

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF ASHUANIPI, LABRADOR

By © Scott Neilsen

A Dissertation submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Archaeology

Memorial University

February 2016

St. John's Newfoundland and Labrador

Abstract

This dissertation employs an eclectic approach to archaeology, in which various theories from culture history, processualism, and post-processualism are used together as aspects of a single approach to archaeological history. This multifocal methodology is discussed, and used to organize and present the archaeological survey results from Ashuanipi, a large lake in the Lake Plateau Region of the Quebec Labrador Peninsula. Questions related to predictive modelling, cultural resources management, boreal forest ecology, landscape change, archaeological theory and practice, and Innu history are raised throughout the process – some of these questions are answered, while others are guideposts for future research.

Acknowledgments

As with any undertaking of this nature, there are many people and organization to thank; and without which this dissertation would not have been completed. Foremost, I need to thank my wife, Peggy, and my two daughters, Maggie and Willa. Your unwavering support means the world to me. I would not be where I am today, if not for you. I love you all more than I can express. I also want to acknowledge my father, Woody, and my grandparents Jim and Shirley, and James and Helen. You all moved on during the writing of this dissertation. I would not be the person I am without having had you all in my life.

As for my supervisor, Lisa Rankin, what can I say? Anyone else would have thrown me to the curb years ago. Your stick-to-itiveness is mindboggling. Thanks for everything. I also want to thank my colleagues at the Labrador Institute, the Provincial Archaeology Office, the Archaeology Department, the Joint Working Group on Everything, and elsewhere. I appreciate you all. Edmund Montague and Daniel Ashini also contributed to this project and my development as a boreal forest archaeologist, and deserve recognition.

Funding and support for this study as been provided by Memorial University, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, The Innu Nation, the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office, the National Scientific Training Program, the Institute of Social and Economic Research, the JR Smallwood Foundation, the Labrador West Historical Society, and the various crew members. You all helped make this project better.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vi
Chapter One Introduction	1
Outline	6
Environmental Context	7
Cultural Context	13
Chapter Two Theoretical Context	20
Taxonomic Concerns	25
Archaeological taxonomy at Ashuanipi	32
Chapter Three Methodological Context	35
Archaeological survey of Ashuanipi	39
Chapter Four Local Context	52
Archaeological History Beyond the Horizon	67
Chapter Five Survey Results	70
Procurement Sites	74
Ethnographic site: 23B/8ethno1	75
Archaeological sites: FfDn-02, FfDn-04, FfDn-05, FdDm-01, FcDn-02, FfDn-08	76
Religious Sites	79
Archaeological site: FcDn-01	80
Transportation Sites	84
Archaeological sites: FcDm-02, FcDm-03, FcDm-04, FcDm-05, FcDm-06	84
Campsites	89

Table of Contents continued

Archaeological site: FcDm-01	89
Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno2	91
Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno3	92
Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno4	93
Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno5	94
Ethnographic site: 23B/09ethno1	97
Ethnographic site: 23B/09ethno3, 23B/09ethno4, 23B/09ethno5, 23B/09ethno7	101
Ethnographic sites: 23B/16ethno3, 23B/16ethno2, 23B/16ethno1	105
Unknown Sites	108
Archaeological site: FeDm-01 and Ethnographic site: 23B/16ethno6	108
Archaeological site: FfDn-06	110
Multicomponent Sites	112
Archaeological site: FfDn-10	112
Archaeological site: FfDn-03	115
Archaeological site: FeDm-02	117
Archaeological site: FfDn-09	120
Archaeological site: FfDn-07	124
Archaeological site: FfDn-01	134
Archaeological site: FeDn-01	154
Chapter Six Conclusion	182
A Summary of Continuity and Transformation at Ashuanipi	183
Episode 1 – cal. AD 300-700	183
Episode 2 – cal. AD 1000-1400	186
Episode 3 – cal. AD 1700-1953	187
Episode 4 – cal. AD 1954-2008	191
Continuity in the Archaeological History of Ashuanipi	194
The Use of Labrador Trough Chert	194
The Treatment of Animal Remains	196
The Re-occupation of Archaeological Sites FfDn-01, FeDn-01, and FfDn-07	198
The Pattern of Land Use at Ashuanipi	200
Transformation in the Archaeological history of Ashuanipi	201
The Impact of Landscape Changes on the Archaeological History of Ashuanipi	202

Table of Contents continued

Innu History in the Archaeological History of Ashuanipi	206
Denouement	210
Bibliography	212
Appendix 1	235

List of Tables

Table 1-1	First Nations Archaeological Cultures for the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula	15
Table 3-1	Summary of Ashuanipi Survey Results	46
Table 4-1	Estimated Number of Animals Killed by Innu Hunters, Ashuanipi Region	66
Table 5-1	Ashuanipi Radiocarbon Dates	72

List of Figures

Figure 1-1	The Quebec-Labrador Peninsula, showing locations of places mentioned in text	2
Figure 1-2	The Lake Plateau Region in the centre of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula	3
Figure 1-3	Ashuanipi, showing geographic features mentioned in text	4
Figure 1-4	Terrestrial ecoregions of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula	9
Figure 1-5	Geological formations, showing location of the Labrador Trough	12
Figure 1-6	Labrador Archaeology sites labelled as “Innu” or “Recent Indian”	16
Figure 3-1	Ashuanipi, showing ABH survey locations	43
Figure 3-2	Ashuanipi, showing archaeology and ethnographic site locations	50
Figure 4-1	Comparison of historic maps from D’Anville and Laure	60
Figure 5-1	Ethnographic site 23B/08Ethno1, Kapitagas Channel, conibear	75
Figure 5-2	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-04/Archaeological site FfDn-05	77
Figure 5-3	Archaeological site FfDn-05, Ashuanipi, artifacts	77
Figure 5-4	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-06, archaeological site FfDn-05	78
Figure 5-5	Ashuanipi survey location KC-02.	81
Figure 5-6	Archaeological site FcDn-01, Ashuanipi Pass, cemetery	82
Figure 5-7	Ashuanipi survey location KC-portage	85
Figure 5-8	Archaeological sites FcDm-02 and FcDm-05, glass fragments	86
Figure 5-9	Archaeological site FcDm-06, Riviere aux Esquimaux, portage	87
Figure 5-10	Archaeological site FcDm-06, Riviere aux Esquimaux, portage	87
Figure 5-11	Ashuanipi survey location KC-01	90
Figure 5-12	Archaeological site FcDm-01, Kapitagas Channel	91
Figure 5-13	Ethnographic site 23B/08Ethno3, Ashuanipi Pass	92
Figure 5-14	Ethnographic site 23B/08Ethno4, Ashuanipi Pass	94
Figure 5-15	Ethnographic site 23B/08Ethno5, Ashuanipi Pass	96
Figure 5-16	ABH survey location Ash-13	98
Figure 5-17	Ethnographic site 23B/09Ethno1, Ashuanipi	99
Figure 5-18	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-14	102
Figure 5-19	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-19	104
Figure 5-20	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-06	106
Figure 5-21	Ethnographic site 23B/16Ethno1, Ashuanipi	107
Figure 5-22	Ethnographic site 23B/16Ethno2, Ashuanipi	107
Figure 5-23	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-20	109
Figure 5-24	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-15	111
Figure 5-25	Archaeological site FcDn-06, Ashuanipi, biface	111
Figure 5-26	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-1	113
Figure 5-27	Archaeological site FfDn-10, Ashuanipi, sill	114
Figure 5-28	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-5	116

List of Figures continued

Figure 5-29	Archaeological site FfDn-03, Ashuanipi, hunting blind	116
Figure 5-30	Ashuanipi survey location Ashh-18	118
Figure 5-31	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-22	121
Figure 5-32	Archaeological site FfDn-09, Ashuanipi, excavation plan	122
Figure 5-33	Archaeological site FfDn-09, Ashuanipi, debitage sample	124
Figure 5-34	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-16	125
Figure 5-35	Archaeological site FfDn-07, Ashuanipi, excavation plan	127
Figure 5-36	Archaeological site FfDn-07, Ashuanipi, manufactured artifacts	129
Figure 5-37	Archaeological site FfDn-07, Ashuanipi, stone tools	130
Figure 5-38	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-1	135
Figure 5-39	Archaeological site FfDn-01, Ashuanipi, TP1, artifact sample	138
Figure 5-40	Archaeological site FfDn-01, Ashuanipi, excavation plan, area B	141
Figure 5-41	Archaeological site FfDn-01, Ashuanipi, area B, feature 3 and feature 5	142
Figure 5-42	Archaeological site FfDn-01, Ashuanipi, Area B, soil profile	148
Figure 5-43	Archaeological site FfDn-01, Ashuanipi, Area B, feature 4	149
Figure 5-44	Archaeological site FfDn-01, Ashuanipi, TL1 stratigraphy	153
Figure 5-45	Ashuanipi survey location Ash-11	155
Figure 5-46	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, stone sample	158
Figure 5-47	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, excavation area	161
Figure 5-48	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, excavation area	161
Figure 5-49	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, excavation plan	162
Figure 5-50	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, soil profile	164
Figure 5-51	Archaeological site GaDn-02, Minaik ^u , Labrador Trough chert	168
Figure 5-52	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, 18thc. artifact sample	172
Figure 5-53	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, 19 th c. artifact sample	173
Figure 5-54	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, 20 th c. artifact sample	176
Figure 5-55	Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi, stone artifacts	180

Chapter One

Introduction

This dissertation is an archaeological history of Ashuanipi, a large lake in the lake plateau region (the Plateau) near the centre of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula (the Peninsula) (Figures 1-1, 1-2, 1-3); from approximately AD 300 to 2000¹. Prior to the start of this study in 2005, nothing had been written about the long-term history of the lake. Archaeological and environmental reports associated with other places in the interior of the Peninsula – e.g. Kameshtashtan, Kanuauakanit atik^u, Minaik^u, and Kaneiapishkau² (Figure 1-1) – provide details on the environmental and cultural history of the Plateau, but do not contain details on Ashuanipi. In contrast, historical documents from the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries (Harper 1964; Hind 2007[1863]; Low 1896; Niellon 1992; Tanner 1947; Tanner and Armitage 1985) record that Ashuanipi was part of a travel route used by Innu³, and others, to traverse the Peninsula, and that some Innu occupied Ashuanipi for longer periods, but they do not include any details on the lakes environmental or cultural history.

¹ In this dissertation dates are presented in three formats. Dates obtained from radiocarbon dating charcoal samples use the prefix cal. AD, to indicate that they are calibrated and in common calendar years. Almost all other dates use the prefix AD, to indicate a common calendar date. In one case a radiocarbon date is presented with the suffix BP, i.e. before present. In this case it was not possible to determine if the referenced date was calibrated, or in radiocarbon years.

² The Innu place names used in this document are from the Innu Dictionary App for I-phone, version 2.2.5.20140617; developed under the direction of Jose Mailhot and Marguerite McKenzie.

³ In this dissertation Innu is the term used to refer to the First Nation inhabitants of the Peninsula, whom currently live in thirteen communities in eastern-Quebec and Labrador (Armitage 1997). In ethnohistory and ethnography the Innu are most often referred to as Naskapi and Montagnais (Mailhot 1986). They are very closely related to the Eeyou (east-Cree) (Rogers and Leacock 1981), and there are many relatives divided between Eeyou and Innu communities on the Peninsula.

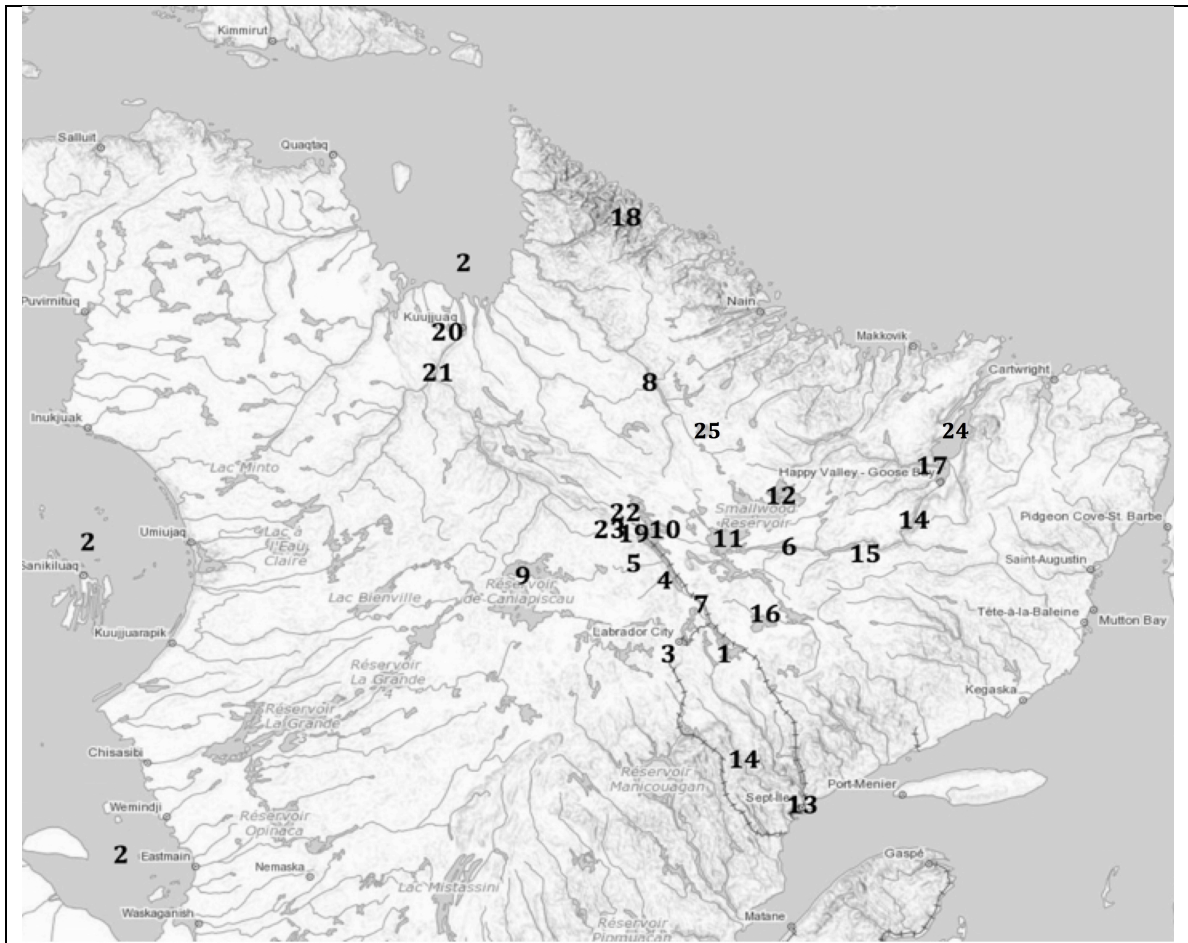


Figure 1-1: The Quebec-Labrador Peninsula showing locations of places mentioned in the text. (adapted from atlas.gc.ca/toporama/en/index.html).

Innu toponyms: 1. Ashuanipi (Lake); 2. Ush-uinipeku (Hudson's, James, Ungava Bays⁴); 3. Labrador City; 4. Minaik^u (Menihek) 5. Uepushuehkau-shipu (McPhadyen River); 6. Churchill Falls; 7. Ashuanupiu-shipu (Ashuanipi River); 8. Kanuaauakanit aitk^u (Indian House Lake) 9. Kaneiapishkau (Caniapiscau Lake/Reservoir); 10. Petshissikipau (Petitsikapau Lake); 11. Meshikamau (Smallwood Reservoir); 12. Meshikamass (Smallwood Reservoir); 13. Uashau (Sept Ile); 14. Mishta-shipu (Moisie River, Churchill River)⁵; 15. Anikutshash-shipiss (Cache River); 16. Kaukuepatinakau (Lac Joseph); 17. Tshishe-shatshu (Sheshatshiu); 18. Torngat Mountains; 19. Schefferville; 20. Puatchishaimu (Fort Chimo); 21. Fort McKenzie; 22. Kawawachikamach; 23. Mani-utenam (Maliotenam reserve), 24. Atatshi-uinipek^u (Lake Melville), 25. Kameshtashtan (Mistastin Lake).

⁴ To distinguish these three bays in the text Ush-uinipeku will be followed by either (HB), (JB), or (UB).

⁵ To distinguish these two rivers in the text Mishta-shipu will be followed by either (MR), or (CR).

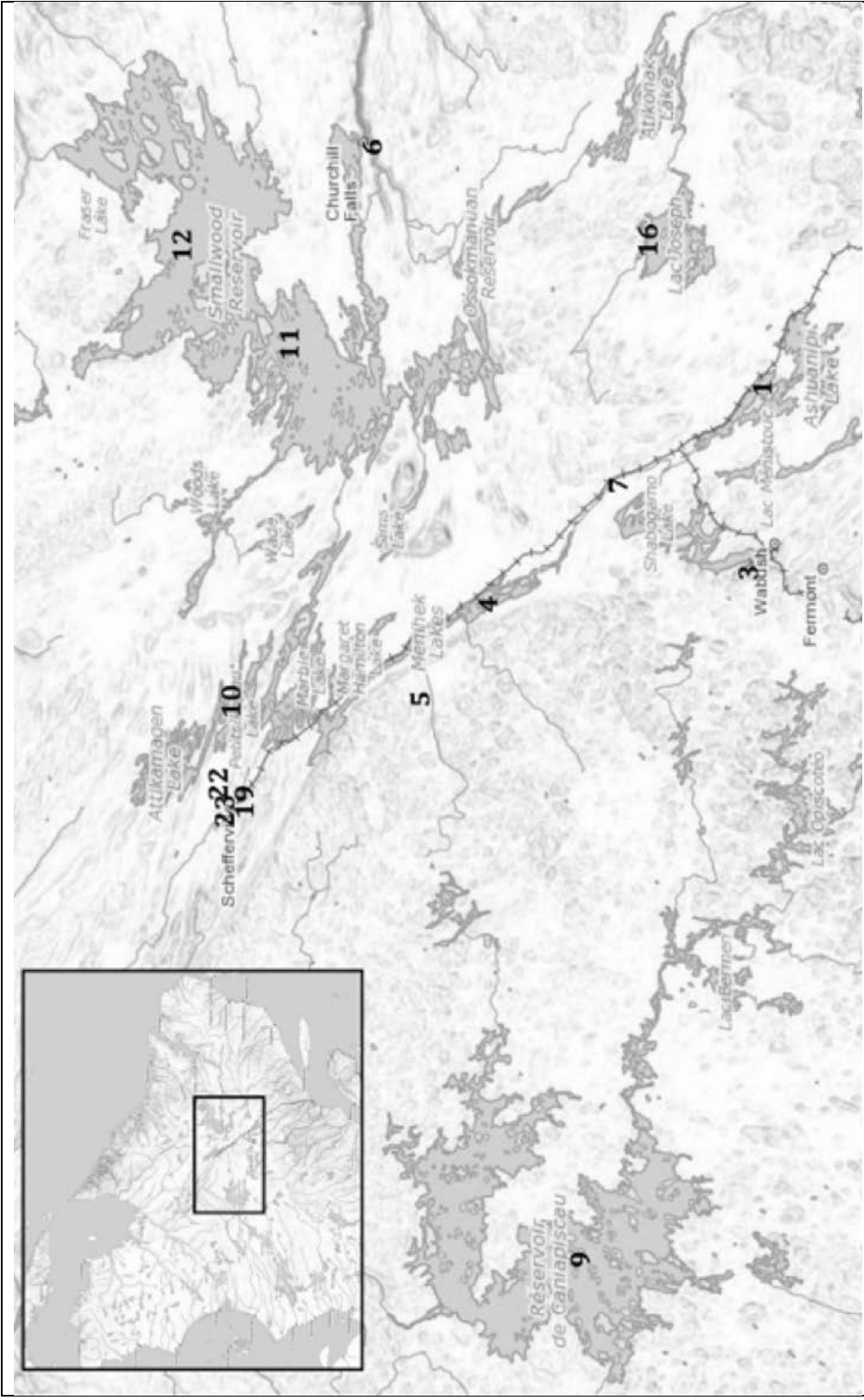


Figure 1-2: The Lake Plateau region in the centre of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula (embedded numbers relate to place names listed in Figure 1-1) (adapted from atlas.gc.ca/toporama/en/index.html).



Figure 1-3: Ashuanipi (outlined in black)(letters label geographic features mentioned in text). (adapted from atlas.gc.ca/toporama/en/index.html).

A. Ferguson Bay; B. Pointe de Callioux; C. Grande Ile; D. The Snake; E. Ashuanipi Pass; F. Kapitagas Channel; G. Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway

At the outset of this study there were two sources of historical information for Ashuanipi that remained largely unknown to the researchers who study the Peninsula, and the settlers⁶ who live there. They were 1) the material evidence of occupation left behind by the people that occupied Ashuanipi in the past (i.e. the archaeological record), and 2) the personal knowledge of Innu and settlers who have direct experience with Ashuanipi (i.e. local/Indigenous/traditional knowledge). In this dissertation effort is made to incorporate local knowledge, and to allow for the different ways that archaeologists and Innu learn about and describe the past, but the main focus is the archaeological record. Having recognized the gap that exists between the historical observations of Ashuanipi and the wider natural and cultural history of the Plateau, the primary objective was to recover and interpret historical, archaeological, and environmental data from Ashuanipi, and to begin to develop an understanding of the lake as a place over time. To meet this objective it was necessary to address fundamental archaeological questions – such as “where are the archaeological sites located?”, “what artifacts and features are present?”, and “how old are they?” – as well as complex historical and anthropological questions – such as “who were the people that occupied these sites and how are they related to the people who occupy Ashuanipi today?”, and “what are the implications of these results for current and future interpretations of the Peninsula’s cultural history, the practice of archaeology, and Newfoundland and Labrador society? ”.

⁶ In this dissertation settler is the term used to refer to the non-Aboriginal inhabitants of the Peninsula, who began to settle and colonize northeastern North America by the 17th century. It does not include the fishermen, whalers, and others who travelled here temporarily, and then returned home. These groups will be referred to by their common ethnonym specifically, such as Norse, Basque, French, and English, or Europeans generally.

Outline

All archaeology is produced within a web of influence, and there will always be ideas and techniques that could have been applied in a specific project, but were not. What is important is that the reader knows what the influences, practices, and objectives are in a given study. The diversity of data sources used in this dissertation compels that the investigative framework is capable of incorporating data from diverse fields and time periods. The theoretical foundation used to support the investigation of Ashuanipi draws on a variety of principles that have been expressed in archaeology over the last six decades, from culture history to Indigenous archaeology, and is described in detail in Chapter two. Likewise, the fieldwork conducted at Ashuanipi draws on methodology that has been used successfully on archaeological projects elsewhere on the Peninsula, and which suit the survey purposes at Ashuanipi. When evaluating the description and application of these methods, outlined in Chapter Three, it is important to keep in mind the exploratory nature of the Ashuanipi research, and the primary focus on this locale. In Chapter Four the dissertation begins to focus on what is known of Ashuanipi. Two previous investigations are reviewed in detail, and the strengths and shortcomings of the data are stressed. This sets the stage for Chapter Five, which presents the results of the Ashuanipi investigation in detail. Due to the preliminary nature of the research many of the inferences made throughout the chapter are speculative, and there are more questions raised than answered – as it often the case with introductory investigations. In the final chapter, Chapter Six, the episodes of occupation at

Ashuanipi are highlighted, and there is an effort made to try and reconcile the archaeological history of Ashuanipi with an Innu perspective of history. This Chapter also includes recommendations for follow-up work at Ashuanipi, and the Peninsula more generally.

In order to properly evaluate the investigative framework laid out in Chapters Two and Three, and the local data and interpretations presented in Chapters Four, Five and Six, it is vital to have some understanding of the environmental and cultural context of the broader interior of the Peninsula; knowledge of the environmental and cultural contexts summarized below definitely had an influence on the design, implementation, and conclusion of this study.

Environmental Context

In all cultural studies it is necessary to consider and account for the role of nature (Dincauze 2000). The natural environment applies direct and indirect pressure to culture over both the short and long-term (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Directly, it is the source of the resources needed to meet certain biological needs (e.g. sustenance, medicine, and clothing); as such, it influences individual actions and group patterns, including their transformation. Indirectly, as a result of meeting these biological needs, the natural environment also affects cultural traits (e.g. tools, artwork, shelter, transportation, and belief systems) and their transformation (Binford 2000).

The natural environment of the Peninsula is legendary for some of its less appealing characteristics. It has been mythologized in statements such as “...‘Kingdom of Beelzebub’...‘the land God gave to Cain’...‘a lost and empty land of forest, lake, and river’...and...‘Canada’s Desolate Corner’...”(Armitage 2004). However, the environment of the Peninsula is not all bogs, rocks, trees and flies; it is a compilation of natural characteristics, which also includes: large lakes with sandy beaches (see Chapter Five), some of the oldest rocks in the world (Parks Canada 2014), excellent fish habitat (Anderson 1985), herds of caribou (as well as other fur bearing and avian species) (Bergerud et al. 2008; Harper 1961), an abundance of semi-precious and precious stones, minerals and elements (Low 1896), and a mixture of boreal forest, taiga, and tundra vegetation (Figure 1-4). To the Innu, Inuit, and settlers who live on the Peninsula today this environment is not uninviting or desolate – it is home.

Ashuanipi is on the Plateau, near the centre of the Peninsula (Figure 1-2, 1-3), in a modern geo-political region, known locally as “Lab West”. The lake is below the tree line and the shoreline is often heavily forested to the high water mark, with upper elevations being more open (see Chapter Five). Beaches are prevalent around the lake and they vary between sand and cobbles. Wetlands often border the sandy beaches, and are separated from the lake by levees. There are many watercourses that flow into the lake, and drain a substantial track of land. It’s outlet, Ashuanupiu-shipu, flows into Minaik^u, Meshikamau-Meshikamass, Mishta-shipu (CR), Atatshi-uinipek^u, and the Atlantic Ocean (Figure 1-1, 1-2). Broken only by falls and rapids, it

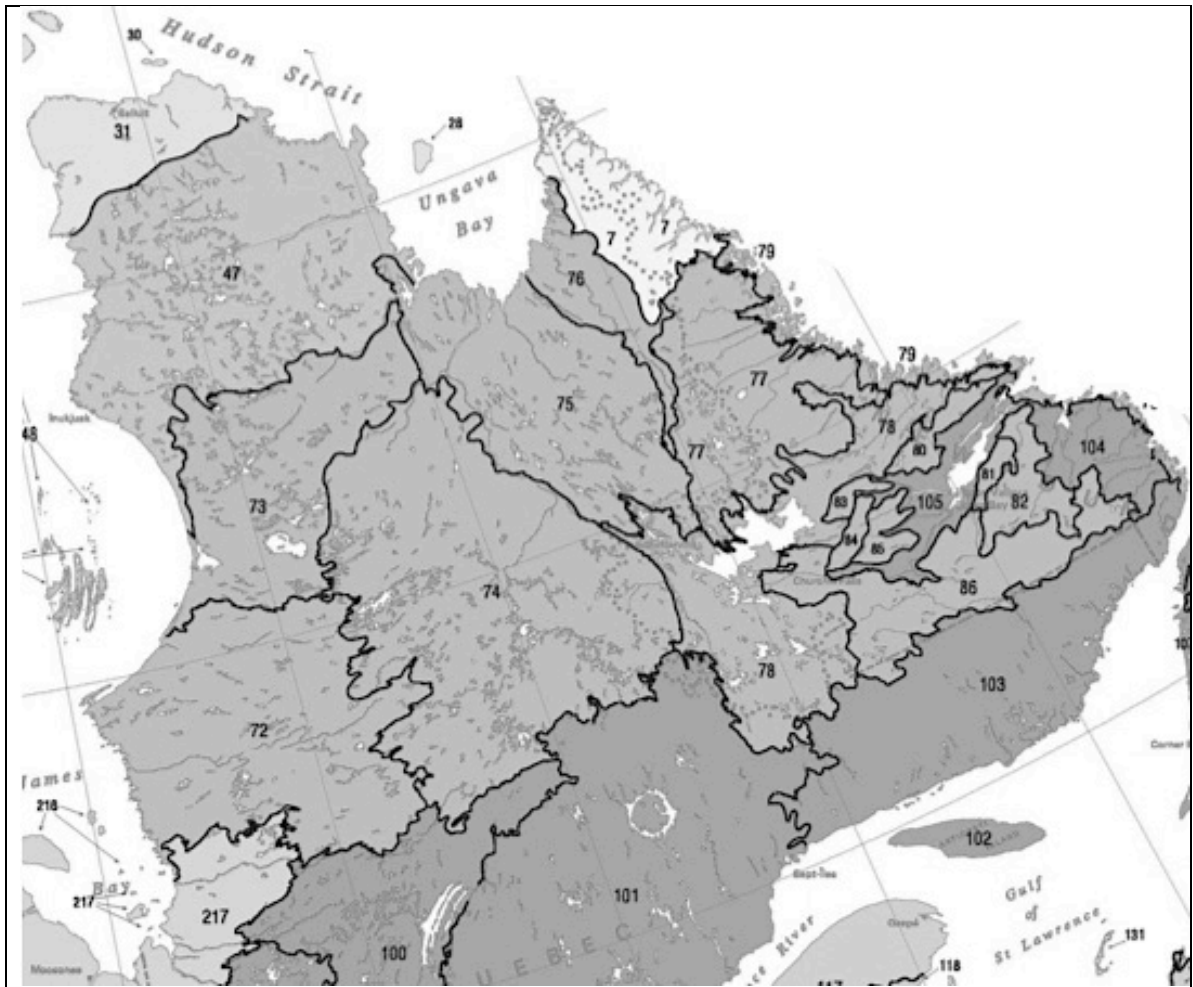


Figure 1-4: Terrestrial ecoregions of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula (Adapted from <http://sis.agr.gc.ca/cansis/publications/manuals/1996/cad-map.jpg>)

7 - Torngat Mountains	80/83/86 - Mecatina River
31 - Northern Ungava Peninsula	81 - Fraser River
47 - Central Ungava Peninsula	82 - Eagle Plateau
72 - La Grande Hills	84 - Winokapau Lake North
73 - Southern Ungava Peninsula	85 - Goose River West
74 - New Quebec Central Plateau	100 - Riviere Rupert Plateau
75 - Ungava Bay Basin	101 - Central Laurentians
76 - George Plateau	103 - Mecatina Plateau
77 - Kingurutik River	104 - Paradise River
78 - Smallwood Reservoir-Michikamau	105 - Lake Melville
79 - Coastal Barrens	217 - James Bay Lowlands

provides a continuous route from the Plateau to the Atlantic Ocean. Just to the north, south and west of Ashuanipi, similar routes can be found to Ush-uinipeku, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Montague 2000). There is evidence of the last glaciation in the form of drainage channels, eskers, drumlins, pocks, erratics, and outwash all around the lake. The location is thought to have been ice-free for the last 5,000 years, although there may have been remnant glaciers until 4000 years ago (JWEL 2000; King 1986; Low 1896). The vegetation around the lake is distinctly northern boreal, and has been for the last 5,000 years (King 1986). Spruce and fir trees (some more than 1 m in diameter) dominate the canopy, while the under-story is made up of immature members of these species, as well as alder, willow, larch and some white and yellow birch (which are often associated with cultural sites). The ground cover includes a variety of grasses, sedges, wild flowers, berries, herbs, and mosses. In areas where the canopy is open the ground cover is dominated by Labrador tea and caribou moss. The exception to this pattern is in the Kapitagas Channel Ecological Reserve (Figure 1-3). It was designated in part because it includes the only stand of Jack Pine in the province and the most easterly occurrence of the species in North America (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1999). It is believed that these trees migrated into the region naturally, following a forest fire (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1999); and it is interesting to note that the Kapitagas Channel is part of the travel route used by Innu (Montague 2000; Niellon 1992), and others (Davidson and Ruge 1982), to move between the coast and the Plateau prior to construction of the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway.

Single caribou and moose are present in vicinity of Ashuanipi throughout the year, while larger groups of caribou come together at Kaukuepatinakau (Figure 1-2) each spring to give birth. The abundance of fish (i.e. lake trout, pike, white fish and ouananiche) at Ashuanipi has been documented historically (Low 1896), and is apparent today from the amount of sport and recreational fishers observed there. Evidence of fur bearing animals are also visible (i.e. trap lines, beaver chewed trees, and game trails), and their presence is noted in the historical record, too (Harper 1958, 1961; Provencher 1953). Ducks, loons, Canada geese, and eagles make use of the lake on a recurring, seasonal basis, while other avian species (e.g. spruce grouse, and grey jays) are permanent residents.

Ashuanipi is located at the southern edge of the geological formation known as the Labrador Trough (Figure 1-5). The location is not as comprehensively studied as the iron ore bearing formations to the west and north, near Labrador City and Schefferville. Based on the work that has been done, it appears that the quartzite formations found at Labrador City, and the chert formations found near Schefferville do not occur at Ashuanipi. The closest known source of tool stone to Ashuanipi is the Flemming Formation, with outcrops at the confluence of Minaik^u and Uepusheshkau-shipu (Figure 1-2, 1-5) (Brake 2007; Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 2004; Neilsen 2009). Although the characteristics of this formation have not been published in detail, it is known that the material varies in colour, opacity, and texture (Brake 2007; Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 2004) (see Chapter Five). It is also known that this material appears on archaeological sites at



Figure 1-5: Map of geological formations showing approximate location of Labrador Trough in relation to selected locations mentioned in the text (see Figure 1-1, for corresponding place names)(Adapted from <http://geoscan.ess.nrcan.gc.ca/images/geoscan/1860a.jpg>)

Kaneiapishkau, Kanuauakanit atik^u, and the middle Quebec North Shore (Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 2011; Jean-Christophe Oulette, personal communication 2014). The other tool stone relevant to this study is Ramah chert, from the Torngat Mountains (Figure 1-5). This stone is much better know to archaeologists than chert from the Trough (Loring 2002). Ramah chert was used by almost all of the archaeological cultures in Labrador, and is dominate in many First Nations⁷ coastal assemblages that date between BC 1000 and European Settlement (Holly 2013; Loring 2002).

⁷ In this dissertation the terms First Nations is used as an ethnonym, to refer to the broad group of people who would otherwise be known as Indians, Amerindians, or Native Americans.

Cultural Context

Archaeologists and Innu believe that First Nations people began to explore the interior portion of the Peninsula following deglaciation (Loring et al. 2003). The oldest radiocarbon dated site in the region, GICs-04, is located at Kameshtashtan (Figure 1-1), and it dates to a point between cal. BC 5000 and 4840 (Beta 424286) (Jenkinson 2010, personal communication 2016). Artifact serration indicates that First Nations were visiting interior locations on the Rupert River, the Great Whale River, the Eastmain River, and Kanuauakanit aitk^u around this same time (Brake 2007; Holly 2013; McCaffrey 2006, 2011; Samson 1978). In the millennia following these earliest occupations, and prior to the arrival of European settlers, First Nations occupation of the interior is thought to have increased (Holly 2013; McCaffrey 2006, 2011). Archaeological sites dating between BC 1500 and AD 500 have been identified at all the interior locations listed above, as well as at Minaik^u, Uepusheshkau-shipu, Mishta-shipu (CR), Anikutshash-shipiss, Tshishe-shatshu, Goose Bay (Brake 2007; Holly 2013; McCaffrey 2004; Neilsen 2006, 2009), and possibly more. The earliest radiocarbon dated components in the Plateau are at Kaneiapishkau, and date to ca. 3500 BP (Brake 2007; Denton 1988, 1983; McCaffrey 2011, 2006, 2004). Stone tools resembling those from earlier periods elsewhere on the peninsula were recovered at Meshikamau-Meshikamass in the 1960s and 1990s, but these locations are impacted by the Smallwood Reservoir, and are heavily disturbed, or destroyed altogether (Loring et al. 2003).

Beginning ca. BC 100, possibly earlier (Holly 2013; Neilsen 2006, Tuck 1982), First Nations archaeological cultures across the Peninsula manifest characteristics that archaeologists working in the region believe can be traced through to the Innu-Eeyou who occupy the same basic area today (Brake 2007; Denton 1983; Loring 1992; Madden 1975; McCaffrey 2011; Pinal 1998). Cultural connections with the earliest occupants in the interior of the Peninsula have not been successfully demonstrated by archaeologists (Holly 2013; Loring 1992); and the Innu insist that they are the direct ancestors of the first people to occupy the peninsula following deglaciation (Ashini 1989, 2007; Nuna 2007). Archaeologists traditionally refer to the period ca. BC 100 to AD 1500 as the Late precontact period (Stopp 2008), the Recent period (Hull 2002), the late pre-historic period (Denton 1989; Loring 1992; Samson 1978), or the late phase post-archaic period (Pinal 1998; Madden 1975).

Research in various locations on the peninsula has led to the description of a number of geographic and time specific archaeological complexes for this period (Table 1-1). These designations are based on local site characteristics, including the artifacts recovered, their likeness within a confined geographic region, as well as their divergence from other, similarly defined regions. Individual or smaller site groupings, for which no complex designations have been assigned or defined, but which are thought to date within the BC 100 to AD 1500 time frame have been identified in numerous locations in the interior of the Peninsula, such as Kameshtashtan, Ashuanipi, Misht-shipu (CR), Meshikamau-Meshikamass, Kanuauakanit aitk^u, the Eastmain River, and the La Grande River (Figure 1-6).

Table 1-1: First Nations Archaeological Cultures for the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula, ca. BC 100 – AD 1500 (2000 BP to European settlement)

Archaeological Complexes	Geographic Region	Time Frame	Reference
Daniel Rattle Complex	Central Labrador Coast	1800 BP – 1000 BP	Loring 1992
Pt. Revenge Complex	Central Labrador Coast	1000 BP - settlement	Fitzhugh 1978; Loring 1992
Late Precontact Period	Labrador Coast	2000 BP - settlement	Fitzhugh 1976; Loring 1992
Late Phase	South Labrador Coast	3500 BP - settlement	Madden 1976; McGee & Tuck 1975
North West River Phase	Central Labrador	2600 - 1800 BP	Fitzhugh 1972
Early Recent Indian	South Labrador Coast	2000 BP – 1000 BP	Hull 2002
Late Recent Indian	South Labrador Coast	1000 BP - settlement	Hull 2002
Late Prehistoric Period	Kaneiapishkau	1600 BP - settlement	Denton 1988
	Indian House Lake	2000 BP – 1500 BP 1100 BP – 600 BP	Samson 1978
Mushua Nipian Phase	Indian House Lake	AD 1839 – 1945	Samson 1978
Middle Woodland	Moisie River	2500 BP – 1500 BP	Chevrier 1977
Fleche Littorale Complex	Lower North Shore	2500 BP – 1500 BP	Pintal 1998
Petit Havre Complex	Lower North Shore	1500 BP – 1200 BP	Pintal 1998
Longue Pointe Complex	Lower North Shore	1300 BP – 1100 BP	Pintal 1998
Anse Lazy Complex	Lower North Shore	1200 BP – 1100 BP	Pintal 1998
Anse Morel Complex	Lower North Shore	1000 BO – 400 BP	Pintal 1998

Although these archaeological complexes demonstrate degrees of dissimilarity at the level of the site and region, there are also characteristics that cut through the differences from site to site, which can be followed through time. These are: a penchant for Ramah chert from northern Labrador; patterned travel between the coast and the interior; high individual and group mobility; procurement of terrestrial and marine resources; cultural/social significance of boreal forest resources and landscape; circular and linear cobble features and structures; and the ritual destruction and disposal of lithic tools and animal bones (Brake 2007; Denton 1983, 1988; Holly 2013; Hull 2002; Loring 2002; Pintal 1998). Similarities in tool

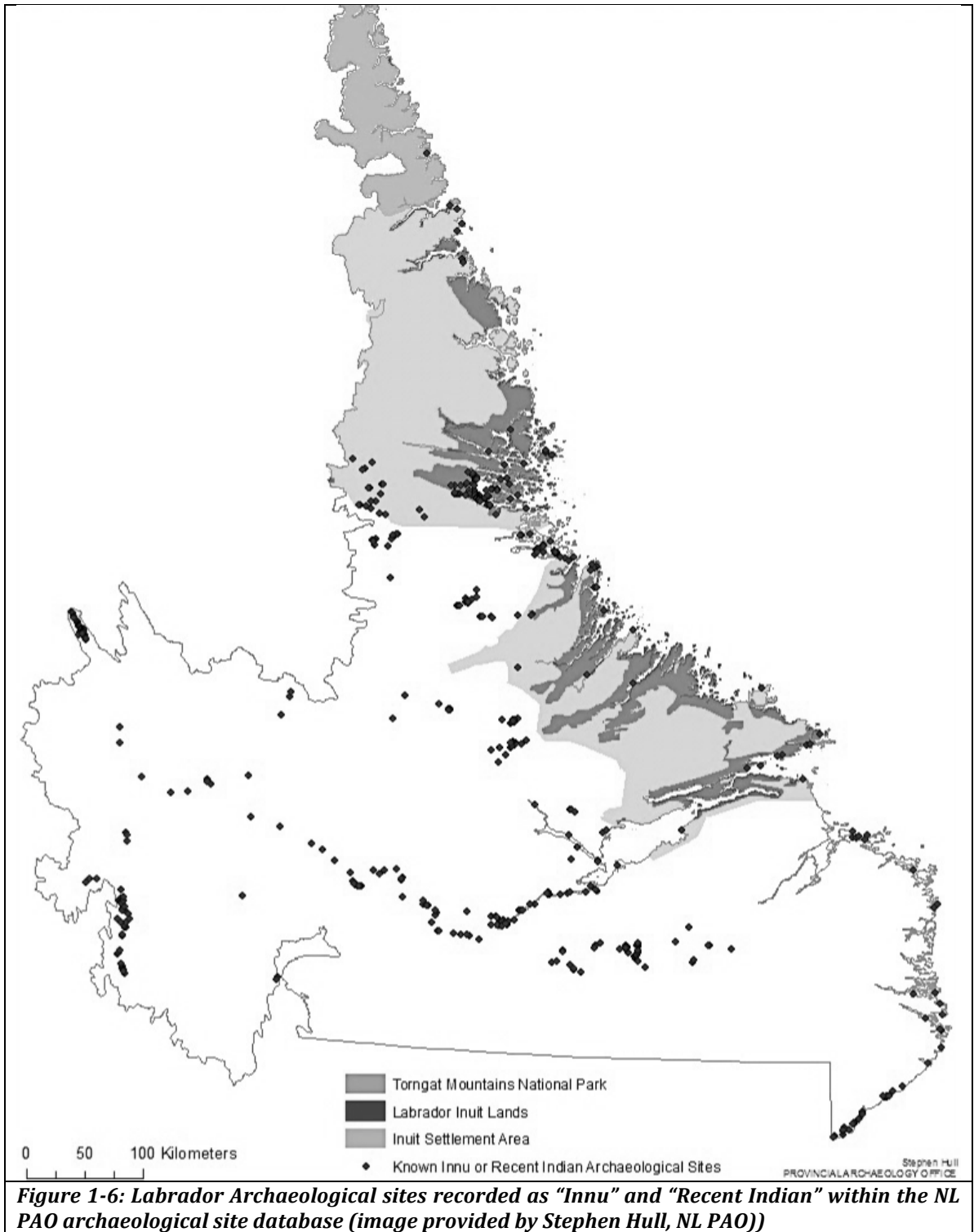


Figure 1-6: Labrador Archaeological sites recorded as “Innu” and “Recent Indian” within the NL PAO archaeological site database (image provided by Stephen Hull, NL PAO))

form have also been identified as cross-regional characteristics in some situations (Hull 2002; Loring 2002; Pintal 1998), but these become more tenuous when extended over the entire Peninsula, and through time. Thus, rather than support a cross-regional designation, such as Eeyou or Innu, they help to maintain the regional and temporal culture-history designations identified previously. This should not be surprising, however, as we know that the Eeyou and Innu who live across the Peninsula today also display regional differences, such as dialect, snowshoe style, diet, and beliefs.

Much more data is available on the Eeyou and Innu beginning with sustained European contact (Holly 2013; Loring 1992). Archaeological sites and collected artifacts still provide evidence of their cultural practices, but less so than the documentary records of explorers, scientists, anthropologists, settlers, historians, and reporters. In the initial descriptions by people like Father Pierre Babel, the Jesuits, A.P. Low, and Mr. and Mrs. Hubbard, through until the Eeyou and Innu began to assert their Indigenous rights on the world stage in the final half of the 20th century, they were referred to under a number of settler-assigned labels, such as Naskapi and Montagnais (Mailhot 1986). Similar to the archaeological categorization of the earlier history, these two labels were based on perceived differences in settlement, subsistence, and religion. Naskapi came to refer to the groups who inhabited the northerly portion of the peninsula, south to the height of land (Mailhot 1986). They were considered to be the more primitive of the two groups because they dressed in skins, avoided contact with outsiders, and preferred not to

participate in the emerging capitalist system (Mailhot 1986). Montagnais, on the other hand, referred to the Innu groups along the Quebec north shore and the south coast of Labrador, who were in more frequent contact with Europeans and (at times) lived in semi-permanent encampments in the vicinity of trading posts and European settlements. They participated more fully in the emerging capitalist system, dressed in western clothing, and looked to the ocean for part of their subsistence (Mailhot 1986). They spent less time in the deep interior above the height of land, only traveling there to hunt caribou and perhaps meet Naskapi relatives and friends. Many of the Montagnais were baptized and converted to Christianity, while the Naskapi remained so-called “heathens” (Mailhot 1986). Over the course of the 20th century permanent communities arose, and the vast majority of Eeyou and Innu began to spend at least part of the year in them (Samson 2003). As a result of this, contact with westerners increased dramatically, as did the impacts on their culture. By the late 1970s the negative impact of western society on Eeyou and Innu culture was apparent (Samson 2003). Confronted with this, the Eeyou and Innu chose to assert their Indigenous rights, and began to declare their own culture-history. They began to insist they were not Naskapi and/or Montagnais, but rather Eeyou and Innu – i.e. human beings (Ashini 1989). They did not dispute the variation from individual-to-individual and group-to-group, which had been described in the historical and archaeological literature, rather that this did to override the shared history and cultural practices that were known to them.

In circumstances like the one described above – where the inhabitants of a location claim a cultural, historical, and biological relationship to the land and the preceding people – archaeology often generates histories that are distinct from Indigenous history (Ashini 2007; Deloria 1992; McNiven and Russell 2005; Mitchell 2013; Nuna 2007). And because the archaeological history is created within the structure of provincial and territorial regulations, and academic towers, cultural resource managers, courts, museums, students, developers, and the Canadian public take it more seriously than the Indigenous history of the same region. Knowing this, and given this studies goal of creating a history of Ashuanipi that spans the last 1700 years, it is necessary to acknowledge that the archaeological and ethnographic sites present at Ashuanipi have multiple values to multiple stakeholders, and to make an effort to frame the archaeological cultures identified in Chapters Five and Six within Innu categories of history. This will not be an Innu history per se, but it will hopefully take a step towards reconciling these two different ways of knowing the past.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Context

Archaeology is inherently multiscalar. Archaeological histories range from small-scale studies of individual bits of evidence to large-scale descriptions of human history (Lock and Molyneaux 2006: xi). A Ramah chert biface for example, can say something about the specific task for which it was used, or even the individual who used it; while at the same time it can also convey information about regional subsistence and mobility practices, and wide-ranging social networks. The approach to scale in this study is influenced by *Annales* historian Fernand Braudel's (1980) multi-dimensional interpretation of time, and the use of his approach by archaeologists such as Phillip Duke (1991), John Bintliff (1991), and Neil Ferris (2009); and by Carole Crumley's (2003, 1987) and Dena Dincauze's (2000, 1987) multiscalar interpretation of ecology and environment. These influences are applied through the concepts of location, region, and area, and were used to organize the research for this project, including the descriptions and conclusions presented in this dissertation. Most people have some understanding of these concepts. This makes them useful for organization and presentation; however, because they are common to a number of natural and social science disciplines their meaning here must be defined.

In this study, location relates directly to Ashuanipi (Figure 1-3) and the artifacts, features, and setting associated with each cultural component (see Chapter Five). The timescale here is directly related to the occupation sites at the lake, and can vary from a single event in one site component to longer-term trends that span the 1700 years of occupation detected the lake (see Chapter Five). Region relates directly to the geographic zone labeled the Plateau (Figure 1-2). The boundaries of this region were drawn to incorporate the large lakes on either side of the height of land, which have similar environmental settings to Ashuanipi, and were inhabited in the past. The timescale here incorporates both individual site components, or occupations, that can be compared across the region, and to long-term trends covering approximately the last 4000 years. The final category, area, encompasses the Peninsula (Figure 1-1). The boundaries of the area are mostly geographic, and include a range of topographic and ecological zones (Figure 1-4). The timescale here covers approximately the last 8000 years, and relates mostly to the complex culture history of the Peninsula and the relationship with the natural history of the area. Because this dissertation is focused on the archaeological history of Ashuanipi, location receives the most attention. The people who occupied Ashuanipi did not exist in isolation, however, and it is useful to consider their relationships with neighboring locations in the Plateau, and across the Peninsula.

This multiscale approach requires the correlation of data from a variety of researchers, working in a variety of disciplines, and at a variety of scales. To accomplish this the two major archaeological paradigms – processualism and post-

processualism – and the various theories and methods subsumed within them are used as facets of a comprehensive theory of archaeology. As John Bintliff and Mark Pearce (2011: 4) stated in the introduction to their publication *The Death of Archaeological Theory*, “there is a general and growing consensus...that the reality of Archaeological Theory is that the majority of practitioners combine methods and theories taken from all current and previous traditions in the discipline”, and from other disciplines. They also state that this approach is attractive because it allows archaeologists to correlate the methods, models, and theories that are best able to address the research questions they have at a specific point in time (Pearce 2011: 85), rather than the opposite, which is to pick research questions that fit within a specific theory or paradigm.

The application of this “eclectic” approach to theory, as Bintliff and Pearce (2011) have called it, is helped along by the fact that some North American archaeologists have recommended similar approaches, in previous decades. In 1948 Walter Taylor published *A Study of Archaeology*. The “Conjunctive Approach” he described was well ahead of the methodology most archaeologists were following at the time, or even today. Taylor recognized that “the task of investigating, understanding, and projecting the totality of human experience [i.e. archaeology]...requires information...from particular disciplines which have made specialized studies”, such as biology, physics, geology, anthropology, and history (Taylor 1983: 29). Four decades later, J. V. Wright and Michael Schiffer both echoed Taylor’s view. In *The Development of Prehistory in Canada: 1935-1985* Wright (1985:

428) wrote that “the eclectic nature of archaeology places it in an ideal position to exploit the theoretical stocks of many other disciplines for its own purpose”. Schiffer (1988: 462) echoed this in *The Structure of Archaeological Theory*, where he wrote “...that the principles of archaeology are so diverse that they never could be forced into a single hierarchy...archaeology is the quintessential interdisciplinary discipline, incorporating varied home-grown theories as well as theories from nearly all other social and natural sciences.” (Schiffer 1988: 462).

From this standpoint “archaeology possesses an undeniably rich conceptual structure of surprising breadth and complexity” (Schiffer 1988: 478). Archaeologists can choose to work with a single theory or multiple interpretive methods to answer a wide range of questions, so long as the method chosen is suitable to the task at hand. In the study of Ashuanipi processualism and post-processualism are rooted in culture history and guide the overall arc of the investigation. Each of these paradigms have strengths, which have improved archaeological practice over the last three decades. The processual focus on the scientific method and the application of archaeological science to questions of culture and history are key developments in the discipline. Radiocarbon dating, geomorphology, micromorphology, geology, ethnoarchaeology, ethnohistory, and the concepts “site” and “scale” are all important aspects of this study, which have been discussed extensively by processual archaeologists (see Binford 1980, 2000; Rossignol and Wandsnider 1992; Schiffer 1987; Schiffer et al. 1978). Likewise, the post-processual focus on the subjectivity of the archaeological record, and the

dialectic roles of society, culture, nature, and the individual in the creation of this record are important aspects of archaeology today, and the study of Ashuanipi.

Together these paradigms insist that there must be some understanding of Ashuanipi on its own, before it can be compared to other locations. The people who inhabited Ashuanipi had their own agency, and cannot simply be seen as reproductions of people living elsewhere in the Peninsula, even if they are closely related. Archaeologists are also encouraged to set aside their false notions of objectivity and authority, and to acknowledge that there are multiple stakeholders involved in, and impacted by archaeology and its historical narratives. At Ashuanipi this includes, but is likely not limited to Innu from Uashau, Puekuakamu, Mani-utenam, and Kawawachikamach, settler cabin owners, the Labrador West Historical Society, the Newfoundland and Labrador Government, and the Innu Nation. There is no existing culture history for Ashuanipi, so the narrative constructed needs to consider topics that archaeologists often take for granted, like taxonomy, and to make decisions on how to refer to the archaeological and ethnographic sites recorded, and the people who lived at them. Within this process it is necessary to consider the work of other researchers in the region of Ashuanipi and the Plateau, as well as the Innu and settlers who live there today. Knowledge of interpretive methods like Decolonization, Indigenous/Community Archaeology, and Historical Ecology, while not part of a typical culture history approach, help to ensure that the archaeological history presented in the following pages avoids the ethnocentric pitfalls of traditional culture history.

Taxonomic Concerns

The previous section recognized that archaeologists continue to work hard at shaping the theoretical foundation of the discipline. This effort has strengthened archaeology and increased its breadth significantly. However, these methodological and theoretical debates, which stem from the discipline's evolution through culture history, processualism, and post-processualism, into the eclectic approach described above, have inadvertently diverted archaeologist's attention from the history-telling aspects of the discipline (Hodder and Hudson 2003: 10-14; Patterson 1989). As a result, there has been very little critical assessment of the taxonomic process by archaeologists over the last four decades, despite concerns raised by Indigenous peoples and researchers who work with them.

Within Canadian archaeology there are a few noteworthy exceptions. In the introduction to his expansive three volumes set *A History of the Native People of Canada*, in which he proposed a First Nation archaeological taxonomy for all of Canada, J.V. Wright (1995: 3) framed the issue this way:

“Archaeological taxonomy and nomenclature...are poorly developed in Canada. Archaeological terms tend to be regional in nature and based upon differing criteria rather than being broadly equivalent and systematic. There is the problem that archaeologists must base their classifications, for the most part, upon technology which means they are forced to establish their nomenclatures long before the desirable evidence is at hand. By the time sufficient evidence does become available to establish more accurate classifications, the earlier descriptive units have acquired a certain sanctity through use and familiarity and are extremely resistant to change”.

Setting aside, for now, the impact of regionalism on archaeology Wright's observation of the steadfastness of archaeological nomenclature in Canada is meaningful. This view was echoed by many of Wright's Great Lakes colleagues at a joint meeting of the Ontario Archaeological Society and Midwestern Archaeological Conference, in 1997. The published proceedings of this conference, *Taming the Taxonomy* (Williamson and Watts 1999), emphasize the importance of nomenclature and classification within studies of the Great Lakes, and archaeology in general. Two specific points from this volume are worth noting in the context of this study. The first is that "...classification remains essential for doing archaeology and will occur implicitly if not done explicitly" (Trigger 1999: 303), and, the second is that to remain meaningful cultural taxonomy "...must be continually revised and modified to accommodate an ever increasing database" (Spence 1999: 28).

Corresponding arguments regarding the practice of culture history are also seen in studies from other regions of Canada. In reference to the cultural taxonomy of the Canadian plains, Dale Walde (2004: 39-40) has written that the "discussion is complicated by the fact that there is no single agreed-upon approach to cultural taxonomy", and as a result "the process is inaccessible to the uninitiated". More recently, and relevant to the study of Ashuanipi, Marianne Stopp (2008: 97-99) wrote in her analysis of FbAx-01, an "Amerindian" archaeological site in southern Labrador, that

"Recent Indian', a term transposed from the Island of Newfoundland where it refers to sites dating from about 2000 BP to contact is now being used to refer to LPA [Late precontact Amerindian] sites. Its use for Labrador may be due to a general

unfamiliarity with the Labrador archaeological literature or perhaps the hegemony of an archaeological framework based in St. John's...even though the island and the even larger mainland component of the province do not share the same culture historical trajectories for Amerindian occupations after the Maritime Archaic period. An inherent illogic, moreover, lies in the use of the word "recent" to refer to relatively ancient sites that are, in fact, not the most recent Amerindian occupations in Labrador...".

Likewise, Peter Ramsden and James Tuck, who were commenting on paleoeskimo cultural taxonomy of the eastern Arctic and sub-Arctic (including the Peninsula), wrote that

"...cultural processes do not occur in a vacuum, nor can they be investigated or described in one. The fundamental underpinning of any understanding of cultural process must be a solid grasp of culture history, and the scientific construction of such a history must be the first step...[archaeologists must]...give serious consideration to the basis on which culture-historical relationships can be inferred, and to try to be more consistent in our construction of cultural-taxonomic schemes" (Ramsden and Tuck 2001: 10).

While these examples clearly show that some archaeologists are concerned about cultural taxonomy, it is fair to say that there is little critical discussion of this subject in Canadian archaeology today. There are dialogues around certain terminology embedded within the debates over methodological approaches, but these rarely move beyond identifying the problem, to actually provide a systematic solution. Within the Indigenous Archaeology literature, for example, Wilcox (2010: 224-225), McGhee (2010: 242) and others (see Oland, Hart and Frink 2012) have lamented the division between history and prehistory, while people like Watkins (2001); Yellowhorn (2006); Lyons (2013); and Griebel (2013) have pointed-out that the vocabulary and method of archaeology conspire to keep Indigenous

communities apathetic towards the discipline and archaeological history. Many archaeologists are aware of these problems and work to be more inclusive (see Atalay 2013; Croes 2010; Ferris 2009; Griebel 2013; Lyons 2013; McGhee 2010; Nicholas and Andres 1997; Silliman 2010; Wilcox 2010). McGhee, for example, like many practicing archaeologists in Canada, has stricken the expression “prehistory” from his terminology in an effort to acknowledge that there are multiple ways of recording and transmitting the past (McGhee 2010: 242). Similarly, many archaeologists have replaced “Indian” in their vocabulary with politically correct catch-all categories, such as: First Nations, Amerindian, Native, and Aboriginal. Whether or not these new terms are better than those used previously is another matter; as they are all generalizations for which there is no clear consensus among Indigenous peoples themselves as to which is accurate.

This same effort has not been extended to the more focused cultural taxonomy. As Wright (1995: 3) hinted, regional and local cultural taxonomies are much harder to get away from, or change. Exceptions to this are seen among some archaeologists who work with Indigenous communities. In this circumstance an archaeologist may extend modern nomenclature into the past, or they may make use of the terminology that a modern community uses to talk about the past. The occasional use of the word *Tuniit* by some archaeologists illustrates this phenomenon. The Inuktitut word translates to *First Inhabitants*. It refers to the people who were in the arctic before the Inuit arrived. In some circumstances archaeologists have adopted this term as a substitute for “paleoeskimo”, “pre-

Dorset” and/or “Dorset”. Demonstrative examples of this can be seen in McMillan and Yellowhorn’s (2004) book *First Peoples in Canada*; McGhee’s books *The Last Imaginary Place* (2005), *Ancient People of the Arctic* (2001), and *The Tuniiit* (1981); and the Avataq Cultural Institute’s publication – *Des Tuniiit aux Inuits* (Arsenault and Geandron 2007). Max Friesen was also quoted using the term in an online news article entitled *Inuit Stories of the Tuniiit backed up by Science: Radiocarbon dating proves Tuniiit and Inuit existed during same time period* (Ryder 2010).

Looking at the context of each of these examples is useful. The general public is the intended audience in each case. In a professional and academic setting these authors tend to fall back on the common archaeological taxonomy of the arctic, and avoid using the term Tuniiit. For instance, the web site for Avataq’s CURA project uses Tuniiit in the project title, but reverts to Dorset in the project description (Geandron n.d.). Similarly, while Friesen did use Tuniiit in a media interview in 2010, he does not use it in his recent contribution to the *Encyclopaedia of Global Human Migration* (Ness 2013), entitled: *North America: Paleo-eskimo and Inuit Archaeology* (Friesen 2013). Use of the term Tuniiit, to refer to the broad culture-group who inhabited the arctic prior to the Inuit certainly is understandable when the primary audience is Inuit. A strong argument can also be made that Tuniiit is more appropriate for other audiences as well. However, in order to meet Ramsden and Tuck’s (2001) request that we be “more consistent in our construction of [pre-Dorset/Dorset] cultural taxonomic schemes”; one needs to heed Trigger’s (1999) advice to be explicit in the matter. For example, does Tuniiit encompass all the

groups who inhabited the Canadian Arctic before the Inuit arrived, stretching back more than 4000 years? If yes, than not only does it include the various Dorset groups, but also the pre-Dorset people that preceded them (see McGhee 2005 for a general outline of Arctic history). In this context, Tuniit would be similar to First Nation, in that it would encompass a number of smaller, semi-distinct, regional, and local culture-groups – not unlike the term Inuit. On the other hand, if Tuniit refers to the late-Dorset groups encountered by the Inuit on their migration across the Arctic, perhaps archaeologists should not use it as a substitute for paleoeskimo? Given that Inuit use the word Tuniit varyingly themselves, it is necessary for archaeologists to be explicit and consistent when defining and using the term.

These examples show that when taxonomic changes do occur, they are likely to involve terms that relate to a broad scale of description, and may not involve any changes in interpretation whatsoever. This implies that the switch relates more to fashion, or political correctness, than to some form of interpretive refinement. Take “Aboriginal” and “precontact” as examples. Neither term reflects the complexity and diversity of the cultural landscape in North America, in the past or today. Politicized as it is in Canada, “Aboriginal” implies a false sense of cohesion amongst the diverse groups who did, and do, inhabit Canada. Having said this, there are certain scales of description where it is necessary to use generalizing terms like “Aboriginal”. In these situations, especially when these words are placed in front of others such as society or culture, archaeologists should define what the term means in the specific context being discussed. Terms like precontact, contact, and post-contact, often used as

alternatives to prehistory and history – even though their meanings are not synonymous – have been similarly criticized (e.g. Hart 2012: 91-92; McNiven and Russell 2005: 211-231). Their replacement does alleviate the emphasis “prehistory” places on one particular way of knowing the past (i.e. through written records), but it continues to emphasize the arrival of Europeans on the west coast of the Atlantic Ocean as the most significant event in the lives of the people who already lived there (Hart et. al. 2012: 1-15). In retrospect, there is no question that “contact” was an important event/period, but for these societies, at that point in time, is the appearance of Europeans of any greater importance than say: the migration of the Thule Inuit into the region; the expansion of the Iroquois League in the St. Lawrence River valley; fluctuations in land and sea mammal populations; the adoption of horticulture; or the Little Ice Age? The timing, extent, and impact of European contact with people in North America at this time also varies greatly from place to place, and person to person. Even within comparatively smaller areas, such as the Peninsula, there are varying degrees of “contact” with Europeans between the 11th and 20th centuries. Among the Innu for example, individuals and families inhabiting the North Shore were interacting with Europeans by the end of the 15th century (Auger 1991; Barkham 1980; Stopp 2008b), while other Innu families, spending much more time in the interior of the peninsula and the Tundra zone further north, continued to avoid interaction with Europeans into the 18th, and even the 19th century (see Hind 2007[1863], Lavoie and Gelinas 2012; Loring 1992; Mailhot 1986, 1998; Neilsen 2009; Speck 1977[1935]). As a result of this variety of experience,

designation of a “contact period” in this area is not based on any single event, but on the arc of history and a researcher’s interpretation of the affects of “contact” within that arc (see McNiven and Russell 2005: 1-10 for a similar argument). As a result, there is no single “contact period” across Canada, or even within Labrador. Just as they do with cultural signifiers such as Indian and Aboriginal, archaeologists should also be critical of their archaeological taxonomy, i.e. the periodization of the past, as this too includes assumptions that may or may not be rooted in evidence.

