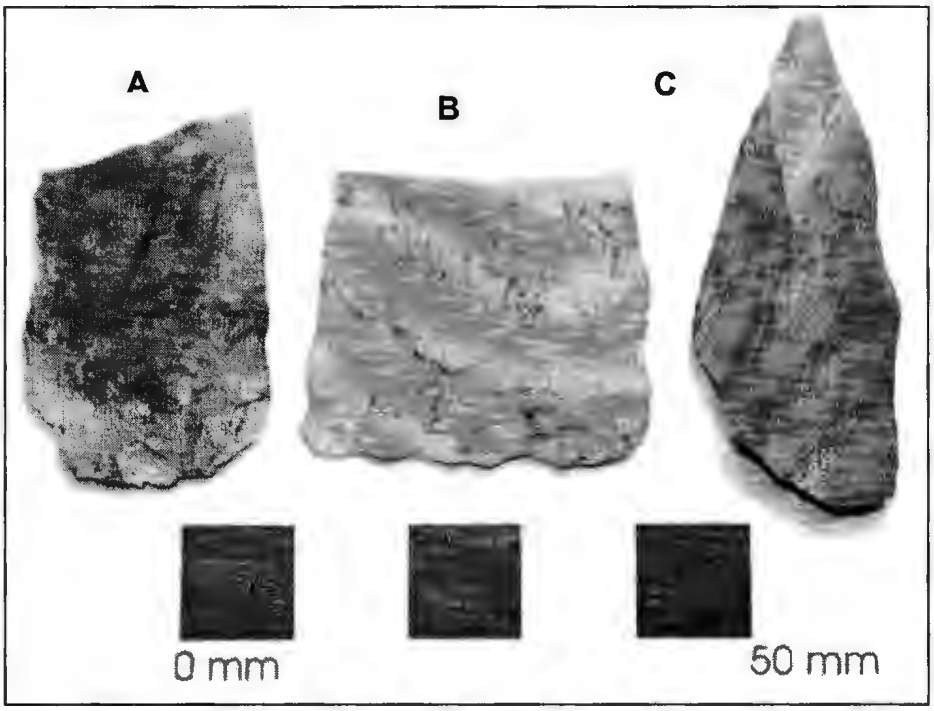


Plate 29: Recent Indian biface bases from Area B

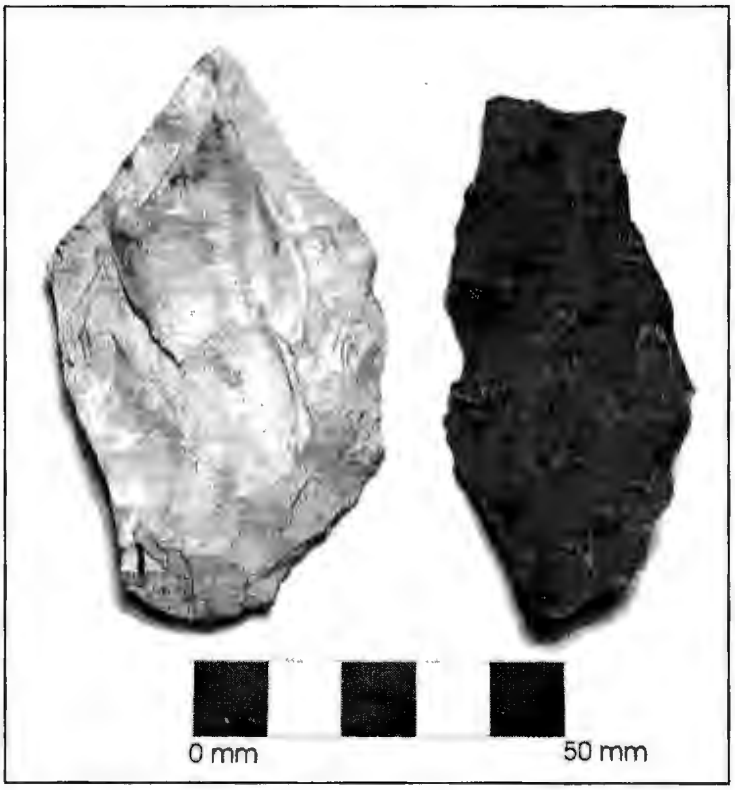


Plate 30: Crude Recent Indian bifaces from Area B

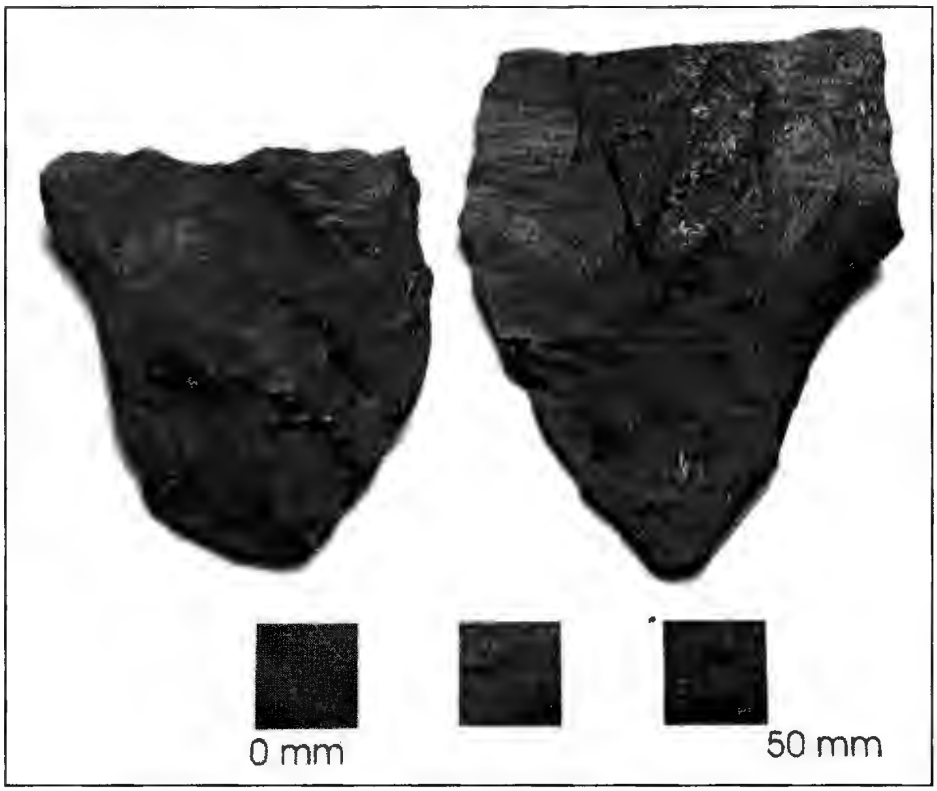


Plate 31: Crude Recent Indian bifaces from Area B

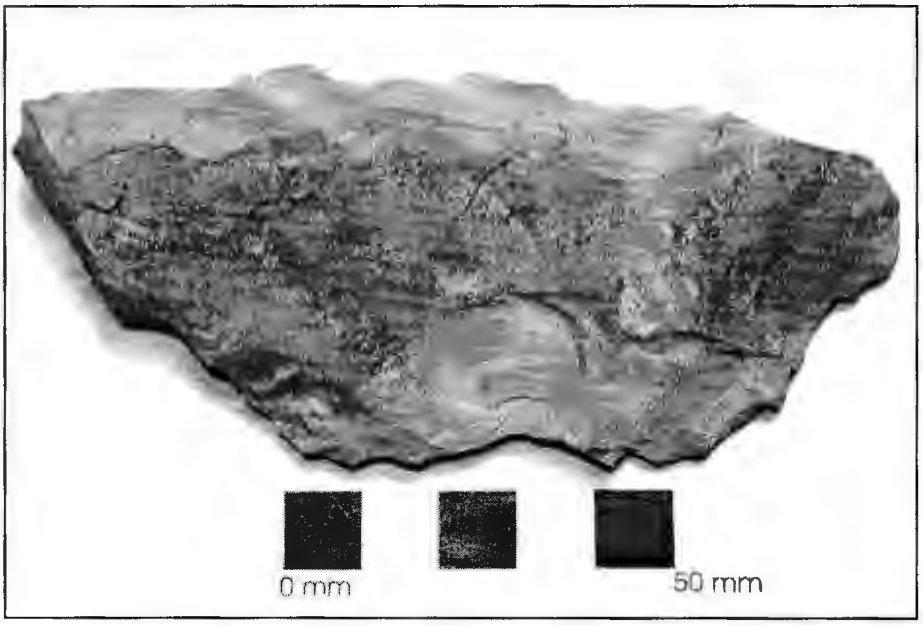


Plate 32: Crude Recent Indian biface from Area B

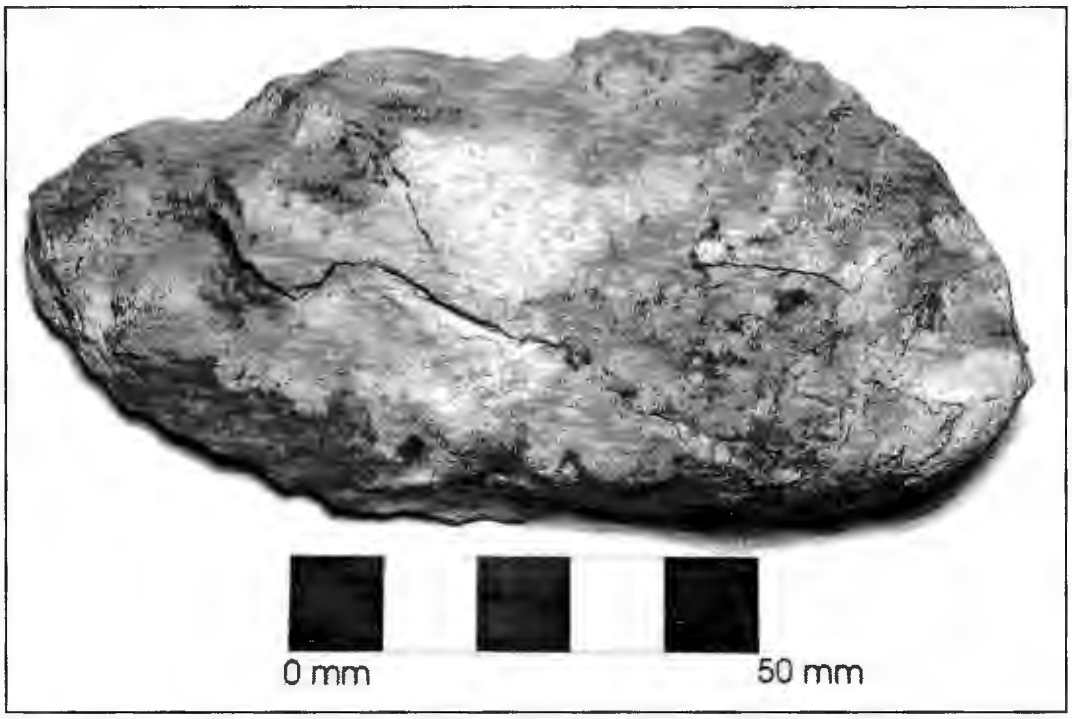


Plate 33: Crude Recent Indian biface from Area B

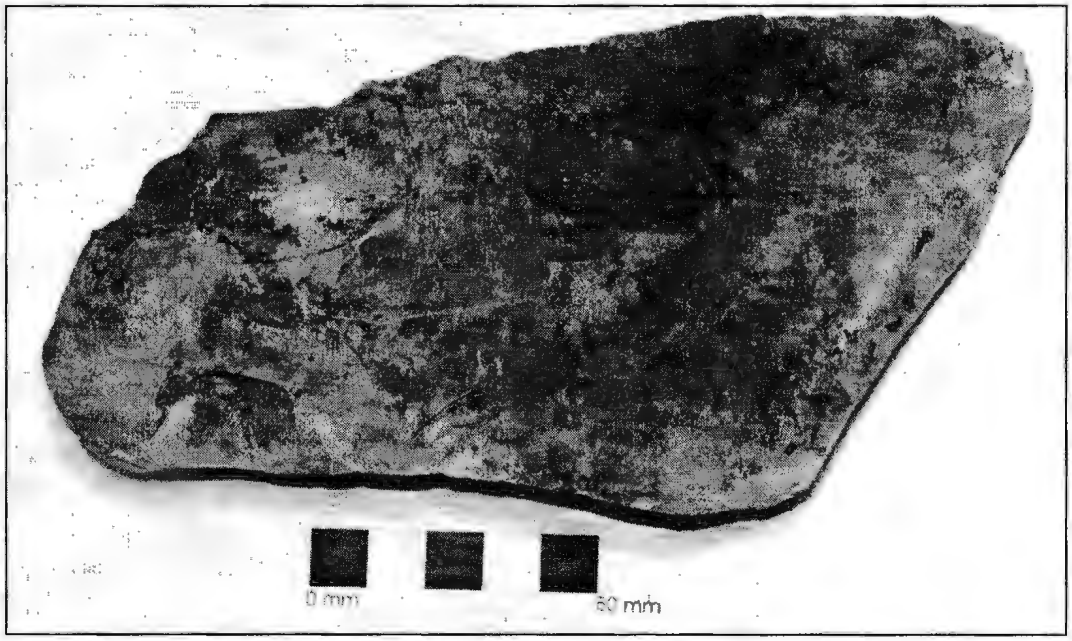


