



Provincial Archaeology Office Annual Review 2023

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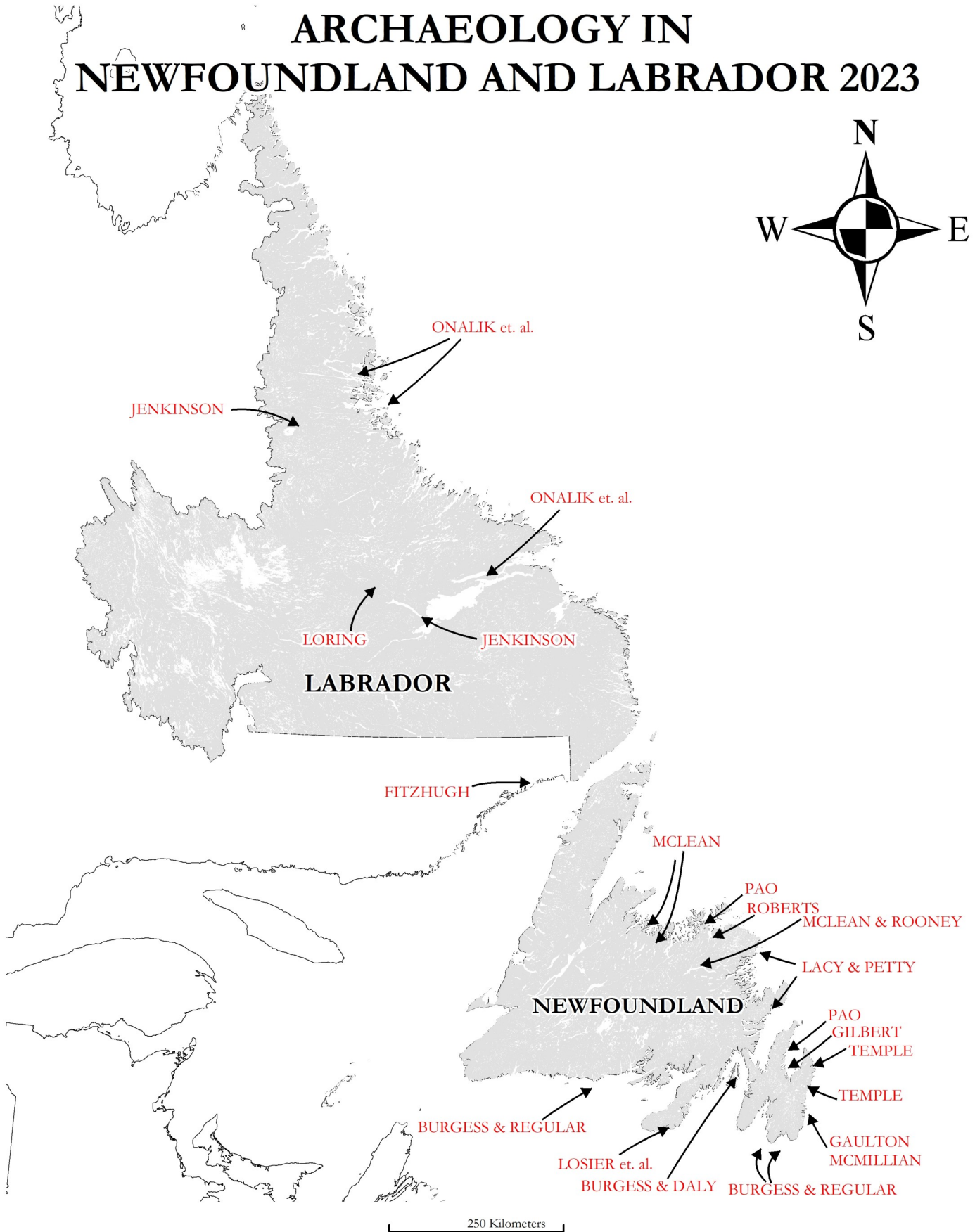


Cover: Red ochre processing pit just to the north of a large hearth in Sheshatshit.
See Jenkinson, this volume.

Stephen Hull
Delphina Mercer
Editors

Opinions expressed in this document are not necessarily those of the
Provincial Archaeology Office nor those of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR 2023



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Provincial Archaeology Office Review 2023

Jamie Brake, Delphina Mercer, John Erwin & Stephen Hull
Provincial Archaeology Office

Introduction
Members of Newfoundland and Labrador’s Provincial Archaeology Office (PAO) were involved in field activity in Carbonear, Conception Bay, and Twillingate and Boyd’s Cove in Notre Dame Bay in 2023. The results of this work are outlined below. The office also briefly visited Little St. Lawrence, on the Burin Peninsula, with Dr. Catherine Losier of Memorial University. This brief visit is discussed in her article in this volume. Office members Drs. John Erwin and Jamie Brake took part in meetings at Fleur de Lys on the Baie Verte Peninsula in mid-July, which also provided an opportunity to visit the Dorset soapstone quarry in that community which had been the focus of Erwin’s PhD research, completed more than 20 years earlier. The timing for this visit was fitting as Erwin retired at the end of 2023 after nearly 7 years with the PAO (see below).