Archaeological taxonomy at Ashuanipi

Proponents of Indigenous Archaeology have revived concerns that looking at the past through binary taxonomic divisions, such as prehistoric/historic, precontact/contact, precolonial/colonial, archaic/post-archaic, preceramic/ceramic, hunter-gatherer/farmer, site/non-site, etc. interferes with the ability to understand long-term historical processes (Oland, Hart and Frink 2012: 1). As a general concern, this is not new to archaeology. As far back as Walter Taylor’s “Conjunctive Approach” – at least – archaeologists have expressed the need to begin at the site level, and build outward into histories of cultures and regions,

“The conjunctive approach...has as its primary goal the elucidation of cultural conjunctives, the associations and relationships, the “affinities” *within* the manifestation under investigation. It aims at drawing the completest possible picture of past human life in terms of its human and geographic environment. It is chiefly interested in the relation of item to item, trait to trait, complex to complex...*within* the culture-unit represented and only subsequently in the taxonomic relation of the phenomena to similar ones outside of it” (Taylor 1983[1948]: 95-96).

What is new today, or at least newer, is the growing belief that aspects of cultural taxonomy, including that used for ancient and modern populations, can impede the telling of archaeological history, particularly when it is adopted uncritically. From the examples presented earlier in this chapter it is clear that this is a concern for some regions in Canada, including the Peninsula.

In this study there has been a conscious effort made to try and avoid the taxonomic pitfalls identified above, and to create an archaeological history that is not removed from the locations where the research was undertaken or from the people who continue to occupy Ashuanipi today. The use of Innu place names throughout this study is one example of this. Place names are an important part of culture history, and using the Innu names for locations referred to throughout the study recognizes that they have a history throughout the Plateau, and the Peninsula, and that they are still actively occupying these locations, even if their home communities are far away today. The effort to frame the survey results as an archaeological history spanning close to two thousands years, rather than as prehistoric and historic archaeology for instance, is another example. This is an attempt to recognize that history in the Plateau did not begin with mining and the communities of Schefferville, Fermont, Labrador City, and Wabush, or even with Innu reserves in the region. The history of Ashuanipi is part of a long-term trajectory of human occupation that likely began in the region during deglaciation, and which continues today.

This study has also resisted using the cultural complexes and phases that are traditionally used to classify similarly aged archaeological resources in other regions of the Peninsula (Table 1-1). Given the recognized inconsistencies in the application of Newfoundland and Labrador culture history terminology (Stopp 2008), and the problems caused by using the term “Recent Indian” in Labrador communities, it is worth the effort to try something different. Lastly, the ethnographic sites recorded link the present occupations at Ashuanipi with those of the past. This helps to remind the reader, and the researcher, that the history of Ashuanipi and the Plateau is couched within the modern relationships between the Innu and Canadian society, and that this relationship weighs on the practice of archaeology in the region.

Chapter Three

Methodological Context

Archaeological surveys undertaken on the Peninsula vary between judgemental and systematic approaches. Both methods employ similar research techniques – such as documentary and oral history research, pedestrian and geophysical survey, soil sampling, shovel testing, and test-excavation, but they are applied differently. Within a judgemental approach, the locations investigated are chosen based on the professional expertise, i.e. the knowledge and experience, of the archaeologist and survey crew, who make decisions regarding which locations to investigate, and which methods to employ, as they experience and interpret the landscape prior to, and during the survey. Systematic survey, while it uses the same field techniques, is directed by predictive modelling that analyses geographic, environmental, and cultural characteristics (such as degree of slope, geology, geomorphology, distance to known heritage sites, distance to water, distance to travel routes, vantage, and distribution of flora and fauna) in order to evaluate, and map the archaeological potential of a study area. Unsurprisingly, each approach has benefits and limitations. For example, a judgemental survey is flexible and can be implemented on the fly, but is unlikely to provide a representative sample of archaeological resources in a given region. A systematic survey on the other hand, is

intended to identify a representative sample of archaeological resources in a prescribed study area, but due to its intensive nature is not well suited to preliminary surveys of a large location such as Ashuanipi. Both approaches are also limited by the fact that they rely on information that is already known, and therefore cannot account for what is not known. For the judgemental archaeologist, surveyor bias requires that the language used to report the results must be cautious, and not imply that a survey was exhaustive. The systematic archaeologist is able to overcome some of this bias by undertaking field investigations in a sample of the landscape divisions ranked as medium and low potential, and plugging these results back into the evaluation. This both tests the model, and improves its accuracy (Banning 2002; Hamilton 2000: 69-70). Furthermore, systematic investigations must be undertaken methodically, if the influence of researcher bias is to be kept to a minimum. Otherwise, it is simply a more complicated judgemental approach. As Scott Hamilton cautions (2000: 69), "archaeologists must be careful not to overstate the capabilities and results of their investigations ... high correlation between "known sites" and "high potential" zones may reflect nothing more than the fact that the predictive model is based upon the same assumptions that contributed to the development of the current incomplete heritage inventory".

Both approaches have their place in archaeological practice, and can even compliment one another. An example of this is seen in the archaeological survey program undertaken for the Eastmain-1 Hydroelectric project (EM-1), approximately 700 kilometres west of Ashuanipi, near Ush-uinipeku (JB). As David

Denton explained at the Canadian Archaeological Association annual meeting in 2007, “the archaeology carried out in EM-1 is unique...it was carried out by two research groups, working more or less in parallel: one under the auspices of the developer and the other, a community based program run by Crees. With completely different methodologies, these two research efforts produced a huge corpus of different, ... and largely complementary, archaeological data” (Denton 2007: 2). Contrasting their respective methodologies, the approach of the developer’s team was systematic, and included daily travel by helicopter, an archaeological potential study, and a focus on intensive testing of large, well-drained landforms back from the waters edge; while the approach taken by the Eeyou⁸ team was judgemental, and included using local knowledge from community members to identify locations for testing, travel by boat, and a focus on testing localized landforms in proximity to the existing shoreline (Denton 2007: 14; Denton and Moses 2009: 3-4). In the end, both methodologies were successful at identifying significant archaeological sites. The developer’s crew dug over 10, 000 test pits, in 382 different potential zones, covering 853 hectares, and identified fifty-nine archaeological sites (forty of which predated European settlement on the Peninsula). The Eeyou crew excavated 1646 test pits, in 122 different locations, covering 85 to 150 hectares, and identified a total of sixty-nine archaeological sites (fifty of which predated European settlement on the Peninsula)(Denton 2007: 15). There was some overlap in the locations investigated by the two crews, as well as in the sites identified; however, for the

⁸ In this dissertation Eeyou is the term used to refer to the First Nation people who live east of James Bay-Hudson Bay, in the province of Quebec. In Canadian society these same people are often referred to as the James Bay, or east-Cree. They can also be referred to as the Eenu. They are very closely related to the Innu.

most part, the two methodologies focused on locations within different settings, and as a result, identified different types of sites. The dataset resulting from the developer's crew included "two sites dating to 5,000 years ago, a somewhat larger number of ceramic components and sites representing a greater range of geographic contexts" (Denton and Moses 2009: 4). On the other hand, the Eeyou crew tended to focus on more recent sites, with which they had some personal experience, and when tested, often turned out to be multi-component sites with evidence of repeated occupation, spanning the last few thousand years (Denton and Moses 2009: 3).

The EM-1 archaeological survey results demonstrate that neither a judgemental nor systematic approach can account for archaeological resources that fall outside the direct experience of the individuals undertaking the survey, or the dataset used to construct the model. Consequently, it seems unlikely that any single survey method is exhaustive, and able to identify the full range of archaeological resources in a large study area with variable environmental characteristics; furthermore, it is likely that archaeological regulators, and consulting and research archaeologists are working from incomplete datasets when they engage in Heritage Resource Impact Assessments (HRIA) and historiography, even within areas that have been studied in detail, through one method or the other. The results of the EM-1 survey are important, and should be eye opening for anyone involved with the archaeology of the Peninsula.

Archaeological Survey at Ashuanipi

Enthusiasm for the Ashuanipi survey came from a Harris Centre regional workshop in Labrador City, and a subsequent meeting with Edmund and Joyce Montague of the Labrador West Heritage Society (LWHS), in 2005. From this meeting an archaeological feasibility study was planned for western Labrador, focusing on Ashuanipi, Ashuanipiu-shipu, and Minaik^u (Figure 1-1). The goal of this 2005 study was threefold. The first goal was to visit the known archaeological sites at the confluence of Minaik^u and Uepushkueshkau-shipu (GaDp-02), and at Ferguson Bay on the North End of Ashuanipi (FfDn-01) (Figure 1-3), to observe the environmental setting and identify characteristics that could be used to recognize potential site locations elsewhere in the region. The second goal was to visit locations in the vicinity of these two known sites to determine if unknown heritage resources were present. And the third goal was to assess the practicality of conducting graduate student research projects in the region.

With respect to goal one, visits to both locations found that the natural setting included characteristics frequently associated with archaeological sites throughout Atlantic Canada. The location at the confluence of Minaik^u and Uepushkueshkau-shipu is located in a small cove, and included a sandy beach, well-drained terrain in proximity to the shoreline, a chert outcrop, nearby vantage, access to a known travel route, and nearby deep water. At Ferguson Bay, the site is located on a point of land near the outflow of Ashuanipi, and included a sandy beach, well-drained terrain in proximity to the shoreline, a nearby wetland, access to a known

travel route, and nearby deep water. Both locations also harboured visible evidence of modern and ancient human activities, including stone tool debitage lying on the sandy beaches, and modern debris on the adjacent land. After visiting each site a brief pedestrian survey and minimal shovel testing was conducted at neighbouring locations with similar environmental characteristics. This resulted in the identification of additional archaeological resources. At Minaik^u these included surface scatters of stone debitage, a memorial cross, ethnographic campsites, and modern cabins (see Neilsen 2008). On Ashuanipi these included small surface scatters of stone debitage and European manufactured artifacts, ethnographic campsites and debris, and modern cabins (Neilsen 2008)(Chapter Five). These findings, along with the resources observed at GaDp-02 and FfDn-01, indicated that additional research in vicinity of either location would encounter further archaeological resources.

In terms of satisfying goal three, the decision to focus research on Ashuanipi, rather than Manaik^u or another location in Lab West, came down to two factors. One was practicality. Ashuanipi is only 45 kilometres outside of Labrador City, and is easily accessible from the Trans Labrador Highway. Manaik^u on the other hand is a six-hour drive, on a questionable road. Put simply, the logistics were easier at Ashuanipi, the fieldwork was safer, and the cost was cheaper. The other factor was potential. Research by Montague (2000) and the LWHS (Niellon 1992) concluded that Ashuanipi was part of an Innu travel route between Uashau, on the North Shore, and the Plateau, and was occupied by Innu families, during the 18th, 19th, and 20th

centuries, and likely earlier. This suggested that an archaeological survey of Ashuanipi could encounter evidence of these occupations. This was confirmed by the cursory investigation mentioned above, which identified surface and buried archaeological and ethnographic resources at six different spots on Ashuanipi, just south of Ferguson Bay, two of which included evidence of reoccupation. In summary, the feasibility study suggested that archaeological survey targeting specific environmental characteristics would recover evidence of past human occupations at Ashuanipi, and that this work could be achieved within the parameters of a graduate research project.

Once Ashuanipi was chosen as the study location, a survey plan was put in place. The size of the lake meant that it was impossible to undertake a systematic investigation of the entire location in the timeframe of this study, and the small amount of archaeological work previously undertaken in the region meant that it was also impossible to construct a detailed predictive model for the lake based on the characteristics of known sites in the region. Given these issues the Ashuanipi survey took a judgemental approach. As described above, the feasibility study had successfully located archaeological and ethnographic sites in the northern portions of Ashuanipi by targeting locations associated with prominent environmental features, such as wetlands, points of land, sandy beaches, well-drained terraces, and visible signs of human activity; based on that success, and the desire to visit as many locations on Ashuanipi as possible, this same method was used during the survey of Ashuanipi.

As mentioned, Ashuanipi was reported to be part of an Innu travel route. The meeting with the Montague's⁹ identified the location of one portage trail at the southern end of the lake, in the Kapitagas Channel, and the location of an Innu campsite, trading place, and modern cabin (FfDn-01) at the northern end of the lake, near it's outflow, Ashuanipiu-shipu (Niellon 1992). These two points were used to bookend the Ashuanipi survey, and fieldwork was focused along a likely travel route between the Kapitagas Channel and Ferguson Bay. Prior to the start of fieldwork a tabletop review of 1:50,000 NTS maps for Ashuanipi were undertaken. This task resulted in the identification of twelve survey locations along the survey route (Figure 3-1). Each of these was associated with a prominent landscape feature, and/or a known heritage resource. Due to their lack of detail, 1:50,000 scale NTS maps are not ideal for identifying small-scale environmental features, so it was anticipated that additional survey locations would be identified on the fly, during fieldwork, and extra time was allotted for this. An additional ten survey locations were identified in the field, and investigated (Figure 3-1). These locations were all chosen based on the visibility of landscape disturbance (i.e. breaks in the tree line, clearings, cabins, etc.), and the suitability of the location for occupation (i.e. level, dry ground, exposure, etc.). Additionally, upon visiting each location, it was discovered that a sandy beach fronted twenty-one of the twenty-two survey locations (Chapter Five).

⁹ Mr. Montague is a geologist, a resident of Labrador City, and a Labradorian (his family includes Inuit, Cree and European ancestry). He has conducted his own research into the history of Western Labrador, and has spent time boating and fishing on Ashuanipi; with this knowledge he was able to confirm many of the topographic characteristics identified on the NTS mapping as well as identify safe routes for travel.

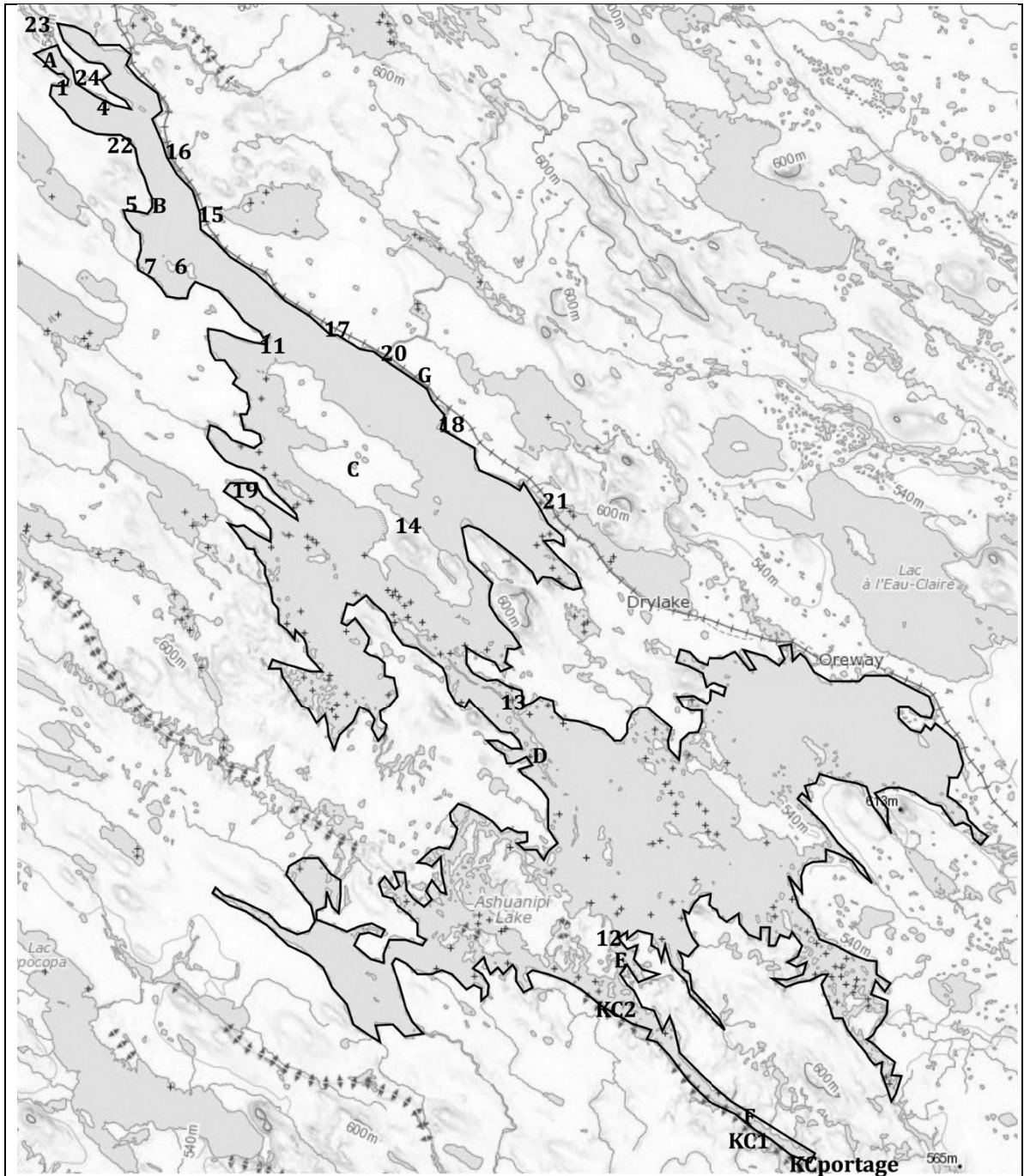


Figure 3-1: Ashuanipi, showing the twenty-two survey locations (indicated by number, and corresponding to Table 3-1), and geographic features mentioned in text (indicated by letter) (adapted from atlas.gc.ca/toporama/en/index.html).

The fieldwork methods used during the survey included pedestrian survey, shovel testing, and excavation. The field crew consisted of two people, who camped on the lake during the survey, and travelled to each location by boat. Once landed at each location a detailed surface survey was undertaken of the beach and the adjacent shoreline. This involved both crewmembers walking in tandem back and forth for the length and width of the beach at each survey location. The adjacent shoreline, i.e. the vegetated terrain, was also subjected to pedestrian survey. The area covered by this task was more variable, and depended on the conditions of the terrain as well as the survey schedule. Survey locations such as the one encompassing FfDn-01 (Ash-01) included a large portion of the adjacent terrain (Figure 5-37), while others, such as the portage trail at the southern end of the Kapitagas Channel (KC-portage) only included the path itself (Figure 5-7). The shovel testing undertaken, while limited, targeted locations with evidence of human activity, which were judged to have potential for buried resources. In most cases the testing locations were in forest clearings on the terraces immediately adjacent to the surveyed beaches. At survey locations such as Ash-01 this included as many as thirty test pits, while others, such as the KC-portage included as few as four (fewer than 150 shovel test were dug in total). The average test pit size was thirty centimetres square, they were placed no more than five metres apart, and all the soil dug was sifted through ¼ hand screens.

This combination of detailed pedestrian survey, and limited shovel testing successfully identified heritage resources in all but two of the survey locations investigated (Table 3-1, Figure 3-2). In total thirty-eight previously unrecorded sites

were identified, and two known sites were re-examined. At the conclusion of the survey four of the archaeological sites were chosen for limited excavation (FfDn-01, FeDn-01, FfDn-07, and FfDn-09). These were all multicomponent sites, and included evidence of recent activities at the ground surface, and older activities buried in the underlying soil and sediment. Each of the four excavation grids was setup to encompass one of the positive shovel tests at each location. The aim of this task was to recover detailed evidence related to each of the archaeological components at these four locations, the environmental setting, and the changes that must have occurred between the earliest occupations, when the people were using stone tools, and the most recent ethnographic and modern occupations. As a result of these efforts cobble features were recorded, charcoal, soil, and faunal samples were collected, and stone and manufactured artifacts¹⁰ were recovered. Excavation records were maintained throughout this process. These include the plan of each excavation unit, the point provenience of the recorded artifacts and samples, and the stratigraphy of each location (Chapter Five). The artifacts were all analysed in the laboratory (Appendix 1), while sample analysis was contracted to organizations and individuals with proficiency in the specific disciplines (Chapter Five).

¹⁰ In this dissertation the term “manufactured artifacts” is used to refer to items that Indigenous people accessed through trade with European, Canadian, and other traders, such as ceramic pipes, nails, guns, ammunitions, metal knives, strike-a-lights, earthenware, etc. In traditional archaeological terms these would be referred to as “historic artifacts”.

Table 3-1 Summary of Ashuanipi Survey Results

Survey Location ¹¹	I.D. Method	Study Method	Site Number	Site Type	Site Components		Occupation Range	Dating Technique
					Cultural	Natural		
ASH-01	Desktop	walkover, shovel-testing, excavation	FfDn-01	Multi-component	Clearing, standing cabin, outbuildings & debris	Components are adjacent, 2.5-3m above lake level, in clearing on grassy terrace-point. Transition to boreal forest 5m to N. Wetland 15 m to W. Large trees present.	Late 20 th c.	Architecture; cultural debris; crown land records; Neillon 1992
					Clearing, collapsed building		Early 20 th c.	Neillon 1992
					Circular cobble feature with FCR, charcoal, wood, animal bone & manufactured artifacts ¹² (Feature 1)	On terrace-levee, 25 m N of grassy clearing, in boreal forest, 5-10 m from lakeshore, 1.5 m above lake level. Wetland 10 m W. Soil profile Boreal forest podsol, with peat and organic material overlying sand. Paleosol deposits visible in certain locations	Late 19 th - early 20 th c.	Radiocarbon dating (Beta-226314); manufactured artifacts; Brake 2007
					Linear cobble feature (Feature 2) with FCR, charcoal, bone mash & stone artifacts		Mid 3 rd – mid 7 th c.	Radiocarbon dating (Beta-226315, 226313, 213328); Brake 2007
					Circular cobble feature with FCR, charcoal, wood, animal bone/mash (Feature 3) & stone artifacts	3-5 m from lakeshore, 2 m above lake level, at transition from grass to boreal forest, large trees present. Boreal forest podsol with (buried) former surface visible at some locations.	Late 8 th – early 13 th c.	Radiocarbon dating (Beta-255352, 213329); Brake 2007
					Circular cobble feature with FCR, charcoal, stone artifacts & heated sand (feature 4); adjacent to scattered cobbles & stone artifacts.		Unknown	Not Applicable
ASH-04	Desktop	Walk-over, shovel-testing	FfDn-02	Procurement	Stone artifacts	Narrow, forested peninsula with 2 coves. North cove shallow & sandy with boulders and 3-5m beach. South cove & head rocky & muddy with grass. Vantage from N to S.	Unknown	Not applicable
ASH-05	Desktop	Walk-over, shovel-testing	FfDn-03	Multi-component, Procurement	Clearing, tent poles & hold down cobble – warm season	Boreal forest, closed canopy, with mossy surface.	Late 20 th c.	State of tent pole decay
					Clearing, tent poles, stove supports, bench & modern debris	Open canopy boreal forest, large boulder, mossy-shrubby surface.	Late 20 th c.	Cultural debris & state of tent pole decay
					Bird blind consisting of arranged cobbles	Cobble point, 3-4m above lake level.	Late 20 th c.	Association with tent site
					Stone artifacts	3-5m wide sandy beach, bordered by boreal forest and wetland.	Unknown	Not applicable
ASH-06	Field	Walk-over	FfDn-04	Procurement	Stone artifacts	Small, narrow island. Sand beaches and approaches on E side, and wetland on west side. Sites associated with small sandy coves & beaches, and narrow terraces. Boulders in water and at points of coves. Some boreal forest with lots of alder and willow. Surface is moss, shrubs and deadfall.	Unknown	Not applicable
			FfDn-05	Procurement	Stone and manufactured artifacts		Mid 19 th c.	Manufactured artifacts
			23B/16 ethno01	Campsite	Clearing, oval arrangement of hold-down cobbles, tent stakes & tent poles - summer		Late 20 th c.	State of tent stake and pole decay
			23B/16 ethno02	Campsite	Clearing, tent poles, tripod with rope & stove supports – cold season		Late 20 th c.	State of tent pole, tripod, stove supports & rope decay
ASH-07	Field	Walk-over	23B/16 ethno03	Camp site	Clearing with trail, tent poles, stove supports, cut fire wood	Closed canopy boreal forest. Surface moss covered. Narrow cobble-sand beach.	Late 20 th c.	State of tent pole, stove support and firewood decay

¹¹ The ABH Survey Locations are numbered sequentially, and represent discrete spots along the Shore of Ashuanipi Lake. In cases where specific spots bordered, or were in very close

Table 3-1 Summary of Ashuanipi Survey Results, continued

Survey Location ¹³	I.D. Method	Study Method	Site Number	Site Type	Cultural	Natural	Occupation Range	Dating Technique
ASH-11	Desktop	Walk-over, shovel-testing, excavation	FeDn-01	Multi-component	Clearing, standing cabin	Forested terrace at eastern end of cove. Large spruce and birch trees. Gravel soil. Overgrown with birch saplings	Late 20 th – early 21 st c.	Architecture, cultural debris
					Artificial terrace	Shallow cove, 2-10 m wide sand beach & boulders. Levee between beach and wetland.	Late 20 th – early 21 st c.	State of birch retaining wall, association with cabin
					Clearing, tent stakes, stove remains, modern artifacts	Forested terrace at western end of cove. Shoreline skirted with boulders. Clearing situated on levee, backed by wetland. Closed canopy boreal forest. Ground cover includes a mixture of moss and shrubs in the forest, and grass and plants in the clearing. Soil is a mixture of sand and silt, and includes	Late 20 th c.	Artifacts
					Clearing, cobble feature, charcoal, wood, animal bone, manufactured and stone artifacts.		Late 18 th c. – Mid 19 th c.	Radiocarbon dating (Beta-226312), manufactured artifacts
				Circular Cobble feature, charcoal, animal bone, stone artifacts		Early 11 th – early 15 th c.	Radiocarbon dating (Beat-255351; 226311; 255350), stone artifacts	
ASH-12	desktop	Walk-over	FdDm-01	Procurement	Stone artifacts	Point on N side of pass. Shallow water. Sandy beach. Small, low terrace with peaty soil. Adjacent wetland.	Unknown	Not applicable
ASH-13	Field	Walk-over, shovel testing	23B/09 ethno01	Campsite	Clearing, tent poles, tent stakes (two locations), large flat stone, bark removal from birch tree	Deep channel between esker and an island (good fishing). Closed canopy boreal forest, mature birch. Gravel beach and soil.	Late 20 th c.	State of tent pole and stake decay
			23B/09 ethno02	Campsite	Clearing, tent poles, tent stakes, circular cobble feature, pit and associated trail	Head of land, sandy cove & beach. Terrace 3-4m above lake level. Open canopy.	Late 20 th c.	Cultural debris
ASH-14	Desktop & Field	Walk-over, shovel testing	23B/09 ethno03	Campsite	Clearing, hearthstones, cut wood, cultural debris	Narrow pass, on E side of island. Low, sandy beach-terrace. Alders and willows.	Late 20 th c.	Cultural debris
			23B/09 ethno04	Campsite	Clearing & modern cultural debris	Small point, across from island. Sand beach with deep approach (fish). Boreal forest	Late 20 th c.	Cultural debris
			23B/09 ethno05	Campsite	Clearing, tent stove, tent poles, tent stakes, & nails in trees	Small, sandy cove, on island. Facing N. Boreal forest. Moss on surface.	Mid 20 th c.	State of tent stove and tent pole decay
			23B/09 ethno06	Campsite	Clearing, stove supports, tent poles.	Small island. Small clearing in alders/willows, on beach. Approach sandy	Late 20 th c.	State of stove support decay
			23B/09 ethno07	Campsite	Clearing, tent poles, nails in trees	Long, sandy beach. West side of island. Boreal forest, with grass surface at location.	Late 20 th c.	State of tent pole decay
			FeDn-02	Procurement	Stone artifacts	Narrow point, sand beach bordering bog.	Unknown	Not applicable
ASH-15	Desktop	Walk-over, shovel testing	FfDn-06	Unknown	Stone artifacts/tools	River-lake confluence. Rocky shore, bordering willows and forested terrace. Thick moss cover, with silt and sand for soil.	Unknown	Not applicable
ASH-16	Field	Walk-over, shovel testing, excavation	FfDn-07	Multi-component	Clearing, stove supports, tent stakes, tent poles, cobbles, manufactured artifacts, stone artifacts, and associated trail	Large terrace area, with slight point, 3-5 m above lake level, and 10-15m from lakeshore. Steep, gravel beach. Large spruce trees in forested area. Forest podsol with sand & gravel beneath organics. Grass, low plants and shrubs in clearings.	Unknown – late 20 th c.	Cultural debris, manufactured artifacts & stone artifacts
					Clearing, stone artifacts, associated trail		Unknown	Not applicable
					Clearing, cobble feature, stone artifacts and tools.		Late 3 rd – early 7 th c.	Radiocarbon dating (BETA 255354)
ASH-17	Field	Walk-over	FfDn-08	Procurement	Stone artifacts	Boulder & sand beach, alders, wetland.	Unknown	Unknown

¹³ The ABH Survey Locations are numbered sequentially, and represent discrete spots along the Shore of Ashuanipi Lake. In cases where specific spots bordered, or were in very close proximity to other spots, they were amalgamated into a single Survey Location. This was the case for Survey Location 2 and 3 – which was amalgamated with Survey Location 1; as well as Survey Locations 8, 9, and 10 – which were amalgamated into Survey Location 6.

Table 3-1 Summary of Ashuanipi Survey Results, continued

Survey Location ¹⁴	I.D. Method	Study Method	Site Number	Site Type	Cultural	Natural	Occupation Range	Dating Technique
ASH-18	Field	Walk-over	FeDm-02	Multi-component	Standing cabin and facilities	Broad shallow cove, sandy beach, wetland, and boreal forest. Terrace and northern extent, 1m above lake level. Lacustrine deposition choking out alders and trees. Some erosion of terrace.	Late 20 th c.	State of cabin and cultural debris
					Wooden cross (memorial)		Late 20 th c.	State of cross and associated erosion
					Stone artifacts		Unknown	Not applicable
ASH-19	Field	Walk-over, shovel testing	23B/16 ethno04	Campsite	Clearing, cobble feature, tent stove supports & tent poles	Point of land facing south, with broad sandy beach to west. Levee along shore, creating terrace. Closed canopy boreal forest.	Late 20 th c.	State of stove support and tent pole decay
ASH-20	Desktop	Walk-over	23B/16 ethno05	Campsite	Clearing, trap, hunting blind, trails, circular cobble feature, cultural debris, and a small cabin.	Small terrace at confluence. Fronted by alders and backed by steep slope. No beach. Steep slope from shore, up to large level area, disturbed by railway.	Mid-Late 20 th c.	State of decay of cultural features and cultural debris
			FeDm-01	Unknown	Stone artifacts	Large sand blowout/dune, overlooking river.	Unknown	Not applicable
			23B/16 ethno06	Unknown	Clearings and associated trails	Small clearings with surface vegetated sand dunes. Connected by trails.	Late 20 th c.	State of trails and clearing
ASH-21	Desktop	Walk-over	Negative	Not applicable	Modern cabin	Elevated terrace heavily disturbed. Rock outcrops and cobble beaches at confluence.	Not applicable	Not applicable
ASH-22	Desktop	Walk-over, test pitting, excavation	FiDn-09	Multi-component, campsite	Clearing (2), tent poles, burnt wood, cultural debris	Two forested terraces (2m and 3m above lake level). Fronted by sandy beach with boulders and cobbles, backed by small wetland.	Late 20 th c.	State of decay of tent poles, and cultural debris
					Clearing, stone artifacts		Unknown	Not applicable
ASH-23	Field	Walk-over, boat survey	Negative	Not applicable	Modern cabin	Strong current. Shoreline forested. Few beaches. Some areas with elevated potential.	Not applicable	Not applicable
ASH-24	Field	Walk-over, informant	FiDn-10	Multi-component, Habitation	Modern cabin, outbuilding, dock and trails	Some rock outcrops in vicinity. No beach. Site elevated above lake level 4-5m. Open canopy, with grass covered terrain. Deep river channel, good fishing.	Late 20 th c.	Discussions with occupants
					Depression/wall embankments from previous cabin		Early 20 th c.	Ceramics, state of feature, discussions with occupants and Innu informant
KC-PORTAGE	Desktop	Walk-over, test pitting	FeDm-02	Isolated find	Manufactured artifact on portage trail	Portage follows along the top of an esker composed of gravel and cobbles. Area burnt in last 10-20 years. Standing dead trees and deadfalls everywhere. A couple larger clearings along trail (surface collection). Additional eskers to west. River valley to east. Ends of portage slope to watercourse, where there are terraces present. North end thick, moist moss and forest cover. South end burnt over, low surface vegetation.	Late 19 th – early 20 th c.	Manufactured artifact
			FeDm-03	Campsite	Manufactured artifacts and modern debris, portage trail		Early 20 th c – late 20 th c.	Manufactured and modern artifacts
			FeDm-04	Campsite	Manufactured artifacts and modern debris, portage trail		Early 20 th c. – late 20 th c.	Manufactured and modern artifacts
			FeDm-05	Isolated find	Manufactured artifact on portage trail		Late 19 th – early 20 th c.	Manufactured artifact
			FeDm-06	Portage trail	Portage trail, isolated finds, campsites		Mid 19 th – 21 st c.	Documentary sources & manufactured artifacts

¹⁴ The ABH Survey Locations are numbered sequentially, and represent discrete spots along the Shore of Ashuanipi Lake. In cases where specific spots bordered, or were in very close proximity to other spots, they were amalgamated into a single Survey Location. This was the case for Survey Location 2 and 3 – which was amalgamated with Survey Location 1; as well as Survey Locations 8, 9, and 10 – which were amalgamated into Survey Location 6.

Table 3-1 Summary of Ashuanipi Survey Results, continued

Survey Location ¹⁵	I.D. Method	Study Method	Site Number	Site Type	Cultural	Natural	Occupation Range	Dating Technique
KC-01	Field	Walk-over	23B/08 ethno01	Procurement	Martin box and steel trap	Small sand bar/beach extending into channel. Backed by alders and forest.	Late 20 th -early 21 st c.	State of martin box and trap
			23B/08 ethno02	Campsite	Tent poles, stove supports, cut trees & branches, and trail.	Large terrace, confluence with brook. 1-2m above lake level. Open canopy, mossy.	Late 20 th c.	State of tent poles and stove supports
			FeDm-01	Campsite	Heavily decayed tent poles, from circular structure	Large terrace, at brook confluence. Beside esker with game trail/ford. Good vantage.	Early 20 th c.	State of tent pole decay, and shoreline erosion
KC-02	Desktop	Walk-over, test pitting	23B/08 ethno03	Campsite	Text stove (x2), depression.	Island is remnants of an esker. Overgrown sand dunes, vantage over pass/cemetery.	mid 20 th – late 20 th c.	State of tent stove decay
			23B/08 ethno04	Campsite	Clearing, tent stakes, cut wood, bench & constructed hearth	Forested terrace overlooking isthmus between two coves. 2-3m above lake level.	Late 20 th c.	State of tent stake and cut wood decay
			23B/08 ethno05	Campsite	Tent poles, tent stakes, stove supports & cultural debris	Sand beach backed by series of narrow terraces, rising up esker side. Open canopy.	Late 20 th c.	State of tent pole and stake decay & cultural debris
			FeDn-01	Cemetery	Cross, memorial, fence, grave markers, lawn mower, clearing and cultural debris	Closed canopy forest surrounding grassy – maintained – site. Prominent location.	Mid 19 th – late 20 st c.	Documentary record, cultural debris, state of features

¹⁵ The ABH Survey Locations are numbered sequentially, and represent discrete spots along the Shore of Ashuanipi Lake. In cases where specific spots bordered, or were in very close proximity to other spots, they were amalgamated into a single Survey Location. This was the case for Survey Location 2 and 3 – which was amalgamated with Survey Location 1; as well as Survey Locations 8, 9, and 10 – which were amalgamated into Survey Location 6.

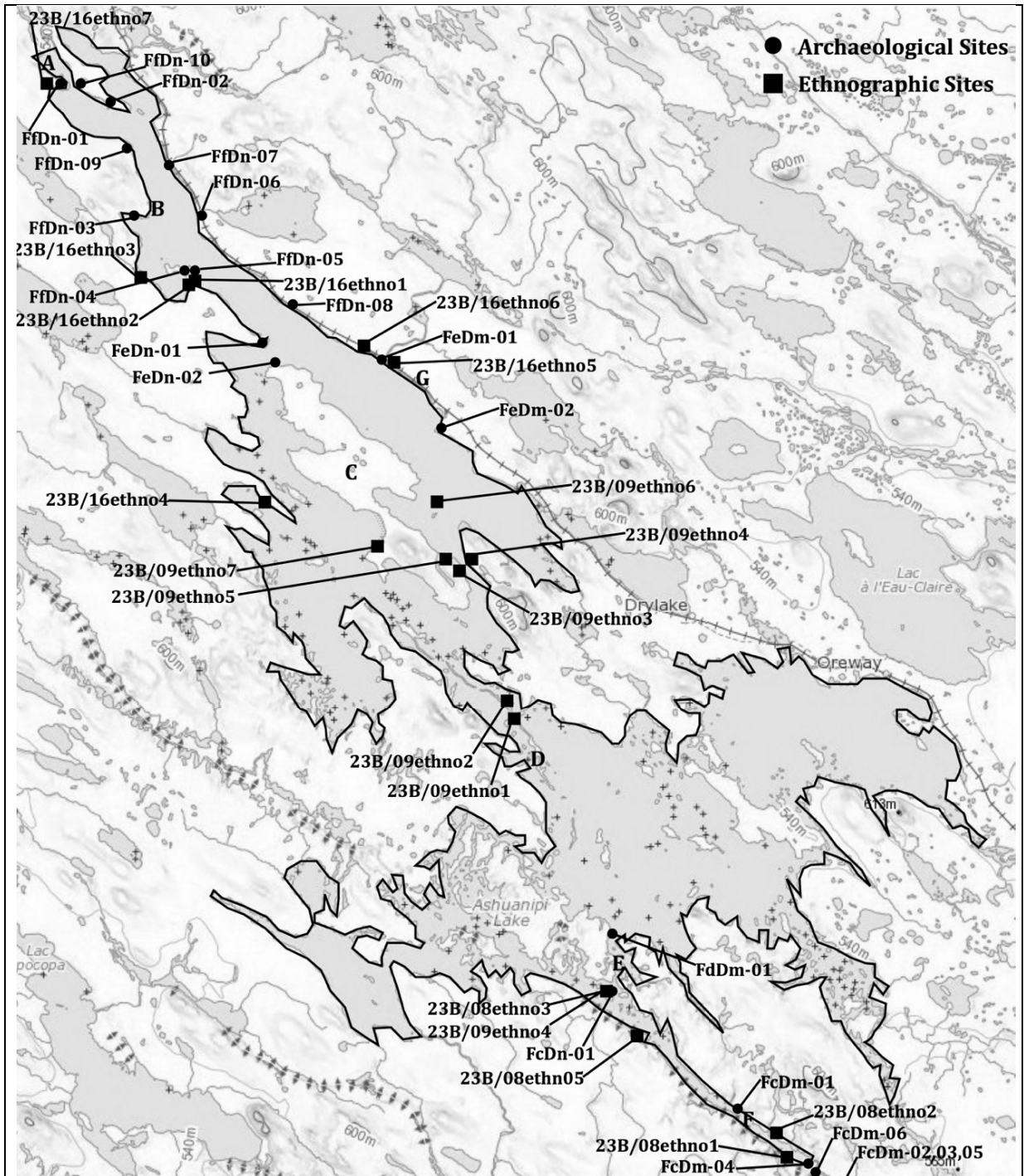


Figure 3-2: Ashuanipi, outlined in black. Showing archaeology site locations (circles) and ethnographic site locations (squares) (adapted from atlas.gc.ca/toporama/en/index.html).

The results of the Ashuanipi and EM-1 surveys show that a combination of prediction and prospection in archaeological survey can be successful. However, it is important to note that the Ashuanipi survey was not exhaustive, or objective. Focusing fieldwork on a potential travel route between the north and south ends of Ashuanipi meant that locations out of the way of this route were not investigated. As well, promising spots along the survey route were passed over due to time constraints. For example, the three large bodies of water that form the southern segments of Ashuanipi were not surveyed at all. The central segment was passed through on the way to the Kapitagas Channel but no locations were investigated between survey areas Ash-12 and Ash-13 (Figure 3-1). Also, the choice of survey locations was rooted in the authors experience and knowledge rather than the local knowledge of Innu families and hunters or a systematic analysis of site characteristics and landscape features. For this reason, it is very likely that the survey results reflect an expectation of archaeological site locations rather than a representative sample of heritage resources at Ashuanipi. This approach would not meet the requirements of a Heritage Resource Impact Assessment, and regulators should not assume that all the archaeological and ethnographic resources at Ashuanipi have been located. In cultural resource management terms, the Ashuanipi survey should be looked upon in the same light as a stage 1 historic resources overview assessment, i.e. the first step in a research process. Having said this, the survey did identify a number of ethnographic and archaeological sites, and it is possible to say something about these.

Chapter Four

Local Context

Before the start of this project in 2005 there had been two studies that focused on the archaeological history of Ashuanipi. The first was undertaken in 1983-84. At that time a consulting archaeologist spent six days conducting a helicopter and pedestrian survey of a linear corridor between Labrador City and Churchill Falls, which is now the Trans Labrador Highway (Thomson 1983, 1984). The purpose of this overview assessment, which included a document review and fieldwork, was to judge the “historic resources potential” of the highway corridor. A segment of this corridor passed over Ashuanipiu-shipu and a tributary, Lure Creek, approximately four kilometres north of Ashuanipi. At the Lure Creek crossing point, on a ridge overlooking the creek and the surrounding terrain, the archaeologist located and recorded a single “historic habitation site” (FgDn-01), which included: a cobble hearth; hold down rocks; a cleared gravel floor; and burnt wood (PAO 2003). This site was considered insignificant by the archaeologist, and no further work was conducted at this location in advance of road construction. Based on the documentary research conducted, and the assessment of site FgDn-01 (and the three other historic sites recovered within the highway corridor, away from Ashuanipi), the following conclusion was reached:

“That more sites were not found within the development area may be explained by a variety of circumstances including lightness of human occupation of the region suggested by previous archaeological findings and ethnographic accounts, regional undependability of seasonal food resources and lack of alternate foods in the case of failure of the principal resource, no physical reasons such as falls or unnavigable rapids to require overnight or longer residence on this stretch of river, and the marshy or heavily wooded nature of much of the corridor” (Thomson 1984: 164).

Site FgDn-01 was not excavated, so it is not possible to verify the cultural designation, or the claimed insignificance. It is possible, however, to reflect on the reasons provided for the overall lack of sites. For example, Thomson (1984: 163) claims, “previous investigations into prehistoric land use have demonstrated that the central Labrador/Quebec peninsula does not appear to have been intensively utilized [during the pre-contact period](Macleod 1967; Samson 1978; Thomson 1983)” (Thomson 1984: 163). This statement is questionable given the culture history of neighbouring locations presented in Chapter One of this study, and the fact that the authors referenced by Thomson contradict his claim. First, the McLeod survey of Meshikamau-Meshikamass, although it took place over two seasons (McLeod 1967, 1968), was not intensive. McLeod himself stated in a letter to J.V. Wright in September 1968, “I believe the plan put forth this season was a good one,

and, had it been executed to its full potential, with no logistic befuddlement, it would have produced adequate results” (McLeod 1968). In other words, McLeod believed that additional survey of the location would identify more archaeological sites. As it was, over the 1967 and 1968 season, McLeod recorded seven archaeological sites (FIDh-1, FIDh-2, FIDh-3, FIDe-1, FjCx-1, FjCx-2, and GcDc-1). These locations, and others, were flooded by construction of the Upper Churchill Project, which created the Smallwood Reservoir (Loring et al. 2003) (Figure 1-1, 1-2). Second, the referenced work by Gilles Samson (1978) – also discussed in Chapter One of this study – was undertaken over two field seasons, during which time Samson recorded seventy-five archaeological sites at Kanuauakanit atik^u; and concluded that “the archaeological evidence suggests that all through the cultural development of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, Indian House Lake remained an important secondary zone...for Indian groups” (Samson 1978: 203). This hardly seems insignificant. In addition to these examples, the results of the Kaneiapishkau heritage assessment” (Denton 1979, 1981) were completely overlooked during the 1983-84 heritage assessment of the Trans Labrador Highway. In the words of the archaeologist in charge of that assessment project, “the Caniapiscau data for this period provide evidence of intensive fall and probable early winter occupations, and strongly suggest at least spring, if not summer occupation” (Denton 1988: 152). Altogether the results of these interior studies indicate that Thomson’s (1984: 164) statements regarding the “lightness of human occupation” and the “undependability of seasonal food resources” in the interior of the Peninsula were far too simplistic.

A second study was undertaken in 1991-92, at the behest of the Labrador Heritage Society, Height of Land Branch (Niellon 1992). The goal of this documentary review and fieldwork was to determine the location of a French trading post that was allegedly established on Ashuanipi by Louis Jolliet and Françoise Bissot circa 1695 (Cooke 1964: 140; Provencher 1953: 19), which the historical society hoped to develop into an interpretation site. Upon completion of the archival research and fieldwork Niellon concluded that Ashuanipi was primarily a “thoroughfare...used as a temporary camping ground rather than as a hunting ground or rallying point”, and that “any project aimed at developing *in situ* remains attesting to such activities [i.e. trade between the French and Innu] is doomed to fail” (Niellon 1992: 42). For the Society these results were a disappointment. However, Niellon did successfully record two archaeology sites at Ashuanipi, and noted, “traces of occupation, in the form of stone hearths or recent remains, were evident all around the lake” (Niellon 1992: 38).

In addition to the archaeological potential indicated by Niellon’s statement, and in contrast to what was reported by Thomson, the two archaeological sites she recorded (FfDn-01 and FcDn-01) are important heritage resources, and convey important information about the history of Ashuanipi (Chapter Five). Archaeological site FcDn-01 is a “Montagnais [Innu] cemetery”. The exact dates and number of internments are not included in Neillon’s report; however, a related document reports that the Oblate Missionary, Louis Babel, stopped here in 1868 to bless “a few

graves”, and that the Innu guide Mathieu Andre believed the cemetery contained 284 burials (Montague 2000).

Although not as sensitive a site as the cemetery, FfDn-01 is equally significant. Prior to Niellon’s (1992) study this was the assumed location of Joliette’s trading rendezvous with the Naskapi (Brake 2007: 38; Edmund Montague, personal communication 2005). Alas, no evidence of an early French presence was identified during this or subsequent investigations of this location, and it appears unlikely that this is the location in question. Notwithstanding, the small test trench excavated here by Niellon in 1991 revealed two important facts: 1) she determined that FfDn-01 had been the location of a small log cabin in the early 20th century, and 2) she found that someone using stone tools had occupied the site prior to construction of the log cabin. Evidence for these claims was recovered from the excavation trench, which included the remains of an earth-embanked log wall superimposing “a few flakes of quartzite, probably from Ramah Bay” (Niellon 1992: 38).

Neither of these two studies was detailed enough to offer any real insight into archaeological sites FfDn-01 and FcDn-01. Taken together, however, they do speak to the record of human tenure at Ashuanipi. Specifically, the archaeologists who undertook these studies conclude that the recovered data were a result of Innu tenure in the region. Ferguson’s cabin, while not an “Innu” site per se, pre-dates the development of mines and the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway by at least two decades (see Geren and McCulloch 1990), and could only have been operated as a trading post if the target clientele were Innu. That it was built at all is proxy

evidence for the presence of Innu at Ashuanipi in the first two decades of the 20th century. As isolated points on a time line these three heritage components indicate that the lake was occupied in the 1860s, in the early 20th century, and in the mid- and late 20th century. What occurred between these points on the Ashuanipi timeline cannot be gleaned from the results of Thomson's or Niellon's study. However, it is noteworthy that the cemetery was kept-up over this period of time, suggesting that there may be a relationship between the Innu who used the island as a cemetery in the 1800s and those who continued to visit the location six generations later, in the 20th century (Chapter Five).

Niellon (1992: 38) also reported that stone tool debitage was recovered from beneath the remains of the 20th century cabin; that this material likely came from Ramah Bay; and, that it is representative of an earlier, although undateable, "prehistoric occupation" at this site. Unfortunately, there are no pictures of the specimens in the report, and they are not in storage at the PAO, or the Rooms. Therefore, it is not possible to confirm that they are in fact Ramah chert. Second, it is a mistake to assume that the Innu stopped using stone for tools once they had access to European goods through trade. Archaeologists working at Kaneiapishkau, to the northwest of Ashuanipi, have documented archaeological components that contain both early trade items of European manufacture and Ramah chert within the same cultural component (Denton 1983). As well, Innu in Labrador have told stories of stone still being used in the late 19th and early 20th century to make expedient cutting tools, and pestles (Anthony Jenkinson, personal communication 2015).

Knowing this, one cannot assume, even if the flakes were Ramah chert, that they predate the arrival of Europeans in the region. In order to make this assumption, using a limited assemblage of stone tools as a proxy, the artifacts would need to exhibit some sort of diagnostic characteristic that correlated with artifacts from dated archaeological components elsewhere on the peninsula. Even then, without further investigation into the site at FfDn-01 it would be difficult to make conclusive arguments regarding the cultural and temporal placement of a few isolated finds.

Both Niellon's 1992 and Thomson's 1983/84 studies make use of historical data as proxy evidence in their interpretations of the archaeological characteristics identified, and in their descriptions of Innu tenure in the Plateau. Niellon's (1992) study included a detailed search and analysis of archival and historical records relating to Ashuanipi, and the Innu presence there. The focus of the search was two-fold: 1) To determine if Ashuanipi is in fact the lake Francoise Bissot II referred to as "Lac des Naskapi", as indicated on James White's 1926 map *Forts and Trading Posts in Labrador Peninsula and Adjoining Portions of Ontario and Quebec*; and, 2) To determine if Ashuanipi is the location of "Fort Naskapis" as reported by Ernest Voorhis in his 1930 publication *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and the English Fur Trading Companies* (Neillon 1992: 1-2). Beginning the analysis with primary and secondary documents relating to the French regime, then moving into records from English traders, explorers and historians, and ending with a brief look at "Innu Tradition" Niellon (1992: 3) concludes that "it was wrong to equate the two bodies of water [Ashuanipi and the Lac des Naskapi]" and that the "research has

cast serious doubts on the presence of a trading post on Ashuanipi Lake during the French regime". Notwithstanding the likelihood that Louis Joliette did not construct a trading post at Ashuanipi and that "Lac des Naskapi" could refer to any of the large lakes in the Plateau (e.g. Kaneiapishkau or Petshissikupau), the 1992 study presents documentary evidence that implies Ashuanipi was known to the French in the early 18th century. The *Carte du domaine du roy en canada 1731*, for example, by the Jesuit Missionary Father Laure, depicts the location of "L. Achouanipi"; as does the map by Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1720). The depiction of Ashuanipi on these maps is virtually identical (Figure 4-1), and it seems likely that these maps are amalgamations, or copies, of information from a variety of sources.

Of note in this scenario is that d'Anville was known to omit information from the maps he produced if he could not verify its accuracy (Chisholm 1911). That "Achouanipi" was copied from a source on more than one occasion implies that the location was believed to be accurate. Niellon (1992: 18-19) also found that personal communications and reports produced by Francoise-Etienne Cugnet in the 1740s and 1750s, as Director of the *Domaine d'Occident* in New France, implied that Ashuanipi was a place frequented by Innu and that he, or people under his charge, had travelled there to trade with them on more than one occasion.

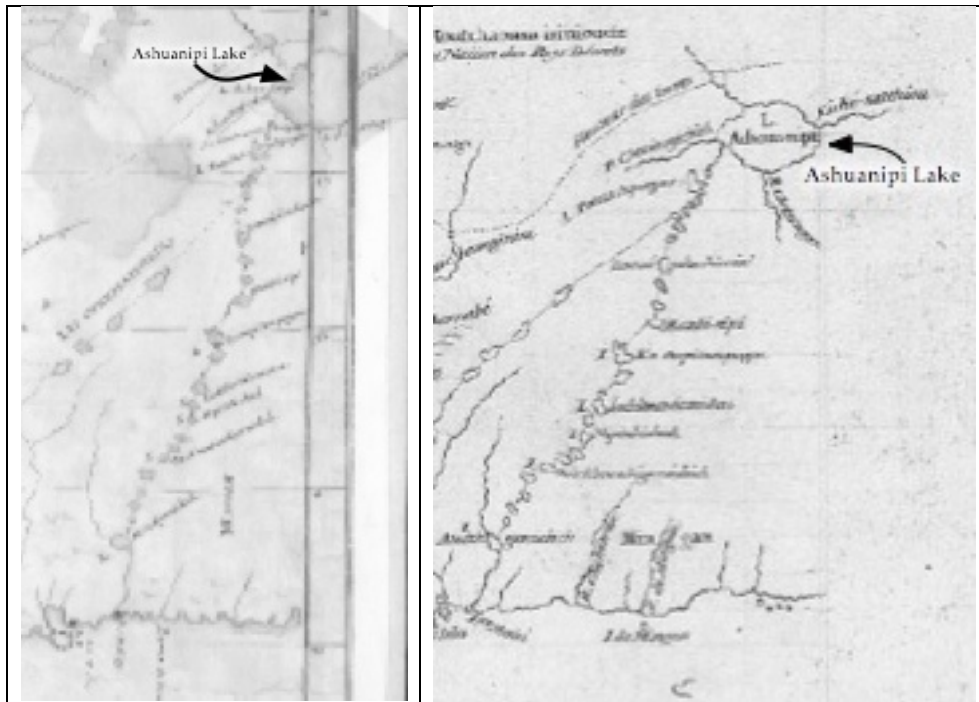


Figure 4-1: Left image is section of the Father Laure map from 1731. Right image is a section of Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville map from the same period. Note similarities in Ashuanipi ("L. Achouanipi"), and the string of lakes leading southwest, to the Quebec North Shore. (adapted from Laure (1731) and D'Anville (1720))

Together, these 18th century sources confirm that Ashuanipi was a place known to traders, Innu, and priests prior to the institutionalization of trade across the Peninsula, which occurred with the Hudson Bay Company in the 19th century, but they do not provide any specific details about the culture history of the region, or locations where trading may have taken place. In other words, there is no information on the location of potential archaeological sites, only clues that these sites could be present. It is not until the latter half of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century that the archival documents and historical publications begin to provide clues that are useful for location archaeological resources in the region, but even these are limited. As Niellon (1992) pointed out, geologists and

explorers Henry Yule Hind and Albert Peter Low, and the Oblate missionary Father Louis Babel, all made observations of the region's inhabitants and history.

The first two, Hind and Low, were educated in geology and the descriptive field techniques of that discipline. They recorded descriptions of the land and people they encountered on their voyages through the interior of the Peninsula, and the Plateau (Hind 2007 [1863]; Low 1896). Regrettably, neither of them made it to Ashuanipi. Low followed the travel route used by the Innu, and trappers and traders, through Meshikamau, Meshikamass, Petshissikupau, and Minaik^u, but had to turn around at Ashuanipiu-shipu, about "thirty or forty miles" before its confluence with Ashuanipi, owing to a lack of provisions (Low 1896: 157). Subsequently Innu who frequented the lake told Low that: "Lake Ashuanipi...is situated close to the watershed dividing the Hamilton River from the Moisie River. It is upward of 50 miles long, very irregular in outline, with deep bays, and is partly covered with many islands, some of which are very large. It is not a deep lake, but its water is very clear and well stocked with fish" (Low 1896: 157). Hind also followed an Innu travel route. Leaving from Uashau, he headed north up the Mishta-shipu (MR), with the intention of crossing the height of land, into the Ashuanipi drainage. Hind was struck by the destruction caused by forest fires that had scorched the land near the headwaters of the Mishta-shipu (MR) and the lack of game observed. Owing to their summer arrival in the "table land" river levels were low, and his party was unable to proceed further, so they also turned around before reaching Ashuanipi (Hind 2007[1863]: 238). The fact that neither author made it to Ashuanipi is

disappointing, as either could have provided a detailed description of their observations there. What are of value in Low and Hind's reports, however, are their observations of the environment neighbouring Ashuanipi, including the restrictions to summer travel they encountered, as well as the reports of Ashuanipi that they were given by Innu they met on their voyages. Hind, for example, writes of his encounter with "Dominique, Chief of the Montagnais of Lake Ashwanipi" and his family on the Mishta-shipu (MR) (Hind 2007[1863]: 77-94). In this description the reader learns that Dominique and his family had wintered just south of Ashuanipi, near the height of land, with other families, and that they had broke camp when the ice left the rivers. As well, some families, "Nasquapee", wintered near him, while others passed the winter to the north end of Ashuanipi. Some of these Innu, Dominique says, had never ventured to the North Shore before, but now planned to, while the others would either travel to Hudson's Bay or the post at Petshissikupau. Hind also records that the number of Innu who inhabited Ashuanipi was reduced in the years previous to his trip, due to a lack of game in the region, which Dominique attributed to an increase in predation and forest fire, associated with use of the Mishta-shipu (MR) as a road into the interior (Hind 2007[1863]: 80-84). Unlike Low and Hind, Father Babel actually travelled on Ashuanipi, twice. In 1869 and 1870, after departing from Fort Naskapi at Petshissikupau, his party travelled south via Ashuanipi and the Mishta-shipu (MR). The journal Babel kept for these trips, which was subsequently published by "les presses de l'universite du quebec" (Tremblay 1977), is nowhere as detailed as the reports produced by Hind and Low. Helpfully, it

does include observations of the travel conditions his party encountered on Ashuanipi: “La nuit precedente avait ete bien mauvaise, pluie battante ensuite scouard de vent N. Le chemin que nous avons fait aujourd’hui, nous l’avons dispute au vent et a la mer. Nous avons pris souvent de l’eau” (Tremblay 1977: 64). Also, Babel had been trained as a surveyor in his homeland of Switzerland prior to joining the Oblates, and he took it upon himself to draft maps of the places he travelled with the Innu. This included parts of Ashuanipi and the Innu travel route they followed through the region, as well as the “Cimetiere sauvage” located at Ashuanipi Pass, which was subsequently visited by Niellon in 1991.

These accounts confirm that Ashuanipi has a history as a place frequented by Innu, both as a travel route and a camping place; and, that it has long held a position in the imagination of explorers who frequented, then inhabited, the Peninsula. At the same time they remind us that the historical record, like the archaeological record, does not contain all the details of the past that we require in order to construct a history of a region and/or people (Arnold 1986; Carr 1961). It is only through critical use of history (including Innu history) and archaeology, and the other human and natural sciences, that it is possible to begin to understand and explain the long-term history of Ashuanipi (Leeuw and Redman 2002; Trigger 1989).

Beyond the archaeological sites discussed Thomson’s studies (1983, 1984) also state that the historical record was used to aid his understanding of Innu tenure in the region, as well his interpretation of the Innu ethnographic site that was identified at Lure Creek, near Ashuanipi. As the author states,

“[a]ssuming that this represents the entire site inventory for the proposed highway route, it would seem to conform with the opinions and findings of informants, ethnographers, explorers and archaeologists, and with local assessments of game populations, that prehistoric and historic native occupation of this part of the interior was light and sporadic. Probable reasons include the undependable and easily-exhausted game supply and the absence within the development area of access routes between the interior and the coast” (Thomson 1984: 83).

Unfortunately, this report does not contain references to the historical records used, so it is not possible to know which documents his conclusion is based upon. Nevertheless, given what is known from Niellon’s 1992 report, and the reports of Hind (2007[1863]) and Low (1896), it looks as though Thomson’s assessment of Innu tenure in the region as “light” and “sporadic”, and the “game supply” as “undependable” and “easily-exhausted” is too simplistic and generalized. It is correct that during certain periods the presence of people and the availability of food items would have been diminished. The cyclical nature of terrestrial boreal forest species, such as rabbits, ptarmigan, fox, caribou, etc., is well known (Henry 2002). What this means, however, is that while there are times when these species are diminished, there are also times when they are abundant (one only needs to remember the story of Dominique’s from Hind’s report, who said he killed thirty caribou while wintering just south of Ashuanipi in 1861 (Hind 2007[1863]: 80)). As well, these terrestrial

animals are not the only forms of food present at Ashuanipi. Low (see above) and Hind (Hind 2007: 81) both noted the availability of fish in the lake. Plus there are a variety of edible berries that grow on the sandy terraces and bogs that comprise the lakeshore (Neilsen 2009). As Niellon (1992: 33) states, Ashuanipi “offers a fairly wide range of food sources that would allow a few families to survive for a while in any season, especially fall and even winter”. Dominique’s comments to Hind support this, as do those of Pierre Gabriel, the Innu hunter who told the Finnish geographer Vaino Tanner that Ashuanipi was his first big stopping place on the way into the interior from Uashau (Tanner and Armitage 1985: 38; Tanner 1947).

Moreover, a land use study that was produced for the same highway development as the 1983-84 archaeological study, reports that the

“...present pattern of Innu harvesting...follows two distinct annual cycles, one used by family groups, the other by all male hunting parties. The family groups use the area for two different periods: about 12 weeks from October to December; and about 18 weeks from April to August. The all male hunting parties harvest primarily during an approximately 12-week period from the beginning of January to the end of March” (Tanner and Armitage 1985: 20).