Plate 34: Large Recent Indian tabular chert core from Area B

Plate 35: Recent Indian chert cores from Area B

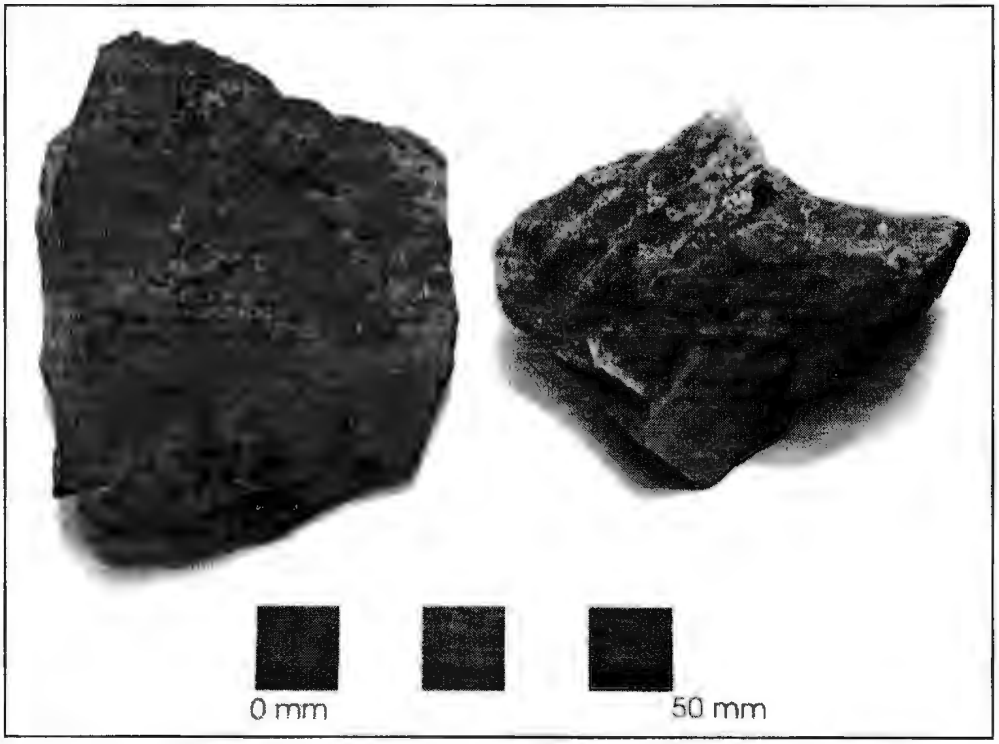


Plate 36: Recent Indian chert cobbles from Area B

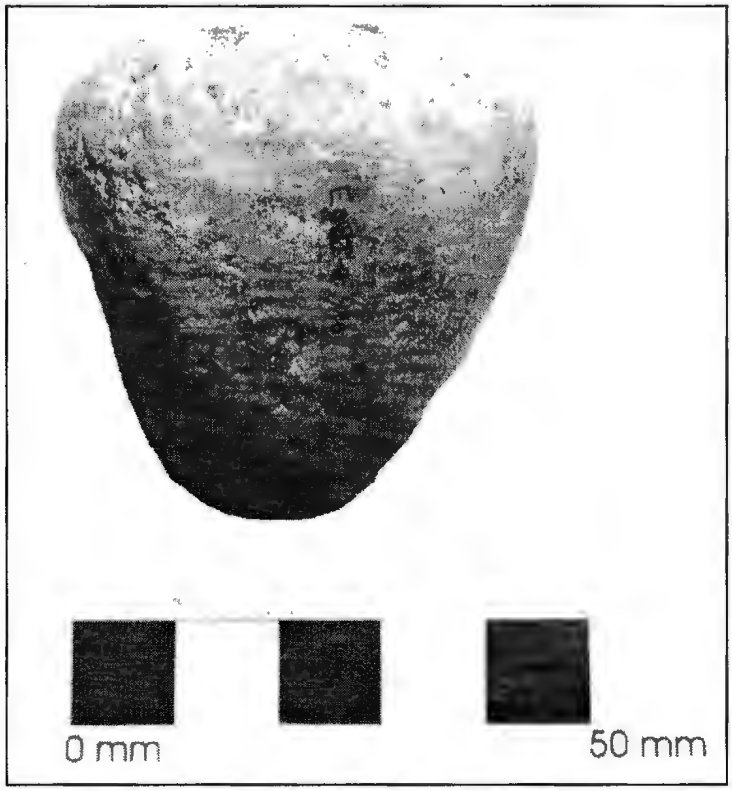


Plate 37: Possible Recent Indian hammerstone from Area B

Plate 38: Pieces of Recent Indian tabular chert from Area B

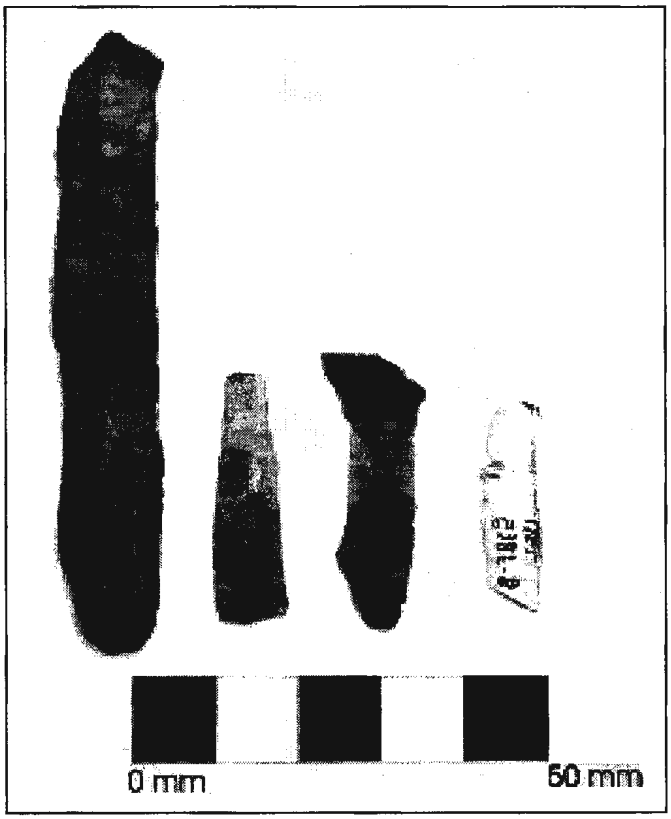


Plate 39: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo microblades from Area B