The PAO has reviewed nearly 40,000 Land Use Referrals over the last 15 years. In 2023, we reviewed 2309 Land Use Referrals, a somewhat slow year by recent standards. We issued 38 archaeological

permits which is also down compared to recent years and six paleontological permits in 2023. We also awarded 15 Archaeology Research Grants. Table 1 provides a summary of this work based on the type of application involved.

The remainder of this article provides an overview of archaeological activity undertaken by the PAO during the 2023 field season.

Carbonear Permit (23.08)

On April 27th, 2023, the PAO received a report from a Memorial University faculty member regarding stone features being exposed and impacted by water and sewer work in downtown Carbonear (Figure 1). The information forwarded at that time included photos supplied by a local individual that had been posted on social media by the Carbonear Heritage Society about the accidental discovery of “mysterious structures” during the work on Water Street. Contact was made with the town and the company doing the work that morning to ensure that the activity would stop. Arrangements were then made for a site visit that took place the same afternoon.

Table 1: Summary of land use referrals reviewed by the PAO over the past 10 years.

Type of Land Use Applications	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Crown Land	1818	1774	1466	2542	1813	1579	1217	1749	1751	1605
Environmental Assessment	40	54	48	73	48	67	51	68	50	54
Mineral Exploration	301	285	339	355	354	371	380	725	226	177
Notification of Work (MLD)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	399	275
Quarry	306	455	618	207	150	120	131	53	93	143
Aquaculture	7	8	1	1	23	4	10	8	5	8
ILUC	38	45	71	51	33	30	44	31	33	30
TCII Proposals (ACOA, etc)	2	5	3	1	0	2	1	0	3	2
Engineering Consultants	35	13	9	36	29	16	21	14	11	4
Other Projects	10	10	8	7	2	0	4	0	1	2
Protected Road Zoning Regulations	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	
Atlantic Canada Certified Sites Programs	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	
NL Hydro	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	5	2
NL Towns	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7
Total	2626	2711	2613	3333	2509	2239	1865	2659	2580	2309



Figure 1: Map showing the Carbonear study area.

and standing .75m apart and capped with long flat stones (Figure 2). The stone walls, approximately 30cm thick and stacked without mortar, flared to approximately 1.3m apart on the end that would have met the stone chamber. Based on photos provided by the crew the chamber seemed to have a similar height as the drain, to have been slightly wider than the flared end of the drain, and to have

Field activity in Carbonear was undertaken by Jamie Brake of the PAO and Blair Temple, a consulting archaeologist at the time with considerable experience with similar archaeological features in downtown St. John's. Upon arrival we learned a large section of Water Street that had been dug up with heavy equipment and that a stone drainage feature built on a wooden base and capped with large flat stones was uncovered. Construction crew members informed us that a second stone feature, apparently a stone chamber, described as having had an arched ceiling, had unfortunately been destroyed by heavy equipment before the work stopped. One of the crew had taken photos of that structure which he later supplied to the PAO.

been perhaps 3 or 4 meters in length. One of the construction crew photos appears to show a piece of a large clay or concrete pipe at the far end of the structure, further supporting the idea that it was used as part of a drainage system for at least part of its existence. A former owner of a building between the drain and the ocean later explained that there was a 24-inch concrete culvert in the basement of that building that

Figure 2: Looking south towards the drain feature in Carbonear. Note the wooden base and floor, as well as the partially exposed stone wall adjacent to the drain.



The drain itself was documented during the visit with photos and field notes. It consisted of two stacked stone walls, approximately 1.4 meters high

connected to the stone drain and to a concrete pipe underneath the building and emptied at the ocean just above the high-water mark. The Carbonear feature is also quite like known stone drains in St. John's, particularly those exposed during similar work at Adelaide Street (GPA 2019), Prince Street (GPA 2010) and Cathedral Street (GPA 2020).

On the east side of the exposed drain a portion of a stone wall was exposed that was clearly built independently of the drain, and some time earlier, though it is currently impossible to say how much earlier (Figure 2). Whether the wall relates to the destroyed chamber, or some other structure is unknown. Whether it was built immediately before the drain but as part of the same project is also unknown. The surviving portion of this feature and of the drain were not expected to be impacted further during the remaining water and sewer work and the PAO approved the resumption of work following the documentation of these features with clear instructions on what to do if other features or historic resources were incidentally encountered.

Twillingate Permit (23.25)

A Crown Land's referral for a residential development at Back Harbour, Twillingate, resulted in a brief field visit by the PAO on July 11th, 2023 (Figure 3). That harbour has 24 registered terrestrial archaeological sites relating to use of the area by Maritime Archaic, Pre-Inuit, Cow-Head complex, and European groups (Anstey 2014; Wells and Renouf 2008; Temple 2007). While Back Harbour has been a signif-

icant place for human settlement for thousands of years, Wells and Renouf concluded after an extensive testing program that the archaeological potential of the area had been severely impacted by recent land use and previous archaeological excavations (2008:54). However, the need to manage known historic resources remains, as does the need to consider the possibility for additional archaeological resources in remaining untested areas in Back Harbour and in Twillingate more generally.

The field visit was conducted by John Erwin and Jamie Brake who noted the presence of a collapsed and grown over historic root cellar during a walkover. A local individual later explained that the root cellar had belonged to his grandfather and would have been built in the early 20th century. Testing produced a few 19th and 20th century fragments of pottery and glass in a thick sod layer. A buried layer of peat was encountered at approximately 30 cm below the surface which lay on top of sterile gravel. No pre-contact artifacts or features, and no historic period features were found during testing. The root cellar is outside of the area that will be impacted by the proposed development and the PAO approved the application with instructions on how to proceed if archaeological material is incidentally encountered during construction.