The same study also estimates the annual harvest for the Innu using the study area. Their estimate for Ashuanipi is as follows (Tanner and Armitage 1985: 47-48; Table 4-1):

Table 4-1: Estimated Number of Animals killed by Innu Families and Hunters, Ashuanipi region, (adapted from Tanner and Armitage 1986)

Caribou	13
Moose	13
Bear	10
Beaver	145
Mink	192
Martin	348
Weasel	312
Otter	24
Lynx	5
Fox	19
Muskrat	500
Porcupine	13
Hare	318
Grouse	1080
Geese	60
Ducks	220
Owls	12
Loons	15
Pike	300
Suckers	1020
Whitefish	280
Trout	1336

These estimates cannot be used as proxy evidence for past subsistence activities as land use changed following construction of the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway in the 1950s (Tanner and Armitage 1985). Nevertheless, they show that natural food items remain at Ashuanipi even after increased predation and disturbance. Other studies have also shown Ashuanipi to be a dependable location for food. Biologist Francis Harper published *Mammals of the Ungava Peninsula* in 1961. He spent a part of the summer of 1953 at Ashuanipi, where he met, interacted with, and photographed the family of Kumis Pinette, whose “ancestral” trapping grounds included the north end of Ashuanipi and Ashuanipiu-shipu¹⁶.

¹⁶ One of Kumis’ children, Michel Pinette, operates an outfitting business from Grande Ile, in Ashuanipi. In 2010, he was one of Innu hunters photographed at a publicized protest hunt near Anikutshash-shipiss in Labrador (Randell 2010)

Archaeological History at Ashuanipi

In the end, the critical analysis of Thomson (1983, 1984) and Niellon's (1992) studies did contribute to the historical profile carried into the field when this project started in the summer of 2005. For the most part though, these two studies represent a style of archaeology that had been practiced in the Canadian subarctic, and elsewhere, in the decades preceding these publications (Holly 2013), and largely ignored analytical developments that were occurring in the interior of the peninsula at this time (see Denton 1979, 1981; Samson 1976, 1978). Over the 1950s, 60s and 70s, when the first major archaeological projects were occurring along the coast of the Peninsula, very little archaeology had been undertaken in the Plateau, or elsewhere in the interior (Brake 2007), so records of the Hudson Bay Company, and other settlers, such as George Cartwright and the Moravian Missionaries, and explorers such as William Brooks Cabot and Mina Hubbard were used as proxy evidence for interior archaeological data. The patterns observed by these people, in the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th century, were projected back in time, and became the data that archaeologists used to round out their descriptions of Innu settlement and subsistence, cultural practice, territoriality, interaction, etc. that pre-date European settlement in the region (Holly 2013: 9-12).

In this direct historical approach the forerunners of the modern Innu were described as hunter-gatherer groups who trudged along to the seasons of the boreal forest, and the movements/locations of the natural resources they needed to survive (Loring 1992) – spending their winters in the interior hunting caribou and summers

on the coast fishing and hunting marine mammals (Fitzhugh 1972; Madden 1975; McGhee and Tuck 1975; Tuck 1977). Within this framework, Ashuanipi could only be seen as a location the Innu passed through on their way to hunt caribou somewhere else, so it was no surprise that only a few archaeological sites were present, because people were not there to stay. The archaeologists did not really consider the fact that there were numerous routes in and out of the Plateau, and that the Innu who used the Ashuanipi route chose to do so. Furthermore, there was no recognition that “hunter-gatherers do not adapt to their environment with a single settlement-subsistence system of the kind an ethnographer might record through living out a year’s seasonal round with a group of hunter-gatherers” (Kelly 1983: 301); or, that Innu ethnohistory is a generalization of many lifeways, rooted in a subjective and ethnocentric historical record (Loring 1992; Trigger 1982).

Today, archaeologists working in the eastern Canadian subarctic know that the environmental determinism and direct historical approach of the earliest investigators in this region did not account for the fact that the Aboriginal societies living here were composed of a variety of smaller communities, families and individuals; nor did they make decisions as a single culture group (Holly 2013). It is acknowledged that the natural environment and the long-term history of the region exerted a certain influence on the people and their culture. However, rather than being commanded by the structural characteristics of the Peninsula, individuals, families and communities are believed to have made decisions within the limits these prescribed; and in some cases these decisions resulted in variation within the

material record they left behind (Chapdelaine 2012; Denton 1988, 2001, 2012; Fitzhugh 2006; Holly 2013; Holly and McCaffrey 2012; Hood 2008; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Loring 1992, 2002; McCaffrey 2006, 2011; Pintal 1998, 2000; Rankin 2008; Rankin, Beaudoin and Brewster 2012; Rankin and Squires 2006; Wolff 2008).

From the above discussion it is clear that a limited documentary record, which contains very little direct evidence related to events at Ashuanipi, cannot act as proxy evidence for the archaeological record there. The historical records must be correlated with direct evidence from the archaeological record and the natural sciences (Trigger 1982; Wylie 1985). The aim in the next chapter is to provide details on the archaeological and ethnographic sites recorded at Ashuanipi, and to further expand the image of Ashuanipi that is beginning to form. To this point, the focus has been on context. In the coming pages the focus shifts to results and evaluation, and then supposition. At the end of Chapter Five the image of Ashuanipi will be more detailed than what it is now, and there will be more questions regarding the culture history of the location, and its relationship to other locations in the Plateau.

Chapter Five

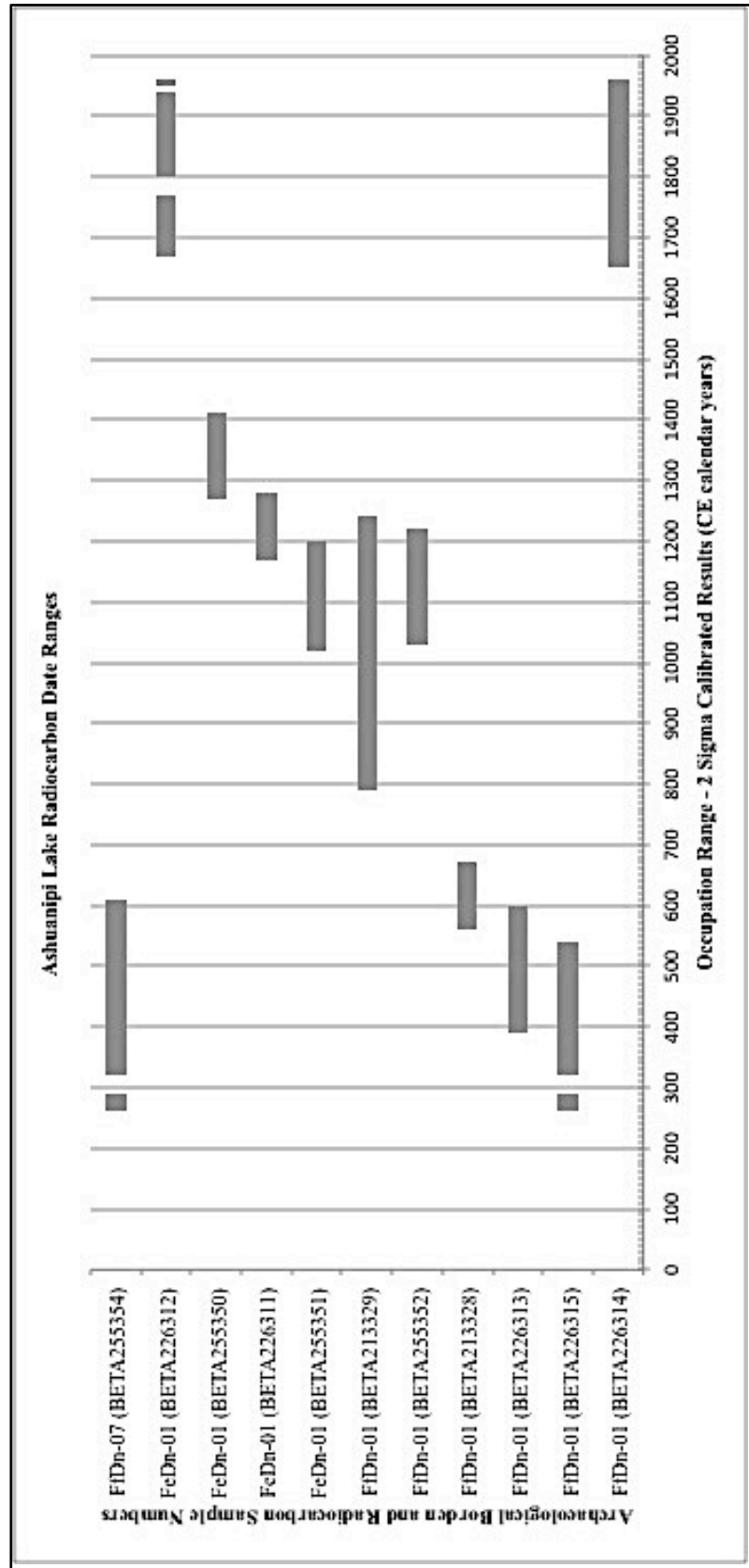
Survey Results

The terms used to regulate the cultural resources at Ashuanipi are important, and it is essential that they be defined now. According to the *Archaeological Investigation Permit Regulations (963/96)* under the *Historic Resources Act (O.C. 96-212)* an “archaeological resource” is “a work of human beings that is primarily of value for its prehistoric, historic, cultural or scientific significance” and “is or was buried or partially buried in the land in the province”, and, a “site” is “any place where archaeological resources are located which cannot be excavated without a valid permit issued under the act” (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2009). Although absent from the *Historic Resources Act*, and the *Archaeological Investigation Permit Regulations*, the *Newfoundland and Labrador Archaeological Site Record Form* promotes the recording of a category of site labelled “Ethnographic”, also. This category is used to designate resources and places associated with “traditional” activities, which have taken place after 1960 (e.g. a canvas tent site, or marten trap) (Martha Drake, personal communication 2014). In the Ashuanipi survey results (Table 3-1), the ethnographic label (Ethno) is restricted to sites where the architecture (e.g. tent frame, cabin, etc.) and debris (e.g. Pepsi bottle, rope, etc.) are known, or believed, to postdate 1960. Including these sites in the story of

occupation at Ashuanipi connects the modern land use with that of the past, and allows the history of Ashuanipi to be represented as a single narrative rather than as an archaeological prehistory and a modern, document based, history.

All sites with archaeological evidence that predates 1960 are recorded as archaeological sites. In some cases these sites include an “ethno” component, but because there are other, earlier components, they are labelled archaeological sites. The purpose of distinguishing ethnographic from archaeological components is not clear in the NL heritage policies, although it is standard practice on HRIAs conducted in Labrador. Other classifications used to organize the Ashuanipi survey results, are “site type” and “occupation range” (Table 3-1). Occupation range refers to the period over which the site was used. This determination is based on a combination of factors, including historical documents, radiocarbon dates (Table 5-1), and feature and artifact style. Due to the methods employed in this study and the limits of archaeological dating techniques, such as radiocarbon dating charcoal and artifact seriation, there are very few instances where it is possible to pinpoint an actual year or date of occupation, for any of the sites recorded at Ashuanipi. This means that occupation of any particular site could have occurred at any one point, or at multiple points, within the “occupation range”. The sites themselves are grouped into categories based on the artifacts, features, and landscape characteristics present at each location. These “Site Type” categories are: “Procurement”, “Campsite”, “Religious”, “Transportation”, “Multi-Component”, and “Unknown”.

Table 5-1: Ashuanipi Radiocarbon Dates



In many cases the label is chosen with only limited data, and it is fully expected that future investigations will lead to some, or all, of these being replaced. The main function of the labels here is to help organize the data presentation, and to allow the sites to be discussed at scales beyond the individual locale more conveniently. Note, however, that these labels are representative of complex historical structures and events. Individual sites are part of the cultural landscape that emerged and transformed as a result of all the events that occurred in an individual's and group's life, up to the point of, and during, occupation of each site (Zedeno and Bowser 2009). In other words, and contrary to how they are often portrayed, archaeology and ethnographic sites are not islands composed of past, isolated, cultural actions and ideas, cut off from the activities and beliefs performed elsewhere (Bender 1993). At Ashuanipi, in fact, it seems likely that some of the sites, which overlap in "occupation range", were used concurrently. For example, the individual(s) who set the conibear trap and bait box at 23B/08ethno1, or who maintained the cemetery at FcDn-01 may have slept at one of the nearby campsites, while attending to the procurement and religious site. In spite of the physical separation of these sites, they are part of the same cultural landscape.

Of all the labels introduced above, "procurement" is the most tenuous. Sites under this label are believed to be resource acquisition locations, such as a hunting or fishing place, or a plant, wood, or fruit-gathering place. Other short-term activities, such as processing, may have occurred at these locations as well; the intent of the label is to convey the belief that these locations were used for a specific

activity, over a short period of time. Plus, no evidence of habitation was observed at any of these sites. “Campsites” on the other hand, do include habitation evidence, such as tent poles, stove supports, and cabin remains. The intent of this label is to convey the belief that these locations were used for longer intervals than procurement sites, and for a wider variety of activities. Like the two previous labels, the “religious”, “transportation”, and “multi-component” site-type categories are rooted in observable characteristics at each site location. For example, the “religious” label is applied to a cemetery, the “transportation” label is applied to a portage trail, and the “multi-component” label is applied to locations that were demonstrably inhabited more than once, and which may or may not include more than one site-type. The last site-type category is “unknown”, and there is not enough data to suggest what sort of activities occurred at these locations.

As indicated above, it is important to remember that these labels are assigned based on cursory investigation of the sites, and Ashuanipi. Additional investigations at these locations and at locations elsewhere around the lake will identify additional cultural resources, and transform the history presented here.

Procurement Sites

At Ashuanipi (including the Kapitagas Channel) seven sites are labeled “procurement”. These include archaeological sites FfDn-02, FfDn-04, FfDn-05, FdDm-01, FeDn-02, FfDn-08 and ethnographic site 23B/08ethno1 (Table 3-1 and Figure 3-2).

Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno1

This is the sole procurement site recorded within the Kapitagas Channel Ecological Reserve, at the southwestern extent of Ashuanipi. In addition to being surrounded by the most northerly extension of jack pine forest in eastern North America (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1999), the site is located at the base of an esker that parallels the western side of the channel. Where the terrain meets the lake, there is a sand bar suitable for landing a small boat. It is clear that the conibear trap and bait box previously mentioned – which are the only resources present at this location – are relatively new, and certainly post-date 1960 (Figure 5-1, 5-11).

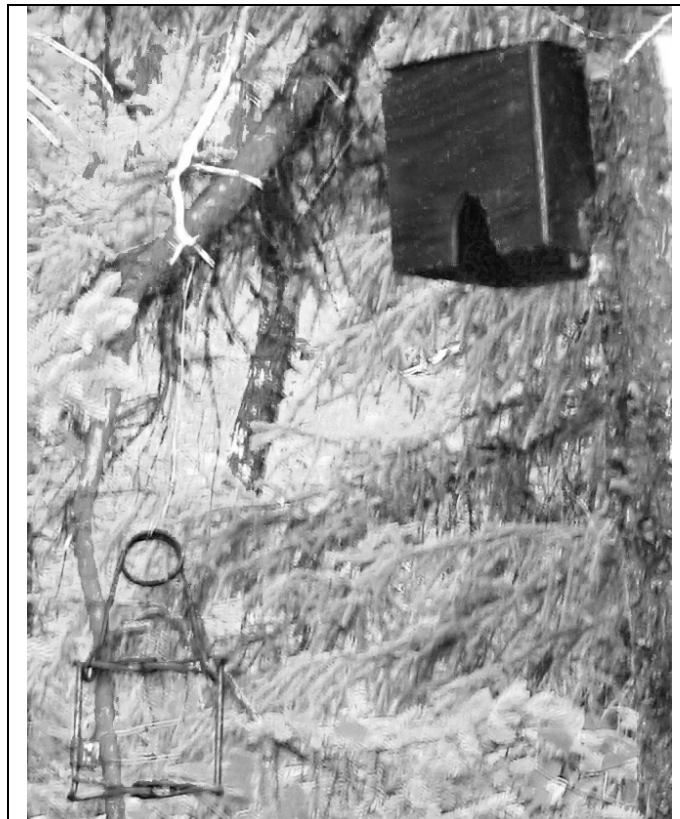


Figure 5-1: Ethnographic site 23B/8Ethno1, Kapitagas Channel conibear trap and bait box.

Archaeological sites: FfDn-02, FfDn-04, FfDn-05, FdDm-01, FeDn-02, and FfDn-08

These six procurement sites are all on the main body of Ashuanipi (Figure 3-2). They are all located in coves with sand beaches, and bordering wetlands (Figure 5-2). At all six locations the lake and beach are divided from the wetland by a narrow, forested, ridge or levee, effectively creating a natural “blind” between the wetlands and the beach/lake. All of the artifacts from these sites (n=52) (Appendix 1) were encountered on the surface of the beach, or in a test pit at the beach fringe (n=2). Given the dynamic shoreline at these locations it is unlikely that any of the artifacts were lying where they were originally deposited. With the exception of two specimens from FfDn-05 (see below), all of the artifacts are stone flakes, or flake shatter. In some cases the specimens show signs of sharpening and use (n=16) (Appendix 1). Archaeologists often describe specimens like these as “expedient tools” (Kooyman 2000), used in processing activities. Based on that, and the observed absence of any “campsite” features, such as tent poles, hold-down rocks, pits, cobble heating features, etc., these sites have all been labelled “procurement”.

None of the procurement sites have been scientifically dated, and, with one exception, they do not include diagnostic artifacts. Consequently, it is not possible to determine their occupation range. Site FfDn-05 is the one exception. Here, two fragments of a single, green transfer-printed refined-earthenware vessel (FfDn05:2, 3) were surface collected along with a red jasper flake (FfDn-05:1) with evidence of sharpening and utilization along both lateral margins, and what appears to be a fragment of a water-worn gunflint (FfDn-05:4) (Figures 5-3, 5-4).

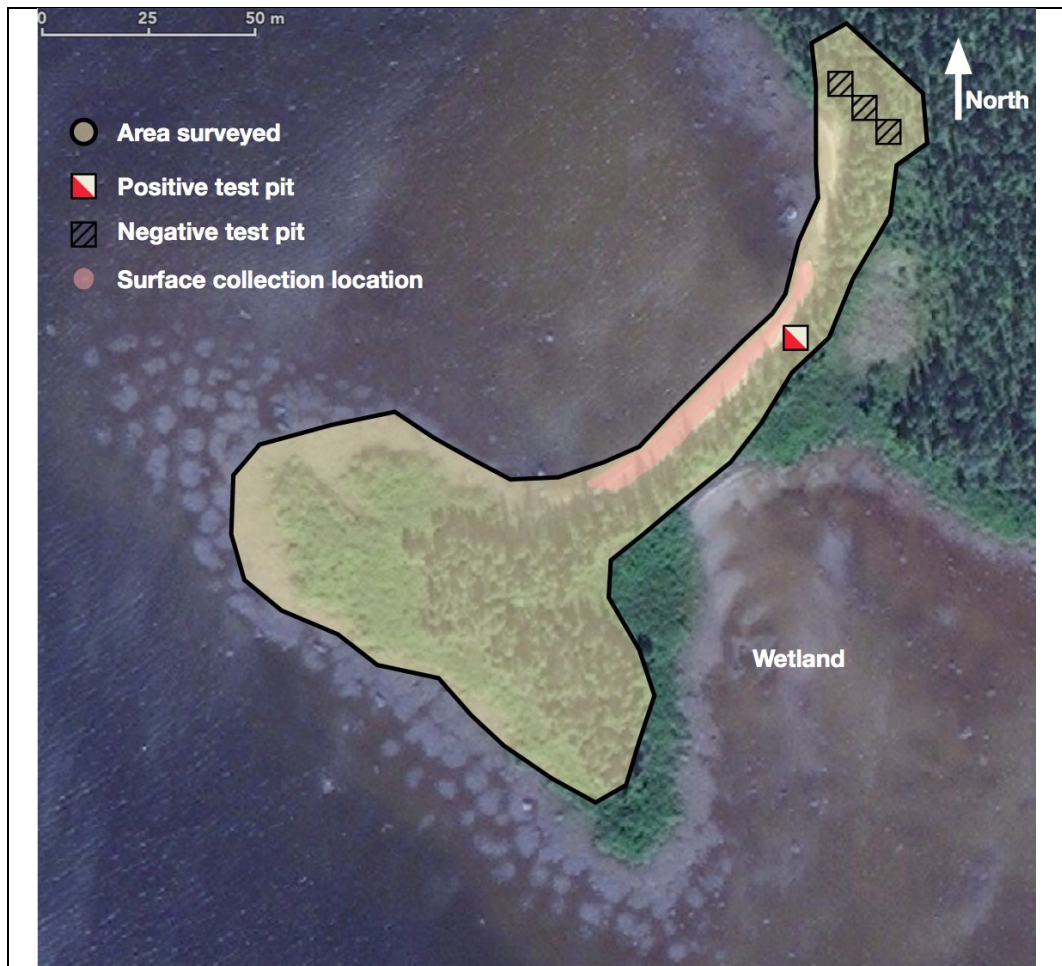


Figure 5-2: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-04/archaeological site FfDn-02. Shown as a representative sample of procurement site locations (adapted from Apple 2012-2014)



Figure 5-3: Archaeological site FfDn-05, Ashuanipi. Showing from left to right one utilized flake of red jasper, one water-worn gunflint, and two fragments green transfer-printed refined-earthenware. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)



Figure 5-4: Ashuanipi survey area Ash-06, archaeological site FfDn-05. Star marks location of surface collection (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Given that this earthenware was manufactured from the early to mid-19th century (Samford 2014), and that flintlocks were replaced by percussion caps over the same period (Fadala 2006), it is believed that this site dates to the mid-19th century. The jasper flake could represent an earlier use of this location; however, given the persistence of stone tool technology into, at least, the 19th century (Chapter Four), and the proximity of the specimens when recovered, the flake is just as likely to date to the same time period as the earthenware and gunflint.

At each of the other six procurement sites, assignment of the archaeology or ethnographic label is based on the presence of lithic technology and the conibear

trap and bait box, respectively. Outside these broad determinations of occupation range, i.e. pre- or post-1960, and the statement that these sites are related to the procurement of natural resources, it is not possible to speak of them with any more authority, at this point. Once the other archaeological and ethnographic sites are described, and the occupation of Ashuanipi is characterized in more detail, it will be possible to make additional statements regarding the relationship between these and other sites at the lake.

Religious Sites

The two religious sites recorded at Ashuanipi were determined by the resources observed at each location. In the eastern subarctic and northeast culture regions First Nation religious sites are sometimes associated with prominent geographic features such as an island, a portage, or a point of land. This strategy ensured that the sites could be seen, and that they could act as signposts for people travelling in the region . For individuals with knowledge of these sites the landscape and cultural features acted as focal points within their mental maps of the region, and they worked as memory devices that helped to recall and transmit cultural and geographic knowledge (Rossignol and Wandsnider 1992; Zedeno and Bowser 2009).

In addition to the cemetery discussed below (site FcDn-01), a small, white, wooden cross was observed in survey area ASH-18, and was recorded as part of the multi-component archaeological site FeDm-02 (see Multi-Component Sites section). Both of these sites contribute to the belief that Ashuanipi was more than a travel route.

Archaeological site: FcDn-01

This is the cemetery reported by Niellon in 1992, and discussed in Chapter Four. The location is marked by a clearing on an island, at the eastern boundary of the KC-02 survey location, at the western end of Ashuanipi Pass (Figure 5-5). Anyone travelling the Ashuanipi-Kapitagas water route would pass by here. The location on an island and along a travel route are characteristics that are found at other First Nations cemeteries in the northeast and subarctic (e.g. Robinson 1992; Tuck 1976). This choice may have been strategic, in that it kept the cemeteries separate from habitation sites, and ensured that they were visited regularly. At FcDn-01 there is a large lumber cross, painted white, erected in the clearing, at the lakeshore. The grass clearing already stands out, and the cross guarantees that anyone travelling by would recognize that the site is present (Figure 5-6). In addition to the large cross, the clearing includes a white fence, a crucifix monument, and at least nine marked graves. In the woodland, adjacent to the clearing, there is an older cross - made out of logs, and maintenance supplies (i.e. a lawnmower and cans of paint)¹⁷. Reports on the number of internments at this location vary between “a few graves” and “284” (Chapter Four). It is certainly possible that there are unmarked graves in the clearing, outside the fence encompassing the marked graves, as well as in the adjacent woodland. Efforts to maintain the cemetery are obvious, but have not been undertaken in the last few years, as portions of the fence and some of the grave markers have fallen into disrepair.

¹⁷ No artifacts were collected at FcDn-01.





Figure 5-6: Archaeological site FcDn-01, Ashuanipi Pass. Showing setting with cross and fence. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Unlike many of the other site locations, there is no sandy cove, point, or beach associated with the cemetery – although there are locations with these characteristics elsewhere on the island, and the lakeshore. At the location of the cemetery, the bank is sloped, undulating, and was likely forested at one time (Figure 5-6). The location of the cemetery is also elevated above the lake-level more than many of the other sites; as a result the cemetery has not been affected by spring flooding, through deposition and/or erosion. When thought about in relation to lake travel routes, the choice of this location seems even more deliberate. It is one of only two or three places at Ashuanipi that individuals using the Ashuanipi - Mishta-shipu (MR) canoe route between the Plateau and the North Shore must pass. From the location of the cemetery travellers can head through Ashuanipi Pass into the larger

part of the lake, up the western side of Grosse Ile to Ashuanipi or other large lakes, or down the Kapitagas Channel to Riviere aux Esquimaux and a portage over the height of land, into the headwaters of the Mishta-Shipu (MR). This is the route followed by Father Babel and his companions in 1868 (Chapter Four), when his party visited this cemetery. At this time he blessed the cemetery, and the location became consecrated ground. This meant that the Innu who used this travel route between the North Shore and the Plateau (see Neillon 1992; Brake 2007; Bouchard 2004; Trembaly 1977), and who had been converted to Catholicism, could bury their dead at this cemetery rather than carry them to the coast in the spring as some had done previously, and continued to do elsewhere on the Peninsula (see Speck 1977 [1935]).

The site characteristics mark the location as an important place, which requires upkeep and remembrance. For those familiar with the cemetery the marker may encourage them to stop or at least remember the individuals who are buried there as they passed by. For those not familiar with the cemetery they are made aware of the fact that others have travelled through this region, and that it is in fact an important place to them. Use of this travel route diminished significantly following construction of the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway, and it seems likely that use of the cemetery did as well, however, it remains an important and visited place, as is evident from the upkeep and maintenance supplies observed during the Ashuanipi survey. Based on what is known today, FcDn-01 is unique, as it is one of the few formally consecrated cemeteries in the interior of the Peninsula.

Transportation Sites

Like the procurement and religious categories, sites in the “Transportation” class are associated with a specific activity, i.e. travel. In this case the sites are all land based, however, it is important to remember that Ashuanipi itself is a transportation route, and many, if not all, of the archaeology and ethnographic sites recorded could be considered components of this heritage resource.

Archaeology sites: FcDm-02, FcDm-03, FcDm-04, FcDm-05, and FcDm-06

That there are five sites grouped under the transportation site label is misleading. Two of the sites, FcDm-02 and FcDm-05 are isolated spot-finds that occur along the Kapitags Channel-Riviere aux Esquimaux portage trail, which is recorded as FcDm-06, in the KC-portage survey location (Figures 5-7). One fragment of bottle glass was recovered from the surface of the trail at each location (FcDm-02:1, FcDm-05:1); the fragments are “sun-purpled” (Lindsey 2015), and were manufactured between 1880 and the end of the First World War (Figure 5-8). The other two sites, FcDm-03 and FcDm-04, are located at either end of the portage trail. These locations harbour surface scatters of recent debris, including food tins, camp-toaster pieces, and a kettle.

At the instruction of the PAO each of these four locations was recorded as a separate archaeological site, although they are more accurately thought of as components of the same site, i.e. the portage trail; without which, and the movement that occurred along it, these four sites would not exist. Recorded as archaeological

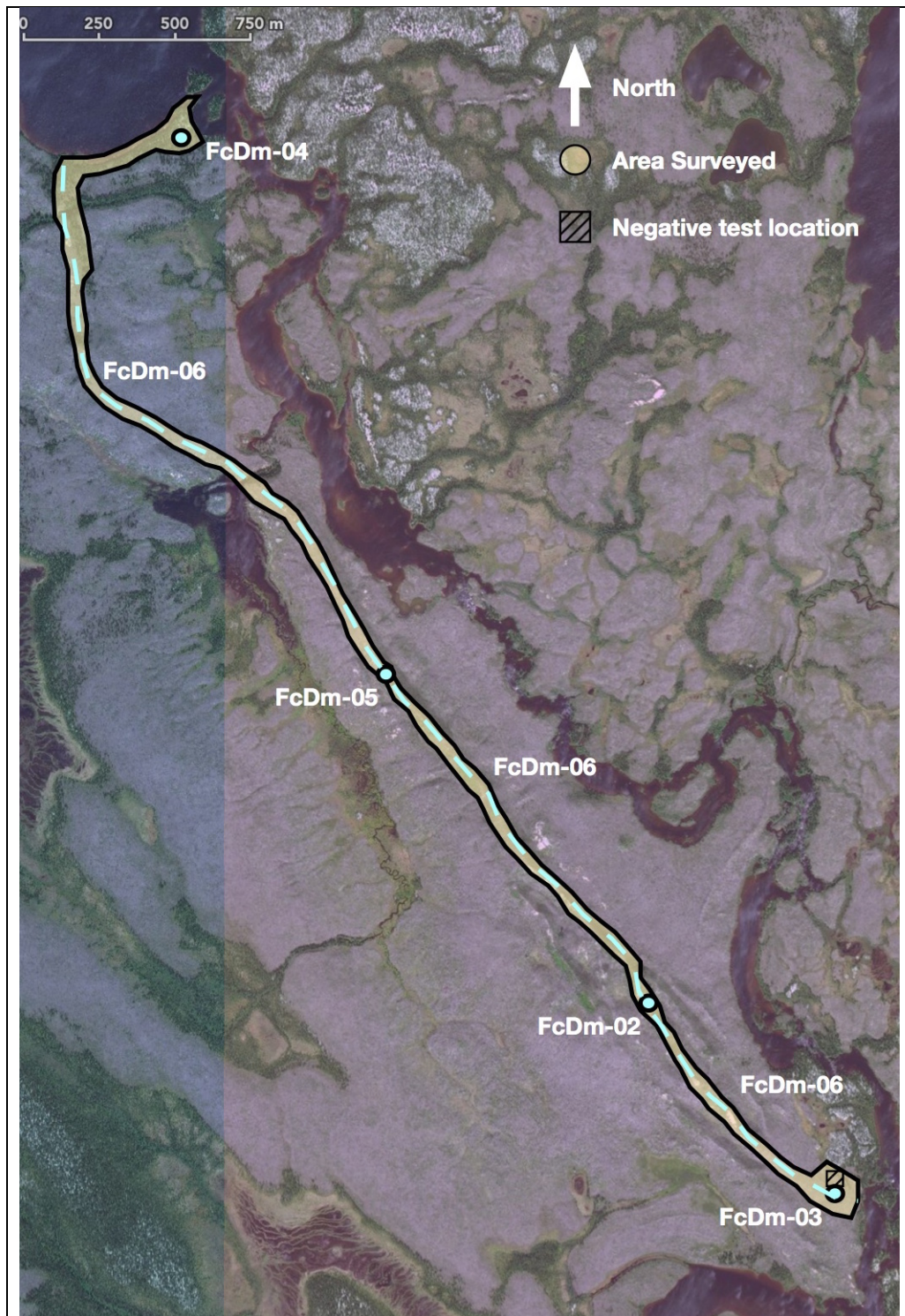


Figure 5-7: Ashuanipi survey location, KC-portage, showing archaeological sites FcDm-04, 03, FcDm-04, FcDm-05, and FcDm-06. (Adapted from Apple 2012-2014)



Figure 5-8: Archaeological sites FcDm-02 and FcDm-05, isolated finds. Sun-purpled glass fragments. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

site FcDm-06, the trail runs north-south along the top of an esker. Prior to the forest fires that occurred here over the last few decades, the trail snaked through an open canopy jack pine forest, elevated ten metres or more above the surrounding terrain. In some locations the trail is worn down to the gravel substrate, while in others it remains vegetated with moss, which appears to have survived the forest fire (Figure 5-9 and 5-10).

Based on the glass fragments and the reference/map in Babel's journal the trail has been in use since the mid-1800s, and continues to be used today¹⁸. Whether or not it was used before this is unknown. In a similar manner to the cemetery, the portage trail can also be seen as a sort of signpost, easily located at the transition from the river-valley into the Plateau, or vice versa. Anyone travelling the route, as they came into view of the Kapitagas Channel and the Plateau, or in reverse, the

¹⁸ In 2008 the ABH archaeology crew encountered a brigade of canoeists at the north end of Ashuanipi, who were travelling south to Uashau, and intended to follow the Kapitagas Channel travel corridor. This is also the route followed by James West Davidson and John Rugge in their book *"The Complete Wilderness Paddler"* (1982).



Figure 5-9: Archaeological site FcDm-06. Riviere aux Esquimaux portage, trail worn to gravel bed. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)



Figure 5-10: Archaeological site FcDm-06. Riviere aux Esquimaux portage. Burnt forest with moss remaining on trail. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Rivier aux Esquimaux and the associated eskers, would recognize that they were transitioning between geographic regions. Some would have had the nostalgia of returning home, others would have felt the excitement that comes with seeing a new location, or the anticipation of caribou hunting; and everyone would have had the confidence of knowing that others had passed there before them. As well, for mobile people such as the Innu, regularly used travel routes like the FcDm-06 portage are features on the landscape where they can anticipate encountering others, either in person or through messages¹⁹, i.e. they are important locations for communication as well as travel. As Henry Youle Hind said of his guides in the spring of 1861, “neither of these men knew the country beyond a point fifty miles from the coast; but they told us we should be sure to meet with Montagnais, and probably also Nasquapees, descending the river from the far interior to see the priest, according to an arrangement made...two years ago” (Hind 2007 [1863]: 5).

Trails themselves are an overlooked aspect of the cultural record in the interior of Labrador, with very few of them actually being recorded as archaeological resources, despite their visibility on the ground. Hopefully this will change as more archaeologists begin to recognize the significance of trails, and their role in patterning movement and interaction among the individuals and groups who used them. To quote Scott Hamilton (2000: 44) again, “a number of boreal forest archaeological sites are associated with portages along major river systems”.²⁰

¹⁹ The Innu are known to have used a number of signals to relay messages to other groups, to let them know where they were heading, how long ago they passed the location, etc. (Andre 1984).

²⁰ The same can be said for water routes such as the Ashuanipi - Minaik^u - Petshissikupau - Mishta-shipu route, although they will never be recorded as archaeological resources. At certain times of the year, the Inn could virtually guarantee an encounter

Campsites

The existence at Ashuanipi of transportation sites dictates that campsites will also be present. The people who moved through, and occupied the region needed places to rest, work, and socialize. At Ashuanipi, all the sites grouped under this heading include structural evidence, thus implying an overnight stay. In a majority of cases, the structural evidence observed is associated with tent-living, such as poles, stove-supports, and hold-down rocks. In other cases, features such as cobble arrangements, pits, furniture, and cabins are present. In total sixteen “campsites” were recorded (Table 3-1), and fifteen of these are ethnographic sites.

Archaeological site: FcDm-01

This site is located in survey location KC-01 (Figure 3-1, 3-2), on the north side of the Kapitagas Channel, about half way between Ashuanipi Pass and the confluence with Riviere aux Esquimaux (Figure 5-11). The tent poles lying on the surface were heavily decayed and had partially eroded into the channel (Figure 5-12). Based on this, the site is assumed to pre-date 1960. The significant feature at this location is the high ridge that juts into the Kapitagas Channel from the east, just to the north of the site location, to create the narrowest spot on the entire channel. There is a trail leading along the top of this ridge, down the slope, and into the channel marking what appears to be a natural fording location for animals²¹.

with other people, either camping or moving through the region. After all, this is why the Hudson’s Bay Company constructed posts at Petshissikupau and Uinukupau for example. The Hudson’s Bay Company knew that it was an important travel route and that this is where they would maximize their chance of encountering Innu, from the interior as well as the coast.

²¹ The ABH crew observed traces of adult and juvenile black bear, wolf, caribou, and ptarmigan/grouse prints on all the beaches surveyed in the channel, but did not observe any animals directly. Based on the conibear trap there must also be fur-



Figure 5-11: Ashuanipi survey location KC-01, showing locations of archaeological and ethnographic sites FcDm-01, 23B/08ethno1, and 23B/08ethno2. (Adapted from Apple 2012-2014)

bearing species such as martin and mink in the region. Moreover, a chance encounter with an Environment Canada officer on the Lake in 2006 identified that the northern region of the Kapitagas Channel, west of Grosse Ile, is a significant goose staging area, and that the Lac Joseph caribou heard were once more plentiful in the region.



Figure 5-12: Archaeological site FcDm-01, Kapitagas Channel. Decaying tent poles, next to eroding bank. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno2

23B/08ethno2 is located about halfway between FcDm-01 and procurement site 23B/08ethno1 (Figure 3-2, 5-11). The site is located at the confluence of a small brook and the Kapitagas Channel, and is marked by the presence of stove supports, tent poles, cut trees and branches, and a trail. The site is located on a broad terrace, sheltered by trees, back from the waters edge; and could be associated with the winter trapping that is evinced by the conibear trap and bait box (procurement site 23B/08ethno1) located just over 1 kilometre to the south west of this location. Two of the other three ethnographic campsites located in the Kapitagas Channel are on the same island as FcDn-01, the cemetery (Figure 3-2, 5-5).

Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno3

23B/08ethno3 is located on a high point of the island, north of FcDn-01, in survey location KC-02 (Figure 3-2, 5-5). Two tin tent stoves were observed at this location (Figure 5-13). One stove was located at the edge of a depression on a high point of the island, while the other had toppled down the steep bank, and was wedged against a tree. Both stoves are partially buried in the moss that blankets the forest floor. The depression is believed to be a stabilized deflation zone, which became vegetated and stabilized, at some point in the past. The association of the tent stove with the former sand dune is not considered an accident. The former dune has steep sides and is depressed upwards of 1 metre in some locations. These characteristics form a natural break against the wind, and provide a ready-made shelter in which to erect a tent, or, at the very least, a sheltered cache location that can easily be relocated.



Figure 5-13: Ethnographic site 23B/08Ethno3, Ashuanipi Pass. Tent stove in woods, next to overgrown sand dune, overlooking cemetery (FcDn-01). (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno4

This site is located at the western end of the same island, at the foot of an isthmus connecting a small head of land to the main body of the island (Figure 5-11). It is at the top of the bank, on a narrow terrace raised approximately 2 metres above the level of the lake water. It overlooks both of the coves formed by the isthmus and the head of land. It is a substantial campsite, where some effort has gone into clearing the tent site of trees and brush. In addition to the four corner tent pegs and the pile of sawed firewood that were left by the last inhabitants, there is also a substantial stone fireplace and bench at the site (Figure 5-14). This campsite stands out from others in the channel, through the effort that went into constructing the hearth/bench feature and clearing the tent site. With the level of investigation undertaken it has not been possible to verify that the location was used more than once, although that looks like the intent. Based on the lack of stove supports, or any other evidence of a heat source within the tent, and the exposed placement of the hearth at the edge of the terrace, away from the tent, it is presumed that 23B/08ethno4 was inhabited during warm weather. If this assumption is accepted, and correlated with the description of 23B/08ethno3 occurring in a sheltered location on a high point of land, the proposal that the site was occupied during winter seems reasonable. Individuals who stopped at this island to visit the cemetery may have occupied these two campsites. It appears that the three sites overlap in occupation range, and that the campsites could not have been occupied in ignorance of the cemetery, due to its prominent location and cross. So, even if the



Figure 5-14: Ethnographic site 23B/08Ethno4, showing tent site (left), cut firewood (centre), and stone hearth and bench (right). Water just to right of image. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen).

association of season to each respective campsite is incorrect, the belief that 23B/08ethno3 and 23B/08ethno4 are indeed associated with the cemetery is compelling.

Ethnographic site: 23B/08ethno5

The third campsite recorded in survey location KC-02 is not located on the island, with the cemetery and the other two campsites. 23B/08ethno5 is located about 1 kilometre west of the cemetery, on the western shore of the Kapitagas Channel (Figure 3-2, 5-11). There is a subtle point at this location and a sand beach,

backed by a slope and a series of narrow terraces, along the eastern side of the same esker that forms part of the Riviere aux Esquimaux portage trail discussed above. At this location there are no less than seven tent-sites, extending from the beach up the side of the hill. The remaining stove supports and tent poles mark the locations of the various tents. Certain characteristics of this site are distinct from the other campsite locations discussed. First, it is clear that the location was occupied more than once in the last few decades. Weathered stove supports were recorded along the fringe of the beach, and had been overgrown by alders, while others were located in clearings, and appeared more recent. The most obvious distinction between this site and the others is in the effort put into the pre-departure clean-up. At most campsites around Ashuanipi, the garbage is cleared and the tent poles are removed from the ground and grouped together so that they can be easily found and reused in the future. At 23B/08ethno5 this is not the case. Garbage is spread across the site, and the tent poles are either still in place or strewn about on the ground. At one of the most recent campsites (likely occupied within the last ten years) the entire tent frame is still standing in place, although partially collapsed, and the canvas covering for the frame is buried in the sandy beach that fronts the location. The stove supports associated with this tent are different as well. Rather than being notched to create little shelves for the tent stove to balance on, these stove supports have wood-screws twisted into their tops, to brace the tent stove in place (Figure 5-15).



Figure 5-15: Ethnographic site 23B/08Ethno5, showing stove support with metal screws. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Considering these characteristics together, it is possible to reach the conclusion that this location was used at least twice, by groups of two or more tents, over the course of the last twenty or thirty years. Evidently, the most recent inhabitants did not follow the same abandonment process that had been followed by the earlier inhabitants at this same location, or the other campsites encountered at the Kapitagas Channel. The reason for this is not known; perhaps the site had to be abandoned quickly, or the protocol was not transmitted between generations? The question of whether or not these tent sites are related to the cemetery, or some other purpose, such as the spring goose hunt, winter trapping, or an attempt to traverse the Mishta-shipu (MR) route to the North Shore also remains unanswered.

Ethnographic site: 23B/09ethno1

Outside of the Kapitagas Channel, on the main body of Ashuanipi, eleven ethnographic campsites were recorded, in five separate survey locations (Figures 3-1, 3-2). The first sites north of the Kapitagas Channel and Ashuanipi Pass are located in survey location Ash-13 (Figure 3-2, 5-16), along the east side of what Ed Montague called “the snake” (Figure 1-3); a 16 kilometre long esker that was formed as the glaciers in the interior of the Peninsula melted. Needless to say, “the snake” is a prominent geographic feature in the lake, which acts as a guidepost when taking directions for travel between the northern and southern bodies of Ashuanipi. Site 23B/09ethno1 is located 5 kilometres north of Ashuanipi Pass, on the western shore of a narrow channel between “the snake” and an island. As a result of erosional downcutting between the island and the esker, the channel is very deep, and is good



Figure 5-16: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-13, showing locations of sites 23B/09ethno1 and 23B/09ethno2, and the areas surveyed. (Adapted from Apple 2012-2014)

fish habitat. The two tent-sites at this location are located in a clearing on the narrow, forested, gravel bar that runs along the eastern side of the esker at this location. The older of the two tent locations is marked by stove supports, and is partially overgrown now. The more recent location is pictured in Figure 5-17; based on the condition of the tarp, the cloth, and the poles and stakes, the tent is believed to have been located here within the last decade, like the most recent tent set-up at 23B/08ethno5. Other points of comparison between these two recent tent-sites include the garbage left behind, and the partially standing tent frame. In other words, the most recent tent site at 23B/09ethno1 also lacks evidence of the abandonment actions that were used at Ashuanipi earlier in the 20th century.



Figure 5-17: Ethnographic site 23B/09Ethno1, Ashuanipi. Showing collapsed tent frame, and large flat stone (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Other signs of cultural activity at the site include a large, flat, platform or anvil stone, and evidence of stripping birch bark from trees (Figure 5-17). North of this location about 1300 metres, is 23B/09ethno2 (Figure 5-16). It is positioned near the eastern edge of a large head of land that juts into Ashuanipi from the east side of “the snake”. This terrace is raised more than 2 metres above the lake level; it has a gentle slope to the west, where it forms a small cove with “the snake”. Mimicking the characteristics found at other procurement sites, a beach and bog line the inner edge of the cove. The cultural features present at the campsite include tent poles and stakes, a table and metal debris, a circular cobble feature, and a pit. Although they certainly date within the last three decades the pit and circular cobble feature are not unlike those found on much older sites (Neilsen 2006, 2015). The presence of these features, and the lack of stove supports in association with the tent site, indicate that this is a summer encampment. Also, in contrast to the transforming practices observed at the two recent campsites discussed above, the use of a pit for storage, or cooking, is a technique that has been practiced on the Peninsula for many millennia (see Stopp 2002b). This contrast, between preserved and transformed Innu cultural practices in the modern period, encourages the belief that hunter-gatherer culture encompasses transformation, as well as continuity, simultaneously, even during times of stress – Innu culture exists at multiple scales, and is complex.

Ethnographic sites: 23B/09ethno3, 23B/09ethno4, 23B/09ethno5, and 23B/9ethno7

Grande Ile is another prominent landscape feature at Ashuanipi. The island is 16 kilometres long, and almost 4 kilometres at its widest point. The northern half, where procurement site FeDn-02 is located on the tip, is mostly bog, and low lying. The southern portion, where five ethnographic campsites are located (Figure 5-18), is generally dryer, and includes two high hills. Campsites 23B/09ethno3 and 23B/09ethno4 are located about 200 metres apart, on the west and east side of Pass de la Grande Ile, respectively. 23B/09ethno3 is located in the alders, adjacent to a sandy point. Two small clearings are present here. A single cobble hearth is visible in each clearing. These appear recent, although they are beginning to become buried in sand, and overgrown. The pedestrian survey and four test pits executed at this location did not identify any artifacts.

23B/09ethno4 is a clearing in the forest, on the south side of Point de Sable. This location is elevated higher above the current lake level than the site on the west side of the Pass. No tent remains or features were observed at this location; designation as a campsite is based on information provided by gentlemen from Uashau, who were met here in 2006, during the survey. They also said that the sites on both sides of the pass were associated with fishing, which is evidently quite good in the deep channel along the southern side of Pointe de Sable. Besides observing the tent clearings on both sides of the pass, a walkover and shovel testing of the adjacent forest terrain was performed. No other resources were identified.

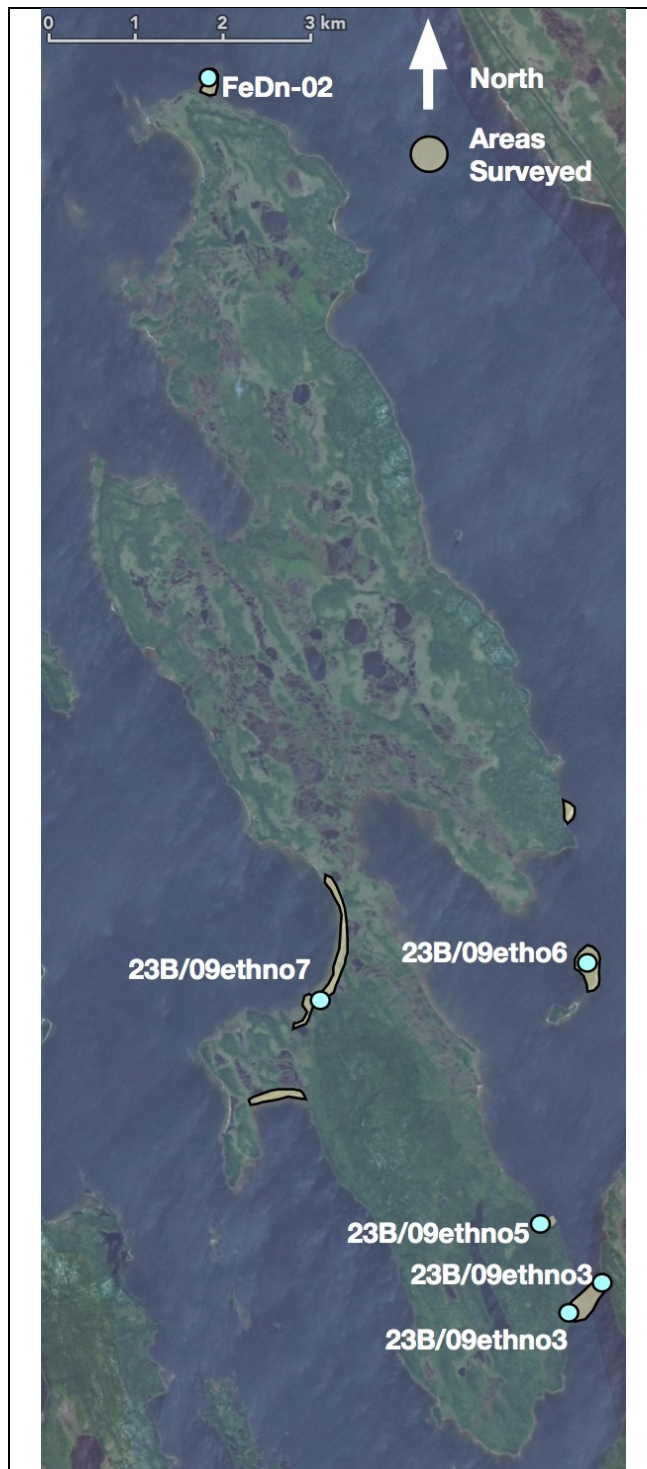


Figure 5-18: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-14, showing location of 23B/09ethno3, 23B/09ethno4, 23B/09ethno5, 23B/09ethno6, FeDn-02, and the areas surveyed. (Adapted from Apple 2012-2014)

Ethnographic campsite 23B/09ethno5 is also associated with Passe de la Grande Ile; positioned in a small clearing at the forest edge on an elevated point of land, approximately 700 m north of 23B/09ethno3 (Figure 5-18). The stove supports and tent poles left at this location are heavily weathered, and appear older than those observed at the Passe, or along “the snake”. 23B/09ethno6 is located 3 kilometres due north of 23B/09ethno5, on the eastern side of a small island (Figure 5-18). The island is forested with mature trees, and while the canopy is closed, the understory is quite open. In addition to being used as a dumpsite in the last decade or two, there are stove supports and tent poles present.

The last ethnographic campsite recorded in association with Grand Ile is 23B/09ethno7 (Figure 5-18). Like the others, it is a tent site. The location is on the west side of the island, set back in the woods from a large sandy beach. The forest here consists of mature trees and the understory is open. The location is sheltered from the wind and precipitation. Cultural resources at the location include stove supports and tent poles. With the exception of archaeological site FeDn-02, no other cultural sites were recorded on Grande Ile. This does not mean that no more are present. For example, there are reports of excellent berry picking in vicinity of the outfitting camps located on the island, 2 kilometres north of 23B/09ethno6; as well, there is a location marked “Batture de Foin” on the 1:50,000 National Topographic Series mapping for the location, which could relate to a location for harvesting grasses. No resources were identified during a walkover of the beach; however, the gentlemen encountered did indicate that Innu used to meet there to pick berries.

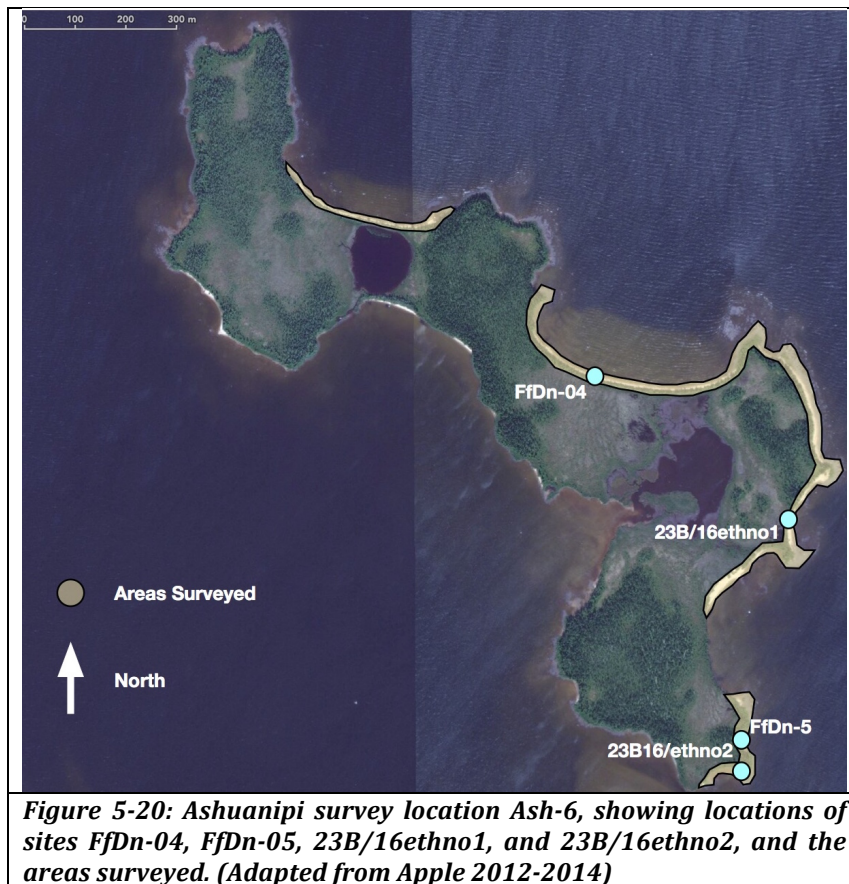


Figure 5-19: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-19, showing location of ethnographic site 23B/09ethno4, and the area surveyed. (Adapted from Apple 2012-2014)

23B/16ethno4 is located to the west of Grande Ile (Figure 5-19), in a setting similar to multicomponent site FeDn-01, presented below. The site is set in a broad sandy cove, in a mossy clearing on an otherwise forested terrace, near the end of a long point of land. Features at the site include a recent cobble heating feature, weathered stove supports, and the clearing. The apparent difference in age, between the stove supports and the more recent cobble heating feature imply that this location has been inhabited more than once in the last two or three decades. Based on the features observed, and comparable landscape characteristics to FeDn-01, test pits were dug in the clearing and adjacent to it on the terrace, to see if buried resources were present – none were found.

Ethnographic sites: 23B/16ethno3, 23B/16ethno2, and 23B/16ethno1

The setting associated with 23B/16ethno3 is reminiscent of the procurement site locations on the small island immediately southeast of its location (Figure 3-2). The difference at 23B/16ethno3 is that the site is not located on the beach itself, but in the adjacent treeline. A short, narrow, path leads from the beach, through a break in the trees, into a small clearing with tent poles and stove supports. The ground there is moss covered, hummocky, and wet. This is likely a winter campsite. Two other ethnographic campsites are located near here, on the small island referenced at the opening of the paragraph (Figure 5-20). Both of these sites are located in the forested area between the sandy beach that skirts the island, and the bog that is located at its centre. These are both tent sites; 23B/16ethno1 is located at the transition from the beach to the forested terrace. Half of the site is eroded away; the



hold down rocks from one side and the rear corner stakes and tent poles remain (Figure 5-21). The cultural debris remaining at this location dates to the early 1980s. Site 23B/16ethno2 is located on the same side of the island, about 400 metres to the south; no more than 100 metres from the location of procurement site FfDn-05. This site includes the remains of a wooden tripod, stove supports, and tent poles (Figure 5-22). Given their proximity, it is tempting to think that procurement site FfDn-05 and campsite 23B/16ethno2 are coeval, but this seems unlikely. As noted above, FfDn-05 is thought to date to either the late 19th or the early 20th century. The tent remains at 23B/16ethno2 are not that old, as evinced by the collapsed tripod at the site and the intact rope that continues to hold the three legs together.



Figure 5-21: Ethnographic site 23B/16Ethno1, Ashuanipi, Note erosion along east side of site. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)



Figure 5-22: Ethnographic site 23B/16Ethno2, Ashuanipi. Collapsed Tripod, with stove supports and tent poles. View south, to location of multi-component site FeDn-01 (the point of land in top left of frame). (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Unknown Sites

Three sites were recorded during the ABH survey, for which there is not enough information to make even a preliminary determination as to the type of activity undertaken at the location; this means that the site cannot be classified, except to say that it is “unknown”. These sites are: FfDn-06, FeDm-01, and 23B/16ethno6 (Figure 3-2).

Archaeological Site: FeDm-01 and Ethnographic site: 23B/16ethno6

These sites are both located on the north side of the Riviere a la Fringue - Ashuanipi confluence (Figure 5-23). FeDm-01, where one chert flake (FeDm-01:1) was recovered, is located in a large sand dune or pit, raised 3 to 5 metres above the water level of lake and river. The tracks for the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway run along the eastern side of this location, and there are two modern cabins, between the vegetated sand and the tracks. From the field assessment it appears that railway construction stripped the vegetation from this location and used the sand as fill over the culverts placed at the watercourse crossing. If this is correct, there may have been a larger site here in the past, the remains of which may be located in the fill beneath the railway bridge. The setting at 23B/16ethno6 could be a proxy for the FeDm-01 setting prior to the construction disturbance. This site is located 1100 metres north of the river-lake confluence. The terrain between the large sandy area and the site includes a series of vegetated depression zones and dunes, overgrown by alders, willow and spruce. The site itself consists of two



Figure 5-23: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-20, showing location of sites FeDm-01, 23B/16ethno5, 23B/16ethno6, and area surveyed. (Adapted from 2012-1014)

clearings near the fringe of the forest and the beach, with a trail leading to the nearby railway tracks. No other resources were observed here. These may be tent or hunting blind locations, but there is no data on hand to confirm this. One clue to understanding all three sites further, may come from the name of the river – Riviere a la Fringue. Today, the term fringue typically refers to clothing, as in “boutique de fringue” (i.e. clothing store); however, “fringue” could also refer to a place for drying

and preparing skin, for making clothes. Either way, use of the word here may indicate that this river is, or leads to, a location well suited for drying or providing “skin”, for clothing. One point to note with this suggestion, Kaukuepatinakau (Figure 1-1, 1-2) – the calving ground of the Lac Joseph caribou herd – is only 40 kilometres east of the river’s headwater, Lac a la Fringue.

Archaeological site: FfDn06

Four stone tool fragments were recovered amongst the river cobbles along the southern shore of Rousseau Jourdain (FfDn-06:1, 2, 3), in survey location Ash-15 (Figure 5-24). Significantly, two of the specimens are bifacial (FfDn-06: 3, 4) and fit together to form a complete specimen (Figure 5-25). Despite being complete, the specimen is not particularly diagnostic; it does not tell much about its function, or age. There is a similarly shaped specimen on display at the Gateway Museum in Labrador City, which was recovered by Denton and McCaffrey, during their survey of Minaik^u, in the 1980s. Both specimens appear to be made out of chert from the Labrador Trough. It also appears that they were intended to be shaped further over their lifetime, and that they were also used in this form – perhaps as a plane, or for some other wood working activity. While the FfDn-06 specimen was recovered from the cobble shoreline along the brook the few test pits dug in the forest on top of the bank – which was vegetated in spruce and thick sphagnum – did not identify any buried resources. It is possible that this item was dropped, or left, brook-side.



Figure 5-24: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-15, showing location of site FfDn-06, areas surveyed, and area tested. (Adapted from Apple 2-12-2014)



Figure 5-25: Biface recovered at archaeological site FfDn-06; two piece refit. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Multicomponent Sites

The remaining seven heritage sites recorded during the survey of Ashuanipi are all archaeological sites. All of the sites contain modern ethnographic components; however, they also contain evidence of older occupation and use, which predates 1960 by a millennium or more, in some cases. Excavation was undertaken at four of these sites (FfDn-01, FfDn-07, FfDn-09, and FeDn-01), which were believed to offer the best opportunities to inspect the long-term history of Ashuanipi. The other three sites (FfDn-03, FeDm-01, and FfDn-10) were investigated using the same techniques as the procurement, transportation, campsite, and unknown sites previously discussed; i.e. a combination of walkover and test pitting. These sites all contain evidence for at least two occupations, both before and after 1960. These sites will be discussed first.