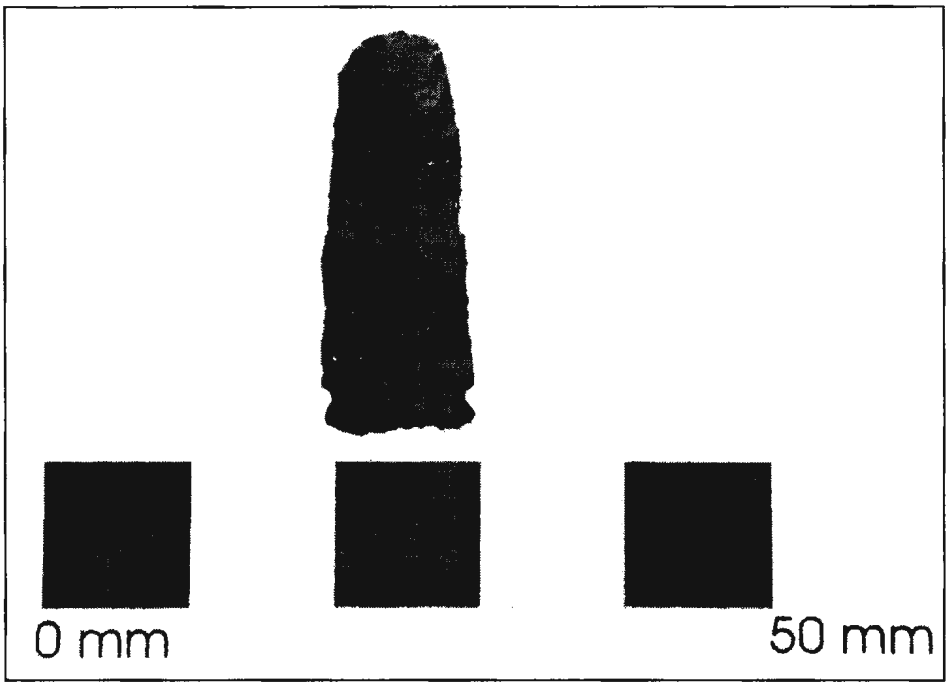


Plate 40: Dorset Palaeoeskimo side-notched microblade from Area B

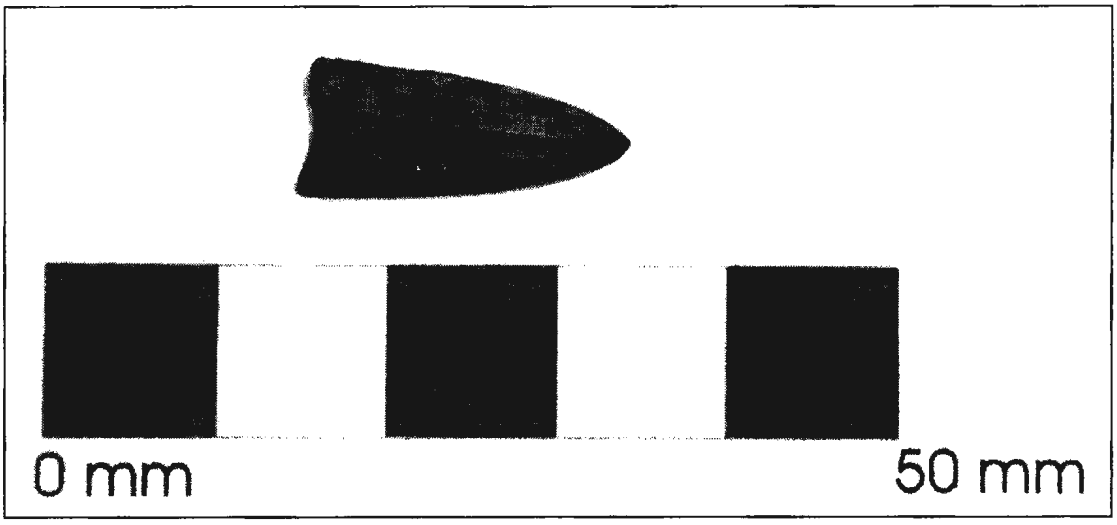


Plate 41: Miniature ground slate Dorset Palaeoeskimo endblade from Area B

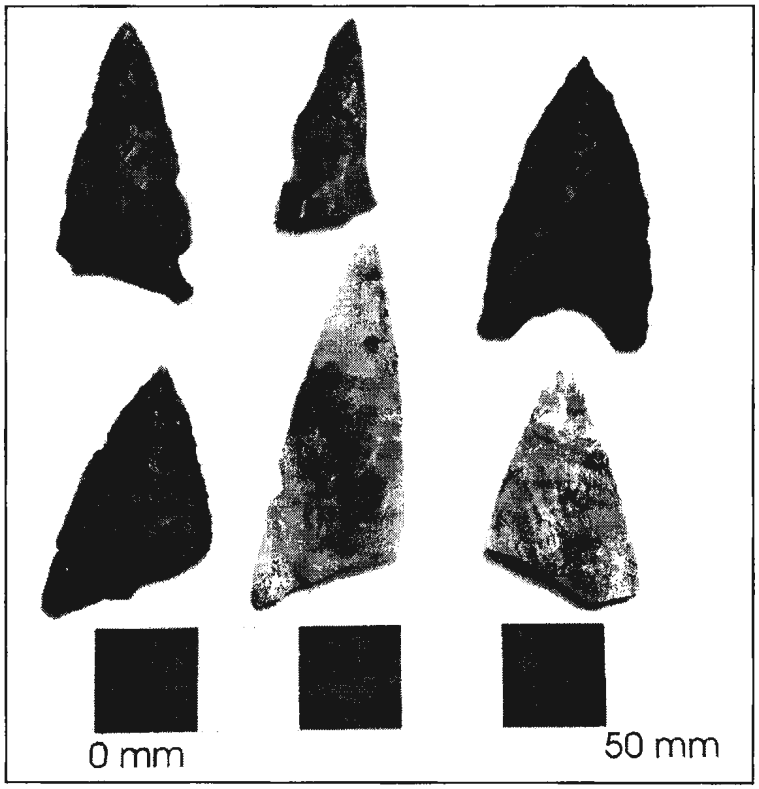


Plate 42: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo endblades from Area B

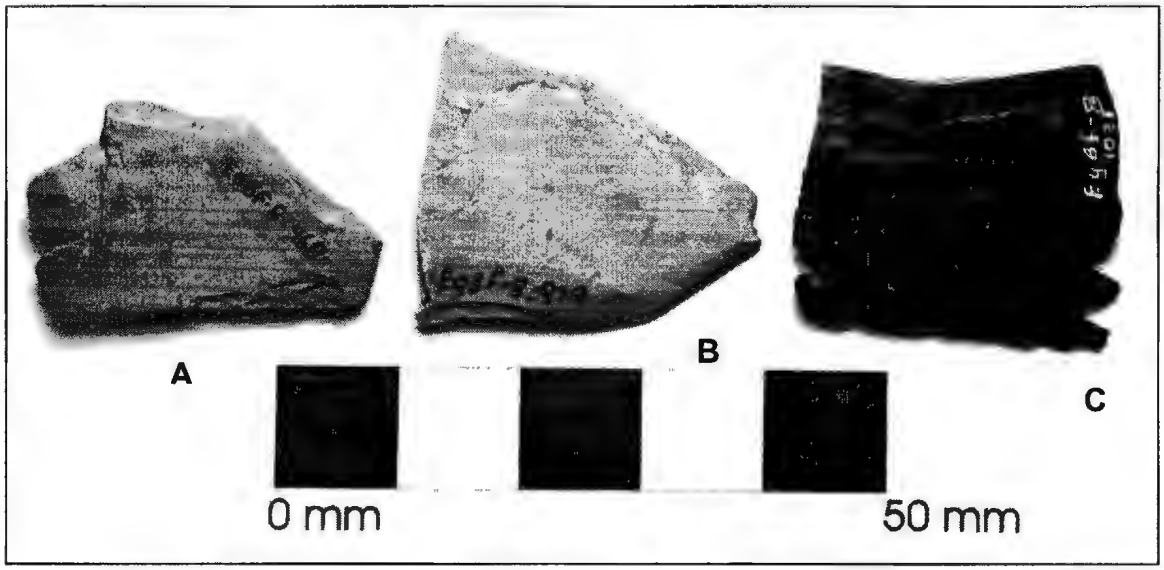


Plate 43: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo bifaces from Area B

Plate 44: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo slate flakes from Area B

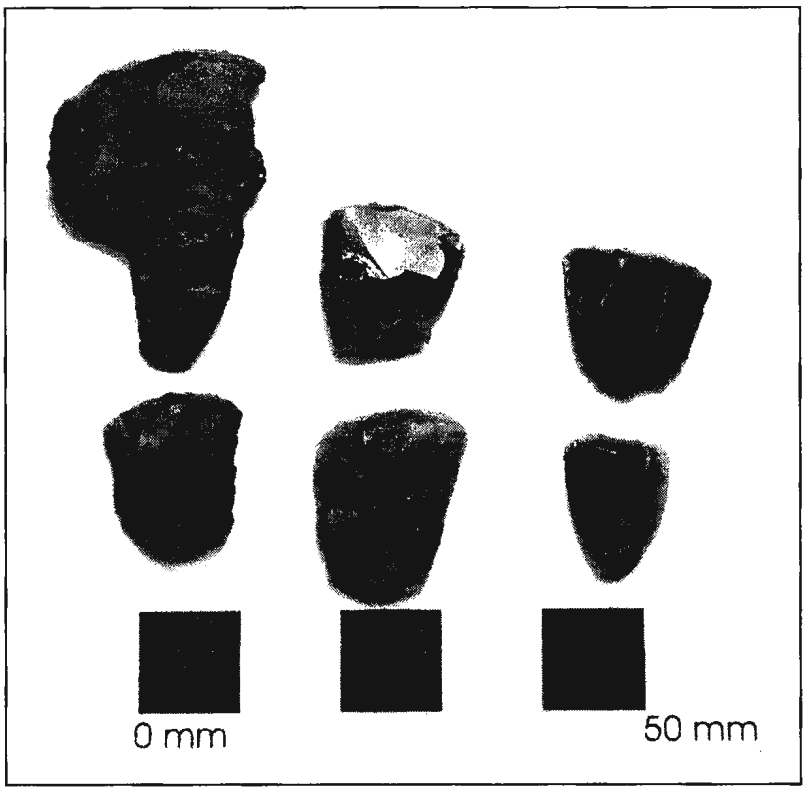


Plate 45: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo scrapers from Area B

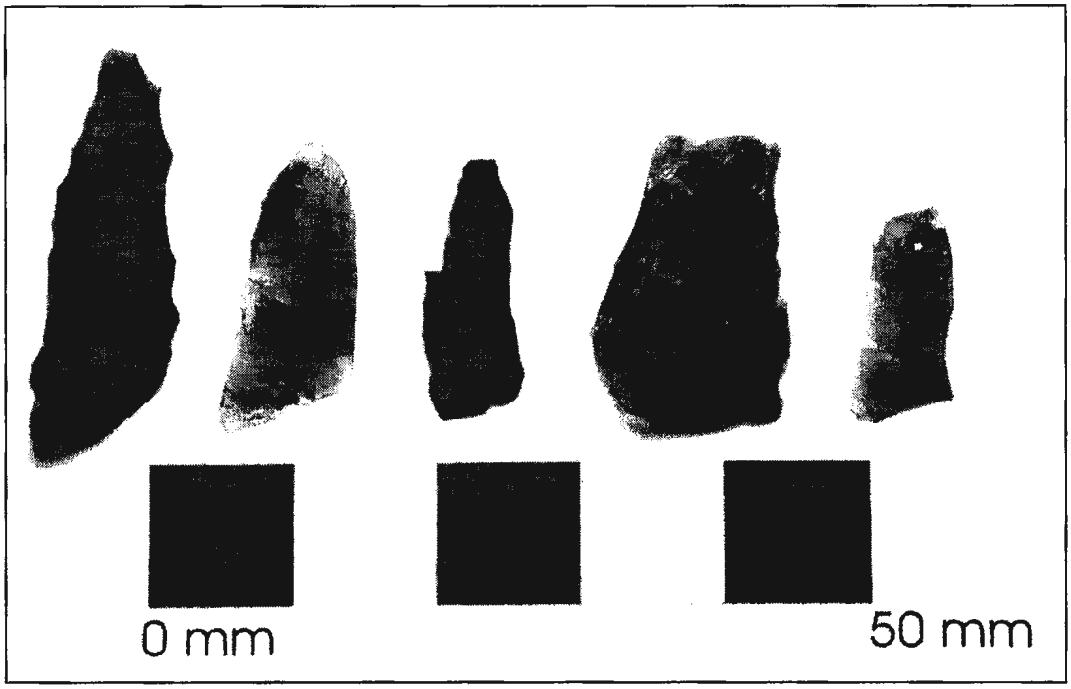


Plate 46: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo tip flute spalls from Area B

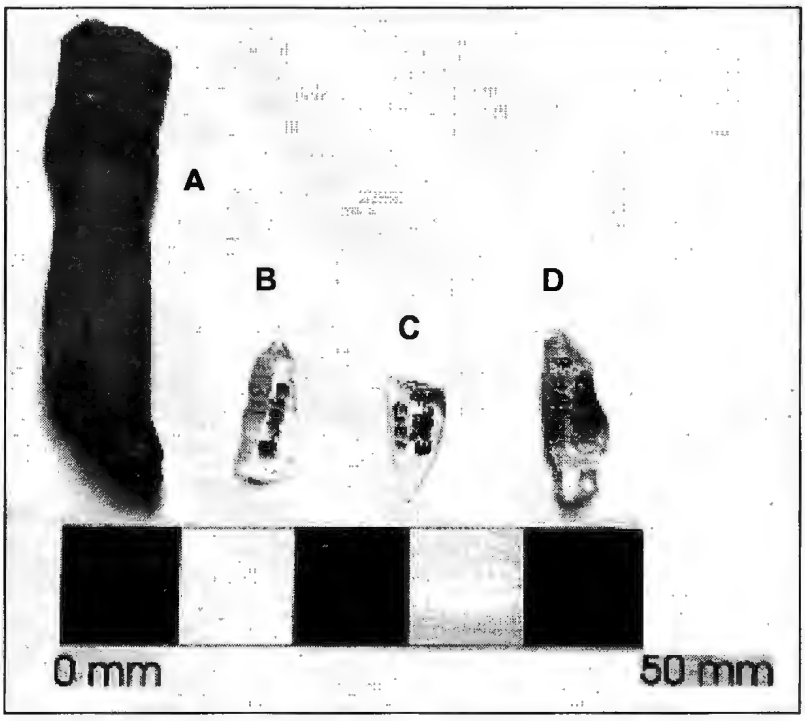


Plate 47: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo blade-like flakes from Area B