Boyd's Cove Permit (23.25)

In July of 2023 Erwin and Brake visited the Boyd's Cove archaeological site to conduct limited survey and testing (Figure 3). Field activities focused

on Area A, which had originally been identified and tested by Ralph Pastore in 1981 and 1982 (Pastore 1983). Pastore found considerable disturbance in this part of the site and the focus of his research shifted after Beothuk house pits were found at Area B in 1982 (Pastore 1983:133). Our interest in Area A relates to the presence of pre-Beothuk First Nations components there,

Figure 3: Map showing the locations of Back Harbour and Boyd's Cove.





Figure 4: Testing at Back Harbour, Twillingate, July 11th, 2023.

Figure 5: Drone shot of Back Harbour study area showing test pit locations. The root cellar is just outside the bottom of the frame.





Figure 6: Erwin testing near the western edge of Area A at Boyd's Cove.

and to the possibility that the oldest known occupants at the site might represent some of the earliest ancestors of the Beothuk on the island of Newfoundland, even earlier than the Beaches complex which is currently the oldest known archeological culture with a demonstrated connection to the Beothuk. The purpose of the 2023 testing was to see if there are undisturbed portions of Area A where it might be possible to trace Beothuk history back to its earliest roots on the island. Pastore, in a progress report on excavations at Boyd's Cove written in 1982, one year after the site was discovered, wrote that:

...test trenches [In Area A] did, however, produce a number of projectile points (Fig.6, a,b) comparable to those reported from the Beaches, as well as side and corner-notched bifaces (Fig 6, c-d) resembling those from English point and the Iceberg site in the Strait of Belle Isle (McGhee and Tuck 1975). On typological grounds, these artifacts suggest an occupation beginning about 3000 BP and, if Area A were undisturbed, continued work there would provide some much-needed in-

formation to fill in gaps in the island's culture history (1983:134).

English Point has both Maritime Archaic and Intermediate components, but Pastore's reference to 3000 BP makes it clear which one he is referring to here. Other researchers have previously (Madden 1976; Tuck 1976) and subsequently (Pintal 2001) suggested that Beothuk ancestry may extend back to Intermediate period cultures represented in the archaeological record at sites like Iceberg and Black Rock Brook in Labrador (Madden 1976), and others in the

vicinity of Blanc-Sablon. The relevant archaeological culture in Labrador is known as the Saunders complex and it dates to between about 3500 and 2800 BP in central and northern Labrador. It is now known well enough to be referred to as the Saunders phase (see Fitzhugh 2021 and Neilsen 2006 on the use of term 'phase' instead of 'complex' here). Pintal's (1998) Ruisseau Manius complex (3500-2500 BP) is clearly related and persists for an additional 3 centuries. The Iceberg site seems to have been occupied by related groups as recently as 2100 BP, based on radiocarbon dates. Madden (1976) and Tuck (1976) have argued based on these dates and additional dates from Newfoundland, as well as stone tool similarities that the Saunders phase is ancestral to the Beaches complex (1700-1000 BP) of Newfoundland. It must be noted that there are still temporal gaps between these cultures that have not been filled by radiocarbon dates and this possible connection has not been demonstrated. Boyd's Cove appears to be an excellent candidate in relation to the question of whether there is any connection between the Saunders and Beaches complexes. Did the ancestors of the Beothuk arrive in Newfoundland shortly after 3000 BP or did



Figure 7: Test Pit 1 at Area A, Boyd's Cove showing intact stratigraphy.

they originally arrive more than 1000 years later in a separate migration episode represented in the archaeological record as the Beaches complex (1700-1000 BP)?

A review of Pastore's reports and publications on research at Boyd's Cove indicates that Area A received no further attention after Beothuk house pits were discovered at Area B in 1982 (Pastore 1983; 1984; 1985; 1986). The subsequent focus on Area B was certainly warranted and productive, as it was the excavations in that part of the site that allowed Pastore to demonstrate the relationship between the Beothuk and their pre-contact ancestors: the Little Passage complex (1000-500BP) and the earlier Beaches complex. More than 40 years after its discovery, Area A at Boyd's Cove might have the potential to shed light on the timing of the original arrival of Beothuk ancestors in Newfoundland.

This past year's field activity took place on July 12th after a brief meeting with staff at the Boyd's

Cove Beothuk Interpretation Centre. Photos of Pastore's original hand drawn site plans were used to re-locate his test pits, trenches, as well as his site datum. After this initial orientation we decided to test just to the west of Pastore's first trench. A 50cm x 50cm hand dug test unit at the northwestern end of Area A revealed a dark layer directly under the sod about 8-10 cm in thickness and containing a few chert flakes. This dark level covered a third layer of culturally sterile ash-colored crumbling pebbles.

Two additional test pits in the clearing between Area A and Area B produced some faunal material and some additional flakes that likely relate to more recent occupations of the site. A fourth test pit at the southern end of the clearing at Area A near the tree line produced no cultural material and showed that this area had been disturbed.