Archaeological site: FfDn-10

FfDn-10 is located at the northern limit of Ashuanipi, at the entrance to Ferguson Bay, and the lake outlet (Figure 3-2, 5-26). It is located across the lake from the multi-component site FfDn-01. There are bedrock outcrops here, and the location is elevated about 5 metres above the lake level. Cultural resources identified at FfDn-10 include a modern cabin and related facilities such as trails, sheds, a dock, etc. and the footprint of an earlier structure. The modern cabin is set back from the lakeshore 50 metres, or more, and is used regularly by the owner, whose main home is in the community of Wabush, 43 kilometres to the west. In front of this cabin, and

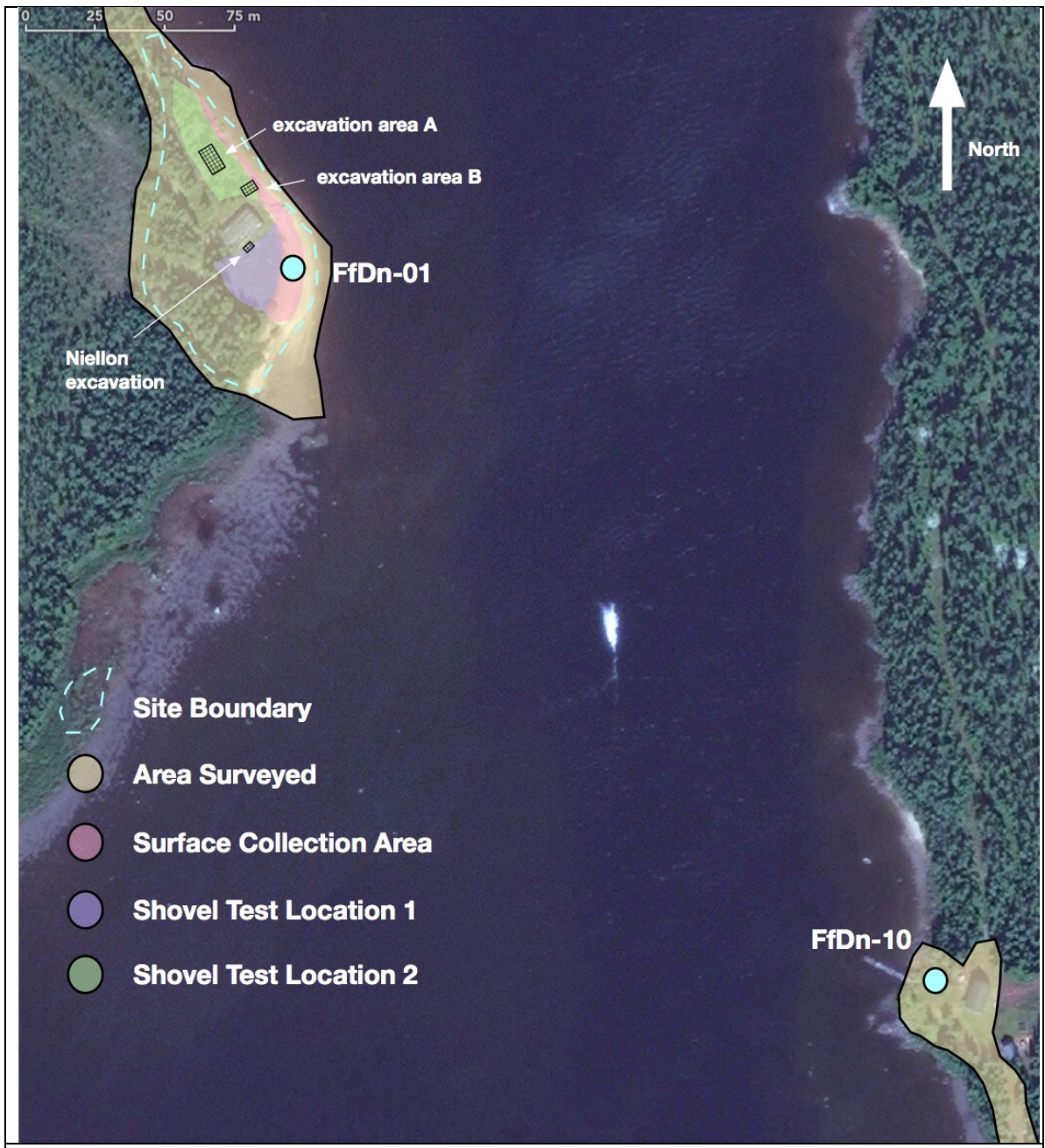
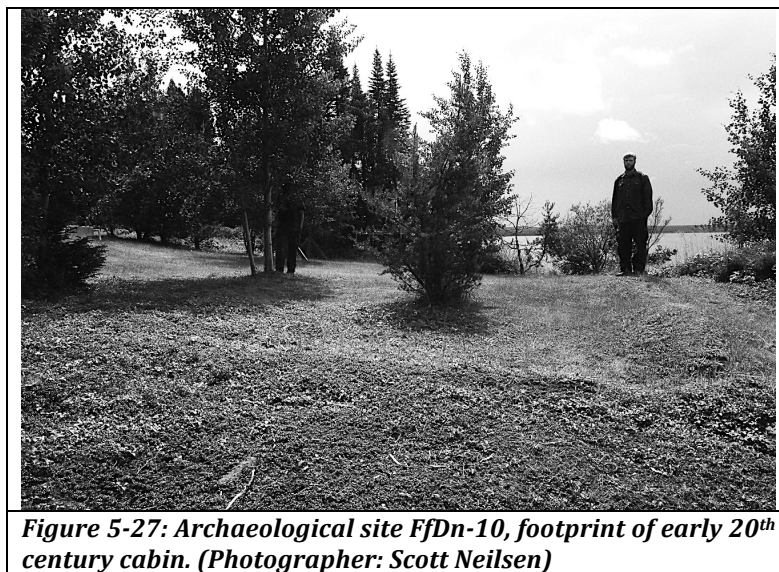


Figure 5-26: Showing Ashuanipi survey location Ash-24, a portion of Ash-1, and archaeology sites FfDn-10 and FfDn-1. (Adapted from Apple 2-12-2014)

within 10 m of the steep slope to the water, is the footprint of the earlier structure (Figure 5-27). According to the owners of the modern cabin, the former structure was built and inhabited by Kumis Pinette, and his family. This assertion was supported in a conversation with the individuals from Uashau encountered near Grande Ile. Kumis's family has ties to the North Shore and Uashau, and has spent much time in Labrador. In the first half of the 20th century the Pinette family had beaver trapping rights at Ashuanipi, from the Quebec and Canadian Governments (Harper 1958)²². When the naturalist Francis Harper was in this region in the 1950s, he met Kumis and his family, and photographed them at one of their summer tent sites, north of this location, on Ashuanipiu-shipu (Harper 1958, 1961, and 1964). Further investigations at this site would likely identify artifacts and features; discussions with the descendent family of Kumis would also reveal information regarding the history of this site.



²² In the early part of the 20th century beaver populations along the Quebec north shore were low. In order to maintain their participation within the fur trade the Innu who resided along the Quebec North Shore were extended trapping rights in Labrador (Lavoie and Gelina 2012; O'Reilly 2010).

Archaeological site: FfDn-03

FfDn-03 is located in survey location Ash-5, on the west side of Ashuanipi, 8 kilometres south of FfDn-10 (Figure 3-1, 3-2, 5-28). This site includes ethnographic and archaeological resources. There are three different ethnographic components located on the point of land, at this location. The most unique component, in terms of what has been recorded during the Ashuanipi survey, is a cobble hunting blind, which is constructed on the rocky point, Point de Cailloux (Figure 5-29). There is no indication how old this blind is, or who constructed it. However, given that there are two ethnographic tent sites located in the forest, not far away, an age post-1960 is expected. The first tent site is located into the woods, no more than 30 metres west of the hunting blind. The cultural items present include stove supports, tent poles, two duffle bags, and a hand-made wooden bench. The tent was placed next to a large boulder, which shelters the tent location from the water. From the bench, it is possible to see the hunting blind, as well as the lake. The second tent site is located on the western side of the point, facing south. It is located in a clearing not much bigger than the tent would have been. The only cultural items present at this location are tent poles. Given the association between the tent site and the hunting blind on the east side of the point, and the presence of stove supports, this component is expected to relate to either spring or fall migratory bird hunting. The third component at FfDn-03 is located to the west of the forested point, on the sandy beach and in the alder fringe that separates the beach from the neighbouring wetland. The setting and assemblage at this component match the procurement sites



Figure 5-28: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-5, showing location of site components at FfDn-03. (Adapted from Apple 2-12-2014)



Figure 5-29: Archaeological site FfDn-03, cobble hunting blind, Pointe de Cailloux. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

recorded nearby at FfDn-02, FfDn-04 and FfDn-05. Three specimens were recovered from the beach surface (FfDn-03:1, 2, 4), and two were recovered from test pits dug in the alder fringe (FfDn-03:3); these include three flakes and one flake shatter, one of the flakes (FfDn-03:2) shows signs of use. No specific date can be assigned to these specimens, except to say that they are expected to pre-date 1960.

Archaeological site: FeDm-02

Archaeological site FeDm-02 is located in a broad sandy cove approximately 4 kilometres south of FeDm-01 (Figure 3-2, 5-30). Like other locations where stone debitage was recovered from the beach surface (e.g. FfDn-02, 04, and 05) the terrain at FeDm-02 consists of a broad, shallow cove, a long sand beach, an alder vegetated levee, ponds, and wetland. There is also a small channel connecting the pond and wetland to the lake. When the water is high, the lake floods the wetland. Signs of cultural activity here include a modern cabin, trails leading from the cabin to the railway tracks, a white, wooden cross, and one flake from a stone tool (FeDm-01:1). The cross is located on top of the eroding bank, near the point of land at the western extent of the beach. The levee where the cross is placed had eroded back, almost to the cross, at the time of the Ashuanipi survey. There were no signs of any cultural material near the cross whatsoever; and the assumption is that this cross is a memorial, rather than a grave marker. The small stone flake was surface collected to the east of the cross, near a break in the alders and levee. It was interesting to note that tools and furniture outside the cabin site had hand carved components, such as handles for the axe and hammer, and a bench. Like the other cabins on this part of

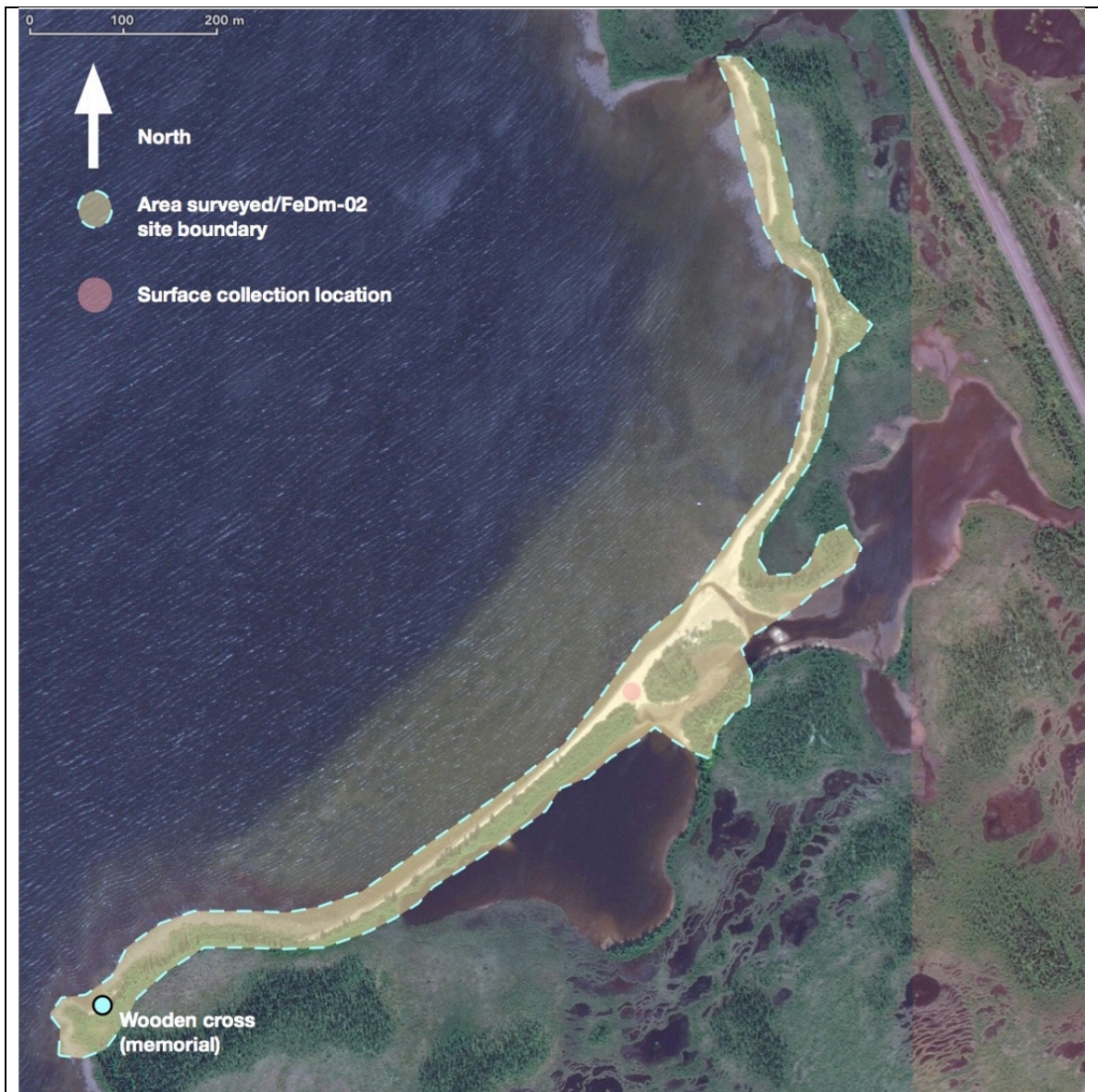


Figure 5-30: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-18, indicating boundaries of FeDm-02, and the location of two site components. (Adapted from Apple 2012-2014)

Ashuanipi, it was obvious that the owners are Innu families from the North Shore, and that they access the cabin by railway, rather than canoe and portage. Undoubtedly, discussions with these individuals would provide information on the meaning of the cross, as well as the pattern of land use.

The multicomponent sites discussed above do not provide much information through which to interpret the activities that occurred at each location, exactly when they occurred, or even their place within the overall arc of Ashuanipi history. They do however speak to the significance of certain locations as recurring places within the cultural history of the region. Whether or not the individuals using stone tools at FfDn-03 and FeDm-02 are direct ancestors of the individuals who have used these locations over the last few decades is not known. What is known is that they made choices that led to them inhabiting the same locations. At FfDn-10, it is known that the current occupants are not related to, and do not know, the previous inhabitants. Having said that, they do know that there were previous inhabitants of the location; they also know the story of these people (to some degree). The question is, did the fact that the location was previously occupied affect the current occupant's choice to build a cabin at this location, and does it affect their use of the location? Did the regulators have any knowledge of the archaeological resources at this location when the land grant was made? And, what, if any, impact did the present cabin and occupation have on the individuals who have direct family ties to this place and the archaeological resources present here, and still visit the lake from the North Shore, but no longer use this specific location? Not all of these questions are answered by this study directly, but they do deserve attention in future research projects.

Archaeological sites FfDn-01, FfDn-07, FfDn-09, and FeDn-01 are multicomponent sites, too. In addition to the shovel testing and walkover methods used elsewhere, excavation was also undertaken at these four sites during the

Ashuanipi survey. For this reason more detailed information is available on their occupation range and cultural and natural characteristics than the sites discussed previously.

Archaeological site: FfDn-9

This site is located on the west side of Ashuanipi (Figure 3-2), at a spot labelled Pointe de Sable on the National Topographic Series map (Figure 5-31). Although this location has boulders and cobbles present in the shallow water that fronts the site, the soil is primarily sand. Resembling the setting at many of the procurement sites, the location of FfDn-09 has a vantage over the lake and sandy beach, as well as an adjacent wetland. There are two obvious terraces separating the beach from the wetland. The lower terrace includes an erosional edge approximately 1 metre high, is 5 metres at its widest, and includes two clearings. The most southerly clearing harbours evidence indicating it was an ethnographic tent site, with the tent poles neatly leaning against a tree, and some cultural debris on the surface (e.g. shotgun shell). The more northerly clearing includes a large, recent, charcoal deposit. There is a gentle to steep rise of about 1 metre to the upper terrace. This terrace has an undulating surface, is more heavily forested than the lower terrace, and overlooks the neighbouring bog. Sixteen shovel tests were dug here, and lithic debitage was recovered from three of them. The shovel test that included the most debitage (n=18) was located in a small break in the forest cover; and was the target of the two-by-two metre test unit excavated here (Figure 5-32).



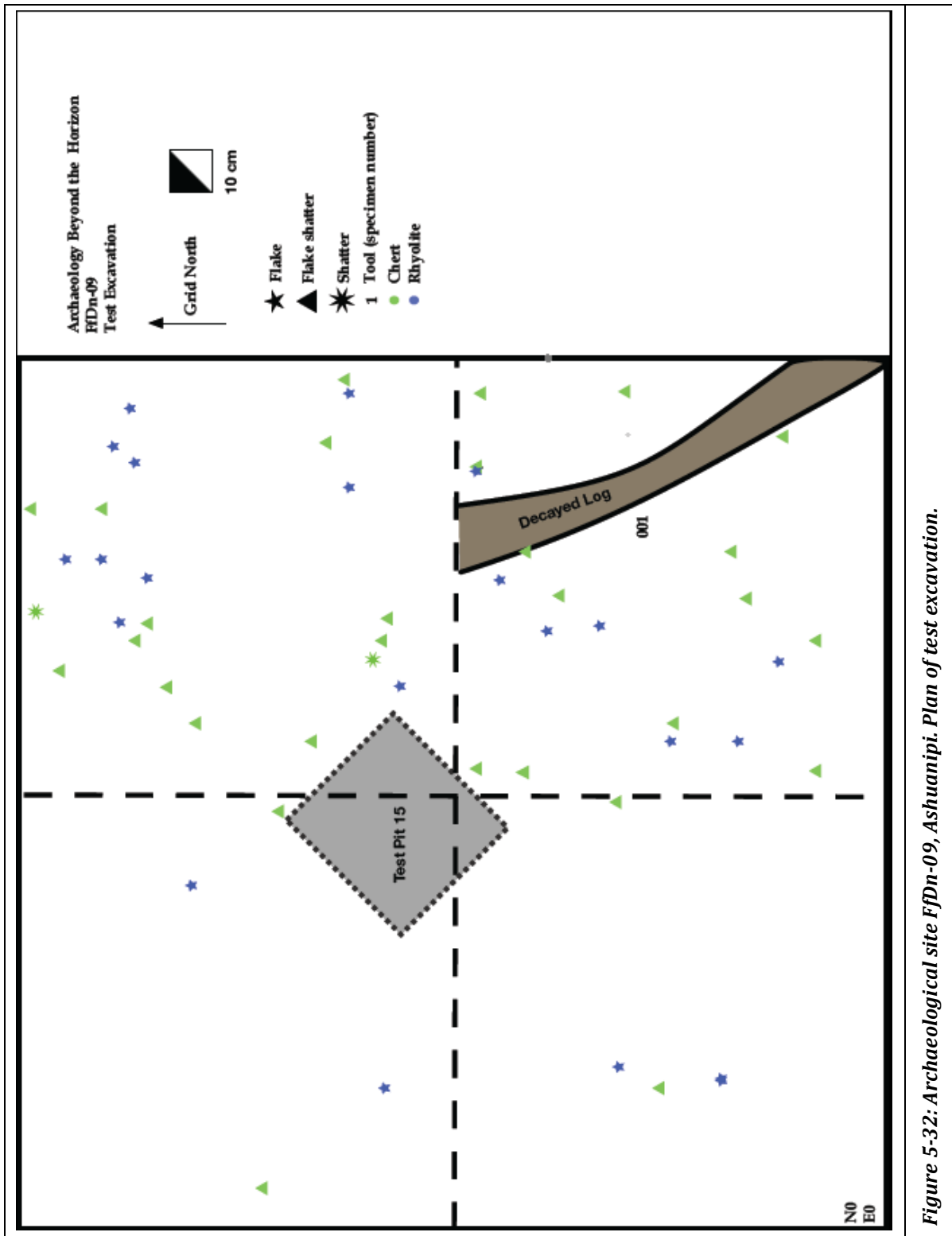


Figure 5-32: Archaeological site FfDn-09, Ashuanipi. Plan of test excavation.

In total, 102 stone specimens were recovered from the upper terrace (Appendix 1), but no diagnostic tools, features, or dateable samples were encountered. All of the specimens recovered resemble chert from the Labrador Trough, found at the confluence of Uepushkueshkau-shipu and Minaik^u. Of note in the FfDn-09 assemblage is the number of large, secondary, reduction flakes and flake shatter specimens (n=54) (Figure 5-33), in comparison to the tertiary finishing and sharpening specimens (n=12). This is highlighted, because the ratio of secondary to tertiary specimens is higher at this location than elsewhere. This may indicate that core reduction was the primary activity undertaken here, or that the excavation location was a core reduction station within a broader site. This is impossible to confirm with the limited investigations undertaken. It is also impossible to determine the age of this site, although it is expected to be older than the ethnographic component on the lower terrace. Like the procurement sites discussed previously, it appears that the associated wetland was one of the draws at this place. Having said that, the debitage size at FfDn-09, and the fact that it was buried rather than located on the beach distinguishes this site from the procurement sites previously discussed. In other words, there was more activity at FfDn-09 than just monitoring the wetland and sharpening tools. Additional excavation would shed light on the lithic reduction that occurred here, and help to better explain the relationship between this activity, any other activities undertaken here, and the landform itself.



Figure 5-33: Archaeological site FfDn-09, Ashuanipi. Sample of large, Labrador Trough chert secondary flakes, recovered during excavation. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen).

Archaeological site: FfDn-07

Archaeological site FfDn-07 is located on the eastern shore of Ashuanipi, 2 kilometres southeast of FfDn-09, in survey location Ash-16 (Figure 3-1, 3-2, 5-34). Visible cultural features at the site include large and small clearings, surficial and partially buried cobbles, stove supports, tent poles, and trails extending between the clearings and the beach. Shovel testing (n=37) and excavation (n=3m²) in these clearings found buried resources were also present, including manufactured items (n=13), stone tool fragments (n=9), stone debitage (n=500), and features.



Figure 5-34: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-16, showing location of FfDn-07 site boundaries, test locations, and survey area. (adapted from Apple 2014-2015)

Although not as prominent as some of the other locations, FfDn-07 is associated with a point of land. There are also small ponds and wetlands in the vicinity, but they are not visible from the site features. The beach at this location is unique compared to the other sites on Ashuanipi. It is predominately pea-gravel, not sand. There are virtually no boulders on the beach or in the water here, and the approach by boat is clear and easy. Like other sites there is a ridge, or ancient levee, backing the point, between the beach and the forest clearings where the cultural components are concentrated. The top of the levee is three or more metres above the water level at its highest point, and is vegetated with mature forest. In fact, this location harbours the largest spruce and fir trees observed during the survey of Ashuanipi. At least three trails – in various states of re-growth – lead from the beach, over the levee, to the clearings; which are located 10 to 15 metres to the east. Alders and willows have begun to encroach on all the clearings, to the point where some may be completely overgrown, and not apparent on the ground.

The investigations undertaken within and adjacent to the larger, more northerly clearing at FfDn-07 (Figure 5-34, 5-35) identified no less than four cultural components of different age ranges. This determination is based on artifacts and features visible on the surface, artifacts recovered within the test pits, the stratigraphic relationship of artifacts recovered within the test excavation, and one radiocarbon sample (Table 5-1). The most recent component, as evinced by debris lying on the surface (e.g. pop bottles), dates to the 1980s. Other surficial items present include two large tent poles and one set of stove supports. Based on their

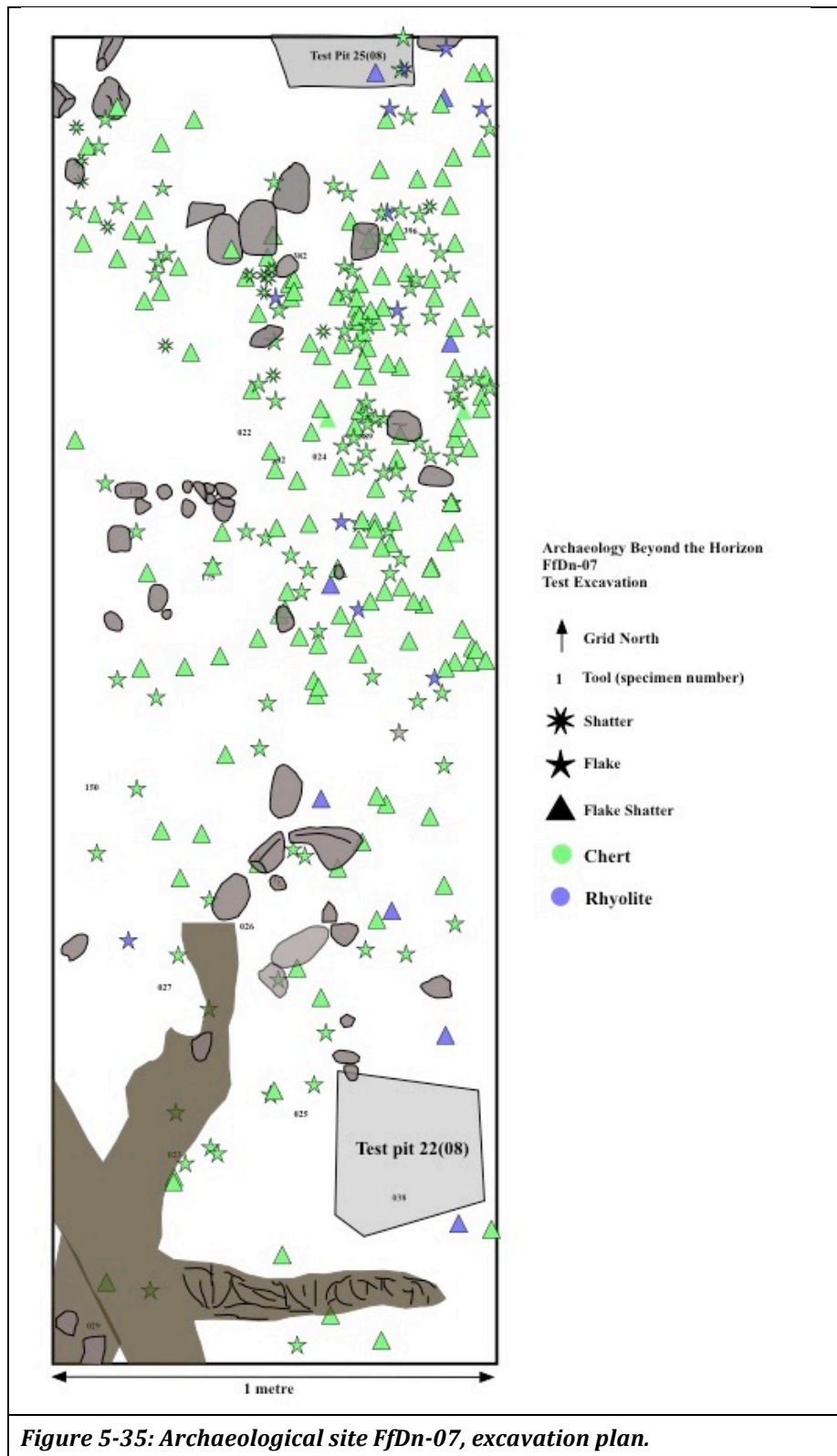


Figure 5-35: Archaeological site FfDn-07, excavation plan.

state of decay it is believed that these architectural items are two or three decades older than the 1980s evidence, and are likely associated with the mid-20th century artifacts recovered from some of the shovel-tests, including, a small piece of wool (FfDn-07:11), a .22 calibre bullet (FfDn-07:10), and the cap from a twelve gauge Dominion Canuck shot gun shell (FfDn-07:7) (Figure 5-36), which was manufactured between 1911 and 1955 (Steinhauer 2015). Seven wire nails were also recovered during the shovel testing (FfDn-07:13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). These artifacts came into production as early as AD 1855, and continue to be made today. Given this, they could be associated with either of the components discussed above, or they could represent another occupation of the location. Similarly, three machine-cut nails were also recovered in a shovel-test (FfDn-07:19, 20, 21) (Figure 5-36). These artifacts were manufactured between 1825 and 1830 (Cullen-Cobb 2009). They may represent another occupation of the location, however, given that nails do not degrade quickly, and that they can be curated and re-used, it is conceivable that their use at FfDn-07 overlaps with the wire-nails just mentioned. That all the nails were recovered from the same shovel-test may support this possibility, as well. If this is the case, it is unlikely that these artifacts are associated with the occupation that erected and used the stove supports and large tent poles.

In addition to the nine manufactured artifacts discussed above, 509 stone pieces were also recovered from FfDn-07, including flakes (n=187), flake shatter (n=258), shatter (n=55), bifaces (n=2), and utilized flakes (n=7). Thirty-five of these specimens were recovered from shovel-tests, while the remaining 474 are from



Figure 5-36: Archaeological site FfDn-07, Ashuanipi. Selection of manufactured artifacts recovered during shovel testing. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

three one-by-one metre excavation units. On their own, these specimens are not diagnostic of a particular time period. The two largest bifaces (FfDn-07:23, 23), which would often include diagnostic characteristics such as side or corner notches, are fractured and missing these portions. These missing portions may still be present at the site, as they were not recovered in the limited subsurface investigations undertaken for this study. The remaining stone tools are utilized flakes, and could be assigned to virtually any time period in the history of the Peninsula (Figure 5-37).



Figure 5-37: Archaeological site FfDn-07, Ashuanipi. Stone artifacts recovered during excavation. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Luckily, the test excavation did uncover burnt wood, charcoal, and fire-cracked rock within the same stratigraphic layer as many of the stone specimens. Radiocarbon analysis of this sample (Table 5-1 - Beta 25534) obtained results indicating a ninety-five percent probability that the tree died sometime between cal. AD 260 and 610, and a sixty-eight percent probability of a narrower range between cal. AD 290 and 550; indicating that the cultural remains within this stratigraphic layer are associated with an occupation of FfDn-07, which occurred at some point

between 1, 624 and 1, 464 years ago. Besides the stone debitage, charcoal, and fire-cracked-rock recovered, this cultural layer also included heated cobbles, heat-altered sand, and water-worn pebbles and small cobbles. These items are all clearly concentrated in the B-horizon of the boreal forest podsol that comprise the soil in the region (Josephs 2015), between 13 and 24 centimetres below the surface. These items represent the oldest component identified at FfDn-07, during the ABH survey. A close analysis of the stratigraphic relationship between all the stone artifacts recovered from the test excavation at FfDn-07, indicates that a small number of specimens are found at the interface of the A and B-Horizons, just a few centimetres above the artifacts and features described above. Of significance in this separation, is the presence of a layer of silt, one to 2 centimetres thick, at the interface of the A and B-horizons, over which these few stone artifacts are superimposed. Also sitting at the base of the A-horizon, on top of the layer of silt, were water-worn pebbles, and a log, which had been partially burnt. Together, these items are believed to represent a more recent occupation, separate from the one that left the artifacts and features recovered in the B-horizon. Samples of the wood were collected, but have not been radiocarbon dated, and the age of this occupation is not known. Like the component in the B-horizon, it may pre-date the arrival of European settlers to the Peninsula; however, as was mentioned previously, stone artifacts were also recovered from the test pits, along with the nails, and ammunition described above. Although stone tools continued to be used after the arrival of European settlers to the Peninsula, there is no evidence that this persisted beyond the early 20th century, and it is expected that

these specimens are associated with the mid-1800s occupation discussed above, or an as yet undated, earlier, occupation.

With the level of investigation undertaken it is not possible to understand much of the detail associated with the various occupations at FfDn-07. It is possible however, to make a few general statements based on the characteristics of the site, including the assemblage, which will play into the history of Ashuanipi and the Plateau highlighted in the conclusion of this study. First, the location, while it is not in a deep, sandy cove, as many of the procurement sites are, does share geographic characteristics with multicomponent sites FfDn-01 and FeDn-01 (both of which will be introduced in the coming pages). FfDn-07 is associated with a broad point of land and deep water, and is easily approachable by boat. Furthermore, being located on a point of land provides a lee shore that increases the likelihood of not getting wind-bound. This is an attractive location from the water and the large, tall trees catch the eye, even though the clearings are not visible from the water²³. Once landed, the trails leading from the beach to the remaining, and overgrown clearings are easily spotted. Unlike FeDn-01 and FfDn-01, FfDn-07 is removed from the beach/forest edge and is more highly elevated above the lake level. The stratigraphy shows that the site location does not flood regularly, and the location of the clearing is dry, despite the fact that there is wetland east of the site. The thin layer of silt observed at the interface of the A and B-horizon indicates that the location may have flooded

²³ According to wilderness canoeists Max Finkelstein and James Stone (2004: 149), "A winding line of even-aged spruce, usually older than the trees on either side, often indicates the location of an old trail".

at least once in the past. As described in the coming pages, flooding was also detected at FfDn-01 and FeDn-01.

The stone artifact assemblage at FfDn-07 is also notable. In this case it is not the form of the artifacts that are remarkable, rather, it is the material that they are made from. Of the 509 stone specimens recovered at FfDn-07, eighty-nine percent (n=453) are chert from the Labrador Trough. The closest known outcrops of this material are located 130 km north of FfDn-07, at the confluence of Uepushkueshkau-shipu and Minaik^u (Brake 2007; Denton and McCaffrey 1988; Neilsen 2009) (Figure 1-1, 1-2). The remaining fifty-six specimens are quartz (n=9), quartzite (n=2), rhyolite (n=38), and unknown (n=7). Although the exact source of these materials is unidentified, they are all known to occur in outcrop or cobble form, within the interior of the Peninsula (Arbour 2013; McCaffrey 2011; Stassinu-Stantec 2012). In other words, all the stone artifacts recovered during the excavation and shovel testing at FfDn-07 are made of rocks available in the interior of the Peninsula. On its own, and putting aside the possibility that the results of this study are not representative of the entire site, the fact that regional sources of suitable stone were used for making tools at Ashuanipi is not surprising (McCaffrey 2011). Nevertheless, between cal. AD 260 and 610, the period to which this component dates, First Nations people occupying the north coast of Labrador were refocusing efforts to access Ramah chert and incorporate it within their way-of-life (Loring 1992, 2002). Given the presumed association of Ramah chert with cultural beliefs and practices and/or trade and social networks (Loring 2002; McCaffrey 2011), its

absence at FfDn-07 and the strong reliance on regionally available stone for making flaked tools stands out, and leads one to wonder what the position was of the site occupants within the social network that saw Ramah chert spread along the eastern coast of the Peninsula.

Archaeological site: FfDn-01

Archaeological site FfDn-01 is also a multi-component site. It is located 6.5 kilometres north of FfDn-07, on the western bank of Ferguson Bay, in survey location Ash-01 (Figure 3-1, 3-2, 5-38). As noted in the previous chapter, Francoise Neillon first recorded FfDn-01 in the summer of 1991. At that time she identified the remains of an early 20th century log cabin, along with at least one stone artifact (Neillon 1992) (Chapter Four). Further investigations were undertaken in 2005 – as part of the feasibility assessment for this study (Neilsen 2006), in 2006 – as part of Jamie Brake’s master’s research (Brake 2007), and in 2008 – as part of the Ashuanipi survey program (Neilsen 2009). Shovel testing in 2005 (n=22) identified buried archaeological components at the northern edge of the clearing that marks this location (TL1), and into the adjacent woodland (TL2) (Neilsen 2006). Excavation was undertaken in the woodland in 2006 (Area A) (Brake 2007), and at the edge of the clearing in 2008 (Area B) (Neilsen 2009). Shovel testing (n=16) of the large clearing near the point was also undertaken in 2008 (TL1).



Figure 5-38: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-1, showing location of FfDn-01 site boundaries, test locations, surface collection, and areas surveyed. (Adapted from Apple 2014-2015)

Altogether, these investigations documented a series of no less than six discrete occupations spanning roughly the same time frame as FfDn-07 – between cal. AD 260 (Beta 226315) and the late 20th century (as represented by the log cabin that still stands at the location). The earliest of these occupations is dated by three charcoal samples collected in proximity to the linear hearth (Area A-Feature 2) buried in the woodland north of the clearing (see Brake 2007) (Table 5-1). Two of these samples were collected by Brake in 2006. Sample Beta 226313 – cal. AD 390 to 600 (two sigma calibrated result) – was collected directly from the feature, and sample Beta 226315 – cal. AD 260 to 290/cal. AD 320 to 540 (two sigma calibrated result) – was collected approximately 20 centimetres west of Area A-Feature 2 (Brake 2006). The third sample, Beta 213328 – cal. AD 560 to 670 (two sigma calibrated result), was recovered from a small test pit in 2005, which was located about 75 centimetres east of Area A-Feature 2 (Neilsen 2009). Based on the date ranges of these samples, three occupation scenarios are possible for the Feature 2 location. Scenario One: The charcoal deposits sampled may be the result of three discrete occupations, within the 410-year span between cal. AD 260 and 670. Scenario Two: The charcoal deposits sampled may suffer from an “old wood” problem (Schiffer 1986), and result from a single occupation. And, Scenario Three: Two of the sampled charcoal deposits may stem from the same occupation, while the third is discrete. With the data available it is not possible to determine which of these scenarios is “true”; however, by correlating the radiocarbon results with the

Feature 2 characteristics reported by Brake, and the test-pit results from 2005 it is possible to identify one scenario as more likely.

As reported by Brake (2007: 61-92), Feature 2 consisted of a linear arrangement of cobbles associated with charcoal, organic matter and artifacts. For the most part these items were recovered in a single layer, and some of the artifacts could be refitted to form complete specimens. In locations where artifacts, fire-cracked-rock, and small cobbles did overlie the foundation of Feature 2, there was no clear stratigraphic separation to indicate this was the result of reuse, rather than continued use of the feature over a period of hours or days. The heaviest artifact concentration was in the northern units, and it is apparent that Feature 2 extends beyond the northern excavation boundary. Samples Beta 226313 and 226315 were directly associated with this feature; they were in the same stratigraphic layer, and they overlap in their measured ages between cal. AD 390 and 540 (two sigma results) and cal. AD 420 to 430 (one sigma results) (Table 5-1). Based on the current evidence, there is no clear indication that Feature 2 was reused. If this is the case, samples Beta 226313 and 226315 are likely the result of a single occupation, and Scenario One is doubtful.

With Scenarios one eliminated , the question remains whether sample Beta 213328 dates the same occupation as the two samples recovered from Feature 2, or does it date a separate occupation of FfDn-01? This sample was collected from a shovel-test in 2005. TP1 measured approximately 30 centimetres square, and was located 50 centimetres east of Brake's excavation Area A, near the eroding lakeshore

(Figure 5-38). Besides charcoal, the shovel test yielded stone artifacts (Figure 5-39), and two feature cobbles; and the sand and cobbles appeared heated. Taking into account the one-metre-gap between Feature 2, the heated sand and cobbles in TP1, the reduced artifact concentration that occurs across this same space (119 specimens were recovered from TP1, while only eighty-nine specimens were recovered from excavation unit N3E4), and the gap between the Feature 2 and TP1 charcoal samples it is unlikely that the feature in TP1 and Feature 2 are the result of the same occupation, or that Scenario Two is accurate. This leaves Scenario Three; the three earliest radiocarbon dates from FfDn-01 isolate two discrete occupations. Feature 2, in Area A, is the earliest. The overlap between radiocarbon samples Beta 223613 and 223615 place this occupation at a point in time between cal. AD 390 and 540. The feature encountered in TP1, immediately east of Area A, represents the second occupation. Radiocarbon sample Beta 213328 places this at a point in time between cal. AD 560 and 670.



Figure 5-39: Archaeological site FfDn-01. Sample of stone specimens recovered from TP1, 2005. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

The conclusion that the feature present in TP1 postdates Area A-Feature 2 is based on the aerial separation of the two features, and an assumption that the radiocarbon date ranges are accurate. This contradicts Brake's suggestion that Area A-Feature 2 was "probably" used more than once, but it does not contradict his suggestion that "the variation in tool form amongst the few recovered curated specimens could be seen as evidence of multiple uses" (Brake 2007: 99). Specifically, Brake's correlation of the "stemmed point" to the time period between 2500 and 1500 BP, and the "concave based point" to the time period between 1500 and 1200 BP (Brake 2007: 99-101) fits within the radiocarbon date ranges presented for Feature 2 and TP1, respectively, and supports the conclusion of both projects, namely that the assemblage in the vicinity of Feature 2 is a palimpsest of two occupations, separated by a minimum of twenty years. This separation was not detected during the excavation, but it was obvious from the abundance of debitage in the three northern-most excavation units in Area A that this location saw more activity, possibly as a result of the two components overlapping. That almost all of the stone artifacts recovered in and around Feature 2 are made from the same stone makes it impossible to try and identify separate components from the type of stone used. On the other hand, the maintenance of tool stone procurement patterns and use implies that some relationship exists between the inhabitants of each component.

The subsequent occupation of the FfDn-01 location (according to the radiocarbon dates) occurred about 20 metres south of Area A, at the location of

shovel-test TP5S (Area B) (Figure 5-38). This test pit was dug by Brake in 2005 (Neilsen 2006), and reported in his master's thesis (Brake 2007). TP5S was located near the northern boundary of the clearing that marks the point on the western side of Ferguson Bay. It measured 1 metre by 1 metre, and contained part of a cobble feature (Feature 3), with charcoal, stone tools and debitage, and faunal remains. Only a portion of Feature 3 was uncovered in 2005 (Brake 2007: 180). The artifacts and a charcoal sample were collected and the test unit was backfilled. A conventional radiocarbon date on the wood charcoal (Beta 213329) returned a ninety-five percent probability that the feature was utilized at a point between cal. AD 790 and 1240. In 2008, eleven one metre square excavation units were excavated at the location of TP5S (Area B) (Figure 5-40). Feature 3 was completely excavated at this time, and additional artifacts and samples were recovered (Appendix A). An AMS radiocarbon date (Beta 255352) on wood charcoal from Feature 3 further refined the date range reported by Brake in 2007, and marked use of the feature at a point in time between cal. AD 1030 and 1220 (ninety-five percent probability) (Table 5-1). Correlated with the radiocarbon results from the northern portion of Area A, near Feature 2, it is clear that Feature 3 results from a third occupation of FfDn-01, discrete from those associated with Feature 2 and the TP1 feature (Figure 5-41).

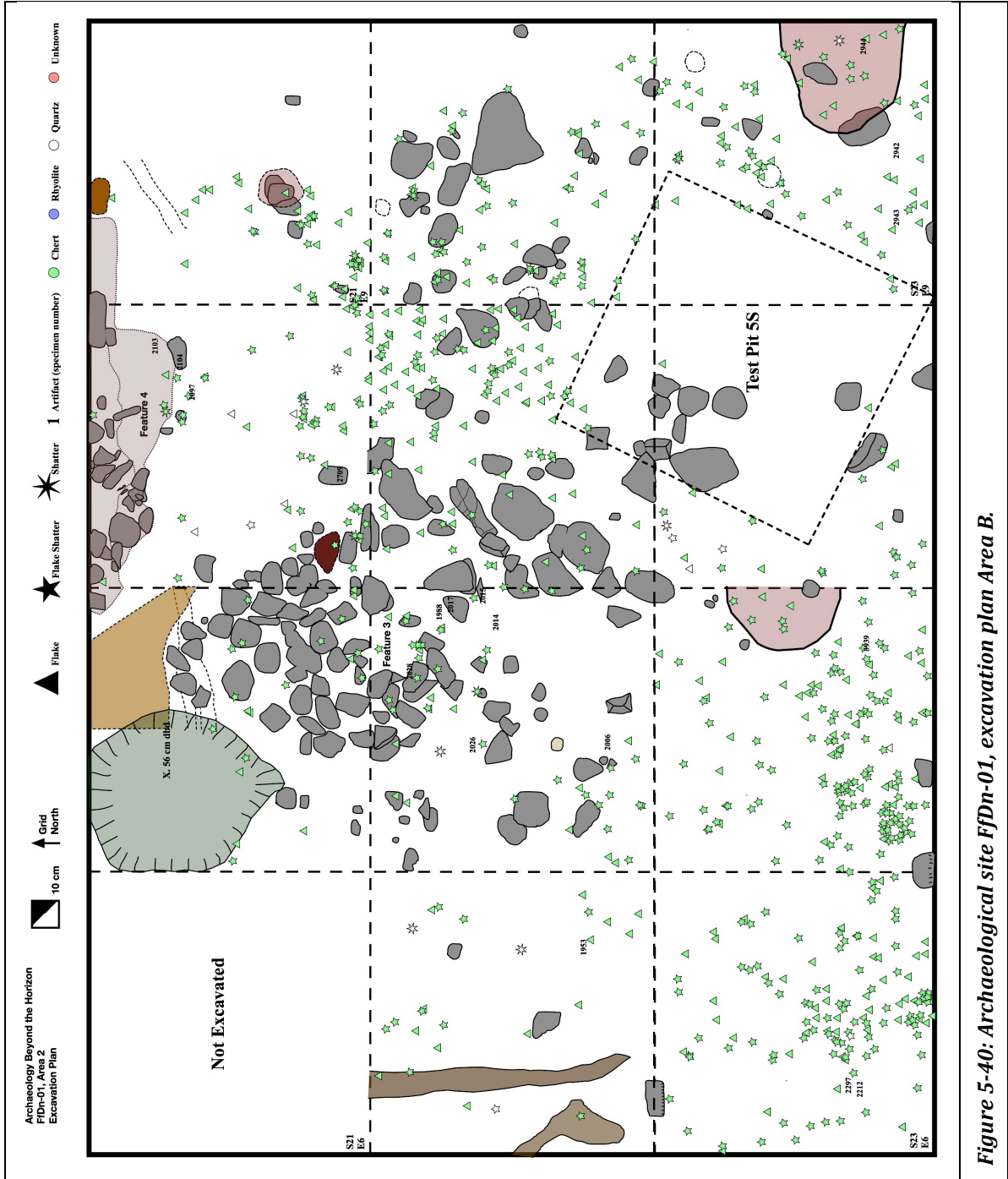


Figure 5-40: Archaeological site FFDn-01, excavation plan Area B.



Figure 5-41: Archaeological site FfDn-01, Area B. Showing portion of Feature 3 in foreground and Feature 5 in background. Inset of projectile point recovered just west of Feature 3. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

According to Brake (2007), the stone artifact assemblage from TP5S reinforced the belief that Feature 3 was the result of another occupation, separate from TP1 and Feature 2. The 2008 investigations, described below, likewise determined that characteristics of the artifact assemblage associated with Feature 3 correlate with the period of time isolated by the processed radiocarbon samples.

Ramah chert was recovered from Feature 3 in 2005 (n=2) and 2008 (n=3). It makes up less than one percent of the assemblage from Feature 3, but considering that it is absent from the other components at FfDn-01, the association with Feature

3 - at the same time Ramah chert use is increasing in assemblages along the coast (Loring 1992; 2002) – is noteworthy. Despite this, Ramah chert alone is not sufficient to determine the cultural history of an archaeological site. To do this, the Ramah chert debitage must correlate with other site characteristics, such as diagnostic artifacts, and radiocarbon dates. In this case, Feature 3 dates to a point between cal. AD 1030 and 1220, which corresponds with the escalation of Ramah chert use along the coast. This date also corresponds with the transition from dart to bow and arrow technology that occurred on the Island of Newfoundland (Erwin et al. 2005), over a few centuries on either side of the Norse occupation at L’Anse aux Meadows, ca. cal. AD 986-1022 (Nydal 1989). The proxy evidence for this transition involves the reduction in projectile point size, and the transition from side to corner-notches (Erwin et al. 2005). At FfDn-01, a small side-notched biface was recovered in association with Feature 3 (specimen FfDn-01:2939, Figure 5-41). This projectile point fits within the size and date range measured by Erwin et al. (2005), and is evidence that similar transformations concurred in the Peninsula, as they did in Newfoundland. The transition to smaller projectile points, and the Ramah chert usage reported for coastal Labrador, Newfoundland, and the Quebec North shore is also represented at FfDn-01, and coincides with the radiocarbon age of the wood charcoal recovered from Feature 3. This is an indication that the archaeological component associated with Feature 3 is discrete from the two earlier components identified in Area A, and that the inhabitants of FfDn-01 were not isolated from the wider subarctic world at this point in time.

With close to 500 years separating Feature 2 and Feature 3 it is useful to briefly compare the two components to identify points of correspondence and difference, and to contemplate whether these relate to the nature of each occupation, the influence of time, or both. Summarizing Brake (2007: 65), Feature 2 is a linear arrangement of beach cobbles. It is approximately 1 metre wide, and over 3 metres long (the entire feature was not excavated). Wood charcoal, chert and quartz debitage and tools, fire cracked rock, and small fragments of calcined bone were excavated in association with the cobbles (Brake 2007). Similar features elsewhere on the Peninsula are believed to be associated with long, multi- or extended-family living structures and/or with structures erected for ritual eating²⁴ (Denton 1983; Loring 1992). Feature 3 is a circular arrangement of cobbles, with a diameter of about 1 metre (Figure 5-40)(Neilsen 2009). It was excavated in association with heat-altered sand, wood charcoal, calcined bone (Brandy 2009), chert from the Labrador Trough, Ramah chert, and quartz tools and debitage (Appendix 1).

It is apparent from looking at the earliest occupations at FfDn-01, through the details of Feature 2 and Feature 3, and the other characteristics of these two components – including: site location, radiocarbon samples, tool style, and stone type - that some aspects of the archaeological record at FfDn-01 remained the same throughout the centuries separating the earliest occupations (e.g. site location and

²⁴ *Shaputuan* is an *Innu-aimun* word. It translates as “a long tent with two doors (one at each end)” (McKenzie and Junker 2013). Archaeologists working on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula often use linear hearths as proxy evidence for the presence of a shaputuan whether or not there is evidence of two “doors”. This is certainly possible but not a certainty, as other tent structures; such as *ushkuetshuap* (birch bark tent) or a *matutishanitsuap* (dome-shaped tent) could presumably be linear shapes, rather than oval or round.

knowledge and use of chert from the Labrador Trough), while others changed (e.g. biface style, and the use of Ramah chert). In some cases, it appears as though the observed traits result from differences in group make-up and activity (e.g. feature size), while in others they result from the influence of the wider social network in which the individuals participated (e.g. presence of Ramah chert). To what degree this interface continued to impact the inhabitants of FfDn-01 following the interruption in occupation that followed Feature 3 is likewise reflected in descriptions of the more recent cultural components at FfDn-01, provide below.

The remaining cultural components in Area A, at FfDn-01, which can be isolated from those associated with Feature 2, and TP1, post-date the arrival of Europeans on the coast of Labrador, and concur with the expansion of European, First Nation, and Inuit trade across the Peninsula; and the subsequent development of iron ore mining and infrastructure in Lab West. At FfDn-01 these components are marked by Feature 1, and manufactured artifacts (nails, glass, and beads) (Appendix 1). One conventional radiocarbon date (Beta 226314), from a sample recovered near Feature 1 in Area A (Brake 2007: 68-70) measured between cal. AD 1650 and today. Due to the limitations of radiocarbon dating, which works best on organic samples between 50, 000 and 500 years old, this measurement does not pinpoint Feature 1 in time; however, the date range returned does bracket the more recent components at FfDn-01, more or less. Fortunately, the artifacts recovered from Feature 1 were manufactured at specific points in time, and can help further refine the period of occupation for these components.

Feature 1 is a cobble formation, and was excavated by Brake in 2006. As he described, the feature was visible on the surface as a small mound, and included two distinct charcoal layers, manufactured artifacts, and stone debitage. As detailed in Brake's master's thesis (2007: 63-64), the artifacts were recovered from depths between 40 and 60 centimetres below datum, with the manufactured artifacts being concentrated between 40 and 55 centimetres below datum, and the stone debitage concentrated between 42 and 60 centimetres below datum. The base of Feature 1 sat on the same sandy soil as Feature 2, and included cobbles, fire cracked rock, chert debitage, and fragments of charcoal. This component was separated from those above by a distinct "charcoal lens" (level B1); and, it is assumed to be around the same age as Feature 2 or the feature in TP1, which are located less than 2 metres to the north (Brake 2007: 64). A separate "charcoal lens" (level A1) is located near the top of Feature 1, less than 10 centimetres below the ground surface, at the interface of the forest sod and the underlying sand. This lens and the sod above included charcoal, melted glass, pieces of fabric and leather, bullet casings, a glass button, small (blue) wound beads, and a minute amount of chert debitage. No one item can be used to assign a date to this component, but the glass button, the blue beads, the bullet casing, and the shallow depth of these items suggest that this component dates within the last century (Brake 2007: 106-109). Therefore, it may overlap with the Ferguson cabin that Neillon identified in the clearing less than 30 metres to the south, and/or the Pinette cabin that was located on the east side of Ferguson Bay (FfDn-10). Forming a cap and base for Feature 1, these components

sandwich a layer of coarse sand between lenses A1 and B1. This level is approximately 10 centimetres thick, and includes the remaining cultural material recovered from Feature 1. As reported by Brake, this included lead shot, a bone button, a square cut nail, a milk-white Prosser moulded bead, two shards of glass with flake characteristics, a snowshoe needle, and a variety of secondary and tertiary chert flakes. The manufactured artifacts within this group indicate that this component dates within the early to mid-1800s, which is between the dates proposed for the over- and underlying components, as one would expect.

Micromorphological investigations undertaken at the time of Brake's excavation of Feature 1 lend additional support to the chronology suggested by the recovered artifacts. This investigation collected a set of vertically contiguous soil samples that were prepared as thin sections and analysed by geoarchaeologist Richard Josephs (Brake 2007: 59-60; Josephs 2007). Josephs concluded that the sandy soil beneath layer B1, on top of which the base of Feature 1 sits, is a paleosol that was deposited and formed during the most recent deglaciation of the Peninsula. In contrast, the sandy soil above layer B1 – which contained the 19th century component – was found to be an orthic regosol that was deposited and formed more recently, as a result of temporarily high water levels (Josephs 2007, 2015). In addition to the support this provides for the chronology evinced by the artifacts and the general stratigraphy from Feature 1, the suggestion of higher water levels at Ashuanipi also provides an interesting clue to consider in the following discussion of the remaining Area B components, and the overall history of Ashuanipi.

Area B is located approximately 20 metres south of Area A (Figure 5-37); and was excavated as part of the Ashuanipi survey in 2008. Similar to Area A, archaeological work at this location identified evidence of multiple occupations, spanning centuries. The stratigraphy here is complex, and key to understanding the chronology of the various components and the history of occupation. The component associated with Feature 3 has already been described as the oldest component in Area B, with a radiocarbon date of cal. AD 1030 to 1220. It is buried below 20 to 25 centimetres of soil, and sits atop a thin organic lens, which appears discontinuously throughout the excavation profiles, undulating between 20 and 30 centimetres below the surface of the ground (Figure 5-42). At the location of Feature 3, this lens is associated with the cultural layer. It caps the paleosol, and is most likely the remains of vegetation that had formed prior to the Feature 3 occupation, but could also be vegetation placed here by the site inhabitants, as a ground cover.



Figure 5-42: Archaeological site FfDn-01, Area B, Ashuanipi. West profile of excavation unit S22E8, showing portion of Feature 3 in association with buried organic lens (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

Two additional cobble arrangements are located in the northeast corner of Area B. Looking at the stratigraphy and characteristics of these features it is believed they are related. Feature 4 is located at the northern limit of Area B. Averaging 10 centimetres below the surface, the feature sits within the A-horizon, at the interface of the modern sod layer and the underlying layer of grey, leached sand (Figure 5-43). It includes charcoal, fire-cracked rock, small cobbles, and a small amount of quartz debitage (n=6) (plastic fragments (n=9), a piece of fabric, and a mechanically sawed animal bone (Appendix 1) were also recovered here, but they were within the sod layer, 5 centimetres above the feature and the level 1-level 2 interface, and are thought to be associated with the modern component of the site. For a depth of 5 centimetres beneath the cobbles, the sand was heat stained. Within 30 centimetres of the north wall, the heat staining and charcoal spread the entire width of the excavation unit, despite the fact that only a few cobbles were present in the north-



Figure 5-43: Archaeological site FfDn-01, Area B, Ashuanipi. Excavation unit S21E8 with sod removed, showing Feature 4 lying on top of leached sand. Note gaps in feature, and heat stained sand in northeast quadrant. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

east quadrant. Feature 5 was located less than 1 metre southeast of Feature 4 (Figure 5-38). It was also 10 centimetres below the modern ground surface, and sat within the grey leached sand, at the interface of level 1 and level 2. The cobbles present were not tightly grouped, and the sand beneath them was not heat stained. Small flecks of charcoal and chert debitage were present. Considering the gap noted in the northeast quadrant of Feature 4, despite evidence that the location was thoroughly heated, and evidence that the cobbles in Feature 5 had been heated, but not at this exact location, it is conceivable that the Feature 5 cobbles were in Feature 4 at the time it was used, and then removed for some reason. Evidence for similar behaviour has been noted at a ca. 3000-year-old archaeological site in Sheshatshiu, Labrador (Nielsen 2015); and has also been recorded in ethnographies about the Innu, who used heated stones to boil water, make steam, and as a source of radiant heat (Bouchard 2004; Speck 1977).

Given the proximity of these features to the modern day surface, and the stratigraphic position just below modern items such as the plastic fragments, bobby pin, and fabric, the belief is that this is a relatively recent component, when compared to the age of Feature 3. However, because no diagnostic artifacts or scientific dates exist for Feature 4 or 5, it is not possible to know for certain. It is helpful to note, however, that a wound bead and lead shot were recovered at a similar depth to Features 4 and Feature 5, in two adjacent excavation units, and that these items and the features are at a similar depth below the modern surface as the recent component associated with charcoal layer A1 in Feature 1-Area A. Likewise,

the manufacturing timeframe of the wound beads and lead shot from Areas A and B overlap in time with the Ferguson cabin that Neillon located at FfDn-01 in 1991, immediately south of the log cabin that exists there today (Figures 5-26, 5-38), and which she identified as a seasonal trading post that operated during the 1920s and 1930s (Niellon 1992: 38). Given these correlations, it does not take much imagination to picture a component that included Innu camping at FfDn-01, in Areas A and B, at the same time Ferguson was occupying the seasonal post, in order to trade fur for items such as beads, fabric, ammunition, buttons, tea, and tobacco.

The last component that can be isolated at FfDn-01 is visible on the surface of the ground, and includes debris and disturbance associated with an existing log cabin and outbuildings, which are only a few metres southeast of the excavation area (Figures 5-26, 5-38). These structures have existed at this location since the 1970s, when the province of NL allocated the land to a settler family who resided in Labrador City²⁵. Items isolated within the sod layer that can be attributed to this component, include: plywood fragments and other woody debris, pieces of plastic, a bobby pin, a sneaker, fabric, a mechanically cut animal bone, modern nails and screws, rusty cans, and fragments of metal. When compared to the earlier components at FfDn-01 these recent items may not seem significant, yet this modern component is representative of a critical period in the history of this location, and the region, which saw important places such as FfDn-01 converted into recreational space for Canadian settlers, who were brought into the region to mine iron ore. For

²⁵ At the time of the grant NL regulators did not know the history of the location. It is worth pointing out that the *Heritage Resources Act*, which affords some protection to archaeological resources in NL, did not exist at the time of the grant, and if the application were submitted today it would likely not be approved.

this reason alone, these recent components are an important part of the Ashuanipi story and deserving of a place in this history (Chapter Six).

The only other work conducted at FfDn-01, included a total of 25, 40 centimetre-square-shovel-tests, and one one-metre-square shovel test, dug in the grassy clearing immediately south of the log cabin, in 2005 and 2008 (Figures 5-27, 5-38, 5-44). Although not as detailed as the excavations conducted in Area A and Area B, the shovel test results include noteworthy information on the FfDn-01 landform, which correlate with the results of Josephs' (2007) micromorphological investigation at Feature 1, and offer some further clues regarding the location's history of occupation. The first point of note is that no lithic artifacts or cobble features were recovered or identified in these shovel tests. In fact, the only cultural evidence dates to the 20th century, and include windowpane fragments, .22 calibre bullets, nails, and other manufactured items and debris (Appendix 1). The second point of note with these shovel tests is their stratigraphy. As apparent in Figure 5-44, the stratigraphy within the area shovel tested is not as complex as in Area A; beneath the sod, which includes grass-roots and sand, the A-horizon is just beginning to develop, and consists of a thin, organic-rich-lens and the beginning of a grey, leached layer. Given that the necessary conditions exist here, as they do in Area A and Area B, to support podosol development, the belief is that the alluvium overlying the paleosol in vicinity of the grassy-clearing at FfDn-01 has accumulated somewhat recently, and the podosol has not had enough time to develop completely.



Figure 5-44: archaeological site FfDn-01, stratigraphy in clearing south of Area B. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

If this is the case, it could help explain why the oldest components at FfDn-01, represented by Feature 2 and the feature in TP1, did not extend into Area A, and why no archaeological sites older than the last century were found in the grassy area south of the log cabin. In the broader context of Ashuanipi this scenario is not surprising. Evidence of seasonal flooding is known from the levees that mark the lakeshore, and from the thin layers of sand present in the A-horizon of excavation Area B, at FfDn-01. Evidence of more substantial flooding, or periods of inundation, is known from the orthic regosol Josephs (2007) identified in FfDn-01-Feature 1, and the comparable deposits overlying Feature 3, in FfDn-01-Area B. Geologically, these periods of inundation occur within the gaps between the Feature 2 and

Feature 1 components in Area A, and between the Feature 3 and Feature 4-5 components in Area B, FfDn-01. The trigger for these periods of inundation was not investigated at Ashuanipi; however, it is curious that reconstructions of annual precipitation rates for the Plateau identified precipitation peaks (Viau and Gajewski 2009), which appear to correlate with periods of deposition at FfDn-01 (Josephs 2007, 2015). Assuming these precipitation trends did impact water levels in Ashuanipi, it is possible that FfDn-01 was uninhabitable for periods of time, or not on the same schedule it was otherwise, and this contributed to the various periods of disuse noted in the FfDn-01 results.

Archaeological site: FeDn-01

Given the dynamic setting noted in the excavations at FfDn-01 it is reasonable to assume that locations elsewhere on Ashuanipi were also impacted, and should exhibit similar evidence. Archaeological site FeDn-01 is located in survey location Ash-11. It is 17 kilometres south of FfDn-01, at the southern tip of a peninsula cutting into the northward flow of Ashuanipi (Figures 3-2, 5-45). The landscape features here include similar elements to FfDn-01 – a sandy beach, a wetland, a forested terrace, and a grassy clearing – as well as a large levee. The complex stratigraphy beneath the grassy clearing at the western extent of FeDn-01, and the large levee running between that clearing and the forest terrace at the eastern extent of the site are evidence that this location has a complex history of sediment deposition and soil development, which is likely to have impacted occupation of the location over the last millennium, similar to FfDn-01.



Figure 5-45: Ashuanipi survey location Ash-11, Archaeological site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi. Showing locations of cultural components, and general site geography. Photo view northeast, from rocky beach adjacent to the excavation area (Adapted from Apple 2012-2014).

Fieldwork, including pedestrian survey, shovel testing and excavation, took place at FeDn-01 in 2005, 2006, and 2008 (Figure 5-45), and multiple cultural components spanning the last 1000 years were identified (Table 3-1, 5-1). Cultural features and artifacts are visible on the surface throughout most of the multicomponent site, and buried artifacts and features were identified in shovel tests (n=3) and excavation units (n=7m²) at the southern extent of the site. As with the other multicomponent sites, the majority of the analysis presented here is focused on the excavation area at the southern extent of the site, where multiple cultural components exist in a stratified relationship. Nevertheless, the other locations surveyed also warrant some attention.

These locations include the 300 metre long sand beach and levee that run almost the entire length of the site, as well as the forested terrace at the eastern extent of the beach (Figure 5-45). Looking at the terrace first, the characteristics are unique in contrast to the rest of the site geography. In 2005 and 2006 there was a log cabin here that looked to be about 30-years-old. Based on magazines within the cabin, it had not been used since 2001 or 2002. It was also clear from the magazine labels, and the names of people inscribed on the inside walls, that the cabin had been used by one of the Pinette families, from the North Shore. The forest surrounding the cabin was mostly cleared of trees at one time, but had begun to grow back in with hundreds of birch saplings, as a result of the location falling into disuse. The trails leading from the cabin to the beach on the western edge of the terrace and the tiny cove on the eastern edge were well used in the past, and are still visible today. One

shovel test placed to the south of the cabin, among a mature stand of birch trees, found the soil to be very compact gravel, with many roots at the surface. These birch dominated tree stands and the gravel soil are unique when compared to other site locations investigated at Ashuanipi. No evidence of cultural activity pre-dating the cabin was observed on the terrace, although one flake of chert from the Labrador Trough was recovered from the beach in the tiny cove, immediately east of the terrace. Upon returning to FeDn-01 in 2008, it was discovered that the log cabin had been dismantled, and the logs stacked at the same location. Who did this, and why, is not certain, although the Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador publically questioned the motives behind Innu cabin building in western Labrador that summer (CBC 2008), and it was reported that the Government issued eviction notices to Innu families from Quebec with cabins near Nairn Bay, Labrador the following spring (Seguin 2009).