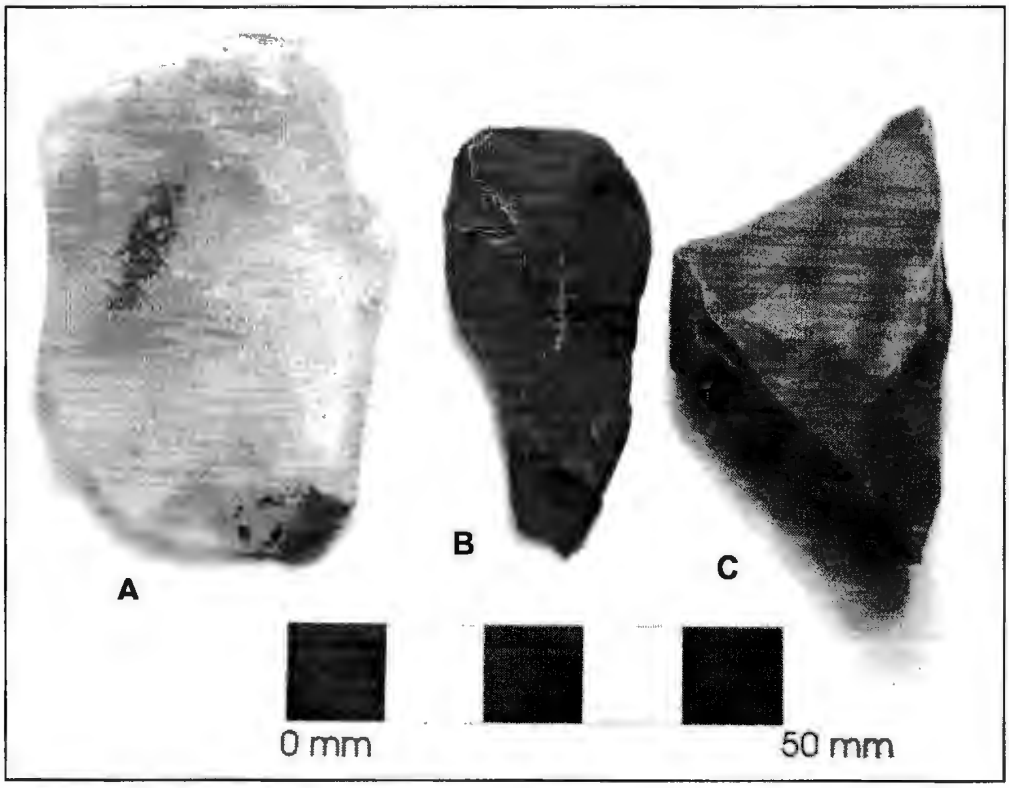


Plate 48: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo utilized flakes from Area B

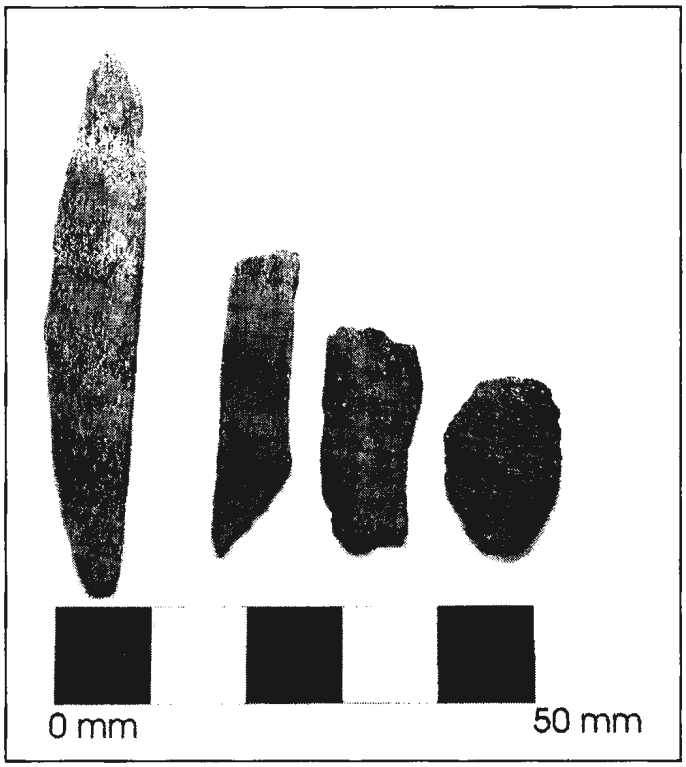


Plate 49: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo schist flakes from Area B

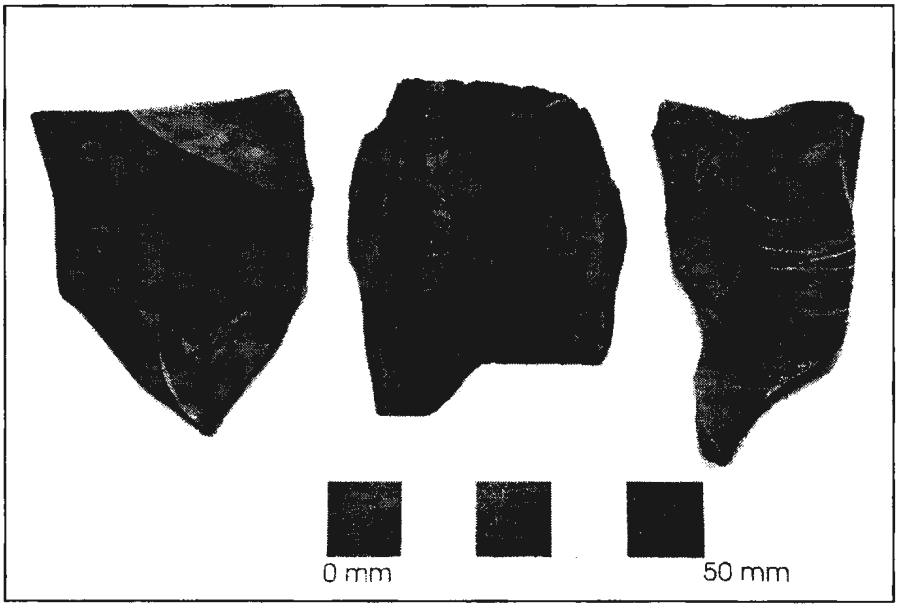


Plate 50: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo core from Area B

Plate 51: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo microblade cores from Area B

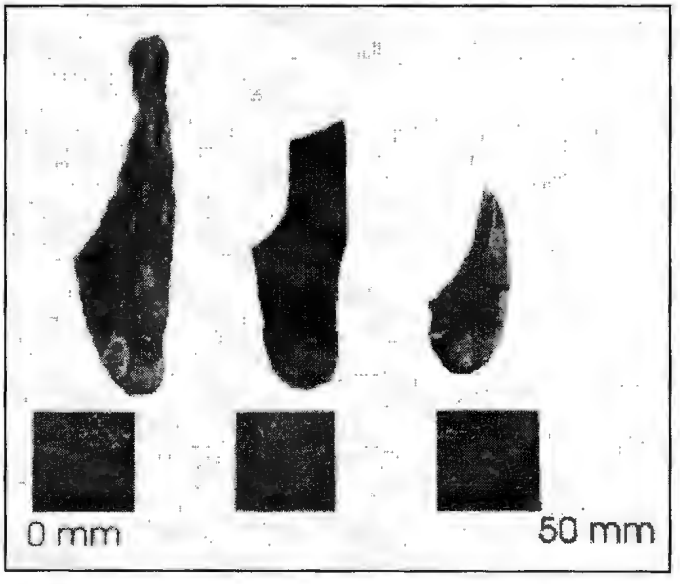


Plate 52: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo gravers from Area B