The testing at Boyd's Cove in 2023 showed that at least some portions of Area A have intact cultural deposits. The forested portion of the site between Area A and Area B was also not likely impacted by historic gardening and may contain evidence relating to early occupations. While the field activity at Boyd's Cove in 2023 was modest, the results were exciting and suggest that additional excavation time at Area A is certainly warranted.

Happy Retirement to Dr. John Erwin!

John Erwin started his job as an Archaeologist with the PAO in 2017 and retired at the end of December 2023. He brought a unique and valuable skillset to the office based on a career in town planning and a second career in archaeology. The latter began in earnest following the completion of PhD studies at the University of Calgary in 2001 which focused on Dorset soapstone use at the well-known ancient quarry site in Fleur de Lys on Newfoundland's Baie Verte peninsula. After completing his doctorate John moved back to Newfoundland and taught archaeology courses for many years at Memorial University. One of his major contributions there was the training he provided to a generation of students through the Department of Archaeology's field school, which he ran at Fleur de Lys in the early 2000s. Several people who continue to be active in Canadian archaeology today received their introduction to survey and excavation methodology through that field school when John was running it.

John also had an early introduction to government archaeology just before starting his PhD. After completing his masters here at Memorial, he was awarded a contract by then Provincial Archaeologist Martha Drake to develop the PAO's first digital archaeological sites inventory. Up to then, all the basic records for all the known archaeological sites in the province were maintained as paper site record forms and in a physical index card catalogue. He took up government-related work again in 2008, this time at the federal level, when he undertook contractual work for Parks Canada to create an archaeological sites database for the newly established Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve, which was populated by records that had been maintained by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador up to that point. This work put him back into close daily contact with the PAO and with other provincial government col-

leagues. When he completed that contract, he took a position with the provincial government as a senior policy analyst where he developed and refined additional skills that served him well for many years. Before long he was applying these skills to historic resource management policy for the PAO, even in the years before he joined the office. When he finally did join the PAO in 2017, he brought a wealth of knowledge related to municipal planning, archaeological theory, and methodology, as well as policy analysis, in addition to special expertise in Pre-Inuit history and soapstone use here in the province. John put this knowledge to good use in the PAO and during his time here he was always hard-working, diligent, efficient, and conscientious in his work.

One of the things John focused on after starting with the office in 2017 was the Directed Research Program which began under Martha Drake and was

Figure 8: Dr. John Erwin viewing the Dorset soapstone quarry at Fleur de Lys in July of 2023.



largely administered by John's PAO predecessor Ken Reynolds. The program involves developing Terms of Reference for contracts to conduct work to address major research gaps recognized by the office. John continued some of the Directed Research projects that Ken had started including several relating to the Beothuk and their precontact ancestors. Some of that work involved some of the earliest use of drones in archaeology on the Island of Newfoundland, as well as the excavation of the undisturbed and important Beothuk dwelling at Sabbath Point (DeBd-08) that had been discovered through the program just before Ken's passing. Another highlight of John's Directed Research work was the design of a project aimed at understanding the existing research potential of the important First Nations site at Saddle Island West (EkBc-16) in Red Bay, southern Labrador (Schwarz 2022), and the subsequent forensic site report for it, which is now in its final stages (Schwarz 2024). He oversaw other directed research projects that ranged from desktop surveys of southern Newfoundland to desktop recording of shipwrecks along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador and various survey and excavation projects everywhere in between.

John played a central role in numerous other important projects such as having stray and orphaned metal collections finally conserved and properly stored, having archaeological work done at the Bay Bulls Arm Telegraph Station in Sunnyside (ClAl-04), survey and mapping of Fox Island 1 at Champney's West (DcAh-01), and excavation and testing on the Government House grounds (CjAe-190) which resulted in the identification of the buried remains of an early hospital (Temple 2022). He also played a role in the production of the Inside Newfoundland and Labrador archaeology blog and the annual PAO Review.

During his time with the office, John held about 25 archaeology permits which covered a huge area from southern Newfoundland to southern Labrador. Early in his tenure with the office he came up with the idea to start what came to be called 'the Beothuk reading group', an informal cohort with members of the PAO and several external colleagues that met about once a week during the fall and winter months for several years to discuss various assigned Beothuk related readings such as James P. Howley's 1915 book *The Beothucks or Red Indians, The Aboriginal*

Inhabitants of Newfoundland, Ingeborg Marshall's 1996 book *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk*, and all of Ralph Pastore's reports and articles relating to the Beothuk, to name a few. These meetings resulted in several new research projects and ongoing efforts that continue to have enormous potential to shed light on Beothuk history. The idea behind the Beothuk reading group was much like the approach that John took while serving as a member of Jamie Brake's comprehensive exams committee, which, in that case, involved weekly meetings to discuss assigned readings on the topic of heritage resource management policy.

As can be seen from the table at the beginning of this article, the PAO regularly processes 2000 to 3000 land use referrals per year. John quickly realized that with that many application reviews it was important to carefully document the reasoning behind calls for archaeological assessments. The approach he took to this when he started was to write preliminary desktop assessments to document the justification for these decisions. These brief reports explain the history of archaeological research in each area, they discuss any known historic resources in an area, they evaluate the level of archaeological potential, and include recommendations. These reports are filed with the relevant applications so that the justification for the requirement for archaeological assessment is easily accessible at any time in the future.