The long sand beach at FeDn-01 connects the terrace discussed above to a smaller terrace at the western boundary of the site. Pedestrian surveys were conducted along the beach and the neighbouring levee in 2005, 2006, and 2008 and stone debitage was recovered each season (n=51). These specimens include a variety of visually distinct stone types. The Labrador Trough chert and Ramah chert (n=13) are from known sources, but other specimens are not familiar, and their sources are unknown (Figure 5-46). The rest of the cultural resources recovered from the beach and levee are more recent in age, but none-the-less interesting. A hand carved paddle was retrieved from the sand and alders at the back of the beach



Figure 5-46: archaeological site FeDn-01, a variety of stone debitage collected from the beach. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

levee. The effort involved in its construction brings to mind the hearth and bench recorded at ethnographic campsite 23B/8ethno4, on the Kapitagas Channel, as it seems that both features were designed to last for multiple years. This, along with the log cabin mentioned above, implies that the modern inhabitants used the location repeatedly. The setting for the platform is also similar to many of the procurement sites discussed earlier in this chapter. It was suggested that the levees, which divide the sand beaches from the wetlands at most of the procurement sites, act as natural hunting blinds, from the lakeside of which hunters can monitor the

wetlands for birds and other prey, without being seen. At FeDn-01, however, the levee is over six feet high at its crest, and has a moderately steep slope; consequently, a hunter cannot see the wetland from the beach. This platform provides a flat, stable surface for a hunter to position him or herself partway up the levee, making it possible to see and monitor the wetland.

Ethnographic and modern cultural resources, such as the platform and cabin described above, were not a major focus of this study at the outset. However, it became clear over the course of the fieldwork that these sites are important records of the cultural and social transformations that occurred across the Plateau in the last half of the 20th century, largely as a result of resource development. For the residents of Labrador, Quebec, and Newfoundland these are important aspects of the region's history, which should not be overlooked. Archaeologists, regulators, developers, and the public need to keep this in mind as the footprint of settler society continues to grow in the Plateau, and the potential for impacts to heritage resources and land-based activities increases. The significance of heritage resources to the people who interact with them rarely depends on their age alone (Norder 2012; Tilley 1994).

The remaining work undertaken at FeDn-01 took place in a small clearing at the western extent of the sand beach. This location is part of the levee that runs along the lakeshore, which has built up as a result of repeated flooding since deglaciation (Josephs 2015). At this location the levee turns toward the north to follow along the lakeshore; the top of the levee is wider at this bend than elsewhere,

and is a suitable size for setting up a tent. The perimeter of the terrace on the lakeshore side of the levee is overgrown with alders, willows, and spruce, and includes large boulders at the water edge. The backside is vegetated with mature boreal forest and slopes into low-lying bog, carpeted with moss. The cleared portion of the terrace measures approximately 25 metres square, and has a well-worn trail leading north from the beach, through the clearing, and along the top of the levee (Figures 5-45, 5-47). It was used heavily enough in the recent past that trees and shrubs have not overgrown the clearing or trail – yet, the deadfalls across the trail north of the clearing indicate it has not been used recently. It was immediately obvious upon first seeing the location in 2005 that it stood out from the surrounding landscape. A quick survey of the space identified “hold-down” rocks in the sod, and modern debris – a tent stove pipe, tent stakes, and a Coleman fuel can – lying against one of the mature spruce trees at the back of the clearing. A single shovel-test dug near the centre of the clearing uncovered the corner of a tent stove door, a tin can lid, and debitage from working with stone tools – in a stratified relationship.

The stratigraphy and artifacts detected in the shovel test dug near the centre of the clearing described above, and the results of the pedestrian survey on the beach and eastern terrace promised that further investigation of this location would identify stratified results to correlate with the results from FfDn-01. In total, seven square metres were excavated (Figure 5-48, 5-49). Due to the confined nature of the location, the components superimposed one another, and were not separated horizontally, like they were between Area A and Area B, at FfDn-01.



Figure 5-47: archaeological site FeDn-01, excavation area, with hold down rocks and trail visible. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

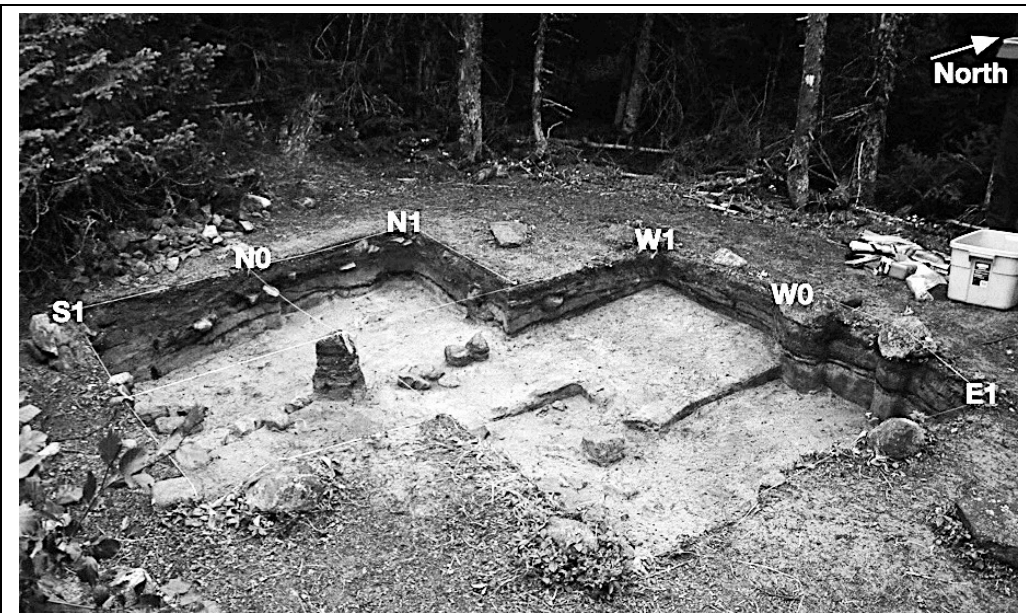


Figure 5-48: archaeological site FeDn-01, northwest view, excavation complete. Note north-south slope, with deeper deposits along southern margin/lakeshore. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

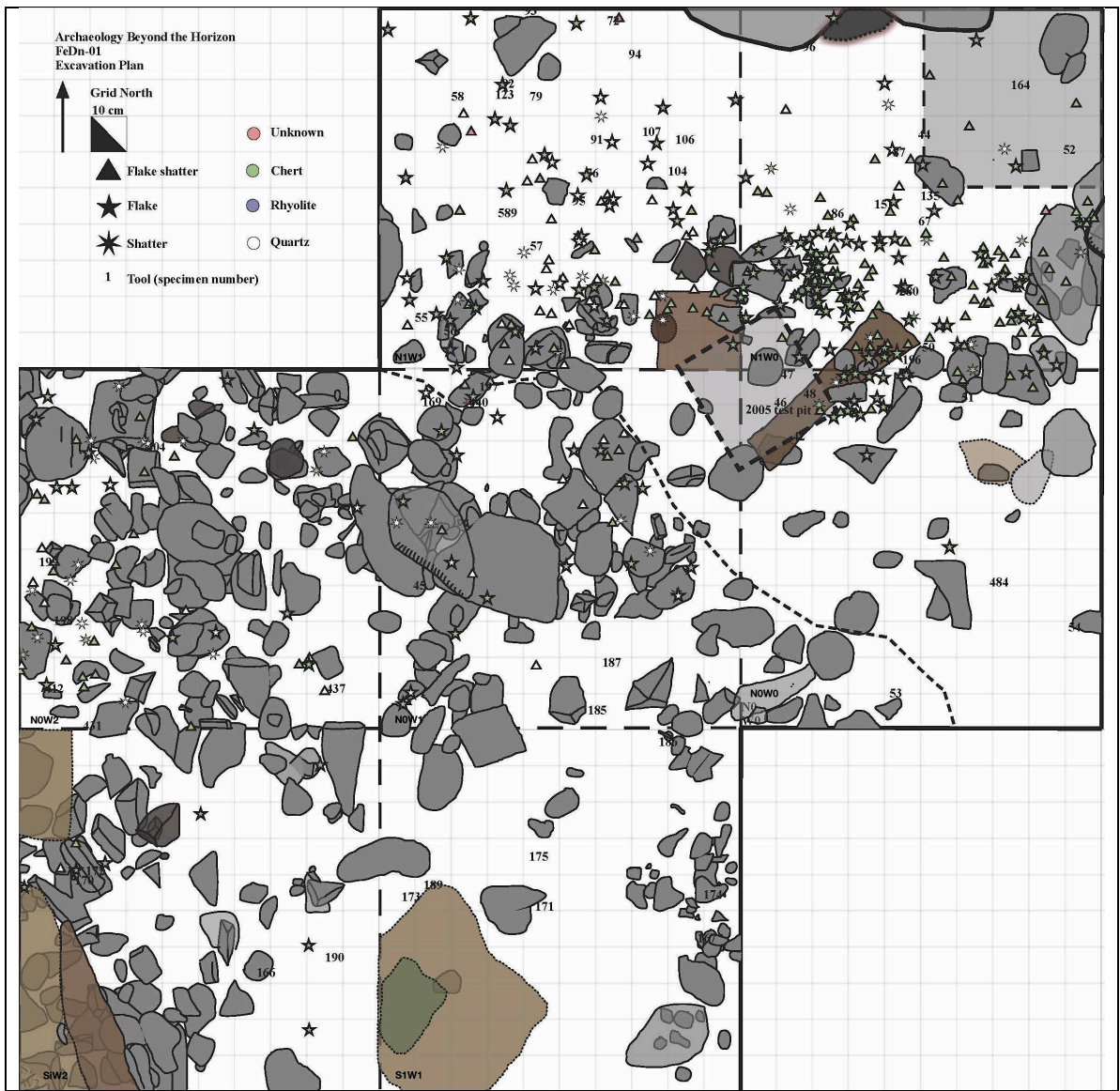


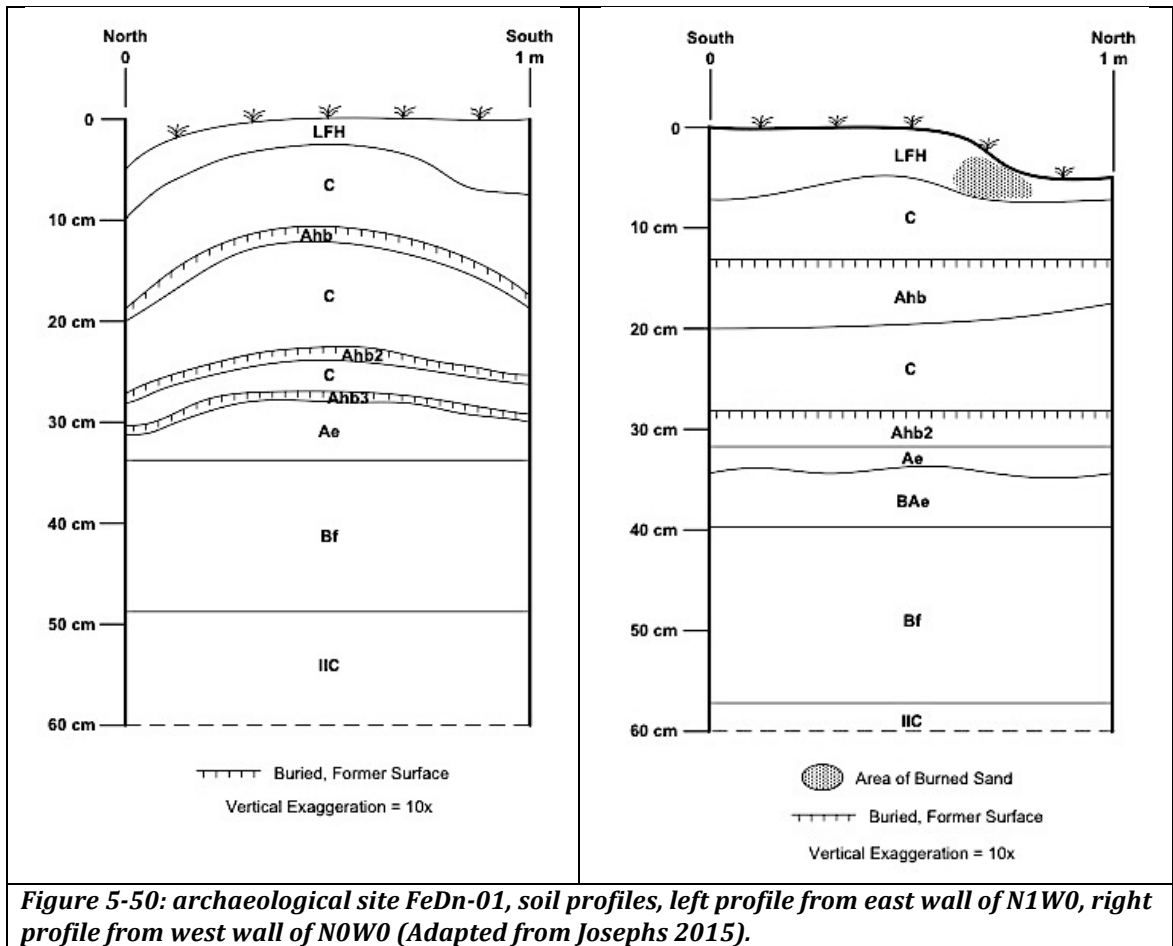
Figure 5-49: FeDn-01 excavation plan.

The stratigraphy also shows that sediment deposition has been greater along the waterside margin of the levee than it has at the crest of the levee, near the centre of the clearing (Figure 5-47). Because of this, the depth of artifacts within a single component may vary meaningfully from one spot in the excavation grid to another, and create the illusion that a manufactured artifact such as a clay pipe (FeDn-01:173) or metal knife (FeDn-01: 194) (Appendix 1) is older than a stone tool,

because the former are buried more deeply below the modern surface. Other difficulties exist in interpreting the debitage distribution and cobble features located in the excavation area. This stems from the likelihood that features were constructed on top of, and overlapping one another, and that site taphonomy (e.g. waves, wind, rodents, roots, and people) caused mixing of the buried components. In other words, it is difficult to determine where one cultural component stops and another one starts. With circumstances such as this the soil stratigraphy, artifact provenience, and radiocarbon dates are vital to sorting out the aspects and timeframe of each component, to the degree that this is possible.

A total of four radiocarbon dates are available for FeDn-01 (Table 5-1). All of these dates were obtained by analysing wood charcoal recovered in context with cobbles, fire-cracked-rock and/or artifacts, and are subject to the same limitations discussed above. As with FfDn-01, Area B, there is an overlap in the three earliest date ranges. Samples Beta 255351 (2-sigma cal. AD 1020 to 1200) and Beta 255350 (2-sigma cal. AD 1270 to 1410) both overlap with sample Beta 226311 (2-sigma cal. AD 1170 to 1280), but not with each other. The fourth sample, Beta 226312 is more recent, with three possible date ranges between cal. AD 1670 and 1960 (2-sigma cal. AD 1670 to 1770; 1800 to 1940; and 1950 to 1960). Though there is certainly mixing through natural and human actions at the site, seven cultural components were noted during excavation. The five archaeological components were buried below the sod layer, and the two ethnographic components were visible at and near the surface of the ground. The micromorphological investigations undertaken in

conjunction with the archaeological excavation at FeDn-01 identified three orthic regisols and an underlying paleosol (Josephs 2015) (Figure 5-50). Where these soils can be correlated with artifacts and radiocarbon dates it is possible to isolate certain cultural components.



The deepest charcoal sample (Beta 255351) was collected at a depth of 64 centimetres below the datum (approximately 40 centimetres below the surface), in excavation unit NOW0 (Figure 5-49). This sample was associated with chert debitage from the Labrador trough (Appendix 1), small cobbles, and fragments of fire-cracked-rock. These materials were all subjacent to the cobble feature that occupied

units N0W1, N1W1, N0W2 and S1W2, buried at, and just below, the interface of the sand that first made up the landform at this location (the paleosol), and the alluvial and aeolian sand (the orthic regisol) that built up afterwards. Based on the stratigraphic position and the soil-type associated with this component, the belief is that this location was a sandy beach, similar to the modern beach to the east of the excavation, at the time the location was first occupied, as opposed to the vegetated forest terrace that it is today. If this is the case, it is certain that this component has been worked and re-worked by wave and wind action (which were common during the fieldwork here) and that the site geography resembled what has been described for many of the procurement sites earlier in this chapter.

With the exception of the Norse at L'Anse aux Meadows, the calibrated radiocarbon dates for Beta 255350 (2-sigma cal. AD 1270 to 1410) and Beta 226311 (2-sigma cal. AD 1170 to 1280) (Table 5-1) predate the presence of European settlers in North America. Sample Beta 226311 was buried 41 centimetres below the datum, in unit N1W1, about 19 centimetres below the surface and just beneath the interface of the first, or most recent, buried surface and the sediment underlying it. In this position, the charcoal was associated with cultural elements including arranged cobbles, heat-altered sand, fire-cracked-rock, animal bones, and chert, quartz, and quartzite tool fragments and debitage. Sample Beta 255350 was recovered from unit N0W2, at a depth of 24 centimetres below datum, or 8 centimetres below the modern surface. The charcoal was above the most recent of the buried surfaces, within the sandy soil underlying the modern sod layer. As

above, this sample was associated with arranged cobbles, fire-cracked-rock, heat-altered sand, and stone debitage and tool fragments. These specimens included the same types of tool stone as the deeper component (quartz and chert from the Labrador Trough), and a small amount of Ramah chert (n=3). Based on the stratigraphic position of the charcoal – in two distinct orthic regisols separated by a buried (i.e. former) surface – the radiocarbon dates, and the association of Ramah chert with one sample only (i.e. Beta 255350), and the two charcoal deposits are believed to result from two independent occupations of the same location.

Like the FfDn-01 assemblage, Ramah chert (n=12) constitutes less than 2% the overall lithic assemblage at FeDn-01 (n=656) , which is dominated by regionally available tool stone (e.g. Labrador Trough chert n=511) This differs from coeval sites on the coast of Labrador and the North Shore, where Ramah chert often comprises a majority of the assemblage on First Nation archaeological sites that date to the same time period (Hull 2002; Loring 1992; 2002; Stopp 2008a). Other tool stone in the FeDn-01 assemblage includes quartz (n=84), quartzite (n=23), and unknown materials (n=26). Quartz and quartzite are commonly recovered from First Nation archaeological sites across the Peninsula. The frequency of quartz and quartzite may vary over time and space but, on its own, it cannot be used as proxy evidence to identify specific time periods, cultural affiliation, or mobility patterns. Chert from the Trough is less ubiquitous. The chert from the Labrador Trough in the FeDn-01 assemblage is believed to come from the central portion of the Trough, in the area of Schefferville, including the recorded quarry location at the confluence of

Minaik^u and Uepushkueshkau-shipu (Brake 2007; Denton and McCaffrey 1988; Neilsen 2009) (Figure 1-1). Based on visual identification, this was the source of the majority of tool stone recovered during the investigations at Ashuanipi. Chert from the central trough has also been recovered from several archaeological sites on Ashuanipiu-shipu (Minaskuat 2008), and Minaik^u (Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 1989; Minaskuat 2008; Neilsen 2006). It does not appear to be as common outside this region, although it has been identified in archaeological assemblages from Kaneiapishkau, Kanuauakanit atik^u, and the middle North Shore (Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 2011; Jean-Christophe Oulette, personal communication, 2014). Archaeological assemblages in Puatshishaimu and Fort MacKenzie also contain stone that is assumed to come from the Labrador Trough, but from further north than Schefferville (McCaffrey 2011). Notably, a charcoal sample recovered from a shovel-test at the confluence of Minaik^u and Uepushkueshkau-shipu (archaeological site GaDp-02) has been radiocarbon-dated to 1040±90 BP²⁶ (Beta 33568) (McCaffrey 2004: 8). As stated above, this location is a known source of chert (Figure 5-51), and the material observed here in 2005 is a close visual match for chert recovered at FeDn-01, as well as FfDn-01 and FfDn-07. Furthermore, the radiocarbon date overlaps with the middle archaeological components at FeDn-01 (Beta 255351) and FfDn-01 (Beta 213329) (Table 5-1). It is too bad that no follow-up work has occurred at GaDp-02 since it was first identified, which would permit the investigation of potential relationships between the

²⁶ It is not known if this date refers to radiocarbon years, or if it has been converted to calendar years.

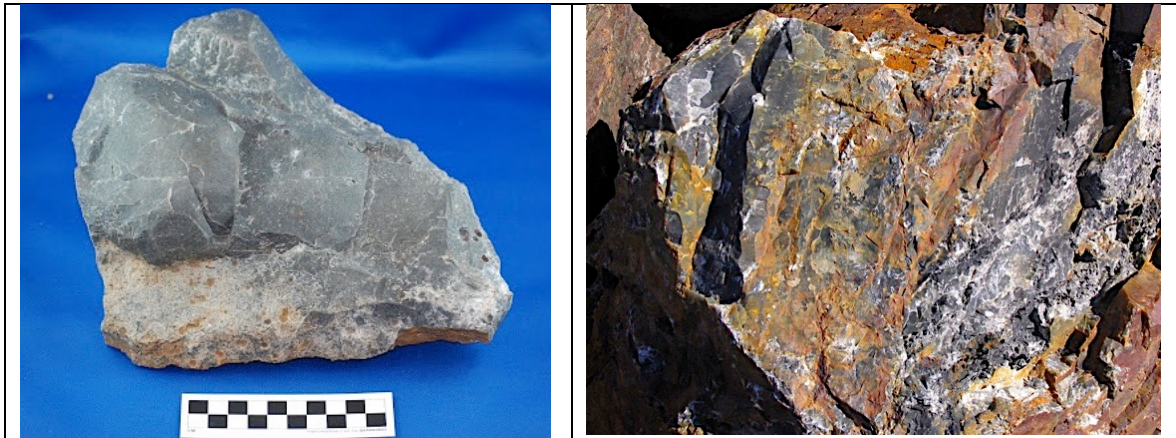


Figure 5-51: Labrador Trough chert, from known source at the confluence of Minaik^u Lake and the Uepushkueshkau (archaeological sites GaDp-02, 03, 04, 05). (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

occupants of this site and Ashuanipi. Hopefully this will happen in the future. Simply put, there is not enough data available from the sites on Ashuanipiu-shipu or Minaik^u to begin to examine the connection between these sites, those at Ashuanipi, or any others in the region. Furthermore, not enough is known about the proclivity for tool stone from the Labrador Trough to be able to make assumptions based on the recovery of this material alone. At this point, all that can safely be said based on the recovery of chert from the central portion of the trough, in an archaeological context at FeDn-01, or anywhere else, is that the site inhabitants either traveled to the Minaik^u - Schefferville area to retrieve the stone, or they obtained it from someone who had travelled there. And, the inhabitants of FeDn-01, as well as FfDn-01 and FfDn-07, appear to have used the material extensively between approximately cal. AD 450 and cal. AD 1410.

The faunal assemblage associated with charcoal samples Beta 255350 and 226311, and the cobble feature also include certain traits, which are encountered by archaeologists working on equivalent sites elsewhere on the Peninsula. At FeDn-01,

all of the animal bones recovered (n=331), with the exception of two carpal/tarsals and two phalanges from caribou legs, are small fragments. Seventy-nine percent of these specimens are calcined (Brandy 2009). The practice of discarding animal bones in fires has been reported at many First Nation archaeological sites, and appears to have been a habitual practice across the Peninsula for at least the last 6000 years (Brake 2007; Denton 1983; Jenkinson and Ashini 2015; Loring 1992; McGhee and Tuck 1975; Pital 1998; Samson 1976). At FeDn-01, the bones of specific animals (wolf/dog (100%), arctic hare (100%), grouse (100%), and caribou (88%)) were recovered from the cobble feature and had been burned, while the bones of squirrels (100%), gulls (100%), and migratory birds (75%) were mostly unburned. This is a noteworthy practice, and could be a productive line of research if someone were to compare the faunal assemblages of coeval archaeological sites across the peninsula, to identify if there are standard behaviours related to bone disposal recorded within the archaeological record. These results could also be compared with contemporary Paleoeskimo and Thule sites to determine if there is a culturally specific aspect to the behaviour, as well as with the more recent habits of Innu-Eeyou and Inuit, as evidence in the investigation of cultural continuity and kinship. For example, the Innu have habits, or rules, related to the disposal of certain animal bones (Speck 1977[1935] and Henriksen 1973). Caribou is perhaps the best-known example, and archaeologists have used ethnographic observations of the Innu practices as proxy evidence for past activities (Kristensen 2010; Loring 1992; Stopp; 2008b). However, the practice has not been considered in detail. For example,

the Innu treat the carpus-metacarpus from a caribou differently than the other long bones. The carpus-metacarpus does not need to be crushed, boiled and burned as the tibia-fibula, radius-ulna, humerus and femur do, and the marrow from these bones is often eaten as a treat, rather than in a prescribed manner (Jenkinson and Ashini 2015). After the marrow is eaten, these bones are considered refuse and disposed of in the fire or water. Due to their differential treatment, these leg bones should stand out from the other leg bones, as more complete. This line of inquiry has not been investigated in detail for this study, and given the high percentage of unidentified fragments in the FeDn-01 faunal assemblage (Brandy 2009) the assessment would not carry much weight if it had. Having said this, it is curious that the most complete faunal remains at FeDn-01 are “two carpal/tarsals and two phalanges all from a caribou” (Brandy 2009: 2), while many of the small cut and crushed specimens “were thick pieces of long bone shafts that would probably have come from a medium to large size mammal, perhaps caribou” (Brandy 2009: 2). These traits appear to reflect the Innu pattern described by Jenkinson and Ashini (2015), and may speak to the question of cultural identity and continuity among the inhabitants of Ashuanipi.

An additional four occupations were recognized within the FeDn-01 excavation results by artifact seriation, and represent the most recent components within the FeDn-01 assemblage. They mark the calendar once in the late-18th century, once in the mid-19th century, and twice in the late 20th century. The influence of settler society can be seen in the assemblage from each of these

components, and was evidently increasing in the interior of the Peninsula over this period, as it did earlier on the coast (Rogers and Leacock 1981). At least three of the recovered artifacts were widely used during the mid-to-late 18th century. These are a clay pipe (FeDn-01: 173), a clasp knife (FeDn-01:194), and an oval “fire steel” (FeDn-01:189) (Figure 5-52). The pipe is similar to a specimen recovered in Ferryland, Newfoundland (Galton 1999), and at other archaeological sites in eastern North America (Ferguson 1997; Camp 1982, Walker 1971). Comparing the “TD” maker’s mark stamped in the bowl facing the smoker, and the T and D moulded on either side of the heel, it is believed that the London pipe maker Thomas Dormer manufactured this pipe at some point between 1748 and 1770. Similarly, clasp or folding knives and oval fire steels, resembling the ones recovered at FeDn-01 have been reported from archaeological sites, and by private collectors, across North America, and are considered to date from the 18th century (Ameling 2006; Gilman 1982; Wheeler, Kenyon, Woolworth and Douglas 1975). Additional items, including a copper tube (possibly used as a bead), a metal hook (likely a fish hook), and a fragment of machined iron (possibly a gun part) are also believed to be part of this component. These specimens, including the pipe and the knife, were recovered from excavation units N0W1, N0W0, and S1W1. They were recovered from between 47 and 52 centimetres below the excavation datum, and are believed to stem from a single occupation, which occurred at some point during the latter-half of the 18th century.



Figure 5-52: Archaeological site FeDn-01, manufactured artifacts from the 18th century. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

The subsequent, and last, archaeological component that can be pinpointed within the FeDn-01 assemblage is believed to have occurred in the latter half of the 19th century. As above, this belief is based on the artifacts recovered, and their context. These included percussion caps (FeDn-01:180, 181, 182, 183, 195) a white porcelain doll arm (FeDn-01:175), Prosser and metal buttons (FeDn-01:53, 58, 165, 166, 167, 193), wound glass and Prosser beads (FeDn-01:59, 164, 171, 172), a fragment of white earthenware (FeDn-01:170), a flared brass cylinder (possibly a blunt arrow tip) (FeDn-01:57), and a tobacco tag (FeDn-01:190) (Figure 5-53). These items were buried 32 to 40 centimetres below the excavation datum, and all but the ceramic fragment, the tobacco tag, one button, and two of the beads overlaid



the 18th century artifacts in the same three excavation units (S1W1, N0W1, and N0W0). That the 19th century artifacts overlay the 18th century artifacts supports the assumed time line for these two components. Furthermore, the percussion caps bracket the 19th century occupation between ca. AD 1825 and 1870 (Dillon 1995; Fadala 2006; Ferguson 1997), within the period for which these products were widely available, and before muzzle-loaded firearms were superseded by breach-loading firearms.

It is important to mention that in addition to the manufactured items just discussed, these two components also included stone debitage. The types of stone recovered include quartz, quartzite, and chert from the Labrador Trough. Due to the

disturbance factors that impacted FeDn-01 in the past it is impossible to pinpoint exactly which of the two components the stone artifacts are associated with, although, it is clear from the overall stratigraphy that they are associated with one, or both, of the 18th and 19th century components. This is most apparent with the quartz recovered. This material was not present in the oldest archaeological components, and it appears to have had two uses in the 18th and/or 19th century assemblage. First, one quartz specimen is believed to have been used, along with the oval fire steel and perhaps another conical shaped metal artifact, as part of a strike-a-light, or fire starting kit. Evidence supporting this belief includes the fire steel artifacts, a quartz specimen with evidence of battering around its circumference, and the small shards of quartz excavated in the vicinity of the fire feature. Second, quartz was also used to make tools. Evidence for this includes the quartz biface fragments (n=5) and flakes recovered from the excavation (n=25). The belief is that these quartz flakes would not result from the indiscriminate striking associated with using a strike-a-light, nor would the bifacial flaking observed on some of the quartz specimens. Undoubtedly, some of the chert and quartzite are also associated with these components, but this is harder to demonstrate because the same material is present in the component underlying the 18th century artifacts. That these two assemblages included a mixture of stone and manufactured artifacts is no surprise. Chapter Three stated that the Innu-Eeyou inhabitants of the Peninsula supplemented their tool-kits with manufactured items as early as the 16th century, and that this was compounded over time, through the institutionalization of trade

and other relations, beginning with the Hudson's Bay Company in the 19th century, and developing into the institutions of Canadian society today.

The remaining two components identified within the FeDn-01 assemblage provide further evidence of the compounding affects of Settler, or Canadian, institutions on the site inhabitants in the last half of the 20th century. Although, prior to this, as shown by the 18th and 19th century components discussed on the previous pages, the site inhabitants had already incorporated manufactured items such as clay pipes, rifles, clasp knives, beads, and buttons into their life. In the late-19th and 20th century, though, manufactured items, and institutions such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the International Grenfell Association, and the Federal and Provincial Government, became more prevalent in Innu life, and had a greater impact than they did previously (Henriksen 1973; Samson 2003). Effects of this interaction can be seen in the ethnographic components at FeDn-01. This includes the artifacts discussed below, as well as the cabin and hunting platform mentioned at the outset of the FeDn-01 discussion. The artifact assemblage pinpoints two ethnographic occupations during the fall of the year, near the end of the 1980s and 1990s, respectively. This claim is rooted in the recovery of two (bread or milk) bag clips, a yellow one stamped "SE 14 87" (FeDn-01:51) and a white one stamped "98 AU 09" (FeDn-01:52) (Figure 5-54). Stamped with best before dates twelve-years apart, it is doubtful that these two bag-clips stem from the same occupation. Additional artifacts in the assemblage, which can be associated with a specific period of manufacture, include a 1982 penny (FeDn-01:54), and three .22 calibre, rim-fire



Figure 5-54: Archaeological site FeDn-01, manufactures artifacts from the 20th century. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

cartridges, with a “D-6” head-stamp (FeDn-01:45, 152, 168). The “D-6” style stamp, which consists of a capital D with a small dot in the centre, was used on “Imperial” brand cartridges (manufactured by Les Industries Valcartier, Inc.) beginning in 1976, and continued to be used until the “IVI” head-stamp replaced it in 1986 (Huegel 2003). The other modern artifacts recovered are certainly from the last two or three decades of the 20th century as well, but cannot be tied to a specific period of manufacture like the penny, the bag clips, and the .22 calibre cartridges. These items

include a barbed fish hook (FeDn-01:184), a mosquito coil holder (FeDn-01:44), can lids (FeDn-01:42, 46, 48), fish line sinkers (FeDn-01:177, 178, 179), a plastic knife (FeDn-01:47) and a plastic spoon (FeDn-01:43, 49) (two piece refit), the door from a tent stove (FeDn-01:56), wooden tent stakes, a stove pipe, and an empty can of Coleman stove-fuel (the last three items were above the sod, along with the hold down rocks mentioned previously). The cabin at the eastern extent of the site and the hunting platform near the middle of the beach also fall within this period, and may or may not overlap with these two excavated components (as stated at the outset of this section, the cabin was last used during the early 2000s).

In some contexts these components may not seem significant. In this study, however, the ethnographic artifacts and features are evidence of the complex relationship between First Nation and Settler society. On the one hand, the presence of fishhooks, line sinkers, bullets, stove parts, etc. show that the site inhabitants in the 20th century were involved in some of the same site activities as the inhabitants in the 19th and 18th centuries, and earlier, such as fishing, killing small game, collecting firewood, and cooking. On the other hand, it is evident from the modern artifact assemblage and features at FeDn-01 that the inhabitants were acting differently than those previous to them. Anthropologists and geographers have argued that a complex mixture of factors, including the closing of interior trading posts, the construction of the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway, becoming Catholic, and interaction with government sponsored programs, communities, and regulations transformed the way the Innu inhabited the land over the course of the

20th century, and that this eroded some of the independence they had previously enjoyed (Boutet 2014; McGee 1961; Tanner and Armitage 1985; Samson 2003). The cabin and hunting platform, and to a lesser degree the use of camp fuel and store bought food – as represented by the Coleman fuel can, bag clips, and food tin lids – are seen as evidence of this, and speak to a growing regularity of site-specific occupation during the 20th century at FeDn-01. Once these data are correlated with evidence from the other ethnographic sites and components at Ashuanipi, it will be possible to evaluate whether or not ethnographic site data has a clearer role to play in the study of long-term culture history in the Plateau and beyond.

The FeDn-01 results show that the location was reused at least three times between cal. AD 1020 and 1410, with at least four additional occupations in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Influenced, in part, by the confining nature of the landform, activities of the various occupations occurred in the same space, repeatedly. As a result, the site components overlie one another in the excavation, and what at first looked to be one large cobble feature is believed to have been used multiple times. Although there is some mixing between the components, it was noted during excavation that the (buried) former surfaces were also present in the cobble feature, in places. It is believed that sand, moss, and other plants and debris following the initial occupation of the location, at some point between cal. AD 1020 and 1200, buried the feature, at least partially, and, that this process recurred between each of the subsequent occupations, until the 20th century, when it is clear that a canvas tent and metal stove were used. Notably, in 2005, when FeDn-01 was first recorded, no

evidence of the buried cobble feature was detected on the surface (Figure 5-47). However, the small clearing and hold-down rocks pointed to the fact that an archaeological site was present. If a similar situation existed in the past, the successive inhabitants were aware that the location was occupied previously, and may have incorporated pre-existing features within their activities, deliberately. Otherwise, their repeated use was a coincidence, influenced by the confined nature of the terrace and clearing at the excavation location.²⁷

Regardless of whether or not the pre-existing feature(s) at FeDn-01 were visible to the successive inhabitants (including those who built the cabin and used the beach), the radiocarbon samples, the (buried) former surfaces, the artifact assemblage, and the (former) log cabin and hunting platform combine to support a strong argument for successive occupations of this same location, over the period cal. AD 1020 to ca. 2002, by small groups of people, or individuals, who were likely sensitive to the fact that the location had been used previously. The dominance of chert from the middle Labrador Trough region in the excavated assemblage backs the belief that local resource knowledge was curated during the periods when people were absent from the FeDn-01 location. Some of the fine-grained tool stone recovered from the beach (Figure 5-46), however, (including Ramah chert) are visibly distinct from the Trough chert recovered in the excavation area (Figure 5-55). This study did not establish if the tool stone recovered from the beach survey is associated with any of the components identified in the excavation, but it would

²⁷ One way to investigate these options would be to locate the individuals who occupied some of the ethnographic components investigated during ABH (such as the children of Kumis Pinette) and query their personal knowledge of the history of each location, and their own experiences there.



Figure 5-55: Archaeological site FeDn-01, recovered stone artifacts. Labrador Trough chert. (Photographer: Scott Neilsen)

be surprising if none were. Having said that, the beach component at FeDn-01 has similar characteristics to the short-term procurement sites described earlier in this chapter. This could be evidence that two different forms of occupation occurred at FeDn-01 over the ca. 1000 years of site use. In this scenario, the excavated components and the cabin represent inhabitants who lived at the location for a period of days, or longer, and the beach component(s) represent inhabitants who stopped at the location for a few hours on their way elsewhere. Both scenarios, and others, are possible at FeDn-01, and other sites around Ashuanipi.

Looking over the survey results from Ashuanipi there are similarities and differences in the periods of occupation, artifact assemblages, cultural features, and site topography over the last 1700 years (Tables 3-1, 5-1). Describing and thinking

about these characteristics raises questions about the identity of the people who inhabited these sites, as well as their historical and contemporary relationships. As stated previously, these individual sites are part of a cultural landscape that archaeologists believed stretched across Ashuanipi, the Plateau and the Peninsula prior to the arrival of European traders, fishers, and settlers (Loring 1992; McCaffrey 2011), and which continues to exist in the area today, albeit transformed. Remaining conscious of the investigative framework outlined in the first three Chapters, the remainder of this study – Chapter Six – will summarize the episodes of occupation at Ashuanipi, and discuss the topics of continuity, transformation, and identity.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

As outlined in the opening Chapters of this dissertation, the study of Ashuanipi employed an eclectic approach to archaeology. A variety of theoretical and empirical research methods, including micromorphology, archaeological survey and excavation, landscape perspective, multivocality, ethnohistory, culture history, radiocarbon dating, artifact seriation, geology, Indigenous archaeology, zooarchaeology, cultural resource management, and Innu perspectives were used to address the projects overarching objective – to take a first look at the archaeological history of Ashuanipi – and to answer specific questions related to the depth and breadth of tenure, and the impacts of environment, industrialization, and encroachment on land use, which stemmed from the broader investigation of Ashuanipi's archaeological history. In this Chapter the goal is to summarize the project results in a way that they can be clearly understood and communicated, and to align these results with an Innu view of history. As a preliminary study, this is the beginning of the conversation, and it is understood that future research will supersede the results of this study.

A Summary of Continuity and Transformation at Ashuanipi

The archaeological history at Ashuanipi, including the ethnographic sites and components, show that the lake has been inhabited multiple times over the last 17 centuries (Table 3-1) (Chapter Five). That older sites were not found is believed to result from a bias in the archaeological survey as described in Chapter Three, rather than from an absence of occupation. As was shown in Chapter One, there are earlier sites elsewhere in the Plateau, and at other locations in the interior of the Peninsula, and with further work sites with a similar antiquity will likely be identified at Ashuanipi. Although some of the sites recorded remain undated, analysis of the radiocarbon samples (Table 5-1), the artifacts, the soil horizons and stratigraphy, and the site features (Chapter Five) identified four broad episodes of occupation. These are the early-fourth to late-seventh century; the early-eleventh to late-14th century; the early-18th to mid-20th century; and the mid-20th to early 21st century (i.e. today). Within this framework there are traits that persist across the entire 1700-year history of occupation, and there are traits that differ between episodes, and between sites within the same episode.

Episode 1 – ca. cal. AD 300-700

This episode is grounded in four radiocarbon dates from charcoal samples recovered during excavations at FfDn-01 and FfDn-07 (Table 5-1, Brake 2007, Chapter Four). These four samples (three from FfDn-01 and one from FfDn-07) are believed to highlight two occupation periods within this time frame. The earliest

occurred at FfDn-01 and FfDn-07, sometime between cal. AD 300 and 600 (see Chapter Five). These are the deepest buried components at each site. At FfDn-01 the samples were associated with a long, dispersed, cobble-feature, which included evidence of stone tool manufacture, repair, and sharpening, as well as fire, i.e. heating and cooking (see Chapter Four and Brake 2007). At FfDn-07 only a small area was excavated. There was evidence of fire here, too, but no cobble arrangement was identified. Charcoal, fire-cracked-rock, and burnt wood were present. The tool stone in this occupation, at both sites, was predominantly grey chert from the Labrador Trough, which was visibly similar to the material observed during the feasibility study at the confluence of Minaik^u and Uepushkueshkau-shipu. The tools at both locations include bifaces, biface fragments, unifaces, and utilized flakes. In every case the bifaces were broken, or unfinished.

The fourth radiocarbon date marking this episode at Ashuanipi came from a charcoal sample recovered in a test pit adjacent to the long cobble feature at FfDn-01. It contained a biface tip and debitage (Figure 5-38, FfDn-01:118), heated cobbles, and charcoal (Chapter Five). The radiocarbon date places this occupation between cal. AD 560 and 670, at least two decades following the earliest occupation at FfDn-01 and FfDn-07. Based on their proximity, age, and use of chert from the Labrador Trough this occupation is believed to be part of the same episode, but a few years later than the occupation in excavation area A.

As described in Chapter Five, there are some landscape differences between FfDn-01 and FfDn-07. FfDn-01 is located on an Ashkui; this is a location in a lake

where the water does not freeze in winter (Baillie et al. 2004). In decades past, Innu gathered at these locations in the late winter-early spring, to wait for the season to change, and to prepare for travel to the coast; they are also important locations for nutritional resources, with access to water (Sable et al. 2007). This larger grouping of people can result in larger tents and features, like the one excavated by Brake (2007) at FfDn-01. FfDn-07 is on a slight point; it is not an Ashkui. The presence of smooth beach pebbles in the excavation (Chapter Five), which the inhabitants collected from the lakeshore, may indicate that the site was occupied during the summer, or fall. In the spring or winter the pebbles would be covered by lake ice/snow, or water, making them difficult to collect.

It is impossible to know, but some of the undated archaeological sites in the vicinity of FfDn-01 and FfDn-07 may also belong to this episode. For example, sites such as FfDn-02, FfDn-03, FfDn-04, and FfDn-09 are a short trip from FfDn-01 and FfDn-07, and the stone debitage recovered at each of these sites is visibly equal to the Labrador Trough chert excavated at FfDn-01 and FfDn-07. It is also possible that surface collected debitage from the beach at FfDn-01 resulted from short-term activities that were not associated with the excavated features. For example, it is not hard to imagine someone from FfDn-07 travelling to Ferguson Bay to go fishing, and using the beach fronting FfDn-01 in the process. FfDn-01 and FfDn-07 are places where people stayed for days, rather than a day, and in the case of FfDn-01, at least, they returned years later. Given this, it makes sense that other sites, such as the procurement locations mentioned above, are part of this component at Ashuanipi,

and were used by the same people who inhabited FfDn-01 and FfDn-07. If true, this would represent a more complete picture of their pattern of land-use and occupation. It is unreasonable to expect that the occupants of these two sites did not travel to other nearby locations.

The Ashuanipi survey did not identify any evidence of occupation at either of these sites, or any others on Ashuanipi, for at least 300 years following episode 1. Breaks such as this have also been noted in the archaeological record of Kaneiapishkau, and it may be that these lakes had to be abandoned for periods of time due to natural phenomenon such as forest fires, or cyclical crashes in the animal population. There may also have been social and/or cultural reasons to avoid a location for a period of time. Future research will hopefully shed light on this and begin to compare the culture history between these locations across the interior of the Peninsula.

Episode 2 – ca. cal. AD 1000 – 1400

Evidence for this episode at Ashuanipi comes from archaeological sites FeDn-01 and FfDn-01. FfDn-01 was reoccupied sometime between cal. AD 1030 and 1220. This occupation is centred on a small circular cobble feature with evidence of fire, cooking/heating, and stone tool use, including the small, notched biface, utilized flakes, and finishing and sharpening debitage discussed in Chapter Four. The occupation is on a smaller scale, and located 20 metres south of the one that centred on the longer cobble feature in episode 1. The initial occupation at FeDn-01 took place at some point during the same time frame, between cal. AD 1020 and 1200,

with two additional occupations between cal. AD 1170 to 1280 and 1280 to 1410. As in episode 1, it is believed that some of the undated sites at Ashuanipi fall within this episode also. Specifically, archaeological sites FeDn-02, FfDn-08, and FeDm-01 show affinities to FeDn-01 through proximity, and the variety of tool stone recovered. This component at Ashuanipi is different than the earlier sites at FfDn-07 and FfDn-01; the occupations are smaller, and include a wider variety of Labrador Trough chert, as well as Ramah chert. This marks the first known appearance of this material at Ashuanipi. The wider variety of tool stone is noteworthy because it implies that the inhabitants of these two sites had connections to the coast of Labrador during episode 2, either directly or indirectly, and accessed a wider variety of sources in the Trough. This is a distinguishing factor between episode 1 and episode 2, and it is believed to be proxy evidence for transformations in mobility patterns, and/or an increase in the knowledge of resource locations, during this timeframe.

Episode 3 – ca. cal. AD 1700-1948

This component at Ashuanipi includes radiocarbon dates, too, but is more accurately identified by reference to certain locations in published journals, and the manufactured artifacts recovered during excavation and surface survey. Archaeological sites FfDn-01, FeDn-01, and FfDn-07 were all re-occupied over this span, while sites FfDn-05, FcDn-01, and FcDm-02 through 06 show their first signs of activity. The earliest occupation within this episode is located at FeDn-01. Three of the artifacts recovered were a clay pipe, an oval fire steel and a clasp knife; these items place the occupation at some point during the last half of the 18th century. This

predates the existence of any identified trading posts in the interior of the Peninsula, and like Ramah chert in the earlier component, indicates that the inhabitants travelled between the interior and the coast, and/or traded for these items with individuals who had made this voyage. FeDn-01 is the only identified site at Ashuanipi that includes evidence of an 18th century occupation. This is not the case in the last half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. All of the sites listed above included manufactured artifacts from this period, and use of the FcDn-01 cemetery and FcDm-02 through 06 (the portage trail) are documented in the published journals of Father Babel (Tremblay 1977) and Henry Youle Hind (2007) (Chapter Four). By this time trading posts had been constructed in the interior of the Peninsula, and at a variety of locations along the peninsula's coastline. This may be one factor in what appears to be increased activity at Ashuanipi; or, it could be that the manufactured items are simply more visible than the tools used during the previous episodes. It is worth noting that no sites dating to episode 1 or 2, or any other early period were identified in the Kapitagas Channel. This is a well-known and well-used Innu travel route in the 19th and 20th century, which carried Innu travelers past the cemetery at FcDn-01; the chance that it was not used earlier may also speak to an increased use of Ashuanipi during Episode 3.

FfDn-01, FfDn-07, and FeDn-01 were all re-inhabited during the late 19th century, and again during the early 20th century. This belief is based on the recovery of manufactured artifacts that fall within these two time frames. It is possible that the late 19th century items, such as the percussion caps and cut nails (Chapter Five),

were saved and used during the early 20th century, but this does not seem likely given that the inhabitants switched to the more modern breach loading firearms, as evinced by the bullets and shell caps recovered from most of these sites. There are also the accounts of Babel (Tremblay 1977) and Hind (2007) to draw on, and they both clearly indicate that Innu travelled between the coast and the interior regularly. In fact, Babel travelled through Ashuanipi twice, in 1867 and 1868, on his way to the Quebec North Shore. In addition to the families and individuals who travelled between the coast and the Plateau, Hind reports that there were families who remained in the interior year-round, and rarely ventured to the coast. Hind referred to the interior groups as Naskapi and groups who regularly travelled between the coast and the interior as Montagnais. Babel did the same. Even though different names were used, it is apparent that the distinction was not exclusive, for Hind also reported that a Naskapi boy travelled and lived with “Dominique, Chief of the Montagnais of Lake Ashwanipi” and that families of both groups wintered together south of Ashuanipi in 1861. Jose Mailhot also wrote about this division in (1986, 1998), and concluded that the term Naskapi had come to represent Innu who were less colonized than the Montagnais, and who spent much of their time on the coast in the company of traders and priests. In other words, they had cultural differences, but were not different cultures. Hind’s account also records that these were indeed families in some cases, and that children were also present. This is important for archaeologists to remember, as the Innu are often discussed in terms of hunters,

rather than families. Moreover, beads used to decorate clothing were recovered at FfDn-01 and FeDn-01, and a porcelain doll arm was recovered at FeDn-01.

There were no formal stone tools associated with this component at Ashuanipi, however stone was still being used as a tool. The red jasper utilized flake recovered at FfDn-05 is believed to be associated with the late 19th century ceramic fragments recovered (Chapter Five). Also, quartz was recovered in clear association with the late 18th and late 19th century occupations at FeDn-01. The quartz in the 18th century layer was part of a fire starting kit, and there was evidence that quartz was also being used for cutting or piercing implements. At FfDn-07 nails and stone tool debitage from the Labrador Trough were found in the same test pits, and appear to be associated, but this needs to be confirmed by excavation. At FfDn-01 Brake (2007) noted that the late 19th and early 20th century occupants used the same feature location, and that Labrador Trough chert debitage was also present in the feature. The same situation was observed during the 2008 investigations at FeDn-01. Given the stratigraphic separation between the episode 2 and episode 3 components, it is believed that the late 19th century inhabitants were still using stone tools for certain tasks. This is not unique to Ashuanipi, as the same situation has been recorded at Kaneiapishkau on the Plateau (Denton 1983), and at Naishipinu on the Quebec North Shore (Pintal 1998). The Innu at this time were obviously using the manufactured items that they found useful, and which they desired, but also continued to use stone tools for certain tasks when the manufactured items were not available, or were not suitable. For example, the

individual who lost or left their clasp knife at FeDn-01 likely did not wait until their next visit to a trading post to process and prepare resources, and could have used a stone tool until such a time as the knife was replaced.

Episode 4 – ca. cal. AD 1949-2008

Although there were not many physical changes in the Plateau between 1948 and 1949, there were events occurring elsewhere that would bring significant change to the region. First, this is the year Newfoundland joined Canada in Confederation. This event brought the Innu and Inuit living in the Labrador portion of the Peninsula under the jurisdiction of the Newfoundland Government, while their relatives in Quebec remained under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. This began a process of institutionalized assimilation in Labrador, which had grave impacts on Innu and Inuit society, the effects of which are still felt today. The second key event that occurred in 1949 was the incorporation of the Iron Ore Company of Canada, and the consequent decision to construct a railway between Uashau and Schefferville, and to begin to mine the Iron Ore deposits that Mathieu Andre had led them to a decade earlier (Geren and McCullough 1990). This was the impetus for the construction of the Iron Ore mines in the Plateau, the Upper Churchill Hydro development, and the communities of Schefferville, Labrador City, Wabush, Fermont, and Churchill Falls. Construction of railway meant that the Innu no longer had to canoe and walk from Uashau to Ashuanipi, and that settlers could easily access and begin to live in the Plateau region permanently. Although Innu continued to access Ashuanipi throughout the 20th century, and still do today, the

opening of the railway changed the pattern of land use at Ashuanipi, and in the Plateau.

There are more occupations recorded for this episode at Ashuanipi than all the others combined (Table 3-1). The presentation bias associated with the ethnographic sites in this occupation episode is one factor in the higher site count (e.g. the increased visibility of these sites as a result of stove supports, tent stakes, tent poles, and cabins), but it is believed that the mode of land use at this time also played a factor. Innu were relocated to Schefferville to work for the Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOCC), and Innu living in Uashau were able to travel to Ashuanipi more frequently, and easily. They were also able to bring more supplies with them. The extra time this afforded allowed them to move around Ashuanipi, and to remain there longer. A log cabin had been constructed at the north end of Ashuanipi previously (at FfDn-10), but following construction of the railway a number of cabins were built along the eastern side of the lake, between the railway tracks and the lakeshore. These act as basecamps, where supplies, equipment, and boats are stored. Motorized boats replaced paddled ones, and further extended the distance and ease with which people could travel in a day. In the land use study undertaken by Tanner and Armitage (1986) before construction of the Trans Labrador Highway, they reported that Innu travelled to Ashuanipi regularly, and more frequently than they had in the past. At the time of their study, families tended to visit Ashuanipi between September and December and between April and August, while male hunting parties visited between January and March (Tanner and

Armitage 1986: 48); and they did so almost every year. This is the difference. In the past, the locations visited varied depending on where the animals were abundant, and where other people were located (see Andre 1984 and Bouchard 2004 for examples). The flexibility of Innu land use was one factor anthropologists often noted (see Henriksen 1973, Mailhot 1998, and Speck 1977[1935]), but the presence of the train overrode this flexibility at Ashuanipi, and created a more rigid pattern of land use.

The other significant event in this episode was the appearance of settlers. Not long after the opening of the main railway line a spur was constructed into the Labrador City-Wabush area, then known as Carol Lake. The purpose of this line was to carry ore from the new IOCC mine at Labrador City to the port in Uashau. It was also used to transport people to Ashuanipi for recreational purposes. Frontier Lodge, an outfitting business, was constructed in Ferguson Bay at this time, and Crown Land Grants were provided to settlers at the northern tip of Ashuanipi, for cabin construction over the next five decades. This probably impacted animal and fish populations at Ashuanipi and may have provided further motivation for the Innu who frequented Ashuanipi to build cabins there. If they did not, they could return one fall to find a settler cabin constructed at their preferred tenting location. This exact situation can be seen at FfDn-01 and FfDn-10. Both are places Innu inhabited in the past, which today have settler cabins constructed at them.

Consideration of this episode through an archaeological lens has raised some interesting questions at Ashuanipi, and highlighted the potential of undertaking

future research projects involving co-operation between Innu, settlers, archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians. Inter-disciplinary research involving archaeology does not typically focus on this time period in the Peninsula, although other studies have focused on the local history of resource development (e.g. Geren and McCullough 1990). Tackling questions related to the enduring impact of institutionalized assimilation and the encroachment of resource development on Innu life at Ashuanipi through an inter-disciplinary approach involving archaeology can set these modern issues within the long-term history of the Innu in the Peninsula and bring a deeper understanding to issues that underlie modern day interactions between Innu and settlers.

Continuity in the Archaeological History of Ashuanipi

The topic of continuity is a popular one in archaeological history. It is often raised in relation to questions of Indigenous tenure and land rights, and is used to question the relationship of modern Indigenous populations to the archaeological cultures represented by artifacts, features, and other archaeological data. In this section the idea of continuity is used as a focusing lens, to highlight and recapitulate the archaeological characteristics at Ashuanipi which extend across more than one episode of occupation. The maintenance of these characteristics and the likelihood of cultural continuity between the occupation episodes described for Ashuanipi will also be considered.

There are four obvious points of continuity in the archaeological history of Ashuanipi. These are: 1) the use of Labrador Trough chert; 2) the treatment of animal remains; 3) the re-occupation of archaeological sites FfDn-01, FeDn-01, and FfDn-07; and 4) the pattern of land use at Ashuanipi.

The Use of Labrador Trough Chert

The appearance of chert and other source-specific tool stone is regularly used as proxy evidence for the movement of people in the archaeology of the Peninsula (Loring 2002, McCaffrey 2011). In some cases archaeologists have even gone so far as to assign temporal periods and cultural affiliation based on the presence of specific types of stone, such as Ramah chert or quartzite. As mentioned previously, this is problematic; and is even more acute in relation to Labrador Trough chert, because very little has been published about the distribution and characterization of this material. Having said this, when examining the archaeological resources at Ashuanipi it is clear that the people who inhabited Ashuanipi during episodes 1, 2 and 3, had access to this material, and made decisions to use it. This is proxy evidence for their knowledge of the region north of Ashuanipi and their movements north and south between Ashuanipi and the central portion of the Trough surrounding Schefferville. According to the excavation results at Ashuanipi, there is some colour and quality variation in this material. How this relates to source is not known. However, based on observation of a known source at the confluence of Minaik^u and Uepushkueshkau-shipu, it appears as though much of the material

recovered at Ashuanipi comes from the Flemming Formation. And, it is suspected that the occupants of FfDn-01, FfDn-07, and FeDn-01 travelled to this location. Labrador Trough chert has also been recovered at archaeological sites to the north, west, and south of Ashuanipi, over roughly the same time period as the occupations at Ashuanipi (McCaffrey 2011). A common factor in almost all of these sites is that Labrador Trough chert was transported to the site as complete, or partially formed tools – i.e. the primary reduction is believed to have been undertaken where the material was originally collected (McCaffrey 2011: 151-155). Chert from the Trough was not used during episode 4, but no chert was. However, tent sites dating to this episode are present at the confluence of Minaik^u and Uepushkueshkau-shipu, and the vicinity of the confluence is known to be a hunting place for Innu from the communities near Schefferville today. It would be interesting to know whether or not these individuals are aware of the locations historical significance as a source of tool-stone and a camping place.

The Treatment of Animal Remains

Anthony Jenkinson and Napess (Jean-Pierre Ashini) (2015) of the Tshikapisk Foundation, have recently written a short article about the treatment of caribou bones by Innu in the country, and similarities they have noted in archaeological context at Kameshtashtan. They have suggested that patterns of treatment and disposal shared between archaeological sites and modern activities are one line of evidence supporting the view that the Innu are descended from some of the earliest

inhabitants of the Peninsula (Jenkinson and Ashini 2015). At Ashuanipi animal bones were recovered from all four occupation episodes, at archaeological sites FfDn-01 and FeDn-01. Brake (2007: 83) noted the presence of “bone mash” in the long cobble formation (Feature 2/episode 1) and bone fragments in the smaller, circular, cobble formation (Feature 1/episode 3) that he excavated at FfDn-01. The 2008 excavation in Area B identified bone mash, and recovered bone fragments from Feature 3 (episode 2) (Brandy 2009). The fragment in episode 4 was recovered very near the surface, and was cut with a saw. It is associated with the settler occupation of the site. At FeDn-01 bone mash and fragments were observed throughout the cobble feature excavated, which was associated with each of the first three episodes, and fish bones were seen very near the surface and are believed to be associated with episode 4. The treatment and disposal of animal bones is similar across the first three episodes. If excavation was undertaken at some of the ethnographic components that belong to episode 4 it is possible that similar circumstances would be identified, however, it is also likely that the use of tent stoves has resulted in a different disposal pattern than what is seen earlier. It would also be interesting to see if there is any transformation in the treatment of the bones in the most recent sites. As was noted in Chapter Five, there appear to be some changes occurring at some of the most recent ethnographic camps, with tent frames being left in place rather than taken down and placed somewhere for future use, and with screws being used to hold the tent stove in place rather than notches in the legs themselves. If there were also changes in the treatment and disposal of animal

remains this would be even stronger evidence of the impact of colonialism on Innu culture. The rules related to the treatment and disposal of animal remains, particularly caribou, are considered to be very important amongst the old Innu. In fact, some of the old Innu in Sheshatshiu and Natuashish today believe that the recent decline in caribou population is a result of the improper treatment of caribou remains, which represents a lack of respect.

The re-occupation of archaeological sites FfDn-01, FeDn-01, and FfDn-07

It has been stated many times now that archaeological sites FfDn-01, FeDn-01, and FfDn-07 were all reoccupied. FfDn-01 was inhabited during each of the four episodes outlined above; FeDn-01 was inhabited during the last three episodes; and FfDn-07 was inhabited during the first, third, and fourth episode (and possibly during the second – see Chapter Five). There is also evidence that each site was used more than once during each episode. For example, FfDn-01 was inhabited at least twice during episode 1; FeDn-01 was inhabited at least twice during episode 2 and 3; and FfDn-07 was inhabited at least twice during episode 4. One result of these locations being used repeatedly is that they are easily spotted, and it is not difficult to determine that people had previously camped there. At each of these locations the archaeology crew was able to predict that buried resources were present, along with those visible on the surface. In each case there was also a clearing that did not appear natural. In the past, when people were reoccupying these sites it is possible that they already knew they were there, particularly if it was within the same

episode. Nevertheless, if they were not previously aware of the specific site locations it is likely that they could spot them, and that they recognized others had camped there before. It was not necessary for the individuals and/or families to pass down knowledge of the exact location of the camp. For example, if a hunter followed a travel route to Ferguson Bay, it is likely they would identify the location of FfDn-01 on their own, and recognize the characteristics of previous occupations through the clearings present, and/or the stone tool debitage scattered on the beach. Even today, just as archaeologists do, Innu recognize the by-products of stone tool making; at least the uashaunnu encountered by the Ashuanipi survey crew, at FfDn-02 in 2006 did. In other words it may not be necessary to maintain knowledge of exact site locations over centuries, between uses. Living a similar lifestyle and being well versed in reading the landscape an Innu hunter could easily recognize features that are beneficial and suitable for occupation. This fact was well demonstrated by the EM-1 survey project discussed in Chapter Three. The Eeyou survey crews were able to use their knowledge of land use practices and history to identify multi-component sites that were not within high potential areas identified by the consulting archaeologists. Furthermore, once at the location, the current occupants would be able to interpret the site, and what had occurred there previously. For those who had inhabited the location previously, or been told about it, memories of what had occurred there, and with whom, would return.

The Pattern of Land Use at Ashuanipi

On the surface it appears as though land use at Ashuanipi has changed significantly in recent decades. However, if the effects of the railway and the increased frequency with which people move in and out of the interior today are peeled away, the underlying patterns are not that different than those described for episodes 1, 2, and 3. In all episodes there are sites that were used for longer periods, sites that were used for shorter periods, and sites that resulted from activities associated with travel. In terms of sites that were used for longer periods, these are the multi-component sites that are believed to have been inhabited for multiple days at a time, and reoccupied multiple times. The modern ones are cabins, and some of the older ones have cabins on them. From these sites excursions were/are made, and these excursions resulted in some of the short-term sites identified. Some of these short-term sites also result from travel through the area, as resources were acquired, and people moved on. The best example of this would be the campsites at either end of the Kapitagas Channel portage trail. As seen at FeDn-01, some of these different occupation styles may even occur at the same location. The cabin and the multi-component excavation show that this was indeed a place people returned to, and they stayed at for multiple days at a time. Some of the unfamiliar tool stone surface collected from the beach may tell a different story, however. Some of this stone was only present on the beach in very limited quantity (one utilized flake for example), and not in the excavation at all. Given the prominent landform, and its location along a major water-route, the unfamiliar tool stone may represent short-

term use, perhaps as a procurement location, or for some other activity. The same scenario likely transpired at FfDn-01 in the past, as it does today. The cabin located here is evidence of long-term use, and re-use, and while conducting fieldwork here a brigade of canoeists travelling from Wabush to Uashau tented on the beach for one night. As well, other groups of people and individuals stopped here for a few hours to fish, and then moved on. Like the cemetery, these are locations that travelers on the lake pass by, and stop at, for short periods of time, and they are places that some people knew intimately, and returned to repeatedly. This combination of short and long-term land-use, whether by the same or different people, is what one would expect at a location such as Ashuanipi. In some ways this is the system described by Hind, when he made reference to the families who resided “permanently” in the Plateau, and those who travelled between the coast and the interior on a more frequent basis. It is likely that this pattern had a much greater antiquity than he expected.