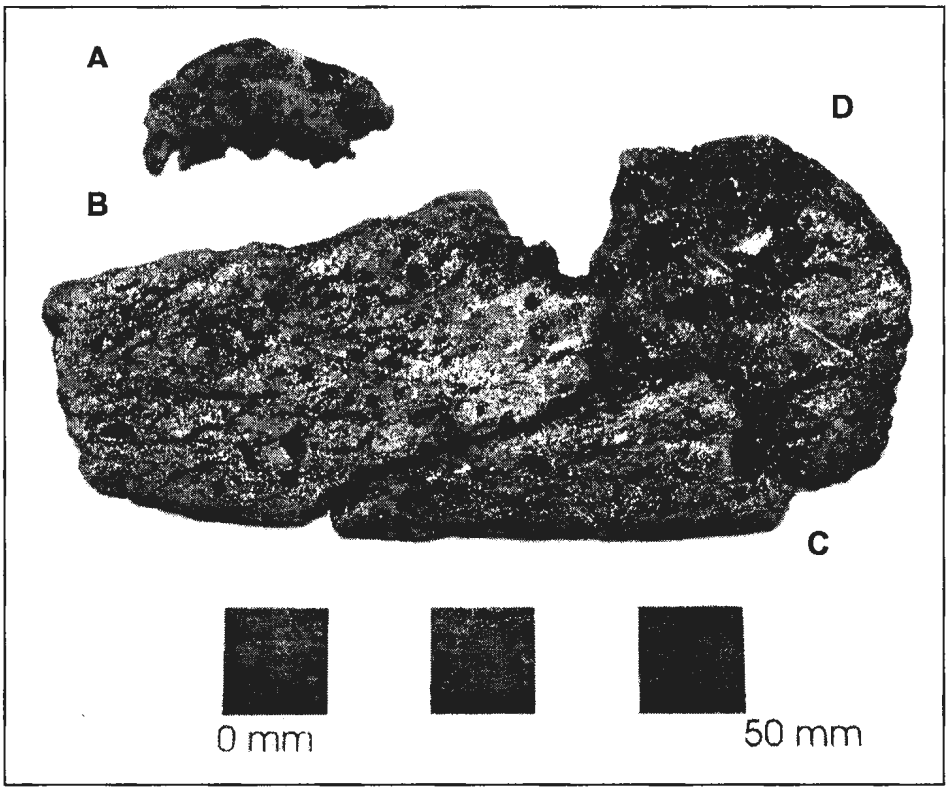


Plate 53: Dorset Palaeoeskimo soapstone from Area B

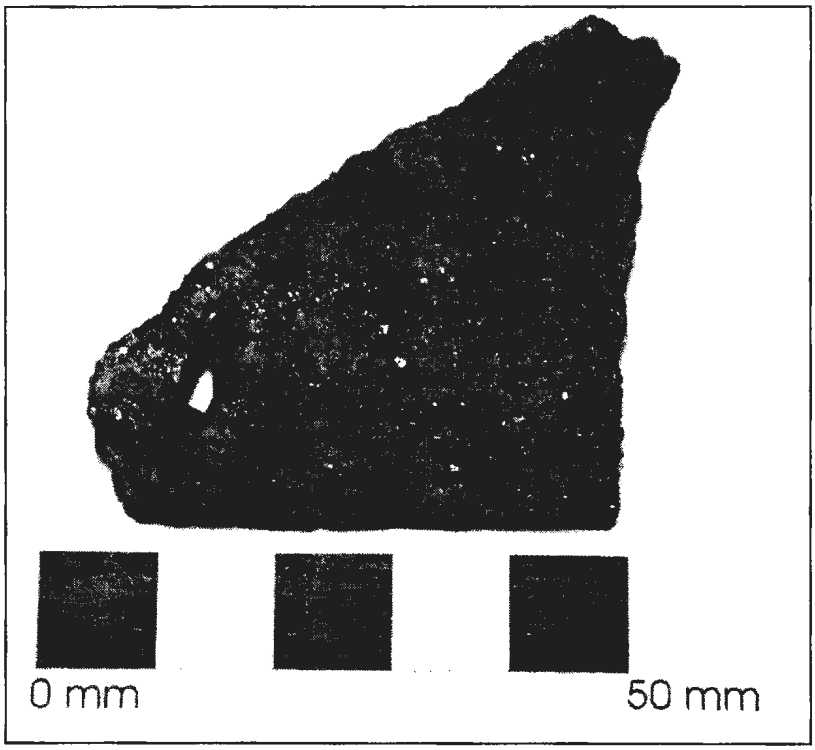


Plate 54: Dorset Palaeoeskimo soapstone pot fragment from Area B

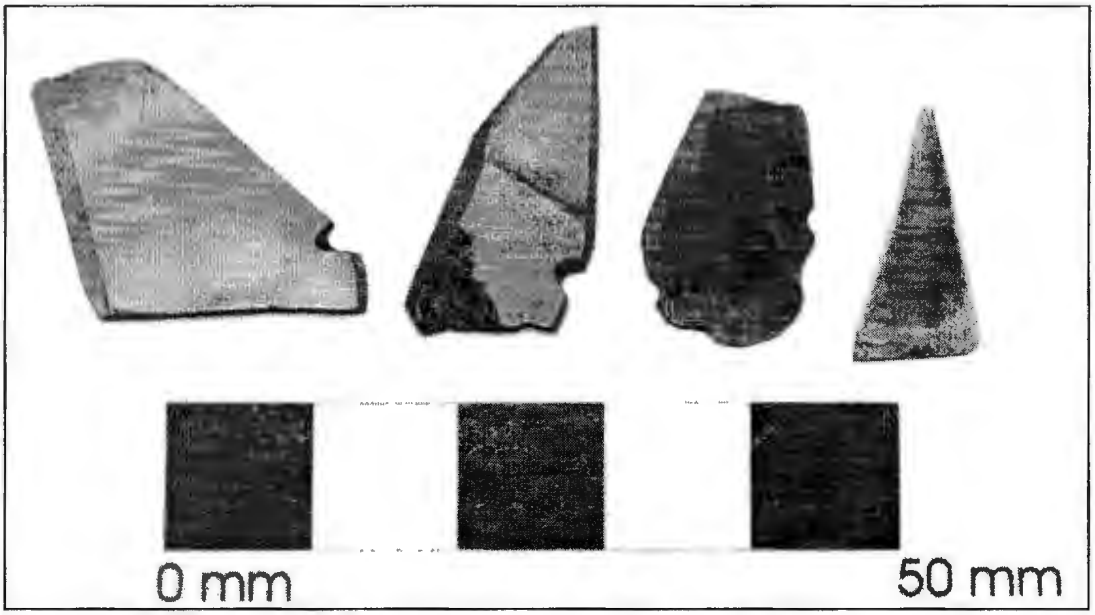


Plate 55: Dorset Palaeoeskimo burin-like tools from Area B

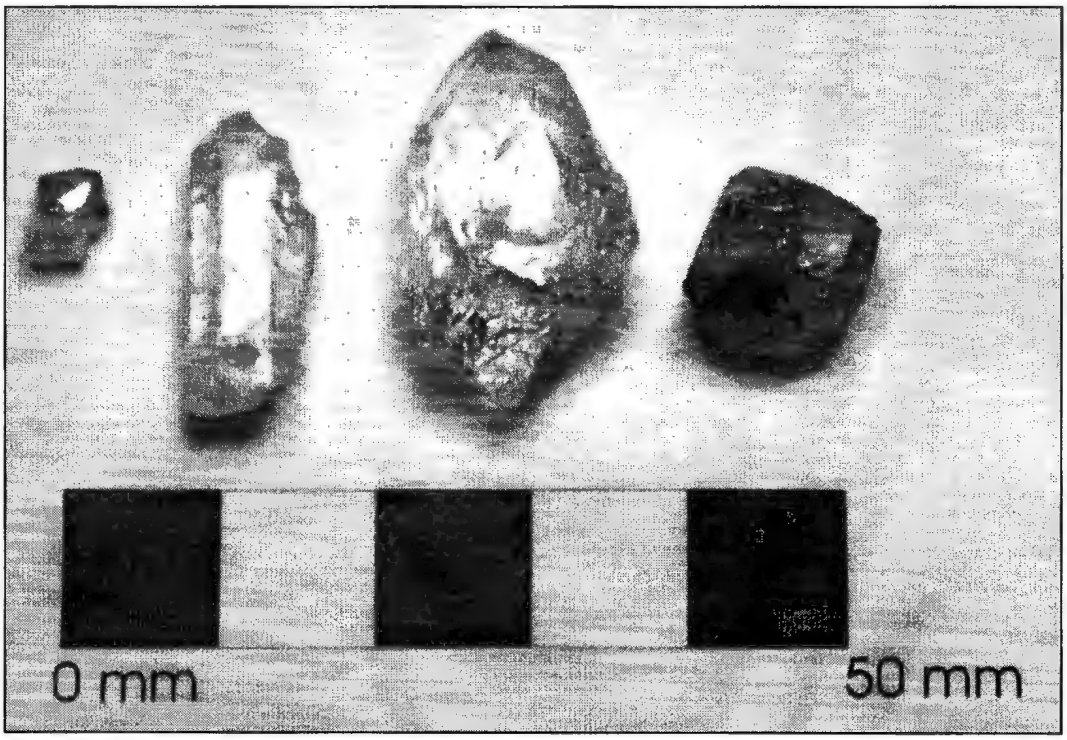


Plate 56: Dorset Palaeoeskimo quartz crystals from Area B

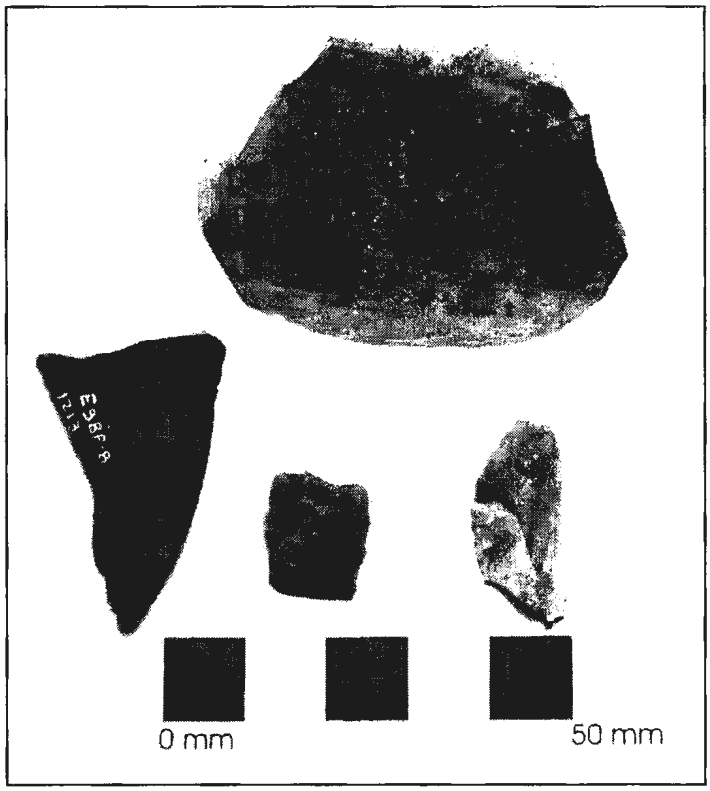


Plate 57: Dorset Palaeoeskimo retouched flakes from Area B