John's contributions to Newfoundland and Labrador archaeology include more than 90 reports, articles and publications listed in the PAO reference list. His work is also documented in original field notes, drawings, maps, site record forms, photographs, and artifact catalogues. His legacy is one to be proud of and his PAO colleagues are very thankful for his contributions to the archaeology of Newfoundland and Labrador, and to the office, and will certainly miss interacting with him at work each day. Thank you, John, for your contributions to NL archaeology and for your role in the PAO. We hope you are enjoying retirement. As a result of John's retirement, the PAO recently hired a new staff member, and we would like to welcome Blair Temple to the team.

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US Navy Hudson Bomber Wreck (CjAm-05) near Harbour Buffett on Long Island, Placentia Bay

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Figure 1: US Navy Hudson PBO-1 bomber from VP-82 Squadron stationed at the US Naval Air Station Argentina in 1942. The same type of aircraft that crashed on Long Island. (Photo: Roberts 2000).

to shore, hit the bank, and caught fire (US Navy 1942a, b).

The pilot Ensign William Tepuni, Aviation Machinist's Mate 3rd Class Edward Day, and Radioman 2nd Class Leon Stepnowski were not injured in the crash. However, their crewmate Aviation Machinist's Mate 3rd Class William Hodde received a bump on the head that rendered him temporarily unconscious (US Navy 1942b). Residents of Harbour Buffett responded quickly to the crash, assisted the crew out of the burning aircraft, and provided them with food and shelter. The US Navy was able to later salvage the aircraft's right wing, tail and some engine parts (US Navy 1942c). Tepuni was later commended for his excellent judgement and for saving the lives of all on board (US Navy 1942b).

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Investigation of the Hudson Bomber Wreckage (CjAm-05)

A local informant contacted SPSNL through our Facebook page and informed us of a plane wreck in a pond near Harbour Buffett and provided a

Introduction

In 2023, members of the Shipwreck Preservation Society of Newfoundland & Labrador (SPSNL) took part in a survey of the wreckage of a US Navy Hudson bomber in a pond near Harbour Buffett on Long Island, Placentia Bay. This report will summarize the findings of this survey.

The Crash of US Navy Hudson PBO-1 Bomber #03844

On 29 January 1942, the US Navy Hudson PBO-1 bomber #03844 from VP-82 Squadron (Figure 1) took off from US Naval Air Station Argentina at 07:30 and flew a routine anti-submarine patrol over the northwest Atlantic Ocean (US Navy 1942a, b). Before it returned to base, a winter storm closed all airports in Newfoundland. Unable to land, the plane circled Argentina, flying on instruments for 2.5 hours. Running low on fuel, the pilot jettisoned the bomb load into the ocean and landed the bomber on a frozen pond near Harbour Buffett on Long Island, Placentia Bay. The plane skidded across the ice

Figure 2: Location of the Hudson bomber wreck (red circle) in unnamed pond near Harbour Buffett on Long Island, Placentia Bay, Newfoundland.



Google Earth photo of the wreck location (Figure 2). An initial site visit was conducted on 10 July 2023. From the shoreline of an unnamed pond (locally known as Reid’s Pond), what appeared to be part of the metal wing of an aircraft was visible in shallow water near the shore (Figure 3). A subsequent visit was needed to properly record the wreckage.

We returned to the wreck site on 7 October 2023 to document the plane wreckage. Searching the shallow water of the pond in chest waders, we found three larger parts of the aircraft: part of a wing, part of one radial engine (Figure 4), and a section of uncertain aluminum struc-



Figure 3: Partial wing of US Navy Hudson bomber #03844 in unnamed pond near Harbour Buffett, Long Island, Placentia Bay, Newfoundland. (Photo: Neil Burgess).

Figure 4: Remains of one of the Hudson bomber’s radial engines in unnamed pond on Long Island, Placentia Bay, Newfoundland. (Photo: Neil Burgess).



ture (Figure 5). There were roughly a dozen smaller pieces of wreckage scattered nearby (Figure 6), concentrated near the shoreline. Measurements of the wing section are shown in Figure 7.

Limitations

The Hudson bomber wreck (CjAm-05) is in a shallow pond with abundant water lilies, algae and sediment deposition on the wreckage. Wading in the pond to record the wreck stirred up the sediment and reduced the water visibility. Poor visibility impaired our ability to record smaller details of the wreckage.