Transformation in the Archaeological History of Ashuanipi

Continuity and transformation are often portrayed as though they are mutually exclusive, but this is not accurate. If it were societies would be stagnant, and there would be no evolution. There are obvious changes identified within the archaeological history of Ashuanipi. Identified in Chapter Five and in the episodes of occupation described above, these include, but are not limited to, changes in combustion features – from linear cobble features, to circular cobble features, to

tent stoves; changes in tool stone use – from using local stone exclusively to incorporating the use of Ramah chert and other non-local materials; changes in site abandonment practices – from dismantling and storing tent frames for future use to abandoning them while still standing and leaving them to rot; and changes in mobility patterns – from moving between the coast and the Plateau by foot and canoe to moving by train. Changes within the natural landscape were also noted in the excavation results reported for Ashuanipi. These changes are believed to have helped instigate some the transformations detected in the archaeological history of the lake, and need to be considered further.

The Impact of Landscape Changes on the Archaeological History of Ashuanipi

Analysis of the stratigraphy at archaeological sites FfDn-01 and FeDn-01 has identified episodes of flooding related deposition (Josephs 2007, 2015). This has impacted the landscape at each site, and people have had to adjust. First, it appears that FfDn-01 and FeDn-01 were not suitable for occupation much before they were occupied. At FfDn-01 test pits excavated approximately 10 metres west of Brake's 2007 excavation uncovered a band of fine organic material that mimics what was observed along the modern beach. In this situation waves deposit organic material floating in the water, in bands along the beach (Figure 5-4 for an example). The presence of similar characteristics in a test pits 20 metres west of the modern beach indicates that older shorelines exist further back into the woods. As noted in Chapter Five and the summary of episode 1, none of the archaeological components

identified at Ashuanipi pre-date cal. AD 270. If any older sites do exist at Ashuanipi, these characteristics indicate that they could be located deeper into the woods. At FeDn-01, a test pit dug in preparation of Josephs micromorphological investigation encountered the tops of glacially deposited boulders, approximately 10-15 centimetres below the oldest cultural deposit. Due to its low-lying topography at the time, the location may have been uninhabitable prior its initial occupation ca. AD 1000. If true, the flood events that occurred during the last half of episode 1, at FfDn-01, also contributed to the deposition detected at FeDn-01. This increased the size and elevation of the landform and added to its potential as a campsite. A similar situation was described in Chapter Five in reference to the southerly portion of the FfDn-01 landform, and the conclusion that it is younger than the area to the north, where Area A is located.

Considering the flood events identified by Josephs, the initial assumption was that the occupation gaps between episodes occurred because of increased water levels, which made the locations uninhabitable. Upon further investigation the situation appears more complex. The previously referenced study of precipitation by Viau and Grajewski (2009) reports the variation in precipitation levels for the last 2000 years. When these are compared to the occupation record for FfDn-01 and FeDn-01, the majority of components correlate with periods of increased precipitation. One exception is the earliest occupation at FfDn-01. This occupation occurred right at the boundary of an increase in precipitation. Prior to this, levels were lower than average. The lower precipitation levels, which are proxy evidence

for lower water levels, facilitated the proposed spring occupation of this location, alongside the Ashkui. After this occupation there is a prolonged period of higher than normal precipitation levels. One occupation is reported to occur at FfDn-01 during this period. It occurs in the same location as the initial occupation, but it is smaller, and appears to overlay the long cobble feature excavated by Brake (2007) (Chapter Five). It is suggested that the higher water levels meant that this location was uninhabitable during the spring freshet, and was inhabited in fall or winter, when water levels are naturally lower. If this is the case, the desire to occupy the FfDn-01 location remained, and the timing and style of occupation changed.

Following this point precipitation levels returned to near mean levels for approximately 200 years. This period overlaps with the gap between episodes 1 and 2. Shortly after precipitation levels begin to increase, ca. AD 1000, people return to FfDn-01, and FeDn-01 is inhabited for the first time. The features associated with episode 2 are small. That the locations are close to the lakeshore, and the recovery of migratory bird bone hints at fall camps. The occupation at FeDn-01 is small, and short-term. Over the proceeding two to three centuries, precipitation levels increased. Consequently, the size of the landform increased, and the stratigraphy indicates that vegetated surfaces developed. Together these events supported increased activity at FeDn-01, over episode 2. The conditions at FfDn-01, in vicinity of Area B, are similar. Evidence indicates that this location was not amenable to occupation during episode 1. However, as precipitation increased, soil deposition increased, and the location of Area B became suitable for occupation.

Episode 3 is similar to episode 1, in that it spans a transition from wetter to drier conditions. The 18th century component at FeDn-01 occurred during a period of increased precipitation. When it occurred the episode 2 components were buried, and the landform continued to increase in size, to resemble a small terrace rather than the crest of a levee. As a result, the 18th century artifacts were buried deeper below the excavation datum than the stone tools from episode 2. The other episode-3 component at FeDn-01 occurred during a period of lower than average precipitation. This is interesting because it correlates with descriptions in Henry Youle Hind's journal (2007), where he described his team having to drag their canoes, and eventually turn around altogether, due to low water levels at the headwater of the Mishta-shipu (MR). In the same account Hind also noted that forest fires had impacted Ashuanipi in the years previous to his trip, and that these fires had resulted in hardship for the Innu due to impacts on animals.

Today, research has demonstrated that there is a correlation between periods of low precipitation and increased forest fire frequency in the interior of the Peninsula (Foster 1983). Knowing this, it is apparent that transformations in the archaeological record at FfDn-01 and FeDn-01 are not simply responses to environmental factors; the desire to visit Ashuanipi was balanced against the impacts of environmental variability, and social influences. In some cases the timing of occupation was adjusted, while at other times the occupation of Ashuanipi was forgone.

Innu History in the Archaeological History of Ashuanipi

The identity of the individuals and families who inhabited archaeological sites is always a tricky subject. Culture history arguments made by archaeologist in North America are rooted in a framework of archaeological cultures. In this framework archaeologists divide artifacts, sites, and components into groups called complexes or phases (Chapter One) (Table 1-1). In regions where there are Indigenous people who believe they are descended from the earlier inhabitants, the results of archaeological classification, or taxonomy, can create significant impasses between archaeologists and those who assert decedent relationships with the archaeological history being studied.

In the framework traditionally used for the Peninsula, the sites in episodes 1 and 2 at Ashuanipi could be classified in, or compared with, one of at least fifteen categories (Table 1-1). These designations are based on site characteristics, including the artifacts recovered, their likeness within a geographic region, and their divergence from other, similarly defined regions (see Brake 2007 for a discussion of these in relation to the FfDn-01: area A excavation results). Most of the archaeologists who work within this time frame on the Peninsula believes that these imagined archaeological cultures are somehow related to the Innu and Eeyou who inhabit the Peninsula today, but they have not been able to articulate this clearly, within terms the Innu can understand or accept (terms like “Recent Indians” do not help on this front).

The Innu appear to have a different view of history than most archaeologists and anthropologists. As described by Sylvie Vincent (2004: 139), an anthropologist who conducted first person interviews on this subject, the Innu explain history in three flexible configurations: “the time of the ancestors, the time of the Innu, and the time of future generations”, which can also be expressed in the Innu terms tshiashinnu (people from ancient times), Innu (people), and aishinnu (people in the future). Within these Vincent explains that there is no hard start and end dates, but that they are based on “changes in the degree of Innu self-sufficiency and autonomy”, rather than actual events, such as the beginning of Ramah chert use, the arrival of European settlers, or even Christianization. The time of the ancestors begins “when the earth becomes inhabitable” (Vincent 2004: 139). In Labrador, this has been equated with deglaciation (Daniel Ashini, personal communication 2005), and continues until such a time that the effects of colonialism override the autonomy of the ancestors. Because the effects of colonialism are not even in history, and across the Peninsula, people may have entered the time of the Innu at different points. This is not unlike the taxonomic critique of the “Contact period” in Chapter Two. It also implies that wider relationships could have existed among the tshiashinnu, then archaeologist and anthropologists recognize today.

Kenneth Sassaman (2011) has argued, in relation to the “Eastern Archaic” period, that it is a mistake to equate the results of archaeological excavation (i.e. ceramics, stone tools, features, and monuments) with actual culture groups, and that it is much more likely that these fashions were adopted and discarded in complex

ways, by a variety of culture-groups who encountered and interacted with one another. This echoes what Richard Nuna (2006) and Daniel Ashini (2006) said about the archaeological history of eastern North America at the Canadian Archaeological Association annual meeting in 2006, when they both stated that rather than seeing these First Nations archaeological complexes as “distinct groups of people” the Innu see them all as their “ancestors”, and recognize that they have differences as well as similarities, which result from the region in which they live and the experiences they have had. Within the Peninsula, an example of this can be seen in the Innu categories of mishuaunnu (Innu from the tundra) and uinipekunnu (Innu from the coast). These terms recognize that there are differences between “tundra” and “coastal” people, and that there are also strong similarities; both groups are still Innu. Furthermore, these classifications do not mean that these Innu are confined to the tundra or coastal region, only that they are more rooted in one region than the other.

For the Innu then, the differences between episode 1 and 2 at Ashunaipi may not be as significant as they have been made out to be here, but this is OK. By not forcing the archaeological history of Ashuanipi into traditional culture history categories, other than what has been identified by radiocarbon dating and site stratigraphy, there is room for both the Innu and archaeologists to interpret and present the results. In western cultures the division of time is important, and that is how events and trends are portrayed and understood. In Innu culture, the division of time is not important, but the transition over time is, and these can be detected in

the archaeological history portrayed in Chapter Five. Episodes 1 and 2, as well as the other archaeological complexes listed in table 1-1 can fit within the tshiashinnu classification. Looking at episodes 3 and 4 it is not clear where the Innu would begin to distinguish between the tshiashinnu and the Innu. Looking at it through what has been said regarding variation in the impact of colonialism it is likely that there is no single point where all Innu would say, “that’s when it happened”. Some of the individuals and families who had avoided travelling to the coast for as long as possible may identify the creation of the cemetery at Ashuanipi Pass and/or the arrival of the Hudson Bay Company in the interior of the Peninsula as the point of transition to the “time of the Innu”, while others, who spent more time on the coast, may see the appearance of Jesuits as the transition point. Having said that, it is believed that all Innu would agree that by the time the QNSL railway came into operation, at the beginning of episode 4, the time of the ancestors had ended.

In retrospect the categories of Innu history are not that different than the categories of archaeological history identified for Ashuanipi. What is important from an archaeological perspective is understanding that the Innu have their own view of history, coming to some understanding of this view, and recognizing that it is possible to work within an archaeological framework that will allow for the study of Indigenous history over the long-term, without having to compartmentalize it within binary division of time, such as prehistory vs. history. It appears the discipline would be better off if it took a cue from the Innu, and saw this as a transition, rather than a hard division.

Denouement

This dissertation has tried to present the results of the Ashuanipi survey not as a series of individual archaeological and ethnographic sites, but as a history of a single place, with a number of interconnected locations. The procurement sites, the religious sites, the transportation sites, the campsites, and the multi-component sites can be studied individually. However, to truly begin to understand the long-term history of Ashuanipi they must be seen as part of a whole. In reality, this effort has just begun. There are many more pieces of the puzzle to fit together at Ashuanipi, and elsewhere in the Plateau. As is often the case in preliminary studies of this nature there were more opportunities for future research identified than there were answers to the research questions posed. Some of these opportunities include: conducting archaeological fieldwork at other ashkui locations on the Plateau; expanding survey work further north and south along the Ashuanipi travel route; studying portage trails; policy research on the impact of jurisdictional divides on cultural heritage research and management; site specific environmental research, including investigations into the impact of Innu on local vegetation; ethnographic research with Innu at Ashuanipi to collect information on the numerous ethnographic sites present and their knowledge of the long-term history of the lake; and the investigation of additional multi-component sites such as FfDn-07. It should also be reiterated that this was not an Indigenous archaeology project, but that it is clear that future research at Ashuanipi will require partnership with Innu who have first hand knowledge of the location.

To end it must also be stated that Ashuanipi itself is only one part of an even larger puzzle, which is the history of the Plateau, and the Peninsula. While work is underway at many locations across the Peninsula there needs to be a concerted effort on the part of archaeologists on both side of the Quebec-Labrador border (myself included) to begin to bring these various histories together into a broader narrative, which will include histories of the Innu, the Inuit, settlers, the Dorset, the French, the English, the Norse, and so on. If there is one thing that archaeologists can learn from the Innu view of history, it is that these groups and the locations they inhabit(ed) are all part of the history of the Peninsula, and the ancestors.

Bibliography

Apple Inc

2012-2014 Maps (Version 2.0) [Mobile application software]. Retrieved from <http://itunes.apple.com>

Ameling, Mike

2006 Oval Fire Steels – Ameling. Electronic document, <http://www.aditl.com/firefromsteel-ameling/firesteel-oval.html>. Accessed June 5, 2016.

Andreson, T.G.

1985 *The Rivers of Labrador*. Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Ottawa.

Andre, Mathieu

1984 *Moi, Mestenapeu*. Editions Inos, Quebec.

Arbour, Chelsee

2013 Caribou Paths and Stone Hearths: Archaeological Fieldwork at Kamestastin, Spring 2012. In *2012 Archaeology Annual Review, Vol. 11*, Provincial Archaeology Office, Department of Business, Tourism, Culture and Rural Development, St. John's.

Armitage, Peter

2004 Romancing Labrador: the Social Construction of Wilderness and the Labrador Frontier. In *Every Grain of Sand: Canadian Perspectives on Ecology and Environment*. J. Andrew Wainwright (ed). Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

1997 The Innu. Electronic document, <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/aboriginal/innu.php>. Accessed June 5, 2012.

Arnold, C. J.

1986 Archaeology and History: The Shades of Confrontation and Cooperation. In *Archaeology at the Interface: Studies in Archaeology's Relationships with History, Geography, Biology and Physical Science*, edited by John L. Bintliff and Chris F. Gaffney. BAR International series, Oxford.

Arsenault, Daniel and Daniel Gendron (editors)

2007 *Des Tuniit aux Inuits: Patrimoine Archeologique et Historique au Nunavik*. CELAT, No. 2, Publication en Archeologie du Nunavik, Institut Culturel Avataq, Westmont.

- Ashini, Daniel
 1989. *The Innu of Ungava*. In *Drum Beat*. Ed. Boyce Richardson. Summerhill Press, Toronto.
- 2007 *Who Owns the Past?* Paper Presented at the 39th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, St. John's.
- Atalay, Sonya
 2013 *Community-based Archaeology: Research With, By, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*. University of California Press, Los Angeles.
- Auger, Reginald
 1991 *Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: From the written sources to the archaeological evidence*. Centre d'études nordiques, Université Laval, 1991.
- Baillie, Shauna, Corinne Wilkerson, and Tina Newbury
 2004 "Ashkui" Vernal Ice-cover Phenomena and Their Ecological Role in Southern Labrador. In *Canadian Field Naturalist* 118(2): 267-269.
- Banning, E.B.
 2002 *Archaeological Survey*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Barkham, Selma (Huxley)
 1980 Notes on the Strait of Belle Isle During the Period of Basque Contact with Indians and Inuit. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 51-58.
- Bender, Barbara (editor)
 1993 *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Berg, London.
- Bergerud, A.T., Stuart Lutich, and Lodewijk Camps
 2008 *The Return of Caribou to Ungava*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.
- Binford, Lewis, E.
 1980 Willow Smoke and Dogs' Tails: Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems and Archaeological Site Formation. *American Antiquity* 45(1): 4-20.
- 2000 *Constructing Frames of Reference*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Bintliff, John L.
 1991 The Contribution of an Annaliste/Structural History Approach to Archaeology. In *The Annales School and Archaeology*, edited by John Bintliff, pp. 1-33. New York University Press, New York.

- Bintliff, John and Mark Pearce
2011 *The Death of Archaeological Theory*. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Bintliff, John and Mark Pearce
2011 Introduction. In *The Death of Archaeological Theory*, edited by John Bintliff and Mark Pearce, pp. 1-6. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Bouchard, Serge
2004 *Caribou Hunter: A Song of a Vanished Innu Life*. Translated by Joan Irving. Douglas and McIntyre, Toronto.
- Boutet, Jean-Sebastien
2014 Opening Ungava to Industry: a Decentering Approach to indigenous history in Subarctic Quebec, 1937-54. *Cultural Geographies* 21(1): 79-97.
- Brake, Jamie E.S.
2007 *Ashuanipi Kupitan: Excavation at the Ferguson Bay 1 Site in Western Labrador*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, St. John's.
- Brandy, Eliza
2009 Results of Faunal Analysis from Two Sites on Ashuanipi Lake, Labrador. Copies Available from, Labrador Institute of Memorial University, North West River.
- Braudel, Fernand
1980 *On History*. Translated by Sarah Matthews. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Camp, Helen B
1982 Identification of Maker's Marks on White Clay Tobacco Pipes from Colonial Pemaquid. *The Maine Historical Society Bulletin* 22:2.
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
2008 Williams Defends Quebec Innu Cabin Evictions: Government Fighting Quebec Innu Claims on Labrador Land. Electronic documents, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/williams-defends-quebec-Innu-evictions-1.75879>. Accessed June 5, 2015.
- Canadian Forest Service
2004 The State of Canada's Forests 2004-2005: The Boreal Forest. Electronic document, <http://www.cfs.nrcan.gc.ca/pubwarehouse/pdfs/25648.pdf>, accessed April 21, 2014.

- Carr, Edward H.
1961 *What is History*. Macmillan, London.
- Chapdelaine, Claude (editor)
2012 *Late Pleistocene Archaeology & Ecology in the Far Northeast*. Texas A&M University Press, College Station.
- CHIN
2005 People and Places: Elder Biographies. Electronic documents, http://www.tipatshimuna.ca/1430_e.php. Accessed June 5, 2015.
- Chisholm, Hugh (editor)
1911 Anville, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Cooke, Alan
1964 The Exploration of New Quebec. In *Le Nouveau-Quebec: Contribution a L'Etdude de L'Occupation Humaine*, edited by Jean Malaurie and Jacques Rousseau, pp. 137-179. Mouton, Paris.
- Croes, Dale
2010 Courage and thoughtful Scholarship = Indigenous Archaeology Partnerships. *American Antiquity* 75(2): 211-216.
- Crumley, Carole
2003 Historical Ecology: Integrated Thinking at Multiple Temporal and Spatial Scales. Electronic Documents, <http://www.aimes.ucar.edu/docs/ssc/2005/03.crumley.pdf>, Accessed May21, 2015.

1987 Historical Ecology. In *Regional Dynamics: Burgundian Landscapes in Historical Perspective*, edited by Carole l Crumley and William H. Marquardt, pp. 237-264. Academic Press Inc., San Diego.
- Cullen-Cobb, Kim
2009 Chronology of Nail Types from 1790 to Present. Electronic document, <http://www.conservation-wiki.com/wiki/file:Painting-II-ch3-142-01.jpg>. Accessed June 9, 2015.
- D'Anville, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon
1720 Carte du Domaine du Roy en Canada, 17. Electronic document, <http://www.gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6700159b>. Accessed June 8, 2015.

Davidson, James West and John Ruge

1982 *The Complete Wilderness Paddler*. Vintage Books, New York.

Denton, David

2012 Les Cris d'Eeyou Istchee avant le XVII siècle. In *Histoire du Nord-du-Quebec*, edited by Rejean Girard, pp. 101-139. Les Regions du Quebec, 22. University of Laval Press, Quebec.

2007 *First Nation Facts and Archaeological Stories: the Challenges of native Archaeology for Subarctic Prehistory*. Paper presented at the 39th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Society, St. John's.

2001 *A Visit in Time: Ancient Places, Archaeology and Stories from the Elders of Wemindji*. Cree Regional Authority, Nemaska.

1988 Long Term Land Use Patterns in the Caniapiscau Area, Nouveau Quebec. In *Boreal Forest and Sub-Arctic Archaeology*, edited by C.S. Reid, pp. 146-156. Ontario Archaeology Society, Occasional Publications of the London Chapter, No. 6, London

1983 *The Early Contact Period in the Quebec -Labrador Interior*. Paper presented at the 16th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, Halifax.

1981 Variation in the Size of Prehistoric Co-residential Groups in the Eastern Sub-Arctic: Evidence From the Central-Interior of Quebec-Labrador. Paper presented at the 14th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, Edmonton.

1979 L'Exploitation Historique Recente du Caribou et les Schemes d'Atablissement dans la Region de Caniapiscau. *Recherches Amerindiennes au Quebec* 9(1-2): 105-116.

Denton, David and Jamie Moses

2009 *Cree Cultural Heritage and Hydroelectric Development in Iiyiyuschii*. Paper presented at Colloque de L'Universite d'Angers Cris et Inuit du Nord di Quebec, Territoire, Economie, societe et Culture, 21-24 Octobre, 2009.

Denton, David and Moira McCaffrey

1988 A Preliminary Statement on the Prehistoric Utilization of Chert Deposits Near Schefferville, Nouveau-Quebec. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology/Journal Canadien d'Archeologie* 12: 137-152

- Department of Tourism, Culture, and Recreation
2014 Complex Authority List. Electronic Document, http://www.tcr.gov.nl.ca/tcr/pao/cult_phase_complex_authority_list.html. Accessed December 15, 2014.
- Deloria, Vine, jr.
1992 Indians, Archaeologist, and the Future. *American Antiquity* 57(4): 595-598.
- Dillon, Brian
1995 *Timberland Historical Archaeology Notes*. CDF Archaeological Reports, No. 16, California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection.
- Dincauze, Dena
2000 *Environmental Archaeology: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

1987 Strategies for Paleoenvironmental Reconstruction in Archaeology. *Advances in Archaeological method and Theory* 11: 255-321.
- Duke, Philip
1991 Points in Time: Structure and Event in a Late Northern Plains Hunting Society. University Press of Colorado, Niwot.
- Dyke, Arthur, S. and James M. Savelle
2000 Holocene Driftwood Incursion to Southwestern Victoria Island, Canadian Arctic Archipelago, and its Significance to Paleoceanography and Archaeology. *Quaternary Research* 54(1): 113-120.
- Erwin, John C., Donald Holly jr., Stephen Hull and Timothy L. Rast.
2005 Form and Function of Projectile Points and the Trajectory of Newfoundland Prehistory. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology/Journal Canadian d'Archeologie* 29(1): 46-67.
- Executive Council, Labrador and Aboriginal Affairs
2008 Innu Nation and Province Reach Historic Agreement, Appendix 1. Electronic document, www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2008/exec/0926n07map.pdf. Accessed April 21, 2014.
- Fadala, Sam
2006 *The Complete Blackpowder Handbook*. Gun Digest Books, Lola, Wisconsin.
- Ferris, Neal
2009 *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Ferguson, Jonathan

1997 Clay Pipes. In *Final Report – 1997 Archaeological Excavations La Vase Heritage Project*. Electronic Document, <http://www.cityofnorthbay.ca/living/history/lavase/index.htm>, accessed April 15, 2015.

Fillery-Travis, Ruth

2011 Review of *The Death of Archaeological Theory*, edited by John Bintliff and Mark Pearce. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 21: 121-124.

Finklestein, Max and James Stone

2014 *Paddling the Boreal Forest: Rediscovering A.P. Low*. Natural Heritage Books, Toronto.

Fitzhugh, William

2006 Settlement, Social and Ceremonial Change in the Labrador Maritime A Archaic. In *The Archaic of the Far Northeast*. Edited by David Sanger and Priscilla Renouf, pp. 47-81. The University of Maine Press, Orono.

1987 Archaeological Ethnicity and the study of the Prehistory of Labrador. *Ethnicity and Culture: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Conference*. Edited by Reginald Auger, Margaret F. Glass, Scott MacEachern and Peter H. McCartney, pp 141-153. Chacmool, the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, Calgary.

1976 Preliminary Culture History of Nain, Labrador: Smithsonian Fieldwork, 1975. *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 3: 125-142.

1972 *Environmental Archaeology and Cultural Systems in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador A survey of the Central Labrador Coast From 3000 B.C. to the Present*. Smithsonian Contributions the Anthropology Number 16. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

Foster, David R.

1983 The History and Pattern of Fire in the Boreal Forest of Southeastern Labrador. *Canadian Journal of Botany* 61(9): 2459-2471.

Friesen, Max T.

2013 North America: Paleoeskimo and Inuit Archaeology. In *The Encyclopaedia of Global Human Migration*, edited by Immanuel Ness, pp. 1-8. Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken.

Galton, Barry

1999 *Colony of Avalon*. Electronic document, http://www.colonyofavalon.ca/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=125:pipe-makers-marks&catid=61:the-artifacts&itemid=109. Accessed June 5, 2015.

Geren, Richard and Blake McCullough

1990 *Cain's Legacy: The Building of Iron Ore Company of Canada*. Iron Ore Company of Canada, Sept-Île.

Gilman, Carolyn

1982 *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade*. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

2009 *Historic Resources Act*. Queen's Printer, St. John's.

1999 *Redfir Lake – Kapitagas Channel Ecological Reserve*. Department of Environment and Conservation, St. John's.

Griebel, Brendan

2013 *Recharting the Course of History: Mapping Concepts of Community, Archaeology and Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit in the Canadian Territory of Nunavut*. PhD. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Hamilton, Scott

2000 *Archaeological Predictive Modelling in the Boreal Forest: No Easy Answers*. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology/Journal Canadien d'Archeologie*, 24(1&2): pp. 41-76.

Harper, Francis

1958 *Birds of the Ungava Peninsula*. University of Kansas Museum of Natural History Miscellaneous Publications No.12. University of Kansas, Lawrence.

1961 *The Land and Freshwater mammals of the Ungava Peninsula*. University of Kansas. The Allen Press, Lawrence. University of Kansas Museum of Natural History Miscellaneous Publications No. 37. University of Kansas, Lawrence.

1964 *The Friendly Montagnais and their Neighbours in the Ungava Peninsula*. University of Kansas, Lawrence.

Hart, Sibhoan M.

2012 Decolonizing through Heritage Work in the Pocumtuck Homeland of Northeastern North America. In *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology* edited by Maxine Oland, Siobhan M. Hart, and Liam Frink, pp. 86-112. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Hart, Siobhan M., Maxine Oland, and Liam Frink

2012 Finding Transitions: Global Pathways to Decolonizing Indigenous Histories in Archaeology. In *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology*, edited by Maxine Oland, Siobhan M. Hart, and Liam Frink, pp. 1-18. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Hartery, Latonia

2007 *The Cow Head Complex and the Recent Indian Period in Newfoundland, Labrador and the Quebec Lower North Shore*. Occasional Papers in Northeastern Archaeology No. 17, Copetown Press, St. John's.

Henriksen, Georg

1973 *Hunters in the Barrens: The Naskapi on the Edge of the White Man's World*. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No.12. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University, St. John's.

Henry, David J.

2002 *Canada's Boreal Forest*. Smithsonian Institute, Washington.

Hind, Henry Youle

2007 [1863] *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula*. Boulder Publication, Portugal Cove-St. Phillips.

Hodder, Ian and Scott Hutson

2003 *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Holly, Donald, H. jr

2013 *History in the Making: The Archaeology of the Eastern Subarctic*. Altamira Press, Toronto.

2002 Subarctic "Prehistory" in the Anthropological Imagination. *Arctic Anthropology* 39(1/2): 10-26.

Holly, Donald jr. and Moira McCaffrey

2012 Rethinking Eastern Subarctic History. In *The Oxford Handbook of North American Archaeology*. Edited by Timothy R. Pauketat, pp. 124-134. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hood, Bryan

2008 *Towards and archaeology of the Nain Region, Labrador*. Edited by William W. Fitzhugh. Contributions to Circumpolar Anthropology, No. 7, Arctic Studies Centre, national Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington

Huegel, Roger E.

2003 *Canada .22 Box ID, .22 Boxes of the World: based on Tony Dunn's "A Catalog of the .22 Boxes of the World"*. Electronic document, <http://www.22box-id.com/world/Canada.pdf>. Accessed June 5, 2015.

Hull, Stephen

2014a Recent Indian Sites. Electronic document, http://www.tcr.gov.nl.ca/tcr/pao/arch_sites/ri.html. Accessed April 18, 2014.

2014b Innu Sites. Electronic document, http://www.tcr.gov.nl.ca/tcr/pao/arch_sites/innu.html. Accessed April 18, 2014.

2002 *Tainte Uet Tshinauetamin? A Trail to Labrador, Recent Indians and the North Cove Site*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, St. John's.

JWEL (Jacques Whitford Environment Limited)

2000 Sea Level History and Geomorphology of the Churchill River and Strait of Belle Isle. Unpublished Report on file, Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro, St. John's.

Jenkinson, Anthony

2010 Summary of Tshikapisk Excavation at Kamestastin 2008 to 2010. In *Provincial Archaeology Office Review, Vol. 9*, Provincial Archaeology Office, Department of Business, Tourism, Culture and Rural Development, St. John's.

Jenkinson, Anthony and Jean Pierre Ashini

2015 Tshikapisk Archaeological Activities at Kamestastin, Spring 2014. In *2014 Annual Review, Vol. 13*, Provincial Archaeology Office, Department of Business, Tourism, Culture and Rural Development, St. John's.

Josephs, Richard L.

2007 *A Preliminary Summary of the Micromorphological Investigations at the Ferguson Bay 1 Archaeological Site (FfDn-01), Ashuanipi Lake, Labrador*. Manuscript on file, Department of Geology and Geological Engineering, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

2015 *Final Report of Micromorphological Investigations at Site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi Lake, Labrador*. Report on File, Department of Anthropology, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

Kaplan, Susan and Jim M. Woollett

2000 Challenges and Choices: Exploring the Interplay of Climate, History, and Culture on Canada's Labrador Coast. *Arctic, Antarctic, and Alpine Research*, 32(2): 351-359.

Kelly, Robert L.

1983 Hunter-Gatherer Mobility Strategies. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 39(3): 277-306.

King, G.A.

1986 Deglaciation and vegetation history of western Labrador and adjacent Quebec. Dissertation. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Kooyman, Brian P.

2000 *Understanding Stone Tools and Archaeological sites*. University of Calgary Press, Calgary.

Kristensen, Todd

2010 *L'Anse aux Meadows (EjAv-01): An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation of Bird Use During the Recent Indian Period in Newfoundland and Labrador*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, St. John's.

Laure, Pierre-Michel

1731 Carte du Domaine du Roy en Canada, 1731. Electronic document, <http://www.gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b67001563>. Accessed January 5, 2015.

Lavoie, Michel and Clause Gelinias

2012 Historic Occupation and Land and Resource Use by Aboriginals in Eastern Quebec and Labrador, 17th Century – 20th Century. Electronic document, http://www.env.gov.nl.ca/env/env_assessment/projects/Y2011/1611/Kami_EIS_Volume_1_Appendix_Z.pdf. Accessed October 31, 2012.

- Leeuw, Sander van der and Charles L. Redman
2002 Placing Archaeology at the Centre of Socio-Natural Studies. *American Antiquity* 67(4): 597-605.
- Lindsey, Bill
2015 *Bottle/Glass Colours*. Electronic document, <http://www.sha.org/bottle/colours.htm>
- Lock, Gary and Brian L. Molyneaux
2006 Preface. In *Confronting Scale in Archaeology: Issues of Theory and Practice*, edited by Gary Lock and Brian L. Molyneaux, pp. 1-xxvi. Springer Science+Business Media, New York.
- Loring, Stephen G.
2002 "And They Took Away the Stones from Ramah": Lithic Raw Material Sourcing and Eastern Archaeology. In *Honouring our Elders: A History of Eastern Arctic Archaeology*, edited by William W. Fitzhugh, Stephen Loring, and Daniel Odess. Contributions to Circumpolar Anthropology, No. 2. Arctic Studies Centre, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institute, Washington.
- 1992 Princes and Princesses of Ragged Fame: Innu Archaeology and Ethnohistory in Labrador. PhD. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- 1988 Keeping Things Whole: Nearly Two Thousand Years of Indian (Innu) Occupation in Northern Labrador. In *Boreal Forest and Sub-Arctic Archaeology*, edited by C.S. Reid, pp. 157-182. Ontario Archaeology Society, Occasional Publications of the London Chapter, No. 6, London.
- Loring, Stephen G., Moira McCaffrey, Peter Armitage, and Daniel Ashini
2003 The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of a Drowned Land: Innu Nation Research Along the Former Michikamats Lake Shore in Nitassinan (Interior Labrador). *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 31: 45-72.
- Low, Albert P.
1896 *Report on Explorations in the Labrador Peninsula: Along the East Main, Koksoak, Hamilton, Manicougan and Portions of Other Rivers in 1892-93-94-95*. Geological Survey of Canada, Ottawa.
- Lyons, Natasha
2013 *Where the Wind Blows Us: Practicing Critical Community Archaeology in the Canadian North*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

MacLeod, Donald

1967 Field Season Report, Submitted to J.V. Wright, Canadian Museum of Man. Report on File, Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.

1968 Field Season Report, Submitted to J.V. Wright, Canadian Museum of Man. Report on File, Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.

Madden, Marcie Maura

1975 *A Late Archaic Sequence in Southern Labrador*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, St. John's.

Mailhot, Jose

1986 Beyond Everyone's Horizon Stand the Naskapi. *Ethnohistory* 33(4): 384-418.

1998 *The People of Sheshatshiu: In the Land of the Innu*. Institute of Social and Economic Research, St. John's.

McCaffrey, Moira

2011 Ancient Social Landscapes in the Eastern Subarctic. In *Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology as Historical Process*, edited by Kenneth E. Sassaman and Donald Holly jr. pp. 143-165. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

2006 Archaic Period Occupations in Subarctic Quebec: A Review of the Evidence. In *Archaic of the Far Northeast*, edited by David Sanger and Priscilla Renouf, pp. 161-190. University of Maine Press, Orono.

2004 *Historic Resources Assessment in the Context of Environmental Baseline Studies for the LabMag Project, Labrador*. Manuscript on File, Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.

1989 Archaeology in Western Labrador. In *Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1986, Annual Report No.7*. Edited by Jane Sproull-Thomson and Callum Thomson, pp. 72-113. Historic Resources Division, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.

McGee, John T.

1961 *Cultural Stability and Change Among the Montagnais Indians of the Lake Melville Region of Labrador*. M.A. Thesis, Catholic University of America, Washington.

McGhee, Robert

2010 Of Straw Men, Herrings, and Frustrated Expectations. *American Antiquity* 75(2): 239-243.

2008 Aboriginalism and the Problems of Indigenous Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 73(4): 579-597.

2005 *The Last Imaginary Place: A Human History of the Arctic World*. Oxford University Press, New York.

2004 Between Racism and Romanticism, Scientism and Spiritualism: The Dilemmas of New World Archaeology. In *Archaeology on the Edge: New Perspectives from the Northern Plains*, edited by Jane Holden Kelley and Brian Patrick Kooyman, pp. 13-22. The University of Calgary Press, Calgary

2001 *Ancient People of the Arctic*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

2000 Radiocarbon Dating and the Timing of the Thule Migration. In *Identities and Cultural Contacts in the Arctic*, edited by Martin Appelt, Joel Berglund, and Hans Christian Gulløv, pp. 181-191. Issue No. 8, Danish Polar Centre Publication, Copenhagen National Museum and Danish Polar Centre, Copenhagen.

1981 *The Tuniit: First Explorers of the High Arctic*. National Museum of Man, Hull.

McGhee, Robert and James A. Tuck

1975 *An Archaic Sequence from the Strait of Belle Isle, Labrador*. National Museum of man Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper No. 34, Ottawa.

McKenzie, Margurite and Hunker

2013 Aimun-Mashinaikan, Innu Dictionary. Electronic document, <http://www.innu-aimun.ca/dictionary/Words>. Accessed June 5, 2012.

McMillan, Alan D. and Eldon Yellowhorn

2004 *First Peoples in Canada*. Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver.

McNiven, Ian J. and Lynette Russell

2005 *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology*. Altamira Press, Oxford.

Minaskuat

2008 *Final Report, LabMag Iron Ore Historic Resources Impact Assessment – Stage 2 (2006)*. Report on File, Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office, St. John's.

Mitchell, Mark, D.

2013 *Crafting History in the Northern Plains: A Political Economy of the Heart River Region, 1400-1750*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Montague, Edmund

2000 *Ancient Travel Routes of Aboriginals in Labrador: Ashuanipi Watershed Area*. Labrador West Heritage Society, Labrador City, Newfoundland and Labrador.

Mueller-Dombois, Dieter

1987 Natural Dieback in Forests. *BioScience* 37(8): 575-583.

Nadasdy, Paul

2012 Boundaries Among Kin: Sovereignty, the Modern Treaty Process, and the Rise of Ethno-Territorial Nationalism among Yukon First Nations. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54(3): 499-532.

Ness, Immanuel (editor)

2013 *The Encyclopaedia of Global Human Migration*. Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken.

Neilsen, Scott

2015 Archaeology in Sheshatshiu: Summer 2014 Investigations. Report on File, Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's. Currently in preparation.

2011 Response to Undertaking No. 76. Report Submitted to Lower Churchill Environmental Review Panel. Report on File, Labrador Institute of Memorial University, North West River, Labrador.

2009 *Archaeology Beyond the Horizon: Survey Data Report*. Report on File Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office, permits 05.10, 06.09, and 08.02. Copies available from NL PAO.

2006 Intermediate Indians: The View from Ushpitun 2 and Pmiusik^u 1. M.A. Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University, St. John's.

Nicholas, George P. and Thomas D. Andrews

1997 *At A Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada*. Archaeology Press, Burnaby.

Niellon, Françoise

1992 The Naskapi of the Ashuanipi in the Days of New France. Translated by A. McGain. Report on file Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.

Norder, John

2012 The Creation and Maintenance of Memory and Place Among First Nations of Northwestern Ontario, Canada. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16(2): 385-400.

NRCAN

2015 Atlas of Canada. Electronic Document, <http://www.atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/toporama/en/index.html>. Accessed April 14, 2015.

Nuna, Richard

2007 *From Being and Indian to an Innu*. Paper Presented at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, St. John's.

Nydal, Reidar

1989 A Critical Review of Radiocarbon Dating of a Norse Settlement at L'Anse Aux Meadows, Newfoundland, Canada. *Radiocarbon* 31(3): 976-985.

Oland, Maxine, Siobhan M. Hart, and Liam Frink

2012 Finding Transitions: Global Pathways to Decolonizing Indigenous Histories in Archaeology. In *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology*, edited by Maxine Oland, Siobhan M. Hart, and Liam Frink, pp. 1-18. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

O'Reilly, James

2010 Public Utilities Board Requests for Information to the Innu of Uashat mak Mani-Utenam et al. (IUM). Electronic document, <http://www.pub.nf.ca/applications/Nalcor2009Water/files/rfi/ResponsesPUB-IUM1-13.pdf>.

Parks Canada

2014 Torngat Mountains National Park. Electronic Document, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/nl/torngats/activ/activ1.aspx>, accessed February 24, 2016.

Payette, Serge

1993 The Range Limit of Boreal Tree Species in Quebec-Labrador: an Ecological and Palaeoecological Interpretation. *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology* 79(1-2): 7-30.

Pearce, Mark

2011 Have the Rumours of the “Death of Theory” Been Exaggerated? In *The Death of Archaeological Theory*, edited by John Bintliff and Mark Pearce, pp. 7-89. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Pintal, Jean-Yves

2000 On the (early) Origins of the Beothuk. Paper Presented at the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association.

1998 *Aux Frontier de la Mer: La Prehistoire de Blanc-Sablon*. Government du Quebec Ministere de la Culture et des Communications, Quebec.

Provencher, Paul

1953 *I Live in the Woods: a Book of Personal Recollections and Woodland Lore*, Brunswick Press, Fredericton.

Provincial Archaeology Office

2003 Archaeological Site Record Form, FgDn-01. Form on File, Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John’s.

Quebec Ministere de la Culture et des Communications

2015 Avis – Decouverte Archaeologique Avec Permis de Recherche Archeologique. Electronic document, http://www.mcc.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/documents/patrimoine/MCC-061_-_Decouverte_-_Avec_Permis_v12_I_A_S.pdf

Ramsden, Peter and James A. Tuck

2001 A Comment on the Pre-Dorset/Dorset Transition in the Eastern Arctic. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* 1(1): 7-11.

Ramsden, Peter and Lisa Rankin

2013 Thule Radiocarbon Chronology and Its Implications for Early Inuit-European Interaction in Labrador. In *Exploring Atlantic Transitions*, edited by Peter E. Pope and Shannon Lewis-Simpson, pp. 299-309. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.

Randell, Adam

2010 Quebec Innu say “Enough is Enough”. Electronic document, <http://www.Thelabradorian.ca/News/2010-03-01/article-1515255/Quebec-Innu-say-Enough-is-enough/1>. Accessed June 5, 2015.

Rankin, Lisa K.

2009 An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit Occupation of Labrador. Electronic Document, http://www.mun.ca/labmetis/pdf/thule_Inuit_final_report.pdf, accessed December 15, 2014.

2008 Un-Caching Hunter-Gatherer Culture in Labrador: from Daily Life to Long-Term History. *North Atlantic Archaeology* 1: 117-156.

Rankin, Lisa, Matthew Beaudoin, and Natalie Brewster

2012 Southern Exposure: The Inuit of Sandwich Bay, Labrador. In *Settlement, Subsistence and Change Among the Labrador Inuit: the Nunatsiavummit Experience*, edited by David C Natcher, Larry Felt and Andrea Proctor, pp. 61-84. University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg.

Rankin, Lisa and Lori Squires

2006 Colonizing Labrador: The Actions and Reactions of the Paleoeskimo. In *The Dynamics of North Societies*, edited by Jette Arneborg and Bjarned Gronnow, pp. 87-94. Proceedings of the SIAL/NABO Conference on Arctic and North Atlantic Archaeology. National Museum Studies in Archaeology and History vol. 10, Copenhagen.

Robinson, Brian S.

1992 Early and Middle Archaic period occupation in the Gulf of Maine region: mortuary and technological patterning. In *Early Holocene Occupation in Northern New England*, edited by Brian Robinson, James Petersen and Ann Robinson, pp. 63-116. Maine Historic Preservation Commission, Augusta.

Rogers, Edward and Eleanor Leacock

1981 Montagnais-Naskapi. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 6: Subarctic*, edited by William C. Sturtevant and June Helm, pp. 169-189. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Rossignol, Jacqueline and LuAnn Wandsnider (editors)

1992 *Space, Time, and Archaeological Landscapes*. Springer, New York.

Ryder, Kassina

2010 Inuit Stories of the Tuniit backed up by Science: Radiocarbon Dating Proves Tuniit and Inuit Existed During Same Time Period. *Northern News Services*, 30 April, Ikaluktutiak/Cambridge Bay.

Sable, Trudy, Geoff Howell, Dave Wilson, and Peter Penashue

2006 The Ashkui Project: Linking Western Science and Innu Environmental Knowledge. In *Local Science vs. Global Science: Approaches to Indigenous Knowledge in International Development*, edited by P. Sillitoe. Berghahn Books, Oxford.

Samford, Patricia

2014 *Colonial and Post-Colonial Ceramics: Pottery Presentation, Fall 2014.*

Electronic document, <http://www.jefpat.org/documents/Colonial-PostColonialCeramics.pdf>. Accessed June 5, 2015.

Samson, Colin

2013 *A World You Do Not Know: Settler Societies, Indigenous Peoples and the Attack on Cultural Diversity.* Human Rights Consortium: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London.

2003 *A Way of Life that Does Not Exist: Canada and the Extinguishment of the Innu.* Institute of Social and Economic Research, St. John's.

Samson, Gilles

1978 Preliminary Cultural Sequence and Palaeo-Environmental Reconstruction of the Indian House Lake Region, Nouveau-Quebec. *Arctic Anthropology* 25(2): 186-205.

1976 "Ethno-history and Archaeology of the Mushuau Innuts." In *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference* 7: 39-61.

Savard, Remi

2004 *La Foret Vive.* Les Editions du Boreal, Montreal.

Schiffer, Michael B.

1986 Radiocarbon Dating and the "Old Wood" Problem: The Case of the Hohokam Chronology. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 13(1): 13-30.

1987 *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

1988 The Structure of Archaeological Theory. *American Antiquity* 53(3): 461-485.

Schiffer, Michael B., Alan P. Sullivan, and Timothy C. Klinger

1978 The design of archaeological surveys. *World Archaeology* 10: 1-28.

Seguin, Rheal

2009 *Newfoundland Orders Innu Families to Leave.* Electronic document, <http://www.Theglobeandmail.com/news/national/newfoundland-orders-innu-families-to-leave/article1056017/>. Accessed June 5, 2015.

Silliman, Stephen

2010 The Value and Diversity of Indigenous Archaeology: A Response to McGhee. *American Antiquity* 75(2): 217-220.

- 2005 Culture Contact or Colonialism? Challenges in the archaeology of Native North America. *American Antiquity* 70(1): 55-74.
- Speck, Frank G.
1977[1935] *Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Spence, Michael W.
1999 Comments: The Social Foundations of Archaeological Taxonomy. In *Taming the Taxonomy: Toward and new Understanding of Great Lakes Archaeology*, edited by Ronald F. Williamson and Christopher M. Watts, pp. 275-282. Eastend Books, Toronto.
- Stassinu Stantec Limited Partnership
2012 Historic Resources Baseline Study Kami Iron Ore Mine and Rail Spur, Labrador. Report on File, Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office, St. John's.
- Steinhauer, Curtis
2015 *Cartridge Identification and Resources*. Electronic document, <http://www.cartridges-corner/heads.htm>. Accessed January, 2015.
- Stopp, Marianne P.
2008a FbAx-01: A Daniel Rattle Hearth in Southern Labrador. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology/Journal Canadien d'Archeologie* 32(2): 96-127.

2008b *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*. McGill-Queen's Press, Montreal.

2002a Reconsidering Inuit Presence in Southern Labrador. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 26(2): 71-106.

2002b Ethnohistoric Analogues for Storage as an Adaptive Strategy in Northeastern Subarctic Prehistory. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 21(3): 301-328.
- Tanner, Vaino
1947 *Outlines of the Geography, Life and Customs of Newfoundland and Labrador: The Eastern Part of the Labrador Peninsula, Vol. 1*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Tanner, Adrian and Peter Armitage

1985 Environmental Impact Assessment: Ross Bay Junction - Churchill Falls Tote Road: Native Resource Use Study. Department of Transportation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.

Taylor, Walter, W.

1983 *A Study of Archaeology*. Reprinted. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Originally published 1948, Memoir 69, American Anthropological Association.

Thomson, Callum

1984 A Summary of Three Environmental Impact Evaluations in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1984. In *Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1984, Annual Report No. 5*, edited by Jane Sproull Thomson and Callum Thomson. Newfoundland Museum, St. John's.

1983 A Summary of Four Contract Archaeology Projects in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1983. In *Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1983, Annual Report No. 4*, edited by Jane Sproull Thomson and Callum Thomson. Newfoundland Museum, St. John's.

Tilley, Christopher

1994 *A phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments*. Expirations in Anthropology. Berg, Oxford.

Tobias, Terry

2009 *Living Proof: the Essential Data Collection Guide for Indigenous Use and Occupancy Map Surveys*. Ecotrust Canada and Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), Vancouver.

Tremblay, Huguette

1977 *Journal des Voyages de Louis Babel, 1866-1868*. Presses de l'Universite du Quebec, Quebec.

Trigger, Bruce, G.

1999 Masters and Servant: A Conference Overview. In *Taming the Taxonomy: Toward and new Understanding of Great Lakes Archaeology*, edited by Ronald F. Williamson and Christopher M. Watts, pp. 303-322. Eastend Books, Toronto.

1989 *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- 1986 Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice. *Ethnohistory* 33(3): 253-267.
- 1982 Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects. *Ethnohistory* 29(1): 1-19.
- Tuck, James A.
 1976 *Ancient People of Port Au Choix*. ISER, St. John's.
- 1977 *Newfoundland and Labrador Prehistory*. Van Nostrand Reinhold, Toronto.
- 1982 Prehistoric Archaeology in Atlantic Canada since 1975. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, 6: 201-218.
- Viau, Andre E. and Konrad Gajewski
 2009 Reconstructing Millennial-Scale, Regional Paleoclimates of Boreal Canada During the Holocene. *Journal of Climate* 22(2): 316-330.
- Vincent, Sylvie
 2004 Apparent Compatibility, Real Incompatibility: Native and Western Versions of History – The Innu Example. In *Figured Worlds: Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations*, edited by J.R. Clammer, Sylvie Poirier, and Eric Schwimmer. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Voorhis, Ernest
 1930 *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and the English Fur Trading Companies*. Department of the Interior, Ottawa.
- Walde, Dale
 2004 Mortlach and One-Gun: Phase to Phase. In *Archaeology on the Edge: New Perspectives from the Northern Plains*, edited by Jane Holden Kelley and Brian Patrick Kooyman, pp. 39-52. The University of Calgary Press, Calgary.
- Walker, Ian C.
 1971 An Archaeological Study of Clay pipes from the King's Bastion, Fortress Louisbourg. Electronic document, <http://www.parkscanadahistory.com/series/chs/2/schs2-3e.htm>. Accessed June 5, 2015.
- Watkins, Joe
 2001 *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek.
- Weber, Michael and Brian Stocks
 1998 Forest Fires and Sustainability in the Boreal Forest of Canada. *Royal Swedish Academy of Science* 27(7): 545-550.

- Wheeler, Robert C, Walter A. Kenyon, Alan R. Woolworth and Douglas A. Birk
1975 *Voices from the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts, 1960-73*. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.
- White, James
1926 *Forts and Trading Posts in Labrador and Adjoining portions of Ontario and Quebec*. King's Printer, Ottawa.
- Wilcox, Michael
2010 Saving Indigenous Peoples from Ourselves: Separate but Equal Archaeology is not Scientific Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 75(2): 221-227.
- Williamson, Ronald F. and Christopher M. Watts
1999 *Taming the Taxonomy: Toward and new Understanding of Great Lakes Archaeology*. Eastend Books, Toronto.
- Wobst, H. Martin
1978 The Archaeo-Ethnology of Hunter-Gatherers or the Tyranny of the Ethnographic Record in Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 43(2): 303-309.
- Wolff, Christopher
2008 *The Study of the Evolution of Maritime Archaic Households in North Labrador*. PhD. Dissertation, Dedman College, Southern Methodist University, Dallas.
- Wright, James, V.
1995 *A History of the Native People of Canada, Vol. I (10,000-1,000 BC)*. Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper No. 152, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.
- Wylie, Alison
1985 The Reaction Against Analogy. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8:63-111.
- Yellowhorn, Eldon
2006 The Waking of Internalist Archaeology in the Aboriginal World. In *The Archaeology of Bruce Trigger: Theoretical Empiricism*, edited by Ronald F. Williams and Michael S. Bisson, pp. 194-209. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.
- Zedeno, Maria Nieves and Brend J Bowser
2009 The Archaeology of Meaningful Places. In *The Archaeology of Meaningful Places*, edited by Brenda J. Bowser and Maria Nieves Zedeno, pp. 1-14. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

APPENDIX 1

Ashuanipi Artifact Catalogue

<i>Ashuanipi Project Catalogue</i>									
<i>FcDm-02, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	bottle fragment	glass	Pink- purple (translucent)	na	trail	0	0	na	bottom fragment, some raised numbers visible (309...)
<i>FcDm-05, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	Bottle fragment	Glass	Purple (translucent)	Trail	Na	0	0	Na	Glass is sun purpled, neck fragment.
<i>FdDm-01, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	flake shatter	chert	light gray w/dark and rust specks	na	beach	0	0	na	Water-worn.
002	flake shatter	quartz	clear-white	na	beach	0	0	na	
003	flake shatter	chert	black w/dark specks	na	beach	0	0	na	
004	flake shatter	chert	black w/rust specks	na	beach	0	0	na	
005	flake	chert	grey w/dark specks	na	beach	0	0	na	
006	flake	chert	gray w/dark specks	na	beach	0	0	na	
007	flake shatter	chert	gray w/dark specks	na	beach	0	0	na	.
008	flake	chert	tan w/dark specks	na	beach	0	0	na	
009	flake	Chert	clear w/dark specks	na	beach	0	0	na	Ramah.
<i>FeDm-01, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	Flake	Chert	Gray w/rust specks	Na	Sand dune	0	0	Na	Isolated find

FeDm-02, Artifact Catalogue									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	Flake Shatter	Chert	Black	Na	Beach	0	0	Na	Isolated find
FeDn-01, Artifact Catalogue									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	shatter	chert	gray, rust and dark specks	TP2	TL1	0	0	na	
002	flake	chert	gray, rust and dark specks	TP2	TL1	0	0	na	
003	flake shatter	chert	gray, rust and dark specks	TP2	TL1	0	0	na	
004	flake shatter	chert	light gray-green, rust and dark specks	TP2	TL1	0	0	na	
005	ceramic	clear glaze stoneware	white	TP2	TL1	0	0	na	above flakes in test pit.
006	unknown	tin	gray	TP3	TL1	0	0	na	above flakes in test pit, assumed recent because of lack of erosion.
007	flake shatter	chert	white, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	Ramah.
008	flake shatter	chert	white, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	Ramah.
009	flake shatter	chert	white, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	Ramah.
010	flake shatter	chert	gray-green, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
011	flake shatter	chert	gray-green, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
012	flake	chert	gray-green, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	Retouch on right margin.
013	flake shatter	chert	gray-green, rust and dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
014	flake	chert	gray-blue, rust and dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
015	flake	chert	white-black, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
016	flake shatter	chert	gray-green, rust inclusions and bands, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
017	flake shatter	chert	gray-light gray, rust and dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
018	flake shatter	chert	gray, dark and rust specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
019	flake	chert	white, rust inclusion and specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
020	flake shatter	chert	green-gray, rust specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
021	flake	chert	gray-blue, rust specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	weathered

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
022	flake	chert	gray-blue, rust specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
023	flake shatter	chert	gray, light and dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
024	shatter	chert	black, light specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	weathered.
025	flake shatter	chert	black-tan, banded	Beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
026	flake shatter	chert?	black	Beach	na	0	0	na	
027	flake shatter	chert?	brown	Beach	na	0	0	na	
028	flake	chert	brown, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
029	flake shatter	chert?	gray-yellow, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
030	flake shatter	chert?	yellow-gray, rust specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	weathered, may be natural,
031	flake shatter	quartzite	white	Beach	na	0	0	na	
032	flake shatter	quartzite	white	Beach	na	0	0	na	
033	flake shatter	quartzite	white	Beach	na	0	0	na	
034	flake shatter	quartzite	white	Beach	na	0	0	na	
035	flake shatter	quartzite	white-yellow	Beach	na	0	0	na	
036	shatter	quartz	white	Beach	na	0	0	na	
037	flake shatter	chert	gray, rust and dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	utilized?
038	uniface	quartz	white	Beach	na	0	0	na	scraper
039	biface fragment	quartzite	white	Beach	na	0	0	na	weathered, base of small blade. Constructed from a fractured flake.
040	flake	chert	black, rust specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	retouch along right margin, dorsal surface
041	flake	chert	green-tan	Beach	na	0	0	na	retouch along all lateral margins, very fine material.
042	can lid	tin	white-gold	TL1	N0W0	81	26	26	picture on lip, possibly a Vienna sausage can.
043	spoon	plastic	white	TL1	N0W0	100	30	26	melted
044	mosquito coil platform	tin	rusty-silver	TL 1	N1W0	65	62	24	
045	22 cal. Bullet	copper and lead	copper-silver	TL 1	N0W1	40	11	24	in hearth feature.
046	can lid	tin	white-gold	TL 1	N0W0	90	11	28	same type as previous
047	knife	plastic	white	TL 1	N0W0	99	13	28	same as previous
048	can lid	tin	white-gold	TL 1	N0W0	94	19	27.5	same as pervious two.

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
049	spoon	plastic	white	TL 1	N1W0	4	35	27	refit with specimen 43.
050	duct tape	plastic?	silver	TL 1	N1W0	7	53	28	
051	bread bag clip	plastic	yellow	TL 1	N0W0	92	61	28	
052	bread bag clip	plastic	white	TL 1	N1W0	61	91	28.5	
053	button	glass	white	TL 1	N0W0	11	43	32	four holes
054	penny	copper	copper	TL 1	N0W0	28	94	22.5	
055	flake	chert	gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W1	13	12	31	sharpening or finishing flake
056	stove door	tin	gray-rust	TL 1	N1W1	11	19	34	door from tin tent stove.
057	flared cylinder	copper?	copper	TL 1	N1W1	33	44	32.5	appear to be the base of a small container, small whole in side of object near opening.
058	button	glass	black	TL 1	N1W1	77	23	32	four holes
059	bead	glass	blue	TL 1	N1W0	41	94	34	depth recorded as 43 in notes, appears to be transposed digits.
060	wood	charcoal	black	TL 1	N0W1	29	94	34	
061	wood	charcoal	black	TL 1	N1W0	29	90	38	
062	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	0	0	na	unit bag for material from screen
063	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	0	0	na	unit bag for material from screen
064	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	0	0	na	
065	flake shatter	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	0	0	na	
066	flake shatter	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	0	0	na	
067	biface fragment	chert	black-gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	41	51	39	retouch along one margin, length=longest axis
068	flake shatter	sandstone?	tan-orange	TL 1	N1W0	44	84	38	
069	shatter	quartz or quartzite	white	TL 1	N1W0	61	73	41.5	
070	flake	quartzite	white	TL 1	N1W0	79	43	41	
071	flake shatter	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	80	52	41	2 piece refit.
072	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	97	65	39.5	retouch or use-ware along right margin
073	flake shatter	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	73	99	36.5	
074	flake	chert	gray w/dark specks	TL 1	N1W1	96	27	36.5	
075	flake shatter	unknown	gray-blue	TL 1	N1W1	96	68	45.5	
076	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W1	55	59	42.5	retouch or use-ware on left margin
077	flake	quartz or quartzite	white	TL 1	N1W1	57	48	41	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
078	flake shatter	quartz, quartzite or glass	white	TL 1	N1W1	58	42	39	
079	shatter	quartzite	white	TL 1	N1W1	74	41	40	Use-ware on one end
080	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W1	68	38	39	
081	flake	chert	light gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W1	69	33	40	
082	flake shatter	unknown	light gray w/dark stain	TL 1	N1W1	65	26	40	
083	flake	unknown	light gray	Na	na	0	0	na	not recorded on catalogue form, specimen too small to measure.
084	flake	chert	light gray w/dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	96	27	38	
085	flake shatter	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	57	38	39	
086	biface	quartz or quartzite	clear-white	TL 1	N1W0	44	28	39	may have been hafted as a blade, very sharp.
087	flake	chert?	white w/ dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	60	42	40	.
088	flake shatter	chert	gray-green w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	58	47	40.5	
089	flake	chert	black w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	58	51	40	Use-ware on distal end at left margin.
090	shatter	quartz or quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	61	19	37	same material as 86.
091	biface fragment	quartz or quartzite	clear	TL 1	N1W1	64	69	35	similar material to *6 and 90, but finer. Could be glass? Blade fragment.
092	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W1	79	35	36	
093	biface fragment	glass?	clear	TL 1	N1W1	99	41	36	tip of biface, blade or small lanceolate.
094	biface fragment	glass or quartz	clear	TL 1	N1W1	88	70	36	similar size, shape and material to 91.
095	flake	glass or quartz	clear	TL 1	N1W1	47	55	34	
096	flake core	chert	gray-rust w/light specks	TL 1	N1W0	90	19	42	primary flake, possible use-ware on right margin and distal end.
097	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	92	4	44.5	
098	flake shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	50	44	37.5	
099	flake	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	59	47	37.5	
100	flake	quartz or glass	clear	TL 1	N1W1	47	64	36	similar material to specimens in the 90s.
101	flake	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	47	64	36	
102	flake shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	47	64	36	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
103	flake	quartz	clear	TL 1	N1W1	69	72	37	dropped on floor during measuring, couldn't relocate.
104	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W1	54	82	36	retouch or use-ware along left margin.
105	flake	chert	gray w/ dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W1	62	76	36	
106	flake	quartz	clear-white	TL 1	N1W1	64	84	36	groove in surface, one portion smooth
107	flake	chert	gray w/ rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W1	67	75	36	refits with specimen 105, some evidence of use-ware along distal edge, possibly as a blade.
108	flake	chert	light gray w/dark specks	TL 1	N1W1	71	79	36	
109	flake	quartz	clear	TL 1	N1W1	56	75	36	
110	flake shatter	chert	gray-black w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	49	5	44.5	
111	shatter	chert	black w/rust	TL 1	N1W0	55	8	47	
112	flake	chert	gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	41	55	42.5	
113	flake shatter	chert	gray w/rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	42	41	44	
114	flake shatter	chert	gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	47	60	46.5	
115	flake shatter`	chert	gray w/ rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	51	57	45.5	
116	flake	chert	gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	52	56	44.5	
117	flake	chert	light gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W1	52	9	39	
118	shatter	quartzite	shite	TL 1	N1W1	68	61	38	
119	flake	chert	light gray-black w/dark and light specks	TL 1	N1W1	48	37	38	
120	flake shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	52	41	37.5	
121	flake shatter	chert	black w/rust specks	TL 1	N1W1	44	22	38	
122	biface	chert	gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W1	74	38	36	flat surface appears abraded or ground, bifacial flaking on distal edge.
123	biface fragment	quartz	clear	TL 1	N1W1	77	35	35	flaked on over both surfaces, sharp edges.
124	flake	glass?	clear	TL 1	N1W1	63	64	35.5	to small to measure length and width.
125	flake	glass?	clear	TL 1	N1W1	65	72	35.5	
126	flake shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	41	48	37.5	
127	flake shatter	quartzite	clear-white	TL 1	N1W1	38	55	35.5	
128	flake	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	37	56	35.5	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
129	flake shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	46	64	36.5	
130	flake shatter	glass or quartz	clear	TL 1	N1W1	11	52	33	
131	flake shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N1W1	30	47	33	
132	flake shatter	chert	gray w/dark specks	TL 1	N1W1	38	85	34	
133	flake shatter	chert	gray w/dark specks	TL 1	N1W1	38	85	34	
134	flake	chert	light gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	45	42	46	
135	flake	chert	gray w/rust, light and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	48	51	45	Use-ware along margins, may have been hafted.
136	flake shatter	chert	gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N1W0	47	67	44.5	
137	flake shatter	chert	gray w/rust and light specks	TL 1	N1W0	46	76	41	
138	flake	chert	light gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	56	76	42	
139	charcoal	wood	black	TL 1	N1W0	32	63	41	
140	unknown	bone	white	TL 1	N0W1	19	0	34	
141	unknown	bone	white	TL 1	N0W0	40	96	35.5	
142	charcoal	wood	black	TL 1	N0W0	24	64	35	
143	unknown	bone	white	TL 1	N0W0	34	59	40.5	
144	nail	iron	rust-black	TL 1	N0W0	19	96	38	
145	flake shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N0W1	0	0	level E	unit bag for specimens from screen.
146	unknown	bone	white	TL 1	N0W0	22	32	44	
147	shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N0W0	94	27	49	
148	flake	chert	gray w/dark and rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	54	2	47	
149	flake shatter	chert	gray w/rust and dark specks	TL 1	N0W1	1	49	56	
150	sample	soil, bone, charcoal	na	TL 1	N1W0	25	48	40-42	sample provided to M. Deal for analysis. See report
151	flake	chert	black w/ rust specks	TL 1	N1W0	44	39	47	retouch on platform, may have been base of hafted blade.
152	bullet	copper-lead	copper-silver	TL 1	Set-up	0	0	na	collected from surface before grid set-up.
153	flake	chert	gray w/light specks	Beach	North end	0	0	na	surface water-worn. Retouch on distal end.
154	flake shatter	quartzite	white-clear	Beach	North end	0	0	na	
155	flake	chert	clear w/dark specks	Beach	South end	0	0	na	
156	flake shatter	chert	clear	Beach	South end	0	0	na	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
157	flake	chert	white-light gray w/brown specks	Beach	middle	0	0	na	
158	flake shatter	chert	clear w/dark specks	Beach	middle	0	0	na	
159	flake shatter	chert	clear w/rust and dark specks	Beach	middle	0	0	na	water-worn.
147	shatter	quartzite	white-clear	TL 1	N0W0	94	27	49	
160	flake shatter	chert	white-tan	Beach	middle	0	0	na	
161	flake shatter	chert	black w/rust specks	Beach	middle	0	0	na	
162	flake shatter	chert	clear-white w/dark specks and streaks	Beach	middle	0	0	na	
163	flake	chert	clear w/dark specks	Beach	middle	0	0	na	
164	bead	glass	white	TL 1	N0W1	79	77	37	
165	button	glass	white	TL 1	N0W1	0	0	Level A	four holes, in quad bag
166	button	glass	white	TL 1	S1W2	33	69	36	four holes
167	button	glass	white w/ black around edge	TL 1	S1W1	42	92	40	four holes
168	bullet	copper/lead	brown w/ white	TL 1	N0W2	0	0	Level A	'D' impressed on bottom, sent to Cathy for conservation
169	unknown	unknown	black/brown	TL 1	N0W1	91	14	33	Object may be metal, or ground stone, polish on some surfaces, horizontal groove near proximal end, fine grooves on proximal end, distal tip appears bashed, tapered with 8 sides
170	ceramic shard	refined earthenware	white	TL 1	S1W2	59	17	34	hollowware vessel
171	bead	glass	white	TL 1	S1W1	52	46	52	
172	bead	glass	blue	TL 1	S1W2	60	21	43	
173	smoking pipe	clay	white	TL 1	S1W1	54	9	49	impressed 'TD' design on back of bowl; maker's mark on one side of spur
174	copper tube	copper	green	TL 1	S1W1	59	93	53	conservation
175	doll's arm	porcelain	white	TL 1	S1W1	65	44	39	
176	bottle glass	glass	blue	Beach	na	0	0	0	embossed '...BLE...'
177	line sinker	lead	brown	TL 1	N0W2	0	0	0	recovered in screen, conservation
178	line sinker	lead	brown	TL 1	N0W2	0	0	0	recovered in screen, conservation
179	line sinker	lead/rubber	light and dark brown	TL 1	N0W2	0	0	0	recovered in screen, conservation

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
180	percussion cap	copper	green/white	TL 1	S1W1	0	0	0	recovered in screen, conservation
181	percussion cap	copper	green/white	TL 1	S1W1	0	0	0	recovered in screen, conservation
182	percussion cap	copper	green/white	TL 1	S1W1	0	0	0	recovered in screen, conservation
183	percussion cap	copper	green/white	TL 1	S1W1	0	0	0	recovered in screen, given to Cathy for conservation
184	fishhook	iron	brown	TL 1	2006 2x2	0	0	0	barbed with circular eye, conservation
185	unknown	iron	brown	TL 1	N0W1	5	60	49	cylindrical, wider at ends, conservation
186	container lid	iron	brown	TL 1	S1W1	97	80	40	hole in top, given to Cathy for conservation
187	hook	iron	brown	TL 1	N0W1	12	50	46	given to Cathy for conservation
188	strapping	iron	brown	TL 1	S1W1	0	0	0	recovered in screen, given to Cathy for conservation
189	Fire steel	iron	brown	TL 1	S1W1	58	15	47	given to Cathy for conservation
190	thin, flat circle	iron	brown	TL 1	S1W2	38	87	38	given to Cathy for conservation
191	iron fragment	iron	brown	TL 1	NoW1	0	0	0	recovered in screen, given to Cathy for conservation
192	iron fragment	iron	brown	TL 1	S1W1	0	0	0	flat back, curved front with dimple, possible hole in centre, given to Cathy for conservation
193	button	iron	brown	TL 1	S1W1	0	0	0	four holes, recovered in screen, given to Cathy for conservation
194	knife	iron/bone	brown	TL 1	N0W0	66	33	51	provided to Cathy for conservation, handle riveted to both sides of blade, curved at end
195	percussion cap	copper	green/white	TL 1	N0W0	0	0	0	in unit bag, given to Cathy for conservation
196	biface	chert	gray w/specks	TL 1	N1W0	3	46	57	tip of large lanceolate biface, Labrador Trough chert
197	biface	rhyolite?	gray w/bands	TL 1	N0W1	96	30	43	large flake with bifacial flaking, work on 4 of 5 margins, may have served multiple functions, i.e. engraver/scrapper
198	biface	rhyolite?	gray w/bands	TL 1	N0W2	30	11	33	haft/use wear present, initially intended as a projectile or blade but retooled into a scraper?
199	flake	chert	Gray-black w/specks	TL 1	N0W2	48	6	27	large flake with fine retouch along left margin, may have functioned as a blade, Labrador Trough chert.