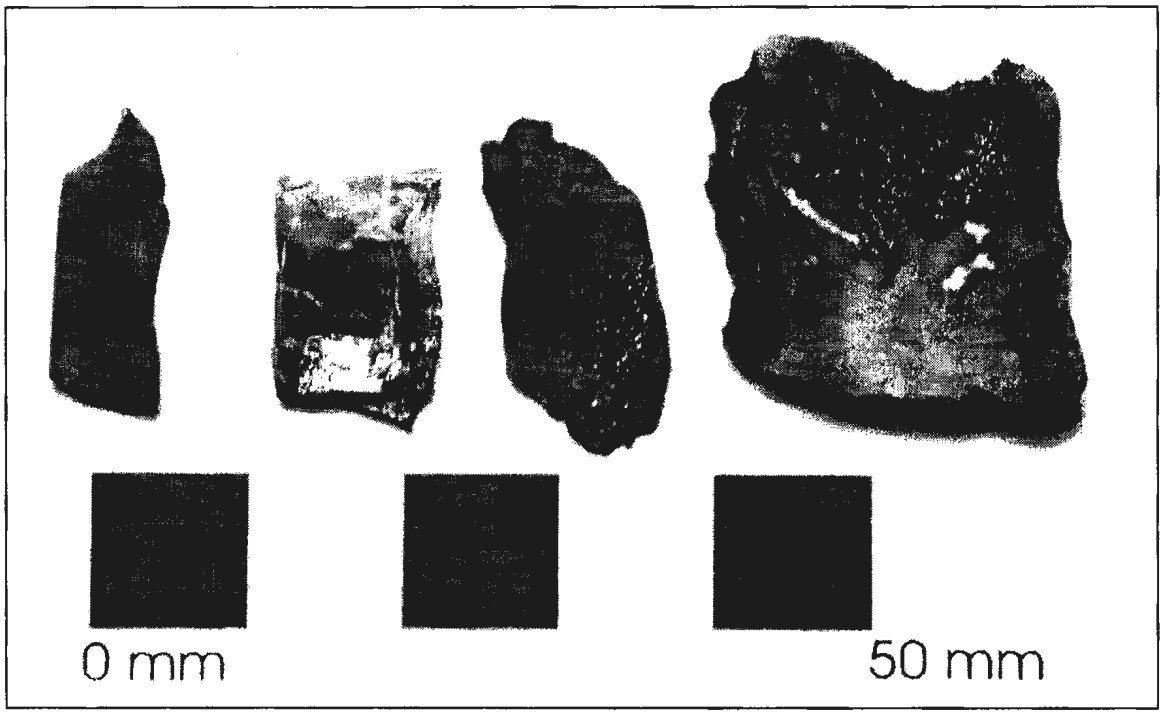


Plate 58: Dorset Palaeoeskimo nephrite artifacts from Area B

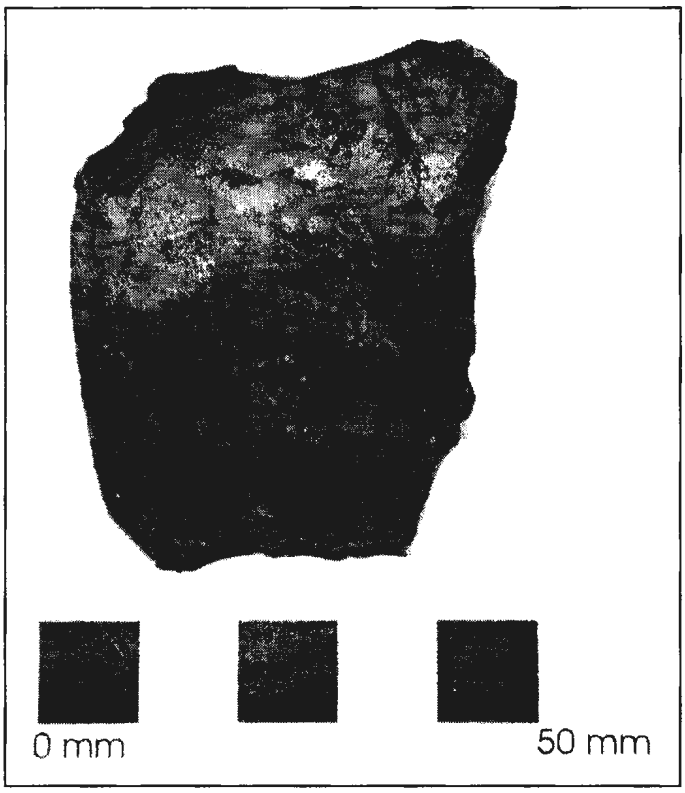


Plate 59: Dorset Palaeoeskimo chert cobble from Area B

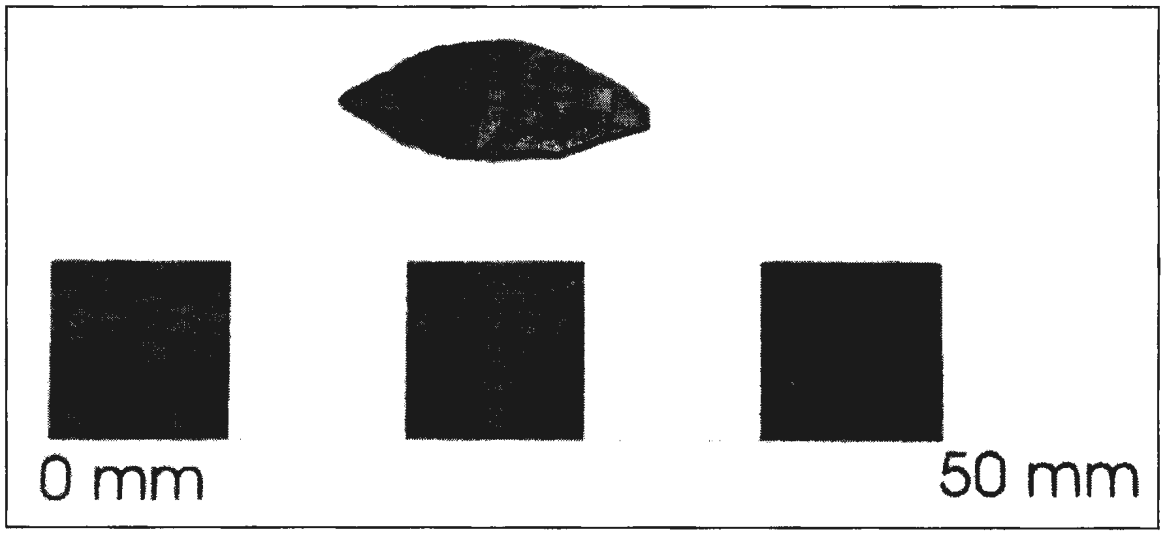


Plate 60: Dorset Palaeoeskimo side blade from Area B

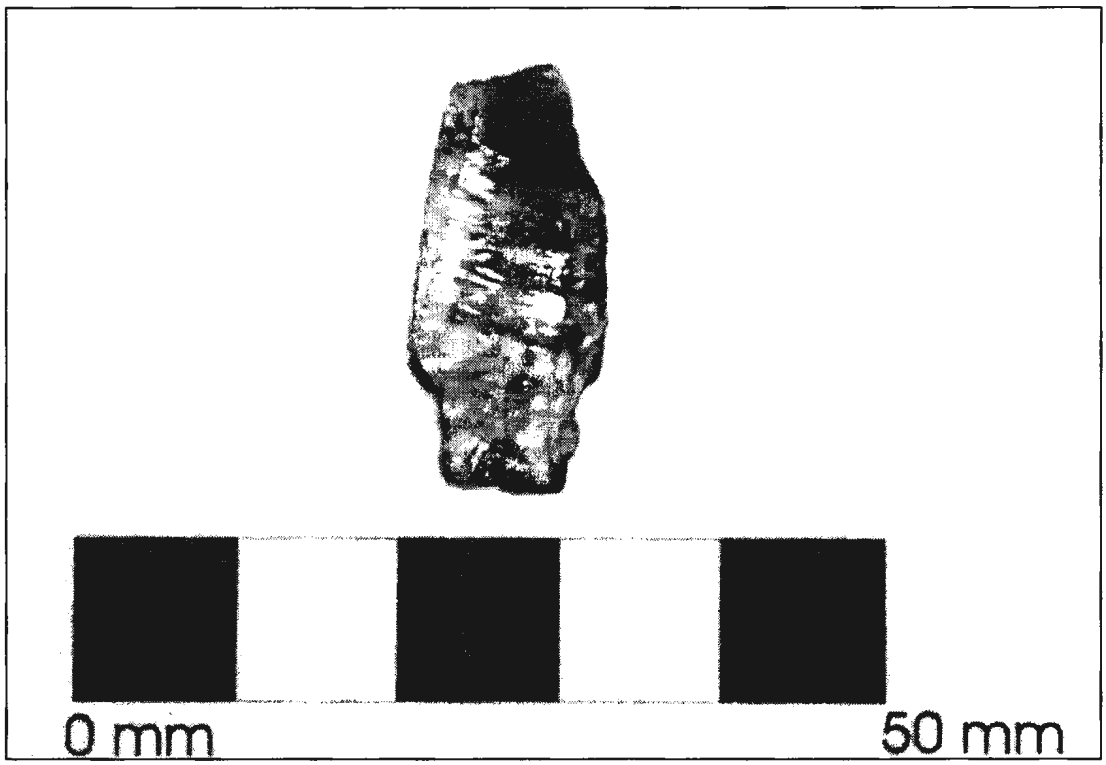


Plate 61: Dorset Palaeoeskimo uniface from Area B

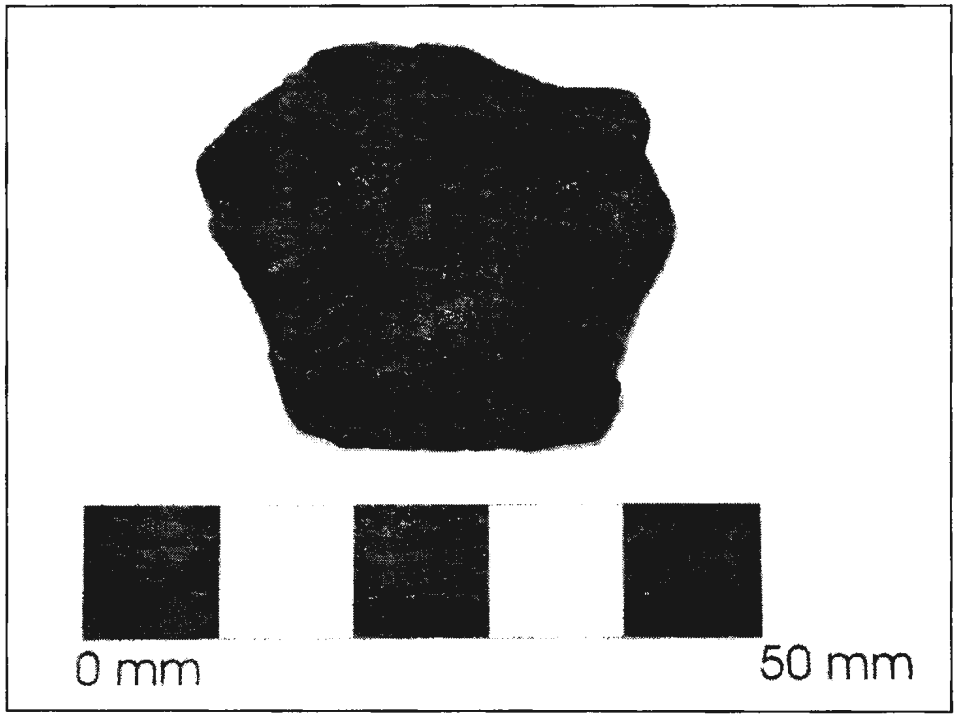


Plate 62: Dorset Palaeoeskimo whetstone from Area B

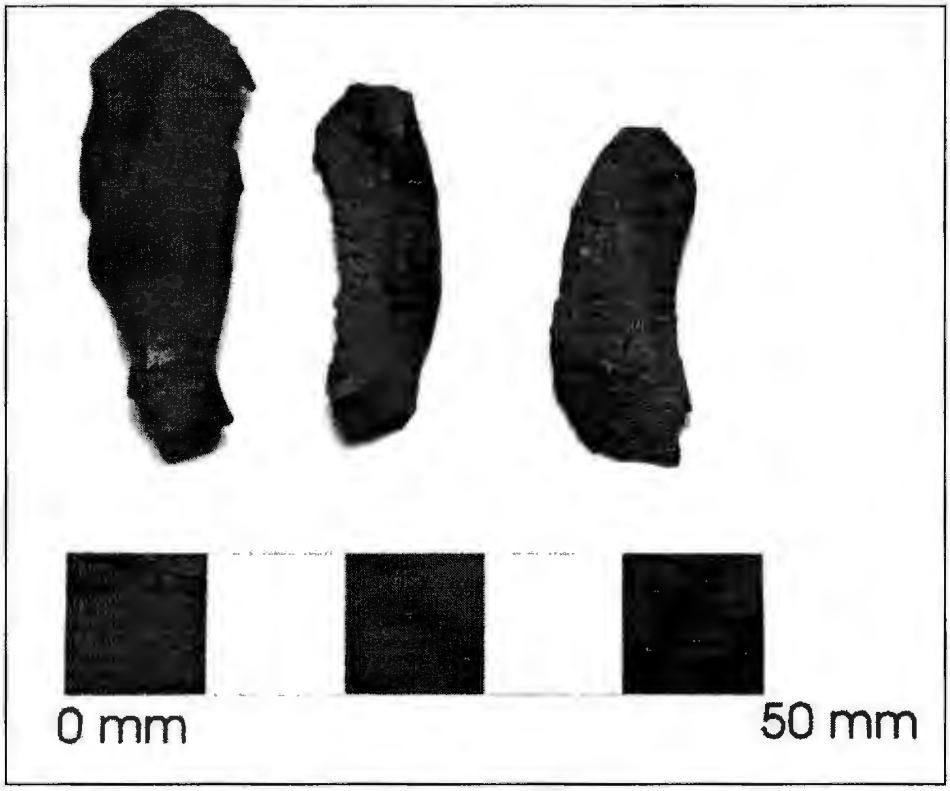