Interpretation and Discussion

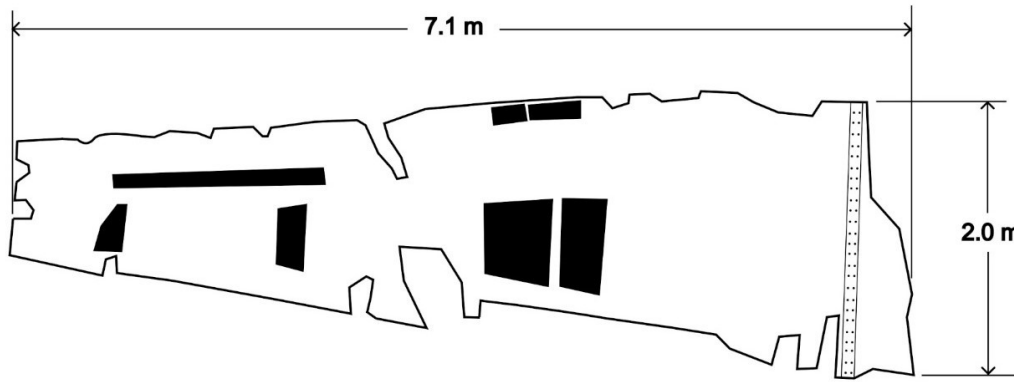
US Navy records indicate that the Hudson bomber’s right wing, tail and some engine parts were salvaged from the pond shortly after the crash in 1942 (US Navy 1942c). The portion of the wing remaining in the pond (Figs. 3 & 7) appears to correspond with the section of the left/port wing outboard from the engine (Figure 8). It appears the aileron, flaps and some of the rounded wingtip are missing from this piece of wreckage. The remains of one radial engine are extensively damaged with several of the original nine combustion cylinders now missing (Figure 4). It is unknown to us where the parts shown in Figs. 5 and 6 came from on the aircraft. It is also unknown what damage was caused by



Figure 5: Part of wreckage of Hudson bomber in unnamed pond on Long Island, Placentia Bay. (Photo: Neil Burgess).

Figure 6: Lisa Daly holds a smaller piece of corrugated metal from Hudson bomber wreck in unnamed pond on Long Island, Placentia Bay. (Photo: Neil Burgess).





ness of historically significant plane and shipwrecks in our province. Outcomes include:

1. Researching, locating and recording the US Navy Hudson bomber wreck near Harbour Buffett, Placentia Bay,
2. Submitting this report to the NL Provincial Archaeology Office.

Figure 7: Sketch with measurements of wing wreckage from Hudson bomber in unnamed pond on Long Island, Placentia Bay. (Sketch: Neil Burgess).

the impact and subsequent burning of the crash, the US Navy salvage operation, or other activities, such as possible use of materials by residents.

Potential Risks to the Site

The remote location of the Hudson bomber wreck site (CjAm-05) requires boat access to reach Harbour Buffett. This reduces the site’s accessibility for many people. The community no longer has year-round residents, but we encountered seasonal residents and visitors on our second visit. Nevertheless, the bomber’s wing is located in shallow water very close to the shoreline of the unnamed pond and is easily seen from land. Local informants spoke of walking on the wing, decades ago when they were children living in Harbour Buffett, to fish in the pond. We suspect that most attractive artifacts have been removed from this site back when Harbour Buffett was still inhabited year-round. The metal remains of the aircraft wreck are now slowly corroding in the pond water.

Project Outcomes

Through this project, SPSNL has met its goals of locating, documenting, and promoting public aware-

Next Steps

There are several activities which SPSNL is planning:

1. Sharing the results of this investigation on our website and social media channels,
2. making public presentations of the findings of this investigation both online and in-person.

Acknowledgements

SPSNL thanks the former residents of Harbour Buffett who gladly shared their knowledge of the Hudson bomber crash in 1942. This wreck survey was carried out under an archaeological investigation permit from the NL Provincial Archaeology Office. We acknowledge the service and sacrifice of the US Navy personnel who crashed in Hudson PBO-1 #03844 and the residents of Long Island who helped in their rescue.

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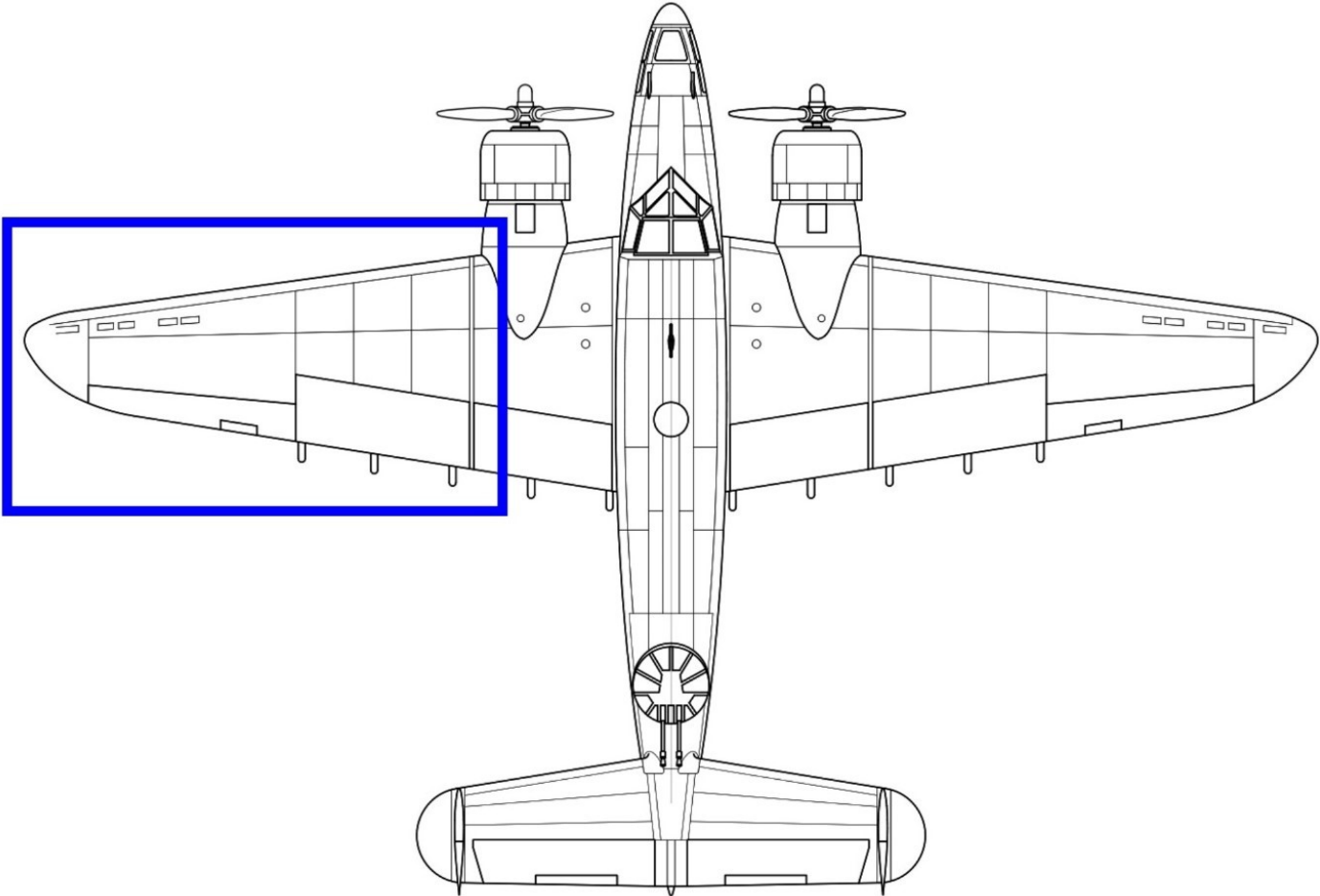