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
200	flake	chert	gray-green w/specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	linear flake with use-wear-retouch along left & right margin (some chance this wear is from water rolling on beach)
201	flake	chert	green-gray w/specks	Beach	middle	0	0	na	retouch on left, right and distal margins, possible blade, engraver and/or shaft scraper, minimal hafting evidence
202	flake	chert	green w/specks	Beach	middle	0	0	na	scraper, retouch along left and distal margins, some evidence of haft crushing. Specimen collected on cobble-gravel beach on east side of point at east end of sand beach - it is the only specimen recovered in this location.
203	flake shatter	chert	black w/specks	TL 1	S1W2	68	16	46	2 piece refit - collected separately - Labrador Trough chert
204	flake shatter	quartz	white	TL 1	S1W2	63	12	47	
205	flake	chert	gray-green w/specks	TL 1	S1W2	62	26	51	
206	flake	chert	green-gray w/specks	TL 1	S1W2	41	81	57	utilized?, associated with pocket of fine sand, has same appearance as specimens collect from the modern beach
207	flake	chert	gray-black	TL 1	S1W2	17	81	57	
208	flake	chert	white w/specks	TL 1	S1W2	76	51	49	
209	flake	chert	white-gray w/specks	TL 1	S1W2	56	2	49	Labrador trough chert?,
210	flake	chert	green-gray-black w/specks	TL 1	S1W2	90	74	57	Labrador trough chert
211	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	7	33	50	
212	Sample	Charcoal	Na	TL1	N1W0	32	84	54	
213	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	26	3	44	
214	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	17	22	45	
215	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/dark specks and rust	TL1	N1W0	35	19	44	
216	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	36	14	44	
217	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	20	30	45	
218	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	16	30	47	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
219	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	4	43	57	
220	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	3	35	53	Microflake
221	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	26	21	44	Ramah like, but without the sugary appearance
222	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	32	76	51	
223	Flake	Chert	Light gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	19	22	46	Microflake. Ramah like, but without sugary appearance.
224	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	17	24	46	Microflake.
225	Shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	14	48	50	
226	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	17	32	44	
227	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust& dark specks	TL1	N1W0	11	58	60	
228	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W0	71	13	40	
229	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	38	52	49	
230	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray-dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	67	64	45	
231	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	30	58	45	
232	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	5	26	49	Microflake
233	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/dark specks & rust	TL1	N1W0	23	78	44	Microflake
234	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	13	3	48	Microflake
235	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	30	21	44	
236	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	15	77	57	
237	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark greenish gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	9	54	60	
238	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	44	96	50	
239	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	23	24	45	
240	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/rust& ;light specks	TL1	N1W0	25	71	58	
241	Flake	Chert	Olive ray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	23	45	44	
242	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	23	63	55	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
243	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	18	11	46	
244	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust speck	TL1	N1W0	42	24	43	
245	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark& rust specks	TL1	N1W0	90	66	62	
246	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	26	59	52	
257	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	TL1	N1W0	35	30	44	
248	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	30	72	53	
249	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	TL1	N1W0	42	97	51	
250	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& dark specks	TL1	N1W0	42	97	51	
251	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/light & rust specks	TL1	N1W0	18	68	59	Looks burnt
252	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N1W0	18	68	59	
253	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust & dark specks	TL1	N1W0	28	6	46	
254	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	49	6	45	
255	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	N1W0	23	76	52	
256	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N1W0	31	14	46	
257	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	27	38	46	
258	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	15	61	59	
259	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	10	82	56	
260	flake	Chert	Dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	26	5	47	
261	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	31	66	49	
262	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive black	TL1	N1W0	15	37	45	
263	Flake shatter	Chert	Brownish black	TL1	N1W0	26	19	44	
264	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	36	27	44	
265	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	31	18	45	
266	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	20	28	46	
267	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N1W0	23	45	45	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
268	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	17	22	57	
269	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	21	22	50	
270	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray	TL1	N1W0	46	22	42	
271	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	33	27	44	
272	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N1W0	13	76	60	
273	flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	24	18	46	
274	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	14	78	58	
275	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	43	56	50	
276	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	9	38	56	
277	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	N1W0	12	56	63	
278	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	44	93	50	
279	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rusts pecks	TL1	N1W0	32	83	52	
280	Flake	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W0	22	46	47	Utilized flake
281	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	5	39	54	
282	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	22	2	45	
283	Shatter	Quartz	Yellowish gray	TL1	N1W0	9	36	50	
284	Flake	Rhyolite	Medium light gray w/dark gray bands	TL1	N1W0	36	43	49	
285	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	18	39	50	
286	flake	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N1W0	26	24	45	
287	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W0	43	14	40	
288	Flake	Chert	Medium gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	26	20	44	Microflake
289	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	2	16	50	
290	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray-light gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	6	37	51	
291	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W0	32	22	45	
292	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	33	33	45	
293	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	39	36	45	
294	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	12	71	60	
295	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	39	22	45	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
296	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	19	65	54	
297	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	28	22	46	
298	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray-light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	9	11	50	
299	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	32	72	52	
300	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	5	39	54	
301	Flake	Quartz	Yellowish gray (translucent)	TL1	N1W0	47	15	40	
302	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	18	22	46	
303	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	21	19	45	
304	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	33	67	52	
305	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	7	47	53	
306	Shatter	Chert	Dark olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	35	51	49	
307	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	30	22	45	
308	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray w/rust& light specks	TL1	N1W0	41	96	50	
309	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	N1W0	7	43	54	
310	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/light& rust specks	TL1	N1W0	35	78	50	Large flake
311	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	N1W0	20	34	44	Large flakes
312	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	32	5	45	
313	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	30	44	44	Microflake
314	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	34	39	44	
315	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	25	13	46	
316	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	37	25	44	
317	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	27	25	45	
318	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark & rust specks	TL1	N1W0	29	23	45	
319	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W0	7	63	62	
320	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	25	54	53	Microflake
321	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W0	33	14	44	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
322	Flake	Chert	Light gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	36	20	45	Microflake
323	Flake	Chert	Light gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	26	27	44	Microflake
324	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	19	2	50	Microflake
325	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray-medium dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	22	37	44	
326	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust & dark specks	TL1	N1W0	7	30	44	
327	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	NW	Quad	Na	1 microflakes collected in quad bag
328	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray rust specks	TL1	N1W0	31	19	45	
329	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	26	36	45	2 flake shatter
330	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	TL1	N1W0	19	30	45	3 flakes
331	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	19	30	45	
332	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	10	79	60	2 flake shatter
333	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	29	86	51	4 flake shatter
334	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	14	74	59	2 flake shatter
335	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	34-45	93-99	51	8 flake shatter
336	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks & dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	34-45	93-99	51	8 flake
337	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	34-45	93-99	51	
338	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	29	34	44	4 flake shatter
339	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	40	31	47	2 flakes
340	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	40	31	47	
341	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	23	70	55	2 flakes
342	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	12	75	61	4 flake shatter
343	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks & olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	5	83	62	2 flakes
344	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	TL1	N1W0	5	83	62	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
345	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust& dark specks & dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	19	87	56	2 flake shatter
346	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rusts specks	TL1	N1W0	20	16	45	2 flake shatter
347	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	20	16	45	
348	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust& dark specks & olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	29	68	51	6 flake shatter
349	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	29	68	51	
350	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust& light specks	TL1	N1W0	6	61	63	
351	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	6	61	63	
352	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks & olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	SE	Qua d	L-III	8 flake shatter
353	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	SE	Qua d	L-III	3 flakes
354	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	10-16	82	59	3 flake shatter
355	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	10-16	82	59	2 flakes
356	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks & dark gray w/rust specks & very light gray	TL1	N1W0	NE	Qua d	Na	12 flake shatter. 1 Ramah, recovered from screen.
357	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w.rust specks & olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	NE	Qua d	NA	9 flake shatter. Recovered from screen.
358	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust	TL1	N1W0	NE	Qua d	Na	Recovered from screen
359	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	24-32	71-75	55	
360	Flake	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W0	24-32	71-75	55	
361	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks & dark gray w/rust speck& band & greenish gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W0	0-5	33-48	57	6 flakes. Greenish gray specimen feel water-worn
362	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks & dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	05	33-48	57	4 flake shatter

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
363	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	Na	Na	Na	3 shatter recovered from screen. One specimen appears to have red ochre on one surface.
364	Flakes	Chert& Quartz	Olive gray w/rust specks 7 medium dark gray w/light7 rust specks	TL1	N1W0	Na	Na	Na	10 flakes recovered from screen
365	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/light& rust specks & olive gray w/rusts specks	TL1	N1W0	Na	Na	Na	8 flake shatter recovered in screen
366	Flakes	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks & dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	26-34	22-28	53	11 flakes
367	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks & dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	26-34	22-28	53	21 flake shatter
368	Flake	Chert	Olive gray –dark gray w/rusts specks & olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	23-28	75-83	53	11 flakes
369	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks & dark gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	N1W0	23-28	75-83	53	9 flake shatter
370	Shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks & dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W0	23-28	75-83	53	4 shatter
371	Shatter	Chert?	Medium gray	TL1	N0W2	21	1	30	Looks like FCR
372	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W2	74	43	29	
373	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust& dark specks	TL1	N0W2	42	10	29	
374	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	41	15	28	
375	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W2	96	19	26	
376	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W2	62	8	60	
377	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W2	24	44	24	
378	Flake	Quartz	Yellowish gray	TL1	N0W2	27	55	40	Cortex on dorsal surface. Water-worn.
379	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray-olive gray w/rust& shinny specks	TL1	N0W2	91	9	20	Ramah? Has sugary appearance, and may have been burnt.
380	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	79	37	23	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
381	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	71	35	20	
382	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	N0W2	18	79	44	
383	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W2	15	19	33	
384	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	19	13	31	
385	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W2	80	92	32	
386	Flake	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	61	94	33	
387	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	44	27	29	
389	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent-white	TL1	N0W2	29	35	31	
390	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray	TL1	N0W2	82	57	32	
391	Shatter	Quartz	Yellowish gray	TL1	N0W2	80	46	29	
392	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent-white	TL1	N0W2	74	21	26	
393	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	87	34	24	
394	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	36	8	29	
395	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray	TL1	N0W2	40	4	27	Burnt
396	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	27	35	40	
397	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	77	84	38	
398	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	46	10	24	Red staining on one surface, similar to red ochre
399	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	16	21	31	
400	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray-very light gray	TL1	N0W2	80	18	44	Ramah
401	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	50	6	32	
402	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	17	1	32	
403	Flake	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	67	26	24	
404	Shatter	Quartz	White-yellowish gray	TL1	N0W2	79	37	23	Evidence of use on lateral margin and a tip
405	Shatter	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray	TL1	N0W2	62	82	33	Cortex present; water-worn. Lake cobble?
406	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	18	2	32	
407	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	N0W2	78	20	44	
408	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent-white	TL1	N0W2	38	28	33	
409	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark & rust specks	TL1	N0W2	65	6	26	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
410	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	37	4	29	
411	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	32	47	30	
412	Flake	Chert	Medium gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W2	12	8	25	Evidence of use
413	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	94	27	24	
424	Flake	Chert	Very light gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	68	6	22	Ramah
425	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	29	6	31	
416	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	29	18	32	
417	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	21	54	31	
418	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N0W2	18	81	31	
419	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W2	85	7	23	
420	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	28	4	30	
421	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	8	30	?	
422	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N0W2	97	59	33	
423	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust& dark specks	TL1	N0W2	66	18	29	
424	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	14	18	34	
425	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N0W2	23	11	29	
426	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W2	24	22	34	
427	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray	TL1	N0W2	54	32	34	
428	Quartz	Shatter	White	TL1	N0W2	80	20	26	
429	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray	TL1	N0W2	11	19	38	
430	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	20	81	42	
431	Shatter	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray	TL1	N0W2	3	21	33	8 pieces of a fractures chert cobble. Cortex present is water-worn. Recovered near heating feature. May be heat fractured.. 405 may refit with these specimens.
432	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent-white	TL1	N0W2	NW	quad	Na	
433	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	NE	quad	L-I	
434	Shatter	Quartz	White-translucent	TL1	N0W2	NE	quad	L-III	
435	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/light specks & Olive gray w/rust	TL1	N0W2	SW	quad	L-III	2 flakes collected in quad bag
436	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	TL1	N0W2	SW	quad	L-III	3 flake shatter collected in quad bag

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
437	flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W2	11	85	57	Utilized. Provenience written on bag, but no field catalogue #
438	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N0W2	31	74	43	
439	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N0W2	SE	Qua d	L-II	
440	Shatter	Unknown	Dark reddish brown	TL1	N0W1	90	26	42	Water-worn. geofact
441	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W1	91	26	34	
442	Flake	Chert	Olive ray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W1	37	30	40	
443	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W1	61	8	43	
444	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	N0W1	99	22	42	
445	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/light & rust specks	TL1	N0W1	82	19	35	
446	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W1	77	22	40	
447	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W1	70	66	55	
448	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N0W1	44	88	63	
449	Flake shatter	Quartz	translucent	TL1	N0W1	80	62	43	
450	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust	TL1	N0W1	69	51	53	
451	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust & dark specks	TL1	N0W1	26	22	43	
452	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N0W1	68	73	60	
453	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W1	49	75	39	
454	Flake	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W1	86	33	41	
455	Flake shatter	Quartz	White-translucent	TL1	N0W1	62	65	57	2 flake shatter at same location
456	Flake	Chert	Light gray-translucent	TL1	N0W1	76	62	55	Ramah
457	Flake	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W1	93	13	40	
458	Flake	Chert	Light olive w/specks	TL1	N0W1	8	8	44	
459	Flake	Quartz	Yellowish gray	TL1	N0W1	10	10	50	
460	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W1	81	67	42	
461	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N0W1	38	82	38	
462	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/light & rust specks	TL1	N0W1	75	67	61	
463	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N0W1	94	25	37	
464	Flake shatter	Quartz	Yellowish gray	TL1	N0W1	18	43	51	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
465	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	NOW1	8	8	44	
466	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	NOW1	43	26	41	
467	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	NOW1	96	31	37	
468	Flake	Chert	Light gray	TL1	NOW1	45	52	39	
469	Flake	Chert	Light gray	TL1	NOW1	46	70	46	
470	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray	TL1	NOW1	56	18	32	Ramah
471	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW1	77	77	56	
472	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	NOW1	58	67	54	
473	Flake shatter	Chert	Very light gray	TL1	NOW1	58	65	45	
474	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	NOW1	56	6	35	
475	Flake	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	NOW1	45	20	45	
476	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	NOW1	57	15	45	2 shatter
477	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	NOW1	69	68	51	
478	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW1	69	68	51	
479	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/light& rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks; very light gray	TL1	NOW1	Na	Na	Na	12 flakes recovered from screen. 1 is Ramah
480	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/dark specks; light olive gray; very light gray	TL1	NOW1	Na	Na	Na	7 flake shatter recovered from screen.1 Ramah
481	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent-white	TL1	NOW1	Na	Na	Na	2 flake shatter found in screen
482	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent-white	TL1	NOW1	Na	Na	Na	3 shatter in screen
483	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	89	22	57	
484	Stone	Unknown	Pale yellowish brown	TL1	NOW0	41	71	Na	Signs of use on surface.
485	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW0	98	36	57	
486	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW0	98	32	58	
487	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	NOW0	100	89	63	
488	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	96	62	62	
489	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW0	87	28	60	
490	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	90	39	57	
491	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW0	98	46	59	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
492	Flake	Chert	Very light gray	TL1	NOW0	90	33	58	May be burnt
493	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	49	58	68	
494	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	98	79	65	
495	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	99	60	63	
496	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	TL1	NOW0	87	30	60	
497	Flake	Chert	Very light gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW0	96	40	53	
498	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW0	88	29	56	
499	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/specks	TL1	NOW0	89	40	57	
500	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW0	88	36	60	
501	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& dark specks	TL1	NOW0	87	33	60	
502	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray	TL1	NOW0	89	31	60	
503	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	NOW0	90	22	58	
504	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	95	81	64	
505	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	97	37	64	
506	Shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	99	64	63	
507	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	97	33	56	
508	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	TL1	NOW0	75	35	66	
509	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	TL1	NOW0	97	29	55	
510	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	TL1	NOW0	88	33	60	
511	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray-light olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	NOW0	98	75	63	3 flake shatter
512	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/specks & bluish gray w/specks	TL1	NOW0	98	46	55	2 flakes
513	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust & light specks	TL1	NOW0	98	46	55	
514	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	NOW0	Na	Na	Na	4 flakes recovered in screen
515	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rusts specks; light gray w/specks	TL1	NOW0	Na	Na	Na	5 flake shatter, 1 is Ramah

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
516	Flake	chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; grayish black w/rust specks; very light gray w/specks	TL1	N0W0	SE	quad	L-II	5 flakes; 1 Ramah
517	Flake shatter	chert	Grayish black w/rust specks	TL1	N0W0	SE	quad	L-II	2 flake shatter
518	Shatter	chert	Grayish black w/rust specks	TL1	N0W0	SE	quad	L-II	2 shatter
519	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W1	19	67	45	
520	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W1	19	67	45	2 flake shatter
521	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W1	23	87	46	
522	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	TL1	N1W1	16	91	47	
523	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W1	29	93	46	
524	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W1	10	39	43	
525	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W1	21	49	47	
526	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W1	8	36	41	
527	flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W1	27	83	45	
528	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W1	16	80	46	
529	Flake	Chert	Light gray w/specks	TL1	N1W1	20	34	44	
530	Shatter	Rhyolite?	Dark gray-medium gray banded	TL1	N1W1	15	98	48	
531	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	TL1	N1W1	5	43	43	
532	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W1	24	77	46	
533	Shatter	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray	TL1	N1W1	23	61	44	
534	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/specks	TL1	N1W1	13	63	44	
535	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W1	33	60	48	
536	Flake	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W1	18	60	43	
537	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	TL1	N1W1	35	94	46	
538	Flake shatter	Chert	Greenish gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W1	18	86	47	
539	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W1	20	78	45	
540	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W1	5	49	44	
541	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks	TL1	N1W1	5	49	44	
542	Shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W1	22	38	46	
543	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/specks	TL1	N1W1	21	92	46	

<i>FeDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
544	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W1	13	79	46	
545	Flake	Chert	Blackish gray	TL1	N1W1	96	55	44	
546	Flake shatter	Quartz	Translucent	TL1	N1W1	4	37	42	
547	Shatter	Quartz	White	TL1	N1W1	14	70	44	
548	Rhyolite	Chert	Dark gray-light gray banded	TL1	N1W1	5	20	46	
<i>FeDn-02, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	flake shatter	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	100	
002	flake shatter	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	
003	biface fragment	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	bifacial flaking along right flake margin. May have been hafted as a blade. water-worn.
004	flake shatter	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	water-worn.
005	flake	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	water-worn.
006	flake	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	water-worn. Signs of use on right margin.
007	flake	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	water-worn. Flake appears to have been hafted as a point or small blade.
008	flake shatter	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	
009	flake	chert	black w/light and rust specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	
010	flake	chert	grey w/light specks and bands	west beach	na	0	0	na	
011	flake	chert	grey w/light specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	water-worn. Small thumbnail scraper, likely hafted.
012	biface fragment	chert	black-light gray w/light specks	west beach	na	0	0	na	Tip?

FfDn-01, Artifact catalogue									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
0063	flake shatter	chert	gray, white specks	TL2	TP1 W1S	0	0	na	superimposed over large iron object when recovered.
0095	flake	chert	gray	TL2	TP1 W1S	0	0	na	
0096	flake	chert	light gray, dark specks and rust inclusions	TL2	TP1 W1S	0	0	na	
0118	biface fragment	chert	olive gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	proximal portion of ovate biface
0150	flake	chert	black-light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0151	flake	chert	light gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0152	flake	chert	black-light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0153	flake	chert	black-light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0154	flake	chert	black-light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0155	flake	chert	gray, light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	utilized
0156	flake	chert	light gray-black	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0157	flake	chert	light gray-black, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0158	flake	chert	light gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0159	flake	chert	gray. Light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0160	flake	chert	gray, rusty cortex and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0161	flake	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0162	flake	chert	gray, rust specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0163	flake	chert	black, rust specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	weathered surface
0164	flake shatter	chert	black, rust specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	weathered surface
0165	flake shatter	chert	gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0166	flake shatter	chert	gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0167	flake	chert	gray, light and rust specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0168	flake	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
0169	flake shatter	chert	gray, rust light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0170	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks, rust specks and dark specks0	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	utilized
0171	flake shatter	chert	gray-blue, light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0172	flake shatter	chert	gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0173	flake shatter	chert	light gray-blue	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0174	flake	chert	light gray-blue	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	stain on ventral surface.
0175	flake shatter	chert	light gray-green, rust and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0176	flake shatter	chert	gray, light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0177	flake shatter	chert	light gray-green, rust and light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0178	flake shatter	chert	light gray-green, rust and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0179	flake shatter	chert	light gray, light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0180	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0181	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0182	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark streaks and specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0183	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark bands and specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0184	flake	chert	light gray-green, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0185	flake shatter	chert	light gray, rust and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0186	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0187	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0188	flake	chert	light gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0189	flake shatter	chert	black-light gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0190	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0191	flake shatter	chert	light gray-green, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0192	flake shatter	chert	light gray-blue	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
0193	flake shatter	chert	light gray-blue	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0194	flake shatter	chert	light gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0195	flake shatter	chert	light gray-green	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0196	flake shatter	chert	light gray-green	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0197	flake shatter	chert	light gray, rust specks and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0198	flake shatter	chert	light gray, light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0199	flake shatter	chert	gray-blue, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0200	flake shatter	chert	gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0201	flake shatter	chert	gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0202	flake shatter	chert	gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0203	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0204	flake shatter	chert	gray-light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0205	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0206	flake shatter	chert	gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0207	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0208	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0209	flake shatter	chert	gray, light and rust specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0210	flake shatter	chert	gray, light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0211	flake shatter	chert	gray, rust and light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0212	flake shatter	chert	gray, light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0213	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0214	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0215	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0216	flake shatter	chert	gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0217	flake shatter	chert	gray, light and dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0218	flake shatter	chert	gray-light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0219	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0220	flake shatter	chert	light gray-blue	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
0221	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark and light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0222	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0223	flake shatter	chert	gray, dark specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0224	flake shatter	chert	gray	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0225	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0226	flake shatter	chert	gray, light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0227	flake shatter	quartzite	gray, white	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	
0228	flake shatter	chert	gray, dark and light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	utilized
0229	flake shatter	unknown	light gray, dark and light specks	TL2	TP1	0	0	na	granite?
0230	flake	chert	black-light gray, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0231	flake	chert	light gray, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0232	flake shatter	chert	black, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0233	flake shatter	chert	black-light gray, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0234	flake	quartzite	white, rust specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0235	flake	chert	light gray, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0236	flake	chert	gray-green, rust and light specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0237	flake	chert	light gray-blue, dark and light specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0238	flake	chert	gray-green, dark and light specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0239	flake	chert	gray-green, rust and dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0240	flake shatter	chert	gray-green, rust and dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0241	flake shatter	chert	green-gray, rust and dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	utilized
0242	flake	chert	black	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0243	flake	chert	black-light gray, dark specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0244	flake shatter	quartzite	tan, light specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	surface weathered, may be natural.
0245	flake shatter	chert	light gray, dark, light and rust specks	Beach	na	0	0	na	
0246	ceramic fragment	tin-glazed earthenware	white, green design	Beach	na	0	0	na	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
0000	lead shot	lead	brown/white	Area 2	S23E4	0	0		
0000	bottle glass	glass	clear	Area 2	S23E1	0	0		circular, lipped bottle mouth for square bottle
1942	flake shatter	quartz	yellowish-gray	Area 2	S22E6	66	17	48	Cortex is water worn.
1943	flake	chert	dark greenish gray-dark gray	Area 2	S22E6	66	27	48	
1944	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-very light gray	Area 2	S22E6	26	14	42	
1945	flake shatter	chert	dark grayish green w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E6	85	30	38	
1946	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E6	93	44	34	
1947	flake	chert	dark gray-olive gray w/rust inclusions	Area 2	S22E6	97	29	34	
1948	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 2	S22E6	86	23	40	
1949	flake	chert	banded light gray-dark gray	Area 2	S22E6	77	39	47	waxy feel and appearance. Appears to be different than other lithic materials catalogues so far.
1950	shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S22E6	84	49	48	
1951	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust& dark specks	Area 2	S22E6	84	43	44	
1952	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/dark& rust specks	Area 2	S22E6	90	49	44	
1953	bead	glass	blue	Area 2	S22E6	26	71	42	from historic component.
1954	shatter	quartz	white-pale reddish brown	Area 2	S22E6	46	73	48	
1955	flake shatter	chert	dark greenish gray	Area 2	S22E6	68	83	49	
1956	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S22E6	80	51	50	
1957	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E6	44	44	49	
1958	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/ light band & rust specks	Area 2	S22E6	72	46	49	
1959	flake	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S22E6	77	86	49	
1960	flake shatter	chert	grayish black-medium gray w/rusty coloured cortex	Area 2	S22E6	74	88	50	
1961	flake	chert	light gray-medium light gray w/dark and rust specks	Area 2	S22E6	27	92	50	
1962	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-dark gray	Area 2	S22E6	80	51	50	platform possibly abraded

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
1963	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E6	21	78	49	
1964	flake	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E6	17	82	49	
1965	flake	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E6	26	53	49	
1966	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust inclusion& specks	Area 2	S22E6	9	77	48	
1967	flake	chert	brownish gray-olive gray	Area 2	S22E6	5	86	49	specimen is covered by the same rust that occurs as specks and inclusions with some other specimens
1968	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E6	NE	quad	L-I	2 specimens from quad bag; weight is for both items combined.
1969	shatter	quartz	pinkish gray	Area 2	S22E6	NE	quad	L-I	
1970	flake shatter	chert	olive gray-very light gray	Area 2	S22E6	NW	quad	L-I	
1971	flake	chert	olive gray-very light gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E6	NW	quad	L-I	
1972	flake	chert	olive gray-very light gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E6	SW	quad	L-II	
1973	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks; light olive gray-very light gray; light gray-medium gray	Area 2	S22E6	SW	quad	L-II	
1974	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks; olive gray w/specks; very light gray-medium gray	Area 2	S22E6	NE	quad	L-II	very light gray-medium gray specimens are not the same as the others. It is fine grained and waxy. No specks. Microflakes collected in quad bag.
1975	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust inclusion	Area 2	S22E6	NE	quad	L-II	"rust" on this specimen is the colour of "red ochre".
1976	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S22E6	NE	quad	L-II	
1977	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks; olive gray-light gray	Area 2	S22E6	SE	quad	L-III	
1978	flake	chert	brownish gray; olive gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E6	SE	quad	L-III	
1979	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E6	SW	quad	L-III	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
1980	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S22E7	60	46	38	clear separation of components in this unit, between level 1 and level 3.
1981	flake	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	90	45	37	
1982	shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S22E7	75	43	37	
1983	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	87	24	38	
1984	flake	chert	light olive gray w/pits & specks	Area 2	S22E7	90	28	37	
1985	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	79	58	50	
1986	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	79	58	50	collected in association with specimen 1985
1987	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	93	61	51	
1988	shatter	quartz	white	Area 2	S22E7	16	85	60	2 piece refit.
1989	flake	chert	olive gray-medium blue gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	60	57	56	
1990	flake shatter	chert	olive gray-light gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	4	23	53	
1991	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray	Area 2	S22E7	4	23	53	
1992	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	45	99	56	
1993	flake shatter	chert	olive gray-brownish gray	Area 2	S22E7	37	99	55	
1994	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 2	S22E7	59	79	56	
1995	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	49	27	52	
1996	flake	chert	olive black-brownish gray(rust)	Area 2	S22E7	12	3	53	
1997	flake shatter	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S22E7	74	86	54	
1998	flake	Chert	olive gray-light olive gray w/specks& rust	Area 2	S22E7	76	90	55	Sign of use. Ramah
1999	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E7	96	78	56	
2000	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S22E7	7	40	57	
2001	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-very light gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	9	5	57	
2002	flake	chert	medium dark gray-very light gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	27	30	58	
2003	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	20	24	55	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2004	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	25	28	54	
2005	flake	chert	medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	30	16	54	
2006	Biface	chert	grayish black w/brownish gray (rust)&specks	Area 2	S22E7	15	47	56	fragment
2007	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	16	36	56	
2008	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S22E7	33	32	52	
2009	flake	chert	dark gray-very light gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	9	48	55	
2010	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-very light gray	Area 2	S22E7	17	15	54	
2011	flake	chert	brownish gray(rust)-dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	16	6	54	
2012	flake shatter	chert	olive black-brownish gray(rust) w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	16	28	51	
2013	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	52	100	60	2 piece refit. Specimen broke after collection.
2014	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust specks& light inclusions	Area 2	S22E7	55	86	57	retouch/use-ware along distal margin.
2015	flake	chert	dark gray-brownish gray w/rust	Area 2	S22E7	60	97	56	large flake. Signs of utilization.
2016	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	63	97	56	
2017	flake	chert	dark gray-olive gray w/rust specks and inclusion	Area 2	S22E7	72	92	57	Signs of use
2018	flake	chert	olive gray-very light gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E7	86	90	56	
2019	flake	chert	medium dark gray-brownish gray (rust)	Area 2	S22E7	60	75	52	
2020	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 2	S22E7	81	80	53	
2021	flake shatter	chert	olive black	Area 2	S22E7	81	80	53	
2022	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 2	S22E7	75	71	52	
2023	flake	chert	olive gray-olive black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	92	89	53	specimen shows olive gray chert mottled with olive black chert in the same specimen. These are not separate types.

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2024	flake shatter	chert	olive black w/rust	Area 2	S22E7	82	80	53	
2025	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	81	78	55	
2026	shatter	quartzite	yellowish gray	Area 2	S22E7	64	44	52	retouch/use-ware along two of the lateral margins.
2027	flake shatter	chert	grayish black-yellowish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	86	89	55	
2028	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	86	69	53	Use-ware along distal margin.
2029	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	83	75	53	
2030	shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 2	S22E7	61	63	55	
2031	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	79	61	52	
2032	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	83	69	56	
2033	flake shatter	chert	grayish black-yellowish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	91	57	52	
2034	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NE	quad	L-I	
2035	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-I	
2036	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-I	
2037	shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-I	
2038	flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-I	
2039	flake	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-II	
2040	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-II	
2041	flake	chert	olive gray	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-III	
2042	shatter	chert	yellowish gray-olive black	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-III	
2043	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NW	quad	L-III	
2044	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	SE	quad	L-III	
2045	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	SE	quad	L-III	
2046	flake	chert	medium gray-yellowish gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E7	SE	quad	L-III	Microflakes, sharpening.
2047	flake	chert	very light gray	Area 2	S22E7	SE	quad	L-III	microflakes, sharpening. Sugary. Ramah like.
2048	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	SE	quad	L-III	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2049	flake shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S22E7	SE	quad	L-III	
2050	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E7	SE	quad	L-III	
2051	flake shatter	chert	brownish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	SE	quad	L-III	
2052	flake	chert	dark gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E7	SW	quad	L-III	
2053	flake	chert	olive gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E7	SW	quad	L-III	
2054	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	SW	quad	L-III	
2055	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	SW	quad	L-III	
2056	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S22E7	SW	quad	L-III	
2057	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	SW	quad	L-III	
2058	flake shatter	chert	medium gray-yellowish gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E7	SW	quad	L-III	
2059	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NE	quad	L-III	
2060	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NE	quad	L-III	
2061	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/dark& rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NE	quad	L-III	
2062	flake shatter	chert	very light gray	Area 2	S22E7	NE	quad	L-III	
2063	flake	chert	medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NE	quad	L-III	
2064	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NE	quad	L-III	
2065	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E7	NE	quad	L-III	
2066	flake shatter	chert	grayish brown	Area 2	S21E8	4	98	39	
2067	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	67	25	44	
2068	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust	Area 2	S21E8	70	75	44	
2069	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S21E8	6	8	60	
2070	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S21E8	4	27	60	
2071	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S21E8	28	15	60	
2072	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	41	83	60	
2073	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	21	47	62	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2074	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium dark gray, mottled	Area 2	S21E8	68	74	56	
2075	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust& light specks	Area 2	S21E8	72	64	58	
2076	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	19	59	59	
2077	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	42	56	60	
2078	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S21E8	66	61	57	
2079	biface	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	11	38	61	biface tip.
2080	flake	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 2	S21E8	20	59	59	
2081	flake shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	42	22	60	
2082	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	21	58	59	
2083	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	25	47	59	
2084	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S21E8	23	62	59	
2085	flake	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 2	S21E8	8	98	61	
2086	flake	quartz	white	Area 2	S21E8	49	62	50	
2087	flake	quartz	white	Area 2	S21E8	30	30	50	
2088	flake	quartz	white	Area 2	S21E8	28	61	51	
2089	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	66	69	57	
2090	flake	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	61	20	58	
2091	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	98	60	58	
2092	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust	Area 2	S21E8	93	4	55	
2093	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S21E8	28	89	58	
2094	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	26	58	59	
2095	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	19	59	59	
2096	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S21E8	64	67	57	signs of utilization along distal margin
2097	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	68	4	57	
2098	shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	11	77	60	
2099	shatter	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S21E8	4	19	60	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2100	flake	chert	medium light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S21E8	8	56	60	
2101	flake	chert	grayish black-medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	10	57	60	
2102	flake	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S21E8	16	44	59	
2103	pig	bone	na	Area 2	S21E8	75	84	39	
2104	fabric	felt	na	Area 2	S21E8	68	79	44	
2105	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	12	65	60	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2106	flake shatter/flake	chert/rhyolite	various	Area 2	S21E8	29	28	60	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2107	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	58	74	60	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2108	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	2	19	63	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2109	shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 2	S21E8	71	62	43	burnt
2110	flake shatter/flake/shatter	chert/quartz	various	Area 2	S21E8	25	67	59	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2111	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	8	83	60	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2112	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	25	60	60	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2113	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	6	29	61	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2114	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	15	64	60	small cluster of debitage. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2115	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	5	99	62	small cluster of debitage. Measurements mark centre of cluster.
2116	flake shatter/flake	chert	various	Area 2	S21E8	4	65	60	small cluster of microflakes. Measurements mark centre of cluster.

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2117	flake	chert	medium gray	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-II	
2118	flake	chert	very light gray	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-III	
2119	flake	chert	light olive gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-III	
2120	flake	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-III	
2121	flake shatter	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-III	
2122	flake shatter	chert	medium light gray	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-III	
2123	flake shatter	chert	medium	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-III	
2124	flake shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-III	
2125	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-I	
2126	flake	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2127	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2128	flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2129	flake shatter	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2130	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2131	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2132	flake shatter	chert	very light gray	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2133	flake shatter	chert	very light gray w/specks	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2134	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2135	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2136	flake	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2137	shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-III	
2138	flake	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-III	
2139	flake shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-III	
2140	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-III	
2141	flake	chert	medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-III	
2142	flake shatter	chert	grayish black	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-III	
2143	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-III	
2144	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-III	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2145	flake shatter	chert	medium gray-very light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S21E8	NW	quad	L-III	
2146	shatter	quartz	white	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-I	
2147	flake shatter	chert	medium light gray	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-I	
2148	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/light specks	Area 2	S21E8	SE	quad	L-I	
2149	flake	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-III	
2150	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-III	
2151	flake shatter	chert	very light gray	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-III	
2152	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-III	
2153	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-III	
2154	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-III	
2155	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-III	
2156	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-III	
2157	shatter	chert	white	Area 2	S21E8	NE	quad	L-I	
2158	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-I	
2159	flake	quartz	white	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-I	
2160	flake	chert	very light gray	Area 2	S21E8	SW	quad	L-I	
2161	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	5	49	53	
2162	flake	chert	medium light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S23E6	33	80	55	
2163	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	9	48	55	
2164	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	15	73	54	
2165	flake	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S23E6	1	49	55	
2166	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S23E6	68	84	55	
2167	flake	chert	grayish black w/light specks	Area 2	S23E6	42	51	57	
2168	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	32	77	55	
2169	flake	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	25	56	57	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2170	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	2	54	55	
2171	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	3	57	57	
2172	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust speck	Area 2	S23E6	14	86	56	
2173	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	4	75	57	
2174	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	22	94	56	
2175	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S23E6	22	96	56	
2176	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	76	78	54	
2177	flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	29	78	54	
2178	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	7	48	53	
2179	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	59	61	53	
2180	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	2	46	55	
2181	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	69	67	50	
2182	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	83	41	52	
2183	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	22	68	52	
2184	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	65	65	53	
2185	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	72	39	52	
2186	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	86	35	52	
2187	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/rust& specks	Area 2	S23E6	79	55	53	
2188	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	41	57	57	
2189	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	89	36	52	
2190	flake	chert	medium dark gray-light gray	Area 2	S23E6	60	62	51	
2191	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	88	71	50	
2192	flake	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	77	48	52	
2193	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	22	70	52	
2194	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	22	90	59	
2195	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	90	59	53	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2196	flake shatter	chert	white-medium light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	60	87	55	
2197	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	20	94	59	
2198	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S23E6	33	40	51	
2199	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	29	76	53	
2200	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	43	69	52	
2201	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	39	59	51	
2202	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	33	74	53	
2203	flake	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	20	96	60	
2204	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	48	76	54	
2205	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E6	78	78	55	
2206	flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	54	62	55	
2207	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-yellowish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	90	61	50	
2208	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 2	S23E6	67	81	55	
2209	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/light specks& rust	Area 2	S23E6	54	57	55	
2210	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	33	52	50	
2211	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 2	S23E6	12	11	52	
2212	shard	glass	na	Area 2	S23E6	28	24	45	
2213	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	71	41	41	
2214	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 2	S23E6	30	30	51	
2215	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	5	22	53	
2216	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S23E6	49	5	49	
2217	flake shatter	chert	light gray-medium bluish gray w/light& dark specks	Area 2	S23E6	4	58	54	
2218	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray-dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	44	11	52	
2219	flake shatter	chert	light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	58	34	52	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2220	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	19	61	48	
2221	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	88	9	48	
2222	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	60	17	50	
2223	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	22	46	50	
2224	flake	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	65	2	49	
2225	flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/ specks	Area 2	S23E6	26	49	51	
2226	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	93	21	47	
2227	flake	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	52	37	49	
2228	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	35	23	51	
2229	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	10	63	54	
2230	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	14	64	59	
2231	flake shatter	chert	light gray-medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	18	52	53	
2232	flake shatter	chert	medium gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	27	65	55	
2233	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	46	41	51	
2234	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	39	11	54	
2235	flake shatter	chert	light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	21	38	52	
2236	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	34	12	54	
2237	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	18	48	54	
2238	flake shatter	quartz	white-medium gray	Area 2	S23E6	31	53	54	
2239	flake	chert	medium light gray-medium gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	12	55	54	
2240	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	4	55	54	
2241	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	8	70	54	
2242	flake	chert	medium light gray-dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	21	59	55	
2243	flake	chert	medium dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	24	51	55	
2244	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	22	59	55	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2245	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	8	54	54	
2246	flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	35	49	55	
2247	flake	chert	medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	4	71	56	
2248	flake	chert	olive grey w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	13	53	54	
2249	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	42	49	56	
2250	flake	chert	dark gray-very light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	39	54	56	
2251	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	46	54	55	
2252	flake shatter	chert	medium gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	3	49	52	
2253	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	30	43	51	
2254	flake	chert	medium light gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	24	44	51	
2255	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	36	44	51	
2256	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	46	43	51	
2257	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	24	35	51	
2258	flake shatter	chert	medium gray-light gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	42	44	51	
2259	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E6	45	47	51	
2260	flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/white & rust specks	Area 2	S23E6	5	44	54	
2261	flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/white specks	Area 2	S23E6	38	49	53	
2262	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/ semi-translucent specks	Area 2	S23E6	29	37	51	
2263	Flake shatter	chert	Light gray w/semi-translucent white parts	Area 2	S23E6	4	35	54	
2264	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	37	36	52	
2265	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E6	74	3	50	
2266	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E6	36	42	51	
2267	Flake shatter	Chert	Light grey w/dark grey specks	Area 2	S23E6	36	41	52	
2268	Flake shatter	chert	Medium light gray	Area 2	S23E6	10	48	59	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2269	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark grey with very light gray portions	Area 2	S23E6	54	11	48	
2270	Flake	chert	Grayish black with light gray specks	Area 2	S23E6	51	38	49	
2271	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray w/pinkish specks	Area 2	S23E6	34	40	51	
2272	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray w/semi-translucent portion	Area 2	S23E6	65	40	49	
2273	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray w/white portions	Area 2	S23E6	22	41	53	
2274	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray/w white semi translucent portions	Area 2	S23E6	30	38	53	
2275	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray w/white outer portions	Area 2	S23E6	7	47	54	
2276	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/ white portion	Area 2	S23E6	38	43	53	
2277	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/pinkish white specks	Area 2	S23E6	61	4	49	
2278	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	43	52	51	
2279	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray w/dark pinkish specks	Area 2	S23E6	30	42	52	
2280	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/ white semi-translucent portions	Area 2	S23E6	31	34	53	
2281	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E6	NE	quad	L2	1
2282	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/medium light gray outer portions	Area 2	S23E6	NE	quad	L2	1
2283	Shatter	chert	Medium gray w/white edge	Area 2	S23E6	SE	quad	L2	1
2284	Flake	chert	Medium gray-medium blueish gray	Area 2	S23E6	SE	quad	L2	9
2285	Flake Shatter	chert	Medium to dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	SE	quad	L2	25
2286	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E6	SE	quad	L3	12
2287	Flake shatter	chert	Medium light gray-medium gray- medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	SE	quad	L3	165

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2288	Flake	chert	Medium gray-greenish gray	Area 2	S23E6	NE	quad	L3	11
2289	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray-dark grey w/light specks throughout	Area 2	S23E6	NE	quad	L3	42
2290	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray-grayish orange with black specks	Area 2	S23E6	NW	quad	L3	2
2291	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	NW	quad	L3	4
2292	Flake	chert	Very light gray-medium gray	Area 2	S23E6	NW	quad	L2	2
2293	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray with light gray specks	Area 2	S23E6	NW	quad	L2	2
2294	Shatter	chert	Grayish brown	Area 2	S23E6	SW	quad	L3	2
2295	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray-light olive gray	Area 2	S23E6	SW	quad	L3	2
2296	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray-medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	SW	quad	L3	8
2297	fragment	glass	Translucent	Area 2	S23E6	31	34	53	2
2298	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	31	34	53	3
2299	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E6	31	34	53	2
2300	Flake shatter	chert	Very light gray-medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	SW	quad	L2	24
2301	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray-dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	SW	quad	L2	6
2302	Flake shatter	chert	Medium light gray with brown specks	Area 2	S23E6	58	34	52	1
2303	Flake Shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E6	67	81	55	
2304	Flake Shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E6	33	52	50	
2305	Flake Shatter	chert	Medium gray with reddish specks	Area 2	S23E7	91	73	60	
2306	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	82	67	58	
2307	Flake	chert	Moderate brown	Area 2	S23E7	4	85	61	
2308	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	26	72	58	
2309	Flake Shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	2	69	61	
2310	Flake Shatter	chert	Medium dark gray with red specks	Area 2	S23E7	11	20	60	
2311	Flake Shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	97	16	54	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2312	Flake Shatter	chert	Medium gray w/ moderate brown	Area 2	S23E7	65	48	58	
2313	Flake	chert	Medium gray w/white portions	Area 2	S23E7	77	17	57	
2314	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray with red specks	Area 2	S23E7	73	23	57	
2315	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	4	56	62	
2316	Flake	chert	Medium light gray	Area 2	S23E7	13	53	62	
2317	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/ semi-translucent portions	Area 2	S23E7	2	56	59	
2318	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/yellowish white portions	Area 2	S23E7	45	63	68	
2319	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	28	30	62	
2320	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	15	19	59	
2321	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray w/ semi translucent portions	Area 2	S23E7	25	24	62	
2322	Flake shatter	chert	White and semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	24	25	62	
2323	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	34	2	60	
2324	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	20	7	61	
2325	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	15	23	62	
2326	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/dark grey specks and white semi-translucent portions	Area 2	S23E7	8	97	60	
2327	Flake	chert	Dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E7	32	69	58	
2328	Flake	chert	Dark gray w/red specks	Area 2	S23E7	47	55	61	
2329	Flake	chert	Medium gray w/red specks	Area 2	S23E7	5	73	61	
2330	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	80	15	57	
2331	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E7	81	21	57	
2332	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	76	36	58	
2333	Flake	chert	Very light gray w/ dark gray specks, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	98	77	65	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2334	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/red specks	Area 2	S23E7	31	57	59	
2335	Flaker shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	36	76	60	
2336	Flake	chert	Moderate brown	Area 2	S23E7	29	52	59	
2337	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	33	43	59	
2338	Flake shatter	chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	18	78	48	
2339	Flake	chert	Olive gray	Area 2	S23E7	37	41	60	
2340	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	31	41	60	
2341	Flake	chert	Medium gray w/ dark gray specks, semi-translucent outer portions	Area 2	S23E7	40	34	60	
2342	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	41	5	59	
2343	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	25	47	60	
2344	Flake shatter	chert	Light gray w/ semi translucent portions	Area 2	S23E7	14	27	60	
2345	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	15	30	58	
2346	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray and medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	8	33	60	
2347	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray, semi-translucent w/ dark gray specks	Area 2	S23E7	3	24	63	
2348	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	75	74	58	
2349	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	19	60	58	
2350	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E7	10	76	61	
2351	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	17	17	60	
2352	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/semi-translucent portions	Area 2	S23E7	30	22	59	
2353	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	13	11	59	
2354	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	19	43	62	
2355	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/ semi-translucent portions	Area 2	S23E7	31	2	60	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2356	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	36	13	59	
2357	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	40	31	60	
2358	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	11	23	62	
2359	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	14	32	60	
2360	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	40	57	61	
2361	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E7	17	63	61	
2362	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E7	23	69	61	
2363	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	81	60	60	
2364	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	26	95	62	
2365	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	49	62	60	
2366	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	80	61	60	2 Flakes, Interface between L3 and L4
2367	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	36	38	60	2 pieces
2368	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	SW	quad	L3	23 pieces
2369	Flake	Chert	Medium light gray	Area 2	S23E7	SW	quad	L3	4 flakes
2370	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	NW	quad	L4	3 flakes
2372	Flake shatter	chert	Medium light gray, medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	NW	quad	L4	45 pieces
2373	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	NW	quad	L3	3 flakes
2374	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	NW	quad	L3	11 pieces
2375	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	23	26	58	
2376	Flake	Quartz	White, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	17	44	61	
2377	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	9	52	60	
2378	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	98	67	62	
2379	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	67	21	57	
2380	Flake	Chert	Medium gray. Semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	71	48	61	
2381	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	35	81	56	
2382	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	21	60	60	
2383	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	5	79	61	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2384	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E7	37	49	61	
2385	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	39	47	61	
2386	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	38	70	60	
2387	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	44	67	59	
2388	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	35	28	61	
2389	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray w/ semi-translucent portion	Area 2	S23E7	32	28	61	
2390	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	10	18	61	
2391	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	11	14	61	
2392	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	17	31	60	
2393	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ dark grey specks	Area 2	S23E7	35	44	60	
2394	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E7	19	22	60	
2395	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	17	11	57	
2396	Flake shatter	Chert	Very light gray and semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	32	9	58	
2397	Flake shatter	Chert	Very light gray w/ dark gray specks, semi translucent	Area 2	S23E7	20	80	58	
2398	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	73	85	60	
2399	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	54	89	60	
2400	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	62	46	61	
2401	Flake	Chert	Very light gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	60	96	58	
2402	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	43	46	58	
2403	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	15	54	59	
2404	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/red specks	Area 2	S23E7	24	88	56	
2405	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	34	29	59	
2406	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	34	20	60	
2407	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	16	21	59	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2408	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	18	14	61	
2409	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ specks	Area 2	S23E7	20	22	61	
2410	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	34	25	61	
2411	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	24	38	60	
2412	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	26	79	58	
2413	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ white portion	Area 2	S23E7	42	77	58	
2414	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	25	73	58	
2415	Flake shatter	Chert	Very light gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	54	85	60	
2416	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray	Area 2	S23E7	56	4	55	
2417	Flake shatter	Chert	Very light gray w/ medium light gray specks	Area 2	S23E7	62	39	58	
2418	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	71	95	58	
2419	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray w/ dark gray specks	Area 2	S23E7	33	49	58	
2420	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium light gray	Area 2	S23E7	34	70	58	
2421	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	25	56	62	
2422	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	36	72	60	
2423	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	29	52	59	
2424	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	37	47	61	
2425	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray and medium light gray	Area 2	S23E7	19	17	59	
2426	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray and medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	13	17	59	
2427	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	16	19	61	
2428	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	19	16	61	
2429	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	30	28	62	
2430	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	9	13	61	
2431	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/ dark gray specks	Area 2	S23E7	37	53	62	
2432	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium light gray w/dark gray specks	Area 2	S23E7	79	53	60	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2433	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	54	67	58	
2434	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	62	24	57	
2435	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S23E7	58	37	58	
2436	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S23E7	89	39	54	
2437	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	36	56	58	
2438	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	27	57	59	
2439	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S23E7	14	33	60	
2440	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/dark gray specks, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	18	30	60	
2441	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	31	31	61	
2442	Flake shatter	Chert	Brownish gray	Area 2	S23E7	17	21	61	
2443	Flake shatter	Chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S23E7	29	32	62	
2444	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	25	33	62	
2446	Flake shatter	Chert	Brownish gray	Area 2	S23E7	17	12	61	
2447	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	19	16	61	
2448	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	14	20	60	
2449	Flake shatter	Quartz	Yellowish white	Area 2	S23E7	NE	quad	L4	2 pieces
2450	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	NE	quad	L4	2 pieces
2451	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	NE	quad	L4	2 flakes
2452	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	38	10	59	
2453	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	40	11	59	
2454	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S23E7	65	89	60	
2455	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S23E7	52	17	57	
2456	Flake shatter	Chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	94	20	57	
2457	Flake shatter	Chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	80	24	58	
2458	Flake	Chert	Light gray	Area 2	S23E7	41	66	60	
2459	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	24	56	62	
2460	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	36	30	62	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2461	Flake	Chert	Medium gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	19	13	59	
2462	Flake shatter	Chert	Brownish gray	Area 2	S23E7	18	13	61	
2463	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	17	24	61	
2464	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	11	16	60	
2465	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	33	23	61	
2466	Flake shatter	Chert	Very light gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E7	35	42	60	
2467	Flake shatter	Chert	Brownish gray	Area 2	S23E7	12	13	61	
2468	Flake shatter	Chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S23E7	NE	quad	L3	5 pieces
2469	Flake shatter	Chert	Greenish gray, medium gray, grayish red purple	Area 2	S23E7	NE	quad	L4	20 pieces
2470	Flake shatter	Chert	Greenish gray, medium dark gray, grayish red purple	Area 2	S23E7	SE	quad	L4	4 pieces
2471	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E7	SE	quad	L4	1 flake
2472	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	25	35	62	
2473	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	9	23	61	
2474	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray, w/ dark gray specks	Area 2	S23E7	60	61	58	
2475	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	44	62	61	
2476	Flake shatter	Chert	Greenish gray, medium gray, grayish red purple	Area 2	S23E7	SE	quad	L3	11 pieces
2477	Flake	Chert	Greenish gray, dark gray, medium gray, blueish gray	Area 2	S23E7	SE	quad	L3	8 flakes
2478	Flake	Quartz	White, translucent	Area 2	S23E7	SE	quad	L3	1 flake
2479	Flake	Chert	Greenish gray, Light gray, dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	SW	quad	L4	6 flakes
2480	Flake Shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray, greenish gray, grayish red purple, dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	SW	quad	L4	102 pieces
2481	Flake Shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	26	39	60	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2482	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/dark red specks	Area 2	S23E8	20	22	60	
2483	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	14	43	60	
2484	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E8	23	62	65	
2485	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	87	11	64	
2486	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E8	65	24	63	
2487	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E8	96	79	69	
2488	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E8	19	58	64	
2489	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	14	13	60	
2490	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	96	28	64	
2491	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	8	8	65	
2492	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E8	75	8	61	
2493	Flake shatter	Quartz	White w/ yellowish band, semi-translucent	Area 2	S23E8	92	19	65	
2494	Shatter	Quartz	White	Area 2	S23E8	96	23	62	
2495	Flake	Quartz	White	Area 2	S23E8	61	8	61	
2496	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	Area 2	S23E8	74	14	61	
2497	Flake	Chert	White	Area 2	S23E8	14	43	60	
2498	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	14	12	60	
2499	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	40	6	55	
2500	Flake shatter	Chert	Yellowish gray	Area 2	S23E8	40	7	47	
2501	Flake	Chert	Medium gray w/ semi-translucent portions	Area 2	S23E8	86	34	69	
2502	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E8	4	16	60	2 pieces
2503	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	15	5	60	
2504	Flake	Quartz	White	Area 2	S23E8	86	7	58	
2505	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	SE	quad	L1	
2506	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S23E8	SW	quad	L4	5 pieces
2507	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E8	SW	quad	L3	6 pieces
2508	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	SW	quad	L3	2 flakes

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2509	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S23E8	NW	quad	L3	4 pieces
2510	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	Area 2	S23E8	NW	quad	L3	3 pieces
2511	Shatter	Chert	Whitish gray	Area 2	S23E8	NW	quad	L4	1 piece
2512	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	Area 2	S23E8	NW	quad	L4	9 pieces
2513	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E8	NW	quad	L4	6 pieces
2514	Flake	Chert	Medium gray, dark gray	Area 2	S23E8	NW	quad	L4	3 pieces
2515	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	47	4	51	
2516	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	6	97	57	
2517	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	41	56	51	
2518	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/red	Area 2	S21E7	42	96	54	
2519	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	47	10	51	
2520	Flake shatter	Chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S21E7	30	68	52	
2521	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	43	40	51	
2522	Flake	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	7	75	54	
2523	Flake	Chert	Yellowish white, semi translucent	Area 2	S21E7	43	57	51	
2524	Flake	Chert	Blueish white	Area 2	S21E7	46	35	45	
2525	Flake	Chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S21E7	23	14	51	
2526	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	48	79	54	
2527	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	48	61	51	
2528	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	9	87	54	
2529	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	2	68	57	
2530	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	17	81	53	
2531	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	4	78	57	
2532	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	45	80	54	
2533	Flake	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	6	99	57	
2534	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	54	50	49	
2535	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2536	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2537	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2538	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2539	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2540	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2541	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2542	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2543	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2544	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2545	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2546	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S21E7	SW	quad	L3	
2547	Flake shatter	Chert	Light greenish gray	Area 2	S21E7	SW	quad	L1	
2548	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray, light gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	5 flakes
2549	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray, medium dark gray, light gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	13 pieces
2550	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	
2551	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium greenish gray, medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L3	8 pieces
2552	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray and very light gray	Area 2	S21E7	NE	quad	L2	
2553	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark greenish gray, dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	NW	quad	L2	2 pieces
2554	Flake shatter	Quartz	White, semi translucent	Area 2	S21E7	NW	quad	L1	
2555	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S21E7	Tree	Fall		4 flakes
2556	Flake shatter	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S21E7	Tree	Fall		23 pieces
2557	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S21E9	58	40	58	
2558	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S21E9	47	43	60	
2559	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	7	32	61	
2560	Flake	chert	Medium gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S21E9	21	40	61	
2561	Flake	chert	Dark greenish gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S21E9	25	6	61	
2562	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	20	2	58	
2563	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	26	33	64	
2564	Shatter	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E9	5	18	53	
2565	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S21E9	29	40	64	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2566	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	6	15	60	
2567	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray w/ black specks	Area 2	S21E9	5	15	59	
2568	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	11	29	60	
2569	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	20	2	58	
2570	Flake	chert	Dark gray and medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	19	21	60	
2571	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E9	22	29	60	
2572	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E9	8	6	59	
2573	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S21E9	39	21	59	
2574	Flake	chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	6	10	60	
2575	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S21E9	43	34	60	
2576	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E9	9	4	54	
2577	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	58	40	58	
2578	Flake	chert	Dark gray and medium gray	Area 2	S21E9	61	38	58	
2579	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	90	39	52	
2580	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	66	15	59	
2581	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S21E9	65	33	59	
2582	Flake	chert	Light gray	Area 2	S21E9	SE	quad	na	
2583	Flake	chert	Medium gray w/ white specks	Area 2	S21E9	SW	quad	na	
2584	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	7	3	65	Flake cluster
2585	Flake shatter	chert	Medium light gray and light gray	Area 2	S21E9	7	3	65	Flake cluster
2586	Flake shatter	chert	Grayish black, light gray	Area 2	S21E9	24	28	64	6 pieces, flake cluster
2587	Flake	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	24	28	64	2 flakes, flake cluster
2588	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	20	31	61	15 pieces. Flake cluster
2589	Flake	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	20	31	61	18 flakes. Flake cluster
2590	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	20	31	61	2 flakes. Flake cluster
2591	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	20	31	61	2 pieces Flake cluster
2592	Flake	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray, medium gray, medium blueish gray	Area 2	S21E9	20	31	61	16 flakes. Flake cluster
2593	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	4	15	60	25 pieces. Flake cluster