Plate 63: Recent Indian blade-like flakes from Area C

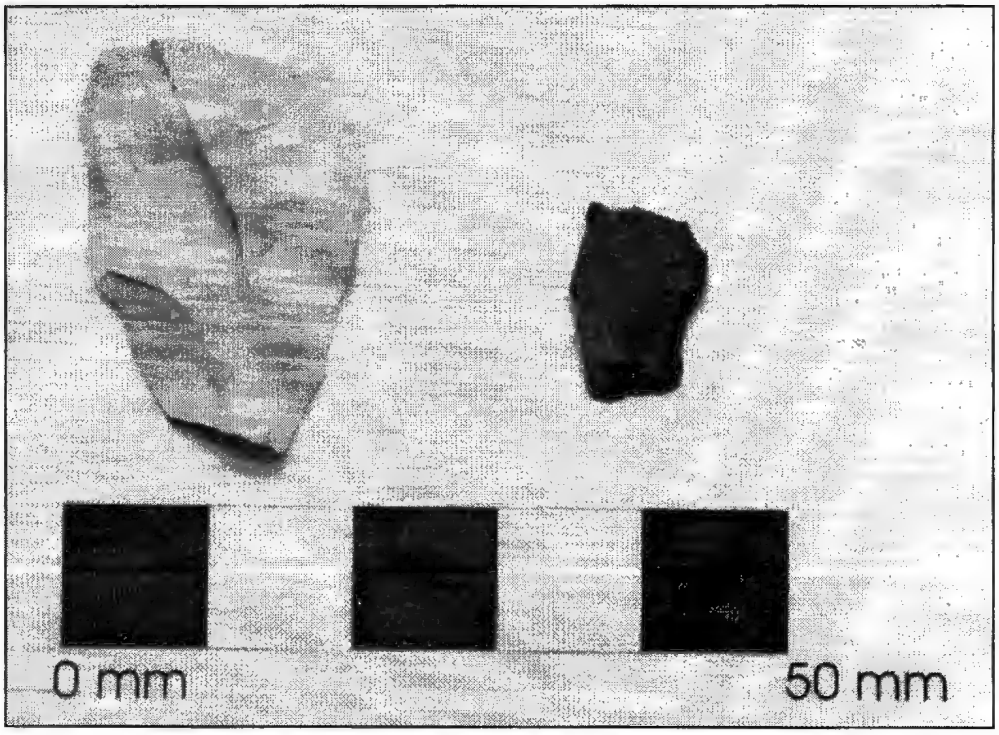


Plate 64: Recent Indian utilized flakes from Area C

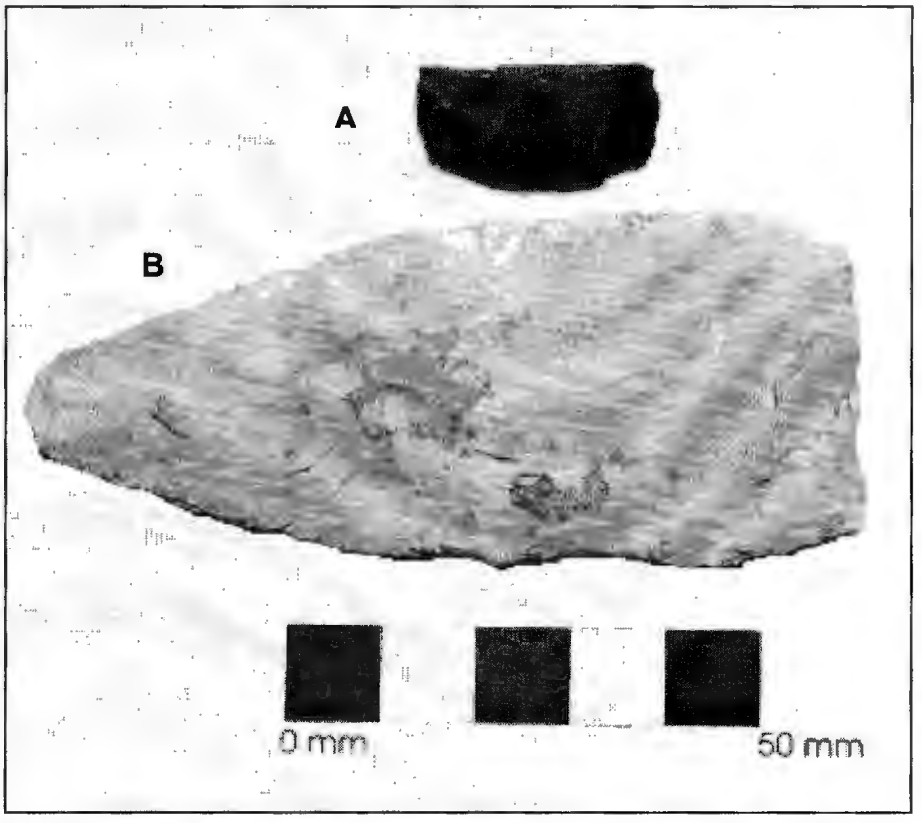


Plate 65: Recent Indian bifaces from Area C

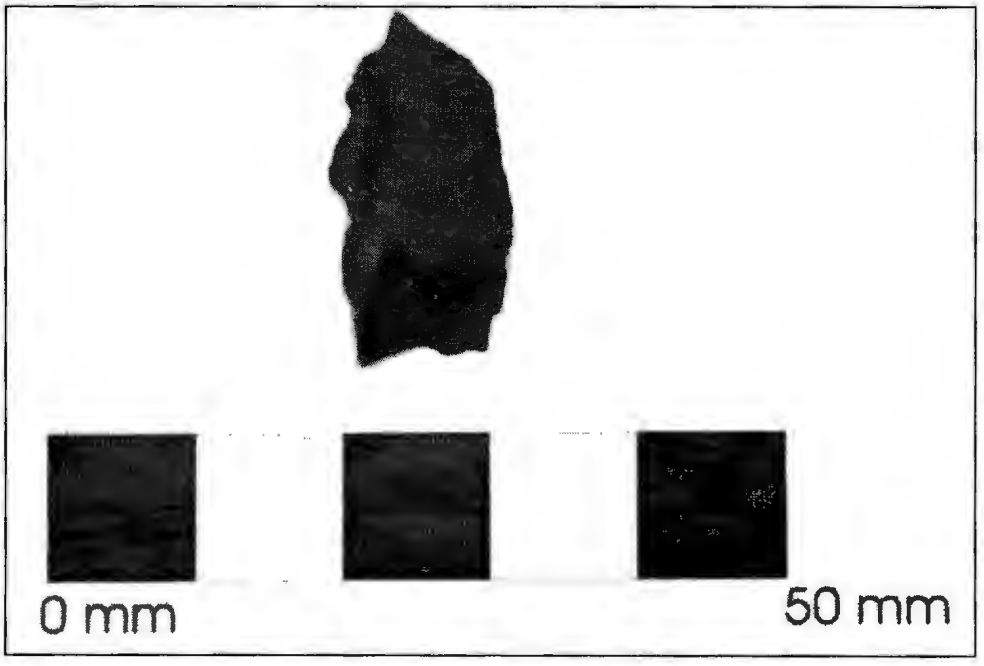


Plate 66: Recent Indian retouched flake from Area C

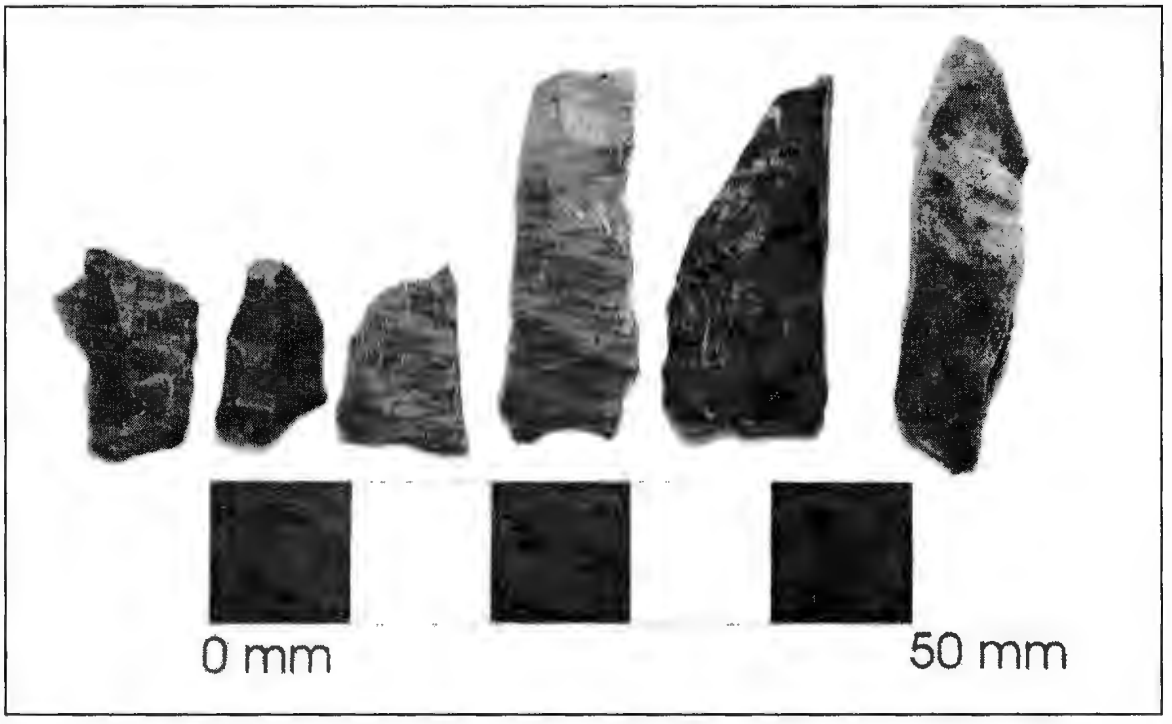


Plate 67: Selected Dorset Palaeoeskimo tip flute spalls from Area C

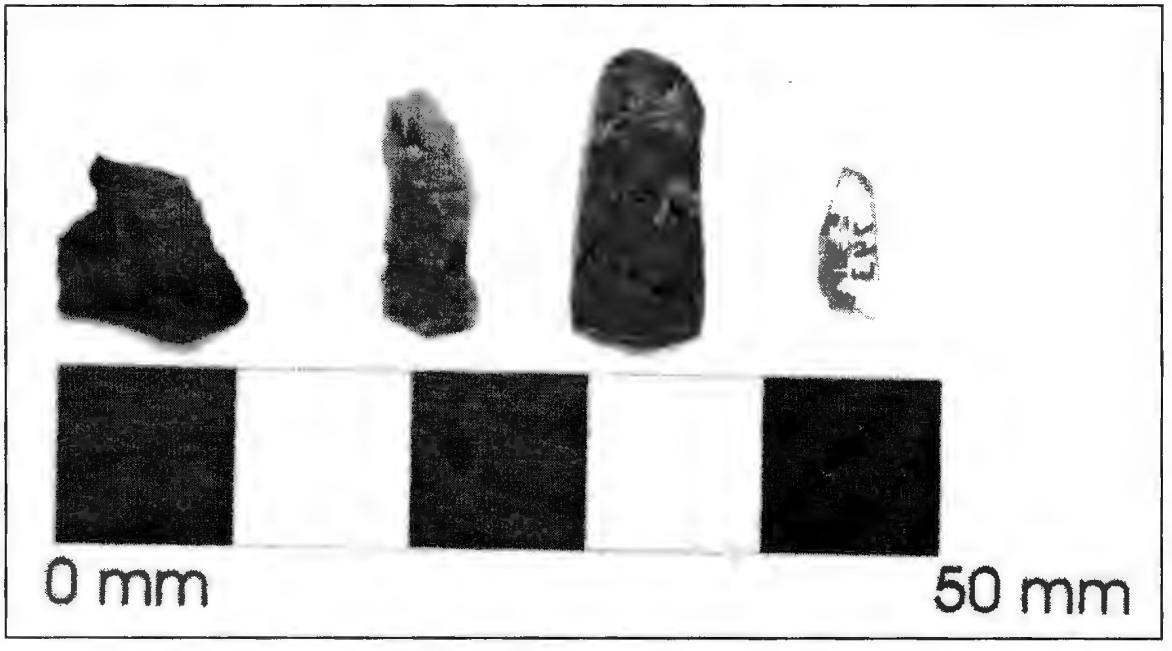


Plate 68: Dorset Palaeoeskimo microblades from Area C