Figure 8: Lockheed Hudson bomber plan showing the location (blue square) of the port wing wreckage found in unnamed pond on Long Island, Placentia Bay.
(Adapted from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lockheed_Hudson.svg).



Multibeam Sonar Surveys of Three Shipwrecks off the South Coast of Newfoundland

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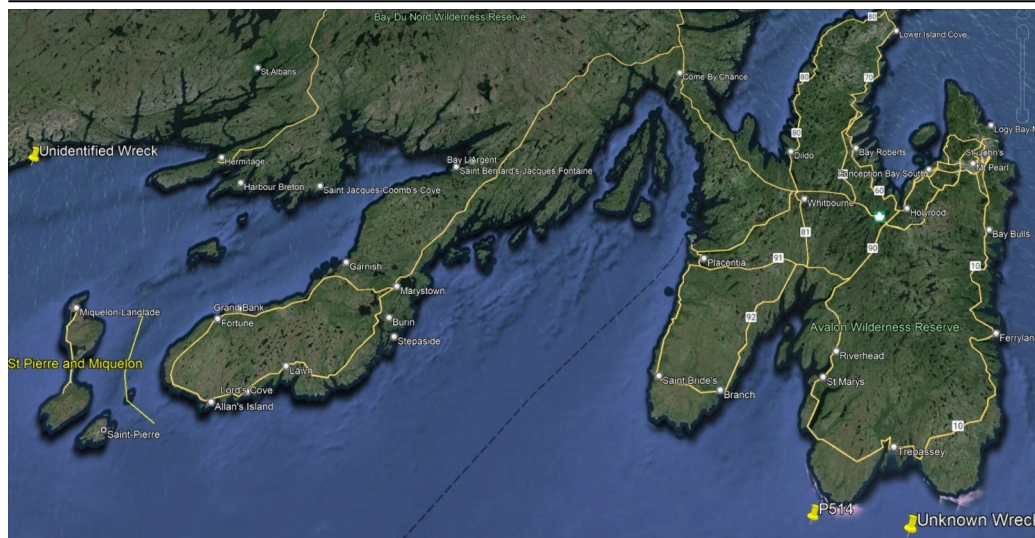


Figure 1: Map showing locations of shipwrecks surveyed with multibeam sonar along the South Coast of Newfoundland.

was conducting a multibeam survey of the seabed and found a target on the seafloor (Figure 1) about 5 km south of Francois. The survey vessel turned back to survey two more lines over the unidentified wreck to acquire more soundings of the site to create a better image of the wreck (Figure 2). The shipwreck is approximately 69 m in length, at a depth of 178 m, and stands 6 m off the seafloor.

Introduction

In 2023, members of the Shipwreck Preservation Society of Newfoundland & Labrador (SPSNL) conducted multibeam sonar surveys of several sunken shipwrecks on the South Coast of Newfoundland. This report will summarize the findings of these surveys.