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2594	Flake	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	4	15	60	8 flakes. Flake cluster
2595	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	4	15	60	8 pieces. Flake cluster
2596	Flake	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	4	15	60	14 flakes. Flake cluster
2597	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	4	15	60	35 pieces. Flake cluster
2598	Flake	chert	Dark gray, yellowish gray, medium light gray	Area 2	S21E9	4	15	60	16 flakes. Flake cluster
2599	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray, yellowish gray, medium light gray	Area 2	S21E9	4	15	60	20 pieces. Flake cluster
2600	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray, medium blueish gray, dark gray, medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	4	15	60	15 flakes. Flake cluster
2601	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark greenish gray, medium blueish gray, dark gray, medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	13	7	61	89 pieces . flake cluster
2602	Flake	Chert	Dark gray, medium dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	13	7	61	7 flakes. Flake cluster
2603	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray, medium dark gray, light gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S21E9	21	22	60	56 pieces. Flake cluster
2604	Flake	Chert	Dark gray, medium dark gray, light gray	Area 2	S21E9	47	45	60	5 flakes. Flake cluster
2605	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark greenish gray, medium blueish gray, dark gray, medium dark gray	Area 2	S21E9	40	25	60	58 pieces. Flake cluster
2606	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	29	33	55	
2607	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	38	10	56	
2608	Flake	chert	Greenish gray, dark gray, medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	99	87	65	4 flakes
2609	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/ red specks	Area 2	S22E8	95	77	59	
2610	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	99	75	59	
2611	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	66	58	62	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2612	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	57	78	62	
2613	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	80	77	61	
2614	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	85	51	57	
2615	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	24	62	63	
2616	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	36	93	63	
2617	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	77	70	62	
2618	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	52	40	61	
2619	Flake	chert	Grayish black w/ red specks	Area 2	S22E8	70	28	59	
2620	Flake shatter	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	56	75	61	
2621	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	62	86	59	
2622	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	77	88	58	
2623	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	30	68	63	
2624	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	45	65	64	
2625	Flake shatter	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	40	52	64	
2626	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	58	8	56	
2627	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S22E8	55	78	64	
2628	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	82	94	63	
2629	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	95	29	57	
2630	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	96	41	57	
2631	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	79	52	59	
2632	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	38	80	63	
2633	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	40	67	62	
2634	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	49	96	62	
2635	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	35	97	61	
2636	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	36	71	61	
2637	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	56	91	59	
2638	Flake	chert	Medium gray, medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	81	93	58	3 flakes
2639	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	28	81	64	
2640	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	92	78	64	
2641	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	40	77	65	
2642	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	48	72	64	
2643	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	25	8	61	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2644	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	35	47	63	
2645	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	38	47	63	
2646	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	73	22	60	
2647	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	100	23	61	
2648	Flake shatter	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	23	13	56	
2649	Flake	chert	Medium light gray	Area 2	S22E8	50	32	61	
2650	Flake shatter	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	93	62	65	
2651	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	94	97	65	
2652	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	93	51	58	
2653	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	85	70	58	
2654	Flake shatter	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	58	72	60	
2655	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	59	91	62	
2656	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	54	98	62	
2657	Flake	chert	Medium light gray	Area 2	S22E8	93	84	60	
2658	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	53	76	63	
2659	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	81	97	61	
2660	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	93	40	55	
2661	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	29	65	63	
2662	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	49	96	62	
2663	Flake shatter	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	50	79	61	
2664	Flake shatter	chert	Medium light gray, semi-translucent	Area 2	S22E8	77	83	58	
2665	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	43	47	63	
2666	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	62	45	62	
2667	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	40	48	68	
2668	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	NE	quad	L1	
2669	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	25	19	52	
2670	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	90	71	58	2 flakes
2671	Flake shatter	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	81	81	61	
2672	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray and light gray	Area 2	S22E8	84	79	62	
2673	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	51	69	63	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2674	Flake	chert	Medium gray and yellowish gray	Area 2	S22E8	84	78	62	
2675	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	77	58	56	
2676	Flake shatter	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	30	70	61	
2678	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	46	92	58	
2679	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	40	85	59	
2680	Flake	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	57	76	62	
2681	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	55	66	61	
2682	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	73	94	62	
2683	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	63	77	65	
2684	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	32	56	63	
2685	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	45	65	64	
2686	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	46	84	64	
2687	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	22	100	66	
2688	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	70	13	57	
2689	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	64	25	61	
2690	Flake	chert	Grayish black, medium blueish gray, dark blue	Area 2	S22E8	81	20	58	2 flakes
2691	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	36	32	61	
2692	Flake	Chert	Medium light gray	Area 2	S22E8	89	98	59	
2693	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	91	96	59	
2694	Flake	Chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	94	70	58	
2695	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	93	65	58	
2696	Flake shatter	Chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	59	70	61	
2697	Flake shatter	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	93	89	59	
2698	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	95	85	61	
2699	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	98	56	60	
2700	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	59	68	64	
2701	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	76	72	63	
2702	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	77	54	63	
2703	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	68	84	58	
2704	Flake	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	87	77	59	
2705	Flake	Chert	Medium light gray	Area 2	S22E8	80	94	62	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2706	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	36	68	64	
2707	Flake	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	46	77	63	
2708	Flake	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	49	80	64	
2709	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	50	82	65	
2710	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	36	46	68	
2711	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	94	15	59	
2712	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	7	22	58	
2713	Flake	Chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	99	98	65	2 flakes
2714	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	100	92	59	
2715	Flake	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	98	89	59	
2716	Flake	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	98	72	59	
2717	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	92	87	59	
2718	Flake shatter	chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	95	81	59	
2719	Flake	chert	Medium gray, Dark gray	Area 2	S22E8	95	81	59	
2720	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	83	68	58	
2721	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	56	87	62	
2722	Flake	Chert	Greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	56	98	64	
2723	Flake	chert	Grayish black, greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	82	89	62	
2724	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	81	41	57	
2725	Flake	chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	95	26	56	2 flakes
2726	Flake shatter	chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	67	84	65	
2727	Flake	chert	Grayish black, medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	74	90	65	3 flakes
2728	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	36	60	64	2 flakes
2729	Flake shatter	quartz	White	Area 2	S22E8	6	6	61	
2730	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	70	23	56	2 flakes
2731	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray	Area 2	S22E8	SE	quad	L1	3 flakes
2732	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	SE	quad	L1	
2733	Flake shatter	quartz	White	Area 2	S22E8	SE	quad	L1	
2734	Flake shatter	quartz	White	Area 2	S22E8	6	31	62	
2735	Flake shatter	Quartz	White	Area 2	S22E8	SW	quad	L3	2 pieces
2736	Shatter	Quartz	White	Area 2	S22E8	SW	quad	L3	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2737	Flake	chert	Medium blueish gray, grayish black, greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	SW	quad	L3	4 flakes
2738	Flake shatter	chert	Medium blueish gray, medium gray, light gray	Area 2	S22E8	SW	quad	L3	38 pieces
2739	Flake	chert	Medium blueish, greenish gray, medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	NW	quad	L3	10 flakes
2740	Flake shatter	chert	Greenish gray, dark gray, grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	NW	quad	L3	39 pieces
2741	Flake	chert	Grayish black, greenish gray, light gray	Area 2	S22E8	NW	quad	L3	10 flakes
2742	Flake	Chert	Grayish black, medium dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	SE	quad	L3	6 flakes
2743	Flake shatter	Chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S22E8	SE	quad	L3	42 flakes shatter
2744	flake shatter	Chert	Grayish black, light olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E8	Na	Na	Na	Cleaning wall
2745	Flake shatter	Chert	Grayish black, light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E8	Na	Na	Na	Cleaning wall
2746	Flake shatter	chert	Greenish gray, medium blueish gray, dark gray, light gray	Area 2	S22E8	NE	quad	L3	150 pieces
2747	Flake	chert	Grayish black, dark gray, greenish gray	Area 2	S22E8	NE	quad	L3	24 flakes
2748	Shatter	chert	Yellowish gray, medium gray	Area 2	S22E8	NE	quad	L3	5 pieces
2749	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/light & rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	8	70	60	
2750	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	3	73	59	
2751	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rusts specks	Area 2	S23E9	8	34	70	
2752	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	4	35	70	
2753	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	10	33	68	
2754	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust speck	Area 2	S23E9	3	73	61	
2755	flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	14	98	60	
2756	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	90	52	59	
2757	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	26	80	61	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2758	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	38	70	69	
2759	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	64	46	56	
2760	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	63	50	68	
2761	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	NW	quad	Na	Recovered from screen
2762	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray	Area 2	S23E9	62	53	68	
2763	Flake	Chert	Medium bluish gray w/rust speck	Area 2	S23E9	40	66	66	
2764	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	6	68	60	
2765	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	48	31	67	
2766	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray	Area 2	S23E9	82	75	68	
2767	Flake shatter	Chert	Grayish black	Area 2	S23E9	38	88	61	
2768	Shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	49	92	59	
2769	Flake	Chert	Medium gray-light olive gray w/rust speck	Area 2	S23E9	6	52	61	
2770	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray	Area 2	S23E9	30	85	61	
2771	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	88	77	59	2 flake shatter
2772	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust speck	Area 2	S23E9	8	45	59	
2773	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	70	36	63	
2774	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	19	97	61	
2775	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	47	79	60	
2776	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	25	94	60	
2777	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	77	50	66	
2778	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E9	63	75	58	
2779	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E9	20	16	48	
2780	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	95	78	60	
2781	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	91	51	66	
2782	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust& dark specks	Area 2	S23E9	68	76	58	
2783	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	86	70	69	
2784	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	15	5	61	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2785	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rusts	Area 2	S23E9	15	45	58	
2786	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rusts peck	Area 2	S23E9	19	71	61	
2787	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-very light gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	16	26	57	
2788	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	76	56	65	
2789	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	30	80	61	
2790	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust	Area 2	S23E9	59	37	56	
2791	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E9	76	60	65	
2792	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	7	29	70	
2793	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	61	45	57	
2794	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rusts specks	Area 2	S23E9	70	62	66	
2795	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	66	54	69	
2796	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	66	53	65	
2797	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	39	47	57	
2798	Flake	Chert	Dark greenish gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S23E9	92	38	63	
2799	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S23E9	25	23	60	
2800	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	26	25	61	
2801	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S23E9	61	49	68	
2802	Flake	Chert	Dark gray specks	Area 2	S23E9	56	59	67	
2803	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	58	51	68	
2804	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	35	40	70	
2805	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/light gray	Area 2	S23E9	62	78	58	
2806	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	54	42	55	
2807	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	54	42	55	
2808	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	20	33	61	
2809	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	52	38	56	
2810	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	75	70	68	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2811	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	12	71	62	
2812	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust speck	Area 2	S23E9	98	75	71	
2813	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	30	28	61	
2814	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	91	71	59	
2815	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	16	9	60	
2816	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S23E9	62	66	57	
2817	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/ rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	9	40	57	
2818	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/ speck	Area 2	S23E9	Na	Na	Na	
2819	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray & light olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E9	73	55	57	2 flake shatter
2820	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray/w specks	Area 2	S23E9	NW	quad	L-II	2 flake shatter
2821	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E9	NW	quad	L-II	2 flakes
2822	Shot	lead	White (corroded)	Area 2	S23E9	NW	quad	L-II	
2823	Shatter	Quartz	White-medium light gray	Area 2	S23E9	28-40	90-97	59-61	12 shatter
2824	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	47-58	84-90	61	2 flake shatter
2825	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray /light specks	Area 2	S23E9	47-58	84-90	61	3 flakes
2826	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks, dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S23E9	68	48	65	2 flakes
2827	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	68	48	65	
2828	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	NE	quad	L-III	4 flake shatter
2829	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	SE	quad	L-II	7 flakes in quad bag
2830	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	SE	quad	L-II	6 flake shatter in quad bag
2831	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray, olive gray w/rust & light specks	Area 2	S23E9	Sw	quad	L-II	3 flake shatter
2832	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/ specks	Area 2	S23E9	SW	quad	L-II	In quad bag
2833	Flake shatter	chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	SE	quad	L-III	3 flake shatter

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2834	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray w/specks; medium bluish gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S23E9	SE	quad	L-I	4 flake shatter
2835	Flake	chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S23E9	SW	quad	L-III	5 flakes, quad bag
2836	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rusts pecks	Area 2	S23E9	SW	quad	L-III	2 flake shatter, quad bag
2837	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/light specks; light olive gray	Area 2	S23E9	NE	quad	L-II	8 flake, quad bag
2838	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	NE	quad	L-II	4 flake shatter, quad bag
2839	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	NE	quad	L-I	quad bag
2840	Shatter	Beer bottle glass	Brown	Area 2	S23E9	NE	quad	L-I	quad bag
2841	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	NW	quad	L-I	quad bad
2842	Shatter	Beer bottle glass	Brown	Area 2	S23E9	NW	quad	L-I	4 frags, quad bag
2843	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S23E9	SW	quad	L-I	quad bag
2844	Fragments	Plastic	Orange	Area 2	S23E9	SW	quad	L-I	9 fragments, quad bag
2845	Shot	Lead	White (corroded)	Area 2	S23E9	SW	quad	L-I	quad bag
2846	Flake	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	49	22	66	
2847	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	67	68	67	
2848	Flake	chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	12	83	60	
2849	Flake	chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S22E9	17	39	64	
2850	Flake	chert	Dark greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	28	46	65	
2851	flake shatter	chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	89	59	66	
2852	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E9	25	13	60	
2853	Flake shatter	chert	Medium dark gray-olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	25	16	59	
2854	Flake	chert	Dark gray w/light speck	Area 2	S22E9	1	85	60	
2855	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E9	25	15	55	
2856	Flake	chert	Dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S22E9	10	63	59	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2857	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	68	26	56	
2858	Flake	chert	Light olive gray w/rust	Area 2	S22E9	99	22	69	
2859	Flake shatter	chert	Light gray	Area 2	S22E9	4	60	59	
2860	Flake shatter	chert	Light olive gray; dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	73-80	16-22	68-70	9 flake shatter
2861	Flake	chert	Dark greenish gray	Area 2	S22E9	73-80	16-22	68-70	
2862	Flake	chert	Dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S22E9	78	49	69	
2863	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S22E9	20	37	64	
2864	Flake	chert	Medium dark gray w/	Area 2	S22E9	26	53	59	
2865	Flake shatter	chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	49	36	66	
2866	Flake shatter	chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	74	23	70	
2867	Flake	chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E9	0	35	63	
2868	Flake shatter	chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	50	77	70	
2869	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	8	85	70	
2870	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S22E9	20	63	67	
2871	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	83	41	63	
2872	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	12-14	8-10	67	
2873	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	SW	quad	L-III	
2874	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S22E9	84	17	55	
2875	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E9	73	69	66	
2876	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	12	3	67	
2877	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	7	26	60	
2878	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust	Area 2	S22E9	59-63	40-46	68-64	
2879	Flake	Chert	Light gray	Area 2	S22E9	NE	quad	L-I	
2880	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	32	11	59	
2881	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E9	5	79	71	2 flakes
2882	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/light specks; very light gray	Area 2	S22E9	SE	quad	L-II	4 flake shatter, quad bag

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2883	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	SE	quad	L-II	
2884	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/light specks	Area 2	S22E9	SW	quad	L-I	2 flake shatter, quad bag
2885	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	24-32	57-65	68	
2886	Flake	Chert	Dark gray; olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	24-32	57-65	68	
2887	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; light olive gray; dark greenish gray	Area 2	S22E9	NE	quad	L-III	4 flake shatter, quad bag
2888	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	NE	quad	L-III	quad bag
2889	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	NW	quad	L-III	9 flake shatter, quad bag
2890	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	NW	quad	L-III	5 flake shatter, quad bag
2891	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	NW	quad	L-II	quad bag
2892	shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S22E9	NW	quad	L-II	quad bag
2893	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	NW	quad	L-II	quad bag
2894	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	22-28	3-14	66-67	2 flake shatter, quad bag
2895	Flake	Chert	Olive gray	Area 2	S22E9	22-28	3-14	66-67	2 flakes, quad bag
2896	Flake	Chert	Olive gray	Area 2	S22E9	NW	quad	L-I	2 flakes, quad bag
2897	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	35	29	58	2 flakes
2898	Flake	Chert	Dark gray; olive gray w/ rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	SW	quad	L-III	9 flakes, quad bag
2899	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; dark gray; light olive gray	Area 2	S22E9	SW	quad	L-III	14 flake shatter. quad bag
2900	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray	Area 2	S22E9	92-99	2-9	68-70	4 Flake shatter
2901	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray	Area 2	S22E9	54-59	5-12	70	4 flake shatter
2902	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	81-88	35-44	64-67	shatter
2903	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/specks; olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E9	81-88	35-44	64-67	Flake shatter
2904	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/light specks	Area 2	S22E9	81-88	35-44	64-67	Flake
2905	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray	Area 2	S22E9	NW	quad	L-III	4 Flake shatter, quad bag
2906	Flake	Chert	Olive gray	Area 2	S22E9	NW	quad	L-II	2 flake, quad bag
2907	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	38-46	7-19	66-67	quad bag

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2909	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	38-46	7-19	66-67	10 flake shatter, quad bag
2910	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	38-46	7-19	66-67	8 flakes, quad bag
2911	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	30-37	1-12	66-67	13 flake, quad bag
2912	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; dark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	30-37	1-12	66-67	7 flake, quad bag
2913	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust; light olive gray	Area 2	S22E9	51-68	27-36	62-65	12 flake shatter
2914	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	51-68	27-36	62-65	6 flakes
2915	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	68-77	3-16	60-64	29 flake shatter
2916	Flake	Chert	Olive gray; light olive gray; mark gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	68-77	3-16	60-64	16 flake
2917	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; dark gray w/rust; light olive gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E9	53-64	2-19	63-66	37 flake shatter, cluster
2918	flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; dark gray w/rust; light olive gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E9	53-64	2-19	63-66	17 flakes, cluster
2919	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/specks; light olive gray w/specks; olive gray w/specks	Area 2	S22E9	SE	quad	L-III	8 flake shatter. quad bag
2920	Flake	Chert	Dark gray; olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	SE	quad	L-III	2 flake. quad bag
2921	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	66-75	57-66	64-67	2 flake shatter
2922	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	66-75	57-66	64-67	2 flake
2923	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	23-36	37-45	65-66	5 flake shatter
2924	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/specks; light olive gray w/specks; dark greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	23-36	37-45	65-66	5 flake shatter

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2925	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; medium dark gray w/light speck; light olive gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E9	72-81	7-18	66-64	12 flake shatter
2926	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; dark greenish gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	72-81	7-18	66-64	5 flakes
2927	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	54-63	37-46	63-66	8 flakes
2928	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; dark greenish gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S22E9	54-63	37-46	63-66	4 flake shatter
2929	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray; dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	62-68	4-11	67-69	23 flake shatter
2930	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	62-68	4-11	67-69	6 flake
2931	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark greenish gray w/rust specks; light olive gray; olive gray; dark gray	Area 2	S22E9	72-79	2-12	67-69	19 flake shatter
2932	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	72-79	2-12	67-69	8 flakes
2933	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	88-100	11-23	60-63	91 flake shatter, some specimens may be Ramah, but are too small to tell for sure
2934	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	88-100	11-23	60-63	27 flakes, some specimens may be Ramah, but are too small to tell for sure

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2935	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	87-98	20-32	61-62	68 flake shatter. some specimens may be Ramah, but are too small to tell for sure
2936	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	87-98	20-32	61-62	31 flakes. some specimens may be Ramah, but are too small to tell for sure
2937	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	84-100	0-9	60-63	77 flake shatter. some specimens may be Ramah, but are too small to tell for sure
2938	flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks; olive gray w/rust specks; light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 2	S22E9	84-100	0-9	60-63	21 flake. some specimens may be Ramah, but are too small to tell for sure
3939	Biface	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E7	26	79	58	Projectile point base, dart or arrow.
2940	Flake	Chert	Medium bluish gray w/dark specks	Area 2	S23E7	51	93	58	
2941	Bottle neck	Glass	Translucent	Area 2	S23E6	6	18	47	
2942	Shot	Lead	Corroded	Area 2	S23E9	16	53	58	
2943	Shot	Lead	Corroded	Area 2	S23E9	16	29	56	
2944	Biface	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S23E9	26	90	61	Fragment, split from proximal to distal end, "red ochre" present, sample collected (in bag with artifact), and on specimen. Specimen has orange iron oxide on surface, not clear if "red ochre" is present within this rock, as part of the iron inclusions or not.
2945	Flake	Chert	Medium blueish gray w/ rust specks	Area 1	Tree-throw	Na	Na	Na	3 flakes. Tree blow down in eastern edge of 2005 excavation
2946	Shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/light specks	Area 1	Tree-throw	Na	Na	Na	Tree blow down in eastern edge of 2005 excavation
2947	Flake	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	S21E7	SE	quad	L-III	4 flakes. quad bag
2948	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/dark specks, very light gray	Area 2	S21E7	SE	quad	L-III	8 flake shatter. quad bag. 1 microflake is Ramah.
2949	Sample	Charcoal	Black	Area 2	S21E9	62	71	60	

<i>FfDn-01 continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
2950	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray	Area 2	Back-dirt	Na	Na	Na	Recovered from back-dirt pile
2951	Fragment	glass	Translucent	TL1	2008	TP	15	Na	Row 5, pit 2, from a bottle
2952	.22 cal Bullet	copper	Copper	TL1	2008	TP	3	Na	Row 2, pit 1
2953	fragment	Glass	Translucent	TL1	2008	TP	2	Na	2 fragments. Row 2, pit 1. 1 window pane fragment, one light bulb (or similar object) fragment
2954	Fragment	Glass	Translucent	TL1	2008	TP	1	Na	Row 1, pit 1. Appears burnt. Bottle fragment
2955	.12 gauge Shell cap	Copper-steel-paper	Copper	TL1	2008	TP	1	Na	Row 1, pit 1. "Dominion Export No. 12, Canada". Manufacture range 1911-1955.
2956	Fragments	Glass	Translucent	TL1	2008	TP	16	Na	32 fragments, melted glass. Row 5, pit 3
2957	Can lid	Tin	Rusty	TL1	2008	TP	16	Na	Can lid is cut in half. Row 5, pit 3
<i>FfDn-02, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	flake shatter	unknown	light grey, dark and light specks	TP6	na	0	0	na	specimen appears weathered. Specimen may be natural.
002	flake	chert	light grey, dark specks	TP2	na	0	0	na	
003	flake	chert	grey-green, rust specks	beach	na	0	0	na	utilized
004	flake shatter	chert	light grey-grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	
005	flake	chert	light grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
006	flake shatter	chert	light grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
007	flake	chert	light grey-grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
008	flake	chert	light grey-grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
009	flake shatter	chert	light grey-grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
010	flake shatter	chert	light grey-grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
011	flake shatter	quartzite	tan, dark specks and inclusions	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered, possible biface fragment.
012	flake	chert	grey-green, rust & dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	

<i>FfDn-02, continued</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
013	flake	quartzite	grey, light specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered.
014	flake shatter	chert	white-tan, rust, dark and light specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered
015	unknown	quartzite	yellow-white	beach	na	0	0	na	may be natural.
016	flake	chert	light grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered, utilized? Biface fragment?
017	flake shatter	chert	light grey, dark specks and bands	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered.
018	flake	chert	light grey-green, dark and light specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered.
019	flake shatter	chert	grey-green, rust and dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	
020	flake shatter	chert	grey-green, dark, rust and light specks	beach	na	0	0	na	
021	Flake shatter	chert?	Moderate yellowish brown w/light & rust specks, and air holes	Beach	Na	0	0	na	Could be from Trough given the rusty specks, however the colour is unique compared to the other specimens.
022	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray, w/rust& dark specks	Beach	Na	0	0	Na	
023	Flake	Chert	Medium dark gray w/light& rust specks	Beach	Na	0	0	Na	Nibbling along left and right margins, likely due to tumbling on beach
024	Flake	Chert	Light gray w/dark inclusions	Beach	Na	0	0	Na	Ramah
025	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray w/dark specks& inclusions	Beach	Na	0	0	Na	Ramah
026	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/dark inclusions	Beach	Na	0	0	Na	Ramah
027	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/dark inclusions	Beach	Na	0	0	Na	Ramah
<i>FfDn-03, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	Flake	Chert	light grey-black, rust and dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	

FfDn-03, Artifact Catalogue									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
002	flake	chert	light grey-blue, light and rust specks	beach	na	0	0	na	utilized? (upper right lateral margin)
003	flake	chert	black w/rust specks	TL1	TP1	0	0	0-15	flakes from same general area as in 2005.
004	flake shatter	chert	light gray-clear w/rust and dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	
FfDn-04, Artifact Catalogue									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	flake shatter	chert	light grey-green, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered.
002	flake	chert	light grey, dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered, signs of use on all lateral margins.
003	scraper uniface	quartzite	white	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered, assessment tentative
004	scraper uniface fragment	chert	grey, rust specks	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered, assessment tentative.
FfDn-05, Artifact Catalogue									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	flake	chert	red-burgundy	beach	na	0	0	na	Signs of use on two of three lateral margins.
002	ceramic fragment	transfer print refined earthenware	white, green pattern	beach	na	0	0	na	hollowware vessel
003	ceramic fragment	transfer print refined earthenware	white, green pattern	beach	na	0	0	na	hollowware vessel
004	gun flint	European flint	tan-green	beach	na	0	0	na	weathered, assessment tentative.
FfDn-06, Artifact Catalogue									
Cat #	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S cm	E/W cm	DBD cm	Cataloguer Remarks
001	biface fragment	chert	gray w/ dark specks	beach	na	0	0	na	flake w/ bifacial retouch
002	biface	chert	black w/light and rust specks	beach	na	0	0	na	flake w/ bifacial flaking, possible useware along left margin.
003	biface fragment	chert	black w/light and rust specks	beach	na	0	0	na	tip of biface, refits with specimen 4, useware present
004	biface fragment	chert	black w/light and rust specks	beach	na	0	0	na	base of biface, refit with specimen 3, useware present

<i>FfDn-07, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
001	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust& dark inclusions	TL1	TP1 (06)	0	0	na	large flake.
002	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray	TL1	TP1 (06)	0	0	na	
003	flake shatter	quartz	clear	TL1	TP1 (06)	0	0	na	
004	flake shatter	chert	olive gray-medium dark gray	TL1	TP1 (06)	0	0	na	
005	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	TL1	TP1 (06)	0	0	na	
006	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust & dark inclusions	TL2	TP1 (06)	0	0	na	
007	shotgun cap	metal	rusty	TL2	TP3 (06)	0	0	na	wadding still inside. Conservation.
008	flake shatter	quartz	clear	TL2	TP3 (06)	0	0	na	
009	flake shatter	Chert	clear w/dark specks	TL2	TP3 (06)	0	0	na	Ramah
010	bullet	lead/copper	copper-gray	TL2	TP22(08)	0	0	na	conservation.
011	fabric	wool	brown	TL2	TP22(08)	0	0	na	
012	nail	iron	brown-rust	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	round shaft, with flat round head. Conservation.
013	nail	iron	brown-rust	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	round shaft, with flat round head. Conservation.
014	nail	iron	brown-rust	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	round shaft, with flat round head. Conservation.
015	nail	iron	brown-rust	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	round shaft, with flat round head. Conservation
016	nail	iron	brown-rust	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	round shaft, with flat round head. Conservation.
017	nail	iron	brown-rust	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	round shaft, with flat round head. Conservation.
018	nail	iron	brown-rust	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	round shaft, with flat round head.
019	nail	iron	brown	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	square shaft, round head, hooked at bottom.
020	nail	iron	brown	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	square shaft, round head. Conservation.

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
021	nail	iron	brown	TL2	TP9 (08)	0	0	na	square shaft, round head. Tip missing. Conservation.
022	Biface	chert	light olive gray-medium dark gray	Area 1	N2E0	20	44	71	Distal end broken, and missing.
023	Biface	chert	medium dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	47	28	69	chunky biface, with distal? Portion missing. Fracture created a sickle shaped edge. Reused as a shaving tool? Red ochre on fracture and surface.
024	uniface	chert	light olive gray w\rust& dark inclusions	Area 1	N2E0	5	63	73	material could be mistaken for Ramah. Small linear flake with retouch/useware along both margins. May have been hafted as a small knife.
025	pebble	mudstone	light brownish gray	Area 1	N0E0	57	57	63	small pebble. Black substance on one surface. There were other water-worn pebbles/stones in this unit. Certainly brought here by a person.
026	cobble	unknown	olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	99	45	68	small water-worn cobble. Transported to site by human agency. Appears to have staining and signs of utilization on surface. Possible abrading stone.
027	cobble	unknown	pale yellowish brown	Area 1	N0E0	85	26	68	small water-worn cobble. Transported to site by human agency. Appears to have staining and signs of utilization on surface. Possible abrading stone.
028	cobble	unknown	pale red	Area 1	N0E0	SW	quad	62	small water-worn cobble. Transported to site by human agency. Appears to have staining and signs of utilization on surface. Possible abrading stone.
029	cobble	unknown	pale yellowish brown	Area 1	N0E0	8	10	62	medium water-worn cobble. Transported to site by human agency. Appears to have staining and signs of utilization on surface. Possible abrading stone.
030	shatter	chert	medium dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	51	98	62	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
031	shatter	chert?	pale yellowish brown	Area 1	N0E0	7	44	?	depth not recorded.. part of a water-worn chert cobble?
032	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	64	59	66	specs of red ochre on both ventral and dorsal surface.
033	shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	95	95	64	
034	flake	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	94	71	65	
035	flake	chert	greenish gray	Area 1	N0E0	99	91	65	
036	flake	chert	grayish black w/translucent mottling and rust specks	Area 1	N0E0	81	35	68	
037	flake	chert	grayish black w/translucent mottling and rust specks	Area 1	N0E0	57	28	68	
038	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	77	39	67	possible sign of use along the left lateral margin.
039	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	43	27	69	
040	flake	rhyolite?	medium dark gray-dark gray banded	Area 1	N0E0	96	17	68	
041	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	24	53	67	
042	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	94	28	68	
043	flake	chert	grayish black	Area 1	N0E0	49	36	65	
044	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	41	27	67	
045	flake	chert	light gray	Area 1	N0E0	46	30	67	
046	flake shatter	chert	dark gray, w/white specks	Area 1	N0E0	6	74	63	
047	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	5	56	62	
048	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	11	63	63	
049	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	30	99	60	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
050	flake shatter	rhyolite?	medium gray-medium dark gray, banded	Area 1	N0E0	32	92	60	
051	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	48	37	66	
052	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	62	50	64	
053	shatter	chert?	yellowish gray-light gray	Area 1	N0E0	71	68	65	outside piece of shatter may be cortical. If not it is water-worn, or perhaps both?
054	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	89	55	66	
055	flake	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	76	62	65	
056	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	86	72	66	
057	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N0E0	83	61	68	
058	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	99	73	66	
059	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	93	79	65	
060	flake shatter	rhyolite	medium light gray-dark gray, banded	Area 1	N0E0	73	89	63	
061	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N0E0	17	23	64	
062	flake shatter	chert	dark gray, w rust and white specks	Area 1	N0E0	13	29	63	
063	flake	chert	dark gray-very light gray, w/rust	Area 1	N0E0	62	49	68	
064	charcoal	wood	black	Area 1	N0E0	79	52	69	Taken for sample
065	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/white specks	Area 1	N0E0	SE	quad	L-II	4 microflakes collected by quad
066	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	SE	quad	L-II	
067	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N0E0	SE	quad	L-II	3 microflakes collected by quad
068	flake	chert	pinkish gray	Area 1	N0E0	SE	quad	L-II	2 microflakes collected by quad
069	flake	Chert	very light gray w/dark and rust specks	Area 1	N0E0	SE	quad	L-II	Ramah.
070	flake shatter	chert	yellowish-gray	Area 1	N0E0	SE	quad	L-II	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
071	flake	chert	yellowish gray - medium gray	Area 1	N0E0	NE	Quad	L-II	4 microflakes collected by quad
072	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
073	flake	rhyolite	very light gray-medium dark gray, banded	Area 1	N0E0	NE	Quad	L-II	2 microflakes collected by quad
074	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N0E0	NE	Quad	L-II	5 microflakes collected by quad
075	flake shatter	chert	medium gray	Area 1	N0E0	NE	Quad	L-II	bit of red ochre on surface.
076	flake shatter	chert	olive gray - greenish gray	Area 1	N0E0	NE	Quad	L-II	7 microflakes collected by quad
077	flake shatter	quartzite	white	Area 1	N0E0	NE	Quad	L-II	Ramah like, but lacks sugary appearance
078	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	2 of the 3 specimens refit.
079	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	2 microflakes collected by quad
080	flake	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
081	flake	rhyolite	light gray-medium dark gray, banded	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
082	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust and white inclusions	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
083	flake shatter	quartzite	light gray	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	some resemblance to Ramah.
084	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	4 microflakes collected by quad
085	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-very light gray, w/rust specks	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	4 microflakes collected by quad
086	flake shatter	rhyolite	grayish black	Area 1	N0E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
087	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	NW	Quad	L-II	3 microflakes collected by quad
088	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	NW	Quad	L-II	microflake, bit of red ochre.
089	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N0E0	NW	Quad	L-II	microflake.
090	shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N0E0	NW	Quad	L-II	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
091	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N0E0	NW	Quad	L-II	2 microflakes collected by quad
092	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N0E0	NW	Quad	L-II	9 microflakes collected by quad
093	flake shatter	rhyolite	light gray-dark gray, banded	Area 1	N0E0	NW	Quad	L-II	6 microflakes collected by quad
094	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N0E0	NW	Quad	L-II	5 microflakes collected by quad
095	flake	chert	olive gray w/rusts specks	TP28 (08)	na	na	na	na	
096	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/dark and rust specks	TP28 (08)	na	na	na	na	
097	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0.
098	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust and light specks	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0. utilized flake, with some retouch/useware along both lateral margins.
099	flake	chert	yellowish gray	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0.
100	shatter	rhyolite	medium gray	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0.
101	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray q/rust specks	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0.
102	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust and light specks	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0.
103	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0.
104	flake shatter	rhyolite	medium gray	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0.
105	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	TP22 (08)	N0E0	na	na	na	test pit 22, was encompassed within excavation unit N0E0.
106	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	TP1 (08)	na	na	na	na	
107	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	TP1 (08)	na	na	na	na	
108	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	TP29 (08)	na	na	na	na	
109	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust specks	TP27 (08)	na	na	na	na	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
110	flake shatter	quartz	white	TP7 (08)	na	na	na	na	
111	flake shatter	quartz	clear-white	TP6 (08)	na	na	na	na	
112	shatter	quartz	white-clear	TP6 (08)	na	na	na	na	
113	shatter	quartz	white-clear	TP6 (08)	na	na	na	na	piece of quartz shatter, judging by cortex it comes from a waterworn cobble. Appears to have been used as an engraver, small knife or shave.
114	flake shatter	rhyolite	dark gray-light gray. Banded	TP25 (08)	na	na	na	na	large specimen appears to retain part of cortical surface. Again, it appears waterworn, i.e. it is very smooth and bleached.
115	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/red ochre	TP25 (08)	na	na	na	na	
116	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray w/medium gray band	TP25 (08)	na	na	na	na	
117	flake	chert	yellowish gray	TP25 (08)	na	na	na	na	
118	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	TP25 (08)	na	na	na	na	
119	flake	chert	yellowish gray	TP20 (08)	na	na	na	na	judging by the cortex present on this specimen. This, and the other flakes of this same material, appear to come from a waterworn cobble(s).
120	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	TP20 (08)	na	na	na	na	
121	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	TP20 (08)	na	na	na	na	
122	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	TP20 (08)	na	na	na	na	
123	caribou	bone	na	TP10 (08)	na	na	na	na	most likely associated with use of this location by Innu in the last few decades.
124	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	85	76	68	
125	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust and dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	90	73	72	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
126	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	63	60	70	
127	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	72	84	68	
128	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	79	85	69	
129	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust and dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	80	85	69	
130	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust and dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	90	58	71	
131	shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust and white specks	Area 1	N1E0	94	61	72	
132	shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust	Area 1	N1E0	50	53	69	
133	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/white and dark specks and rust	Area 1	N1E0	69	52	70	partial platform remaining(?), covered in rust.
134	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust	Area 1	N1E0	75	53	70	one surface of flake is very smooth. It is possible that it is cortical, but does not appear to be to my eye. Has a watery worn feeling to it.
135	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	79	57	70	slight evidence for bi-polar percussion
136	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	98	55	70	
137	shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray	Area 1	N1E0	58	96	68	
138	flake	chert	medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	30	19	70	
139	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/dark and rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	38	39	69	
140	flake	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N1E0	36	5	70	
141	shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust and translucent specks	Area 1	N1E0	56	51	71	
142	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	48	49	71	
143	flake	chert	medium gray-yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	66	60	70	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
144	flake	chert	light olive gray-olive gray-dark gray w/ rust and light specks	Area 1	N1E0	50	83	67	looking at this specimen it is evident that many of the visibly distinct chert specimens are from the same formation, even though they may look distinct
145	flake	chert	light gray-yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	56	73	68	
146	flake shatter	chert	greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	58	91	68	
147	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	29	10	70	
148	flake	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	39	46	69	
149	shatter	chert	medium gray w/rust specks and rust	Area 1	N1E0	15	11	71	
150	flake shatter	chert	greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	31	9	70	2 piece refit. Large flake shatter (platform missing). Possible engraver w/evidence of use on distal margin. Snapped in two pieces, found side by side.
151	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	73	73	69	
152	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	71	52	70	
153	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	34	2	70	
154	shatter	chert	greenish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	60	85	68	
155	flake shatter	rhyolite	light gray-dark gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	76	63	70	
156	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	62	94	68	
157	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust and light specks	Area 1	N1E0	12	47	67	
158	flake	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	51	24	72	
159	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	61	69	68	
160	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust and light specks	Area 1	N1E0	21	33	70	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
161	shatter	chert	dark gray-light olive gray w/rust and light specks	Area 1	N1E0	12	9	71	
162	flake	chert	medium gray	Area 1	N1E0	16	10	71	
163	shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	76	76	70	
164	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	87	91	69	
165	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	75	56	71	
166	flake	rhyolite	light gray-dark gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	55	86	68	
167	flake shatter	chert	medium light gray	Area 1	N1E0	57	88	68	
168	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	67	93	67	
169	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	58	94	67	
170	flake	chert	medium gray-yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	78	76	69	
171	flake shatter	chert	medium light gray	Area 1	N1E0	64	81	68	
172	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust & light specks	Area 1	N1E0	89	51	71	
173	cobble	quartz	very pale orange	Area 1	N1E0	97	26	68	water worn cobble, some evidence of battering. Also in context with other water worn cobbles, and heated sand.
174	flake shatter	chert	Medium light gray	Area 1	N1E0	65	56	72	
175	shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust and light specks	Area 1	N1E0	78	36	70	possible evidence for bi-polar percussion. Some signs of useware along later margin.
176	flake	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	52	88	68	
177	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray	Area 1	N1E0	57	20	71	
178	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	82	36	70	two specimens collected at same location. 2nd specimen in next entry.

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
179	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	82	36	70	two specimens collected at same location. 1st specimen in above entry.
180	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	52	59	69	
181	flake	rhyolite	light gray-medium dark gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	71	69	70	
182	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust and light specks	Area 1	N1E0	88	43	69	
183	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust and light specks and dark gray band	Area 1	N1E0	87	69	71	
184	flake	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 1	N1E0	99	13	73	
185	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	73	83	69	
186	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 1	N1E0	91	76	71	
187	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	98	86	71	
188	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	84	54	72	
189	flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	95	90	71	five specimens collected at same location. Other four specimens are below.
190	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	95	90	71	five specimens collected at same location.
191	shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	95	90	71	five specimens collected at same location.
192	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	95	90	71	five specimens collected at same location.
193	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	95	90	71	five specimens collected at same location.
194	shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust and light specks	Area 1	N1E0	78	65	71	
195	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	82	78	70	
196	shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust	Area 1	N1E0	90	74	69	one surface appears water worn. Another surface is rough, may or may not be cortex. If not, must be fractured along a vein in the chert.

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
197	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 1	N1E0	74	74	69	
198	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	88	76	70	cortical surface appears to be from a water worn cobble.
199	shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	65	46	69	
200	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	88	48	69	platform has red staining, bit deeper colour than either rust inclusions or staining, could be red ochre.
201	flake shatter	chert	medium light gray w/rust and dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	65	46	69	
202	flake	chert	light gray	Area 1	N1E0	43	78	68	
203	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	54	59	69	
204	flake shatter	rhyolite	light gray-medium dark gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	38	61	66	
205	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N1E0	97	80	71	surface thought to be cortical appears to be from a water worn cobble.
206	shatter	chert	dark gray w/light inclusion	Area 1	N1E0	89	30	69	
207	flake shatter	chert	olive grey	Area 1	N1E0	58	90	68	
208	flake	chert	pale yellowish brown	Area 1	N1E0	89	19	72	
209	flake shatter	chert	light olive grey w/dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	79	22	72	
210	shatter	chert	light olive grey	Area 1	N1E0	86	86	69	
211	flake	chert	light olive grey	Area 1	N1E0	17	54	73	
212	flake shatter	chert	olive grey w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	9	89	68	
213	flake shatter	chert	olive grey w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	61	95	69	
214	flake	rhyolite	dark grey-medium grey, banded	Area 1	N1E0	91	65	70	
215	shatter	chert	olive grey	Area 1	N1E0	74	39	70	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
216	flake shatter	chert	pale yellowish brown	Area 1	N1E0	20	24	72	
217	flake shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	54	60	70	
218	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	75	79	69	
219	flake shatter	rhyolite	very light grey-medium grey, banded	Area 1	N1E0	4	76	65	
220	flake shatter	chert	medium dark grey	Area 1	N1E0	38	60	69	
221	flake	chert	medium grey w rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	56	15	72	
222	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	15	58	70	
223	flake shatter	chert	grayish green w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	89	73	72	
224	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	85	88	70	
225	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	88	39	69	
226	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	35	89	66	
227	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	18	70	69	
228	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	91	69	73	
229	flake	rhyolite	light gray-white, banded	Area 1	N1E0	91	69	73	
230	flake shatter	chert	grayish green w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	69	65	70	
231	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	85	75	70	
232	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray	Area 1	N1E0	80	64	71	
233	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	32	85	68	
234	flake shatter	chert	very light gray-medium gray, mottled	Area 1	N1E0	59	97	69	
235	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	67	68	70	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
236	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	26	75	69	
237	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	12	64	69	
238	flake	chert	very light gray	Area 1	N1E0	28	73	69	
239	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	98	73	72	
240	shatter	chert	olive gray-light gray	Area 1	N1E0	43	74	69	
241	micro-flakes	chert	light olive gray-olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
242	micro-flakes	chert	very light gray	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
243	flake	chert	very light gray w/rust and dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	material is Ramah like.
244	shatter	chert	olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
245	flake shatter	chert	very light gray-light gray	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
246	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
247	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
248	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
249	flake	rhyolite	medium gray	Area 1	N1E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
250	flake shatter	quartz	white	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
251	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
252	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
253	flake	rhyolite	dark gray-medium light gray	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
254	flake	chert	very light gray-medium light gray	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
255	shatter	chert	grayish black	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
256	shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
257	flake shatter	rhyolite	dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
258	flake	chert	light gray	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
259	flake shatter	chert	light gray-medium light gray	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
260	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust and dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
261	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
262	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
263	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
264	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
265	flake shatter	rhyolite	medium dark gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
266	flake	rhyolite	medium dark gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
267	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
268	flake	chert	very light gray-light gray	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
269	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust and dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
270	flake shatter	chert	dark olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
271	flake	rhyolite	medium light gray-dark gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
272	flake shatter	rhyolite	medium light gray-dark gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
273	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust& dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
274	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust& dark specks	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
275	flake shatter	chert	very light gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
276	flake	chert	very light gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
277	shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
278	flake shatter	chert	dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
279	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
280	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N1E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
281	sample	wood	na	Area 1	N1E0	50-100	59-73	70	sample collected from burnt log crossing the northern quadrants of the unit. Portion radiocarbon dated.
282	utilized flake	chert	olive black	Area 1	N2E0	4	52	71	
283	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/light gray bands& light gray& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	27	33	73	
284	Flake	chert	olive black w/light specks	Area 1	N2E0	62	6	72	
285	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/light & rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	56	22	72	
286	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	9	6	73	
287	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	36	46	71	
288	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	35	86	70	
289	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	59	9	72	
290	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray w/light gray bands	Area 1	N2E0	44	89	69	staining on ventral surface.
291	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	44	55	70	2-piece refit.
292	Flake	chert	dark gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	49	25	72	
293	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	46	23	72	
294	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	99	79	71	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
295	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	43	25	72	
296	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust inclusion	Area 1	N2E0	40	22	72	
297	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	14	73	72	
298	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	47	68	71	
299	Flake	rhyolite	Dark gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	41	51	71	
300	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	47	68	70	
301	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	45	56	70	
302	Flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/ rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	54	76	71	
303	Flake	chert	dark gray w/rust and light inclusions	Area 1	N2E0	51	87	70	
304	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	54	73	70	
305	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	56	78	70	
306	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	73	14	72	
307	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	75	11	72	
308	Flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	34	96	69	
309	flake shatter	chert	very light gray-medium light gray, mottled	Area 1	N2E0	68	89	70	
310	flake shatter	chert	medium gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	56	19	72	
311	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	41	53	72	
312	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	47	51	72	
313	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/light specks	Area 1	N2E0	46	46	73	
314	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	91	96	70	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
315	Flake	chert	olive gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	31	69	70	
316	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	25	79	70	
317	Flake	Rhyolite	dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	59	77	70	
318	Flake	chert	medium light gray	Area 1	N2E0	37	52	71	
319	Flake	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	21	47	72	
320	shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	44	48	71	
321	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray	Area 1	N2E0	15	62	72	
322	flake	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 1	N2E0	93	79	71	
323	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	25	91	69	
324	flake shatter	chert	very light gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	72	91	72	
325	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	64	67	72	
326	flake	chert	yellowish gray, medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	60	75	72	
327	flake shatter	chert	Very light gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	15	93	70	
328	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	67	84	72	
329	shatter	chert	pale yellowish brown	Area 1	N2E0	57	14	72	
330	Flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray, mottled	Area 1	N2E0	51	26	72	
331	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	46	81	69	
332	Flake	chert	medium gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	67	25	73	
333	shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	45	45	73	
334	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/ dark specks	Area 1	N2E0	26	76	72	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
335	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/dark specks	Area 1	N2E0	54	51	70	
336	shatter	chert	medium gray w/light specks	Area 1	N2E0	44	48	71	
337	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	82	80	70	
338	flake shatter	chert	greenish gray w/dark specks	Area 1	N2E0	55	75	69	
339	Flake	rhyolite	dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	38	79	70	
340	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	112	72	70	
341	Shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/dark & rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	23	50	70	
342	Flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/dark& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	60	21	72	
343	Shatter	chert	medium gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	29	26	72	
344	shatter	chert	greenish gray w/rust& dark specks	Area 1	N2E0	33	61	71	
345	Flake	chert	light olive gray w/dark& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	8	66	70	
346	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	18	52	72	
347	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	12	69	70	
348	shatter	quartz	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	27	61	72	
349	flake shatter	chert	very light gray	Area 1	N2E0	74	97	70	
350	Flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/dark specks	Area 1	N2E0	65	50	72	
351	flake shatter	rhyolite	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	91	73	70	
352	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	30	59	71	
353	Flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust& dark specks	Area 1	N2E0	17	72	72	
354	shatter	chert	medium gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	79	5	72	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
355	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	90	33	72	
356	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	80	76	71	
357	flake shatter	chert	medium gray w/light specks	Area 1	N2E0	53	8	73	
358	flake shatter	chert	medium light gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	52	11	71	
359	Flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	14	74	72	
360	Flake	rhyolite	dark gray-very light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	83	77	71	
361	Shatter	rhyolite	dark grey-very light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	92	80	71	
362	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	77	98	70	
363	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	61	15	72	
364	Shatter	chert	medium gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	68	7	72	
365	Flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	65	64	70	
366	flake shatter	chert	medium light gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	49	16	71	
367	Flake	rhyolite	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	83	96	70	
368	Shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	42	49	71	
369	Flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	31	51	73	linear flake. Possible evidence of bi-polar percussion.
370	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	22	67	71	
371	Flake	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	9	84	70	
372	Shatter	chert	medium gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	71	7	72	
373	Shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	61	85	70	
374	Flake	chert	medium gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	80	12	72	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
375	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	38	85	70	
376	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	61	90	70	
377	flake shatter	rhyolite	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	85	88	69	
378	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	48	29	72	
379	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	15	70	72	
380	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	59	82	70	
381	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	54	85	68	
382	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	51	55	72	evidence of utilization along lateral margin.
383	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	55	51	72	
384	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	58	67	74	
385	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	74	8	72	
386	flake	chert	olive gray w/light specks	Area 1	N2E0	59	80	71	
387	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	44	83	68	
388	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	41	65	72	
389	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	10	69	72	retouch along flake margin.
390	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	7	60	71	
391	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	53	92	68	
392	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	84	88	70	
393	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	91	78	72	
394	shatter	chert	medium gray w/light specks	Area 1	N2E0	47	51	72	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
395	flake	rhyolite	medium gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	97	88	71	
396	flake shatter	rhyolite	medium gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	57	81	70	Evidence of use on lateral margins
397	flake	chert	medium light gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	46	86	68	
398	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	46	86	68	Found together with ARTIFACT 398
399	flake	chert	medium gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	17	92	70	
400	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	23	97	70	
401	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	27	71	74	
402	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	23	72	74	
403	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	45	74	71	
404	flake	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	32	67	72	
405	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	9	68	73	
406	flake	chert	dark grey-light gray, mottled	Area 1	N2E0	22	95	70	
407	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	3	69	73	
408	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	20	97	69	
409	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	44	81	69	
410	flake shatter	chert	medium gray w/light specks	Area 1	N2E0	38	95	69	
411	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	43	70	72	
412	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	18	97	70	
413	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	34	79	71	
414	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	30	67	71	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
415	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	33	71	71	
416	flake shatter	chert	medium gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	49	50	74	
417	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	36	69	71	
418	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	33	92	69	
419	flake shatter	chert	yellowish grey-medium dark gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	Na	Na	Na	Recovered during clean-up.
420	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	34	69	71	
421	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	36	74	71	
422	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N2E0	37	73	71	
423	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	40	69	71	
424	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	2	76	72	
425	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	8	70	72	
426	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	13	75	72	
427	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	7	94	71	
428	flake	chert	light gray	Area 1	N2E0	5	90	71	
429	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	16	97	70	
430	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	9	79	70	
431	flake	chert	dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	35	71	74	
432	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	2	75	70	
433	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	5	85	71	
434	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	8	91	71	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
435	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	38	69	72	
436	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	42	67	72	
437	flake	chert	olive gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	11	92	71	
438	flake	chert	olive gray w/light& rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	14	73	72	
439	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	29	72	71	
440	flake shatter	rhyolite	medium gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	30	90	69	
441	shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	70	4	69	Rock 4 on excavation record, for L-2.
442	organic	wood	light brown-grayish black	Area 1	N2E0	85	48	68	Collected at interface between level 1 and 2. includes large pieces of primarily unburned wood.
443	flake	chert	dark gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
444	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
445	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
446	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
447	flake	chert	light gray	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
448	flake	chert	medium gray-yellowish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
449	flake shatter	chert	medium gray-yellowish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
450	flake	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
451	flake	rhyolite	medium dark gray-medium light gray	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
452	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
453	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
454	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
455	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
456	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-II	
457	flake shatter	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-I	
458	flake	chert	very light gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-I	
459	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray w// specks	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-I	
460	flake shatter	chert	medium light gray	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-I	
461	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-I	
462	flake	rhyolite	dark gray-light gray	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
463	flake	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
464	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
465	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
466	flake	chert	dark gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
467	shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
468	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
469	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
470	flake	chert	light gray	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
471	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
472	flake	chert	medium gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
473	shatter	chert	medium gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
474	flake	chert	light gray-very light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
475	flake	chert	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
476	flake	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
477	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
478	flake shatter	chert	light gray-very light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
479	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
480	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
481	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
482	flake shatter	chert	dark gray	Area 1	N2E0	NW	Quad	L-II	
483	flake	chert	olive black w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
484	flake	chert	light gray	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
485	flake	chert	yellowish gray	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
486	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
487	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
488	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
489	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
490	shatter	chert	medium gray w/light specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
491	shatter	chert	olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SW	Quad	L-I	
492	flake	Rhyolite	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
493	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
494	flake	chert	medium bluish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
495	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
496	flake	rhyolite	medium light gray w/light bands	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
497	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	material is Ramah like, but without the sugary appearance.
498	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
499	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
500	flake shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
501	flake shatter	chert	grayish black w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
502	flake shatter	chert	medium dark gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
503	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
504	flake shatter	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
505	shatter	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
506	shatter	chert	medium dark gray w/light specks& rust	Area 1	N2E0	NE	Quad	L-II	
507	flake	chert	olive gray w/rust& specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
508	flake	chert	light olive gray w/rust specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
509	flake	chert	grayish black w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
510	flake	rhyolite	medium dark gray-light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
511	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
512	flake	chert	yellowish gray-medium light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
513	flake shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded, mottled	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
514	flake shatter	chert	medium gray-very light gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
515	flake shatter	chert	blackish gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
516	flake shatter	chert	medium gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
517	flake shatter	chert	olive gray w/rust& light specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
518	shatter	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
519	shatter	chert	light olive gray w/specks	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
520	shatter	chert	yellowish gray-medium gray, banded	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
521	Shatter	chert	light olive gray w/rust& dark inclusions	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
522	Shatter	chert	medium bluish gray	Area 1	N2E0	SE	Quad	L-II	
<i>FfDn-08, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
001	flake	chert	tan	L1 - beach	na	0	0	na	
002	flake shatter	chert	clear-gray w/dark specks	L1 - beach	na	0	0	na	
003	flake shatter	chert	gray-green w/dark specks	L2 - beach	na	0	0	na	
<i>FfDn-09, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
001	Sphere	Clay?	Dark gray w/silver specks	2x2 test	N0E1	57	60	66	Appears to be made from clay, but also resembles iron ore dust.
002	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	60	93	70	2 small fragments
003	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/light\$ rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	60	82	70	Small fragment
004	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-medium light gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	94	93	70	
005	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/light\$ rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	95	75	69	
006	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/light& rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	98	75	69	
007	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-light gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	89	50	71	2 pieces, large flake.

<i>FfDn-07, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
008	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray0light gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	75	46	72	
009	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	89	39	73	
010	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	84	6	79	Small fragment
011	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	25	83	69	Close to complete, missing part of platform
012	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	36	57	71	
013	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	17	35	73	
014	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	25	31	75	Large flake, has a water-worn texture over 1/3 of dorsal surface.
015	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	17	6	74	Linear flake
016	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	34	13	76	
017	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	49	16	76	
018	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust & light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	66	37	76	
019	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	95	7	82	
020	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/ rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	84	57	71	
021	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/light& rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	33	45	77	
022	Flake	Chert	Light gray-dark gray w/light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	50	12	74	
023	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray-dark gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	SE	quad	L-II	3 micro-flake shatter collected in quad bag. Ramah like, but without the sugary appearance
024	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	NW	quad	L-II	4 microflakes collected in quad bag.
025	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	NW	quad	L-II	2 microflakes collected in quad bag
026	Flake	Chert	Light gray-dark gray w/rust 7 light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	SW	quad	L-II	4 microflakes. Ramah like, but lack sugary appearance
027	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N0E1	SW	quad	L-II	8 microflakes, collected in quad bag.

<i>FfDn-09, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
028	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/light& rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	NE	quad	L-II	4 microflakes collected in quad bag
029	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E1	NE	quad	L-II	2 microflakes, Ramah like, but lack sugary appearance
030	Flake	Chert	Light gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	63	38	75	
031	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	53	33	77	
032	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	62	98	78	
033	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/light& rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	38	35	79	Large flake
034	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	38	35	79	
035	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	SW	quad	L-II	2 microflakes collected in quad bag.
036	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	SW	quad	L-II	2 microflakes collected in quad bag
037	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	NE	quad	L-II	3 microflakes
038	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	NE	quad	L-II	Collected in quad bag
039	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N0E0	NW	quad	L-II	Large flake, collected in quad bag
040	Flake	Chert	Olive gray-light olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E0	16	33	80	
041	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E0	44	10	79	
042	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust specks& crumbly band	2x2 test	N1E0	60	79	74	
043	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E0	40	96	78	
044	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E0	SE	quad	L-I	3 microflakes collected in quad bag
045	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E0	SW	quad	L-I	1 microflake collected in quad bag
046	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E0	NW	quad	L-II	Microflake collected in quad bag, recovered in screen
047	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	NE	quad	L-II	Microflake collected in quad bag, recovered in screen

<i>FfDn-09, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
048	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	59	13	72	
049	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/ rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	59	16	72	
050	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	66	25	68	
051	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray-dark gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	96	34	68	Large flake
052	Shatter	Quartz	Pale yellowish gray	2x2 test	N1E1	94	43	65	
053	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-pale olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	70	50	63	Large flake
054	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-pale olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	81	54	66	Large flake
055	Flake	Chert	Pale gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	89	54	66	
056	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-medium gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	97	67	66	
057	Flake	Chert	Medium gray-dark gray w/rusts specks	2x2 test	N1E1	73	77	66	Large flake
058	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-medium gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	78	80	64	Large flake
059	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-medium gray w/rust specks and band	2x2 test	N1E1	74	89	65	Large flake
060	Flake	Chert	Medium gray-dark gray w/rust specks& crumbly inclusions	2x2 test	N1E1	12	25	75	Large flake
061	Shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust & light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	19	31	72	
062	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	16	41	71	Large flake
063	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	24	71	69	
064	Flake	Chert	Dark gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	41	88	63	Large flake
065	Flake shatter	chert	Dark gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	25	95	65	
066	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	70	39	69	

<i>FfDn-09, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
067	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	73	35	69	Large flake
068	Flake	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	76	40	69	
069	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray-light gray	2x2 test	N1E1	91	29	69	
070	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	17	35	77	
071	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray, crumbly	2x2 test	N1E1	17	35	77	
072	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	32	12	77	
073	Flake	Chert	Medium gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	24	92	69	Large flake
074	Flake shatter	Chert	Medium dark gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	29	81	68	
075	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	80	66	66	
076	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-medium gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	NE	quad	L-II	Collected in quad bag, likely found in screen
077	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	NE	quad	L-II	4 microflakes Collected in quad bag
078	Flake	Chert	Light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	SE	quad	L-II	Microflake collected in quad bag.
079	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	SE	quad	L-II	5 microflakes collected in quad bag
080	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	SE	quad	L-I	3 microflakes collected in quad bag
081	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light olive gray w/rust& light specks	2x2 test	N1E1	SE	quad	L-I	5 microflakes collected in quad bag
082	Flake shatter	Chert	Light olive gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	NW	quad	L-II	7 microflakes collected in quad bag
083	Flake	Chert	Light olive gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	NW	quad	L-II	5 microflakes collected in quad bag
084	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	NW	quad	L-I	2 microflakes collected in quad bag
085	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	SW	quad	L-II	2 microflakes collected in quad bag
086	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-light gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	SW	quad	L-II	5 microflakes collected in quad bag

<i>FfDn-09, continued</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
087	Flake shatter	Chert	Light gray-dark gray w/rust specks	2x2 test	N1E1	SE	quad	L-I	1 microflake collected in quad bag
088	Flake	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/rust specks	TP15	Row 3	Na	Na	Na	5 flakes recovered from test pit. 2 large, 2 microflakes
089	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray-olive gray w/rust& light specks	TP15	Row 3	Na	Na	Na	13 flake shatter recovered from test pit. 4 large, 5 microflakes.
090	Flake shatter	Chert	Olive gray w/rust& light specks	TP10	Row 2	Na	Na	Na	2 flake shatter recovered from test pit
091	Shatter	Quartz	Yellowish gray-Olive gray	TP 14	Row 2	Na	Na	Na	4 fragments of quartz shatter recovered from test pit
092	Flake	Quartz	Olive gray	TP 14	Row 2	Na	Na	Na	1 quartz flake recovered from test pit
093	Flake shatter	Chert	Dark gray w/rust specks	TP 14	Row 2	Na	Na	Na	5 flake shatter recovered from test pit, 2 large, 1 microflake
094	Flake	Chert	Grayish black w/rust specks	TP 14	Row 2	Na	Na	Na	1 flake recovered from test pit, fully opaque
<i>FfDn-10, Artifact Catalogue</i>									
Cat#	Object	Material	Colour	Area	Grid	N/S (cm)	E/W (cm)	DBD (cm)	Cataloguer Remarks
001	Ceramic (2)	Refined earthenware	White w/black & yellow bands	Lawn	SE corner of cabin sill	0	0	na	Discovered by owner of modern cabin, planting a tree. Manufactured late 18 th to late 19 th c.