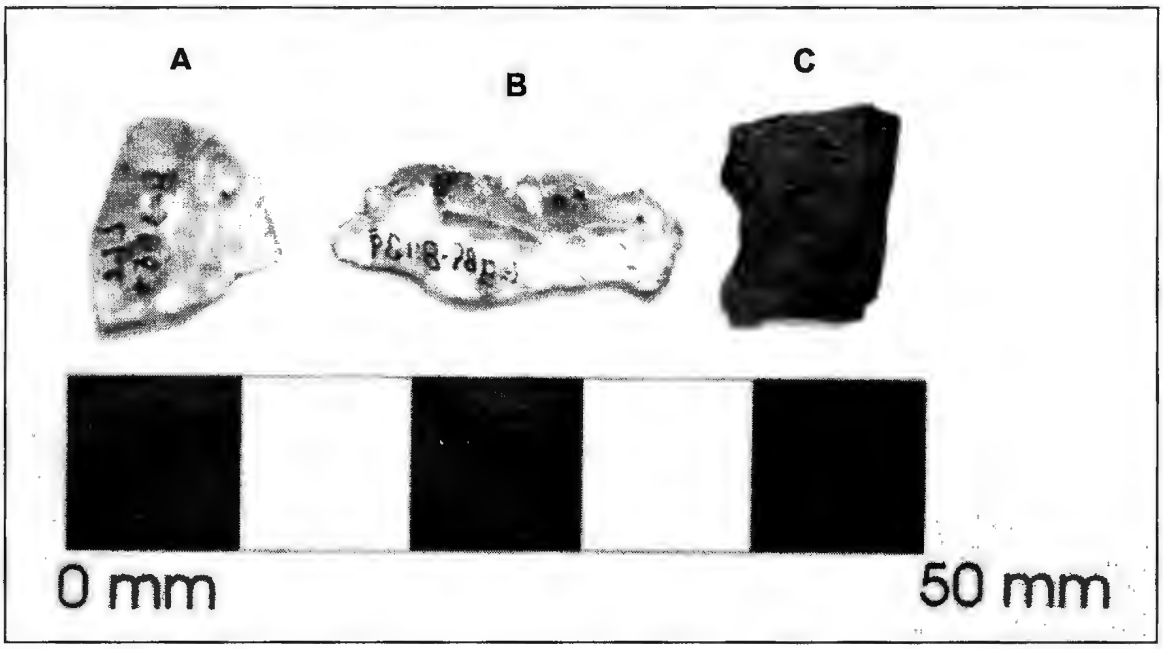


Plate 69: Dorset Palaeoeskimo blade-like flakes from Area C

Plate 70: Dorset Palaeoeskimo scrapers from Area C

Plate 71: Dorset Palaeoeskimo quartz crystals from Area C

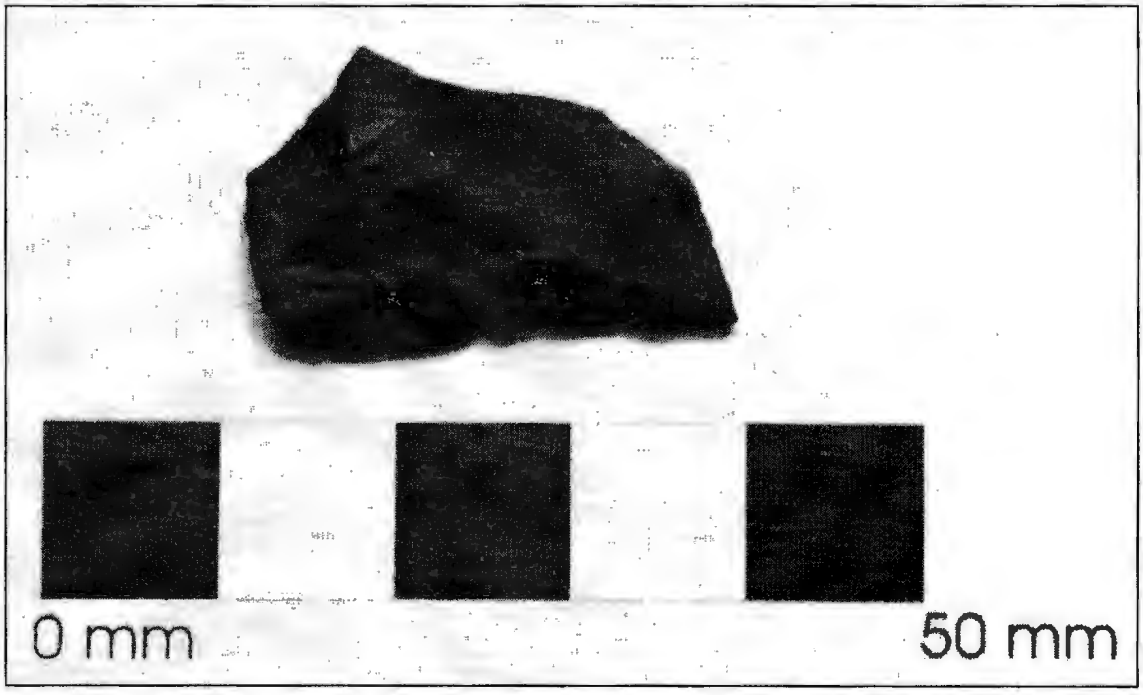


Plate 72: Dorset Palaeoeskimo utilized flake from Area C

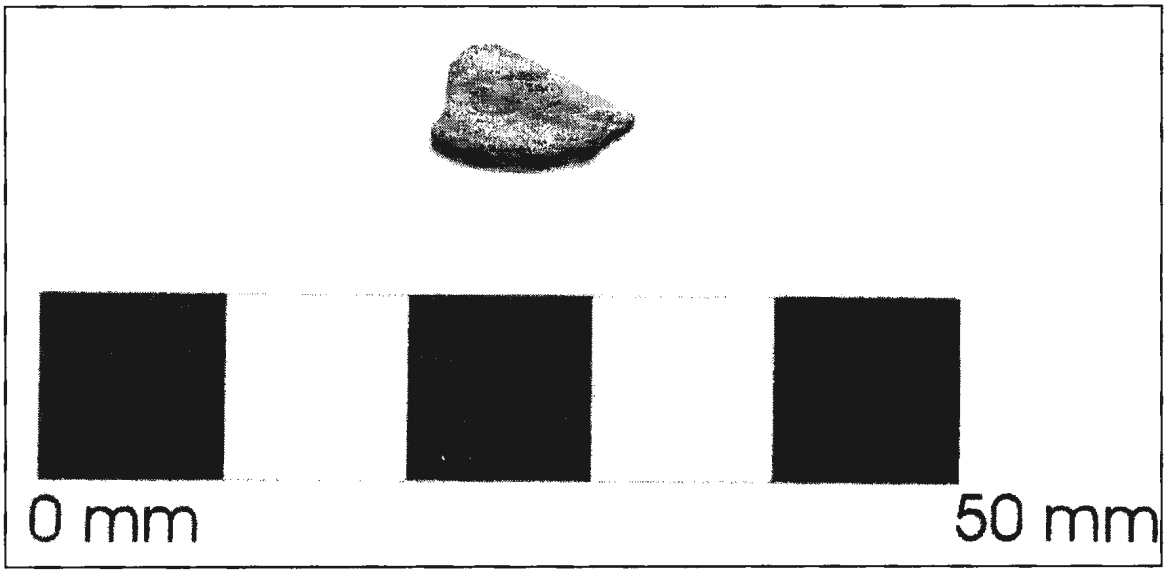


Plate 73: Dorset Palaeoeskimo schist flake from Area C

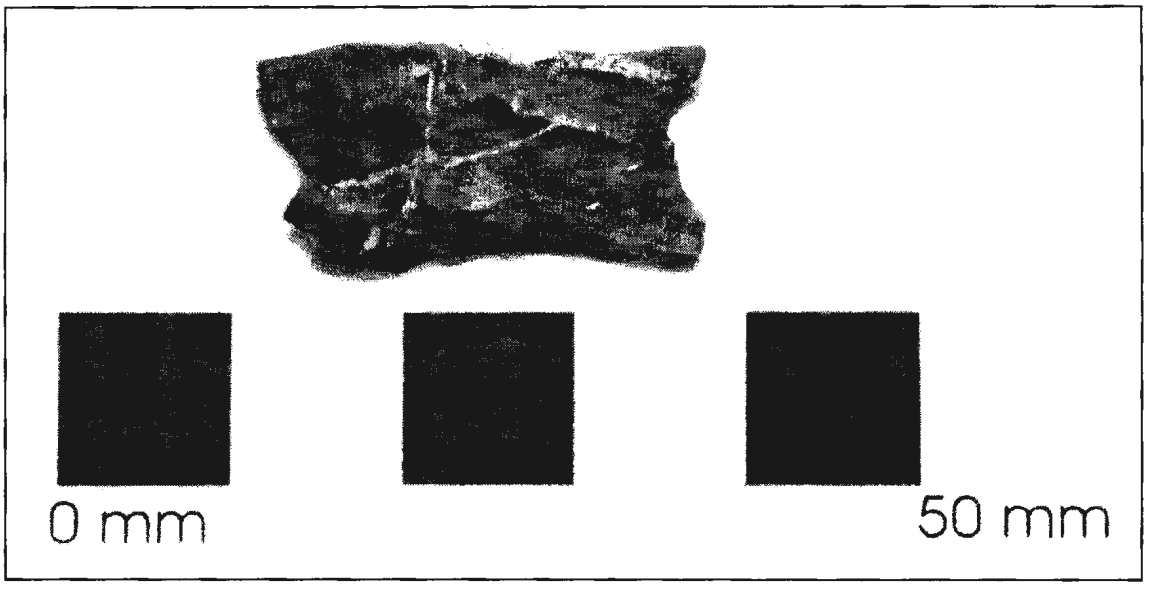


Plate 74: Dorset Palaeoeskimo biface base from Area C