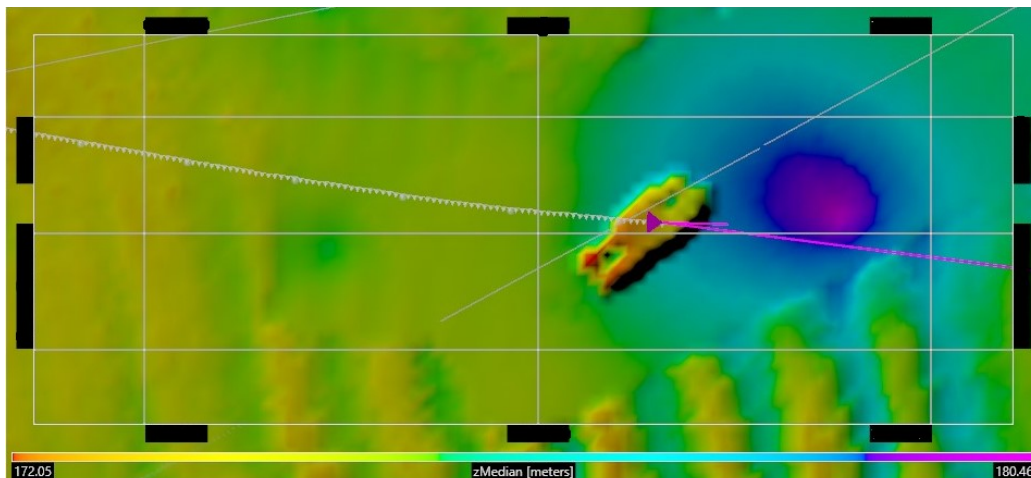
Multibeam Survey of Unidentified Shipwreck south of Francois

In late November 2023, the Marine Institute led a scientific cruise aboard MV *Conner Murphy* to conduct seabed mapping and deep-water coral research on the South Coast of Newfoundland. Kirk Regular of the Marine Institute was onboard to carry out seabed mapping. While transiting between research sites, the vessel

Multibeam Survey of Unidentified Shipwreck south of Trepassey

On the same scientific cruise on MV *Conner Murphy* in late November 2023, multibeam survey data was collected in the vicinity of a shipwreck indicated on Canadian Hydrographic Service chart 4817, approximately 20 km south of Trepassey, Newfound-

Figure 2: Multibeam echosounder image of unidentified shipwreck south of Francois, Newfoundland. Colour indicates depth in metres with scale at the bottom of the image. (Image: Kirk Regular, Marine Institute).



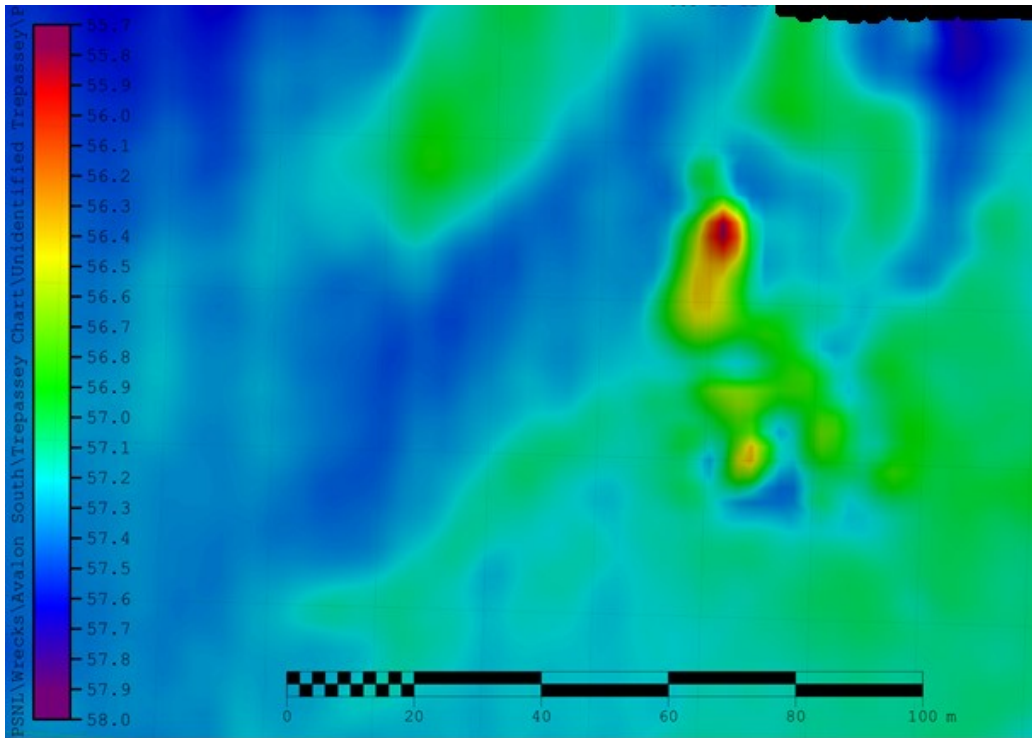


Figure 3: Multibeam echosounder image of unidentified shipwreck south of Trepassey, Newfoundland. Colour indicates depth in metres with scale at the left of the image. (Image: Kirk Regular, Marine Institute).

land. A sonar target was detected at a depth of 57 m (Figure 3). It stood less than 2 m off the bottom but had a distinct multibeam backscatter pattern from the surrounding seabed (Fig 4). The colour in the image indicates the strength of sonar reflectance from the seafloor. Different materials (such as mud, rock, wood, or steel) have different reflectance of sonar signals.

Multibeam Survey of Royal Navy Submarine HMS P-514 Wreck

On the same scientific cruise on MV *Conner Murphy* in late November 2023, a multibeam survey was repeated on the wreck of the British submarine HMS P-514 (previously located by us a few months before). The length of the

submarine wreck was 55.7 m and its depth was 50 m (Figure 5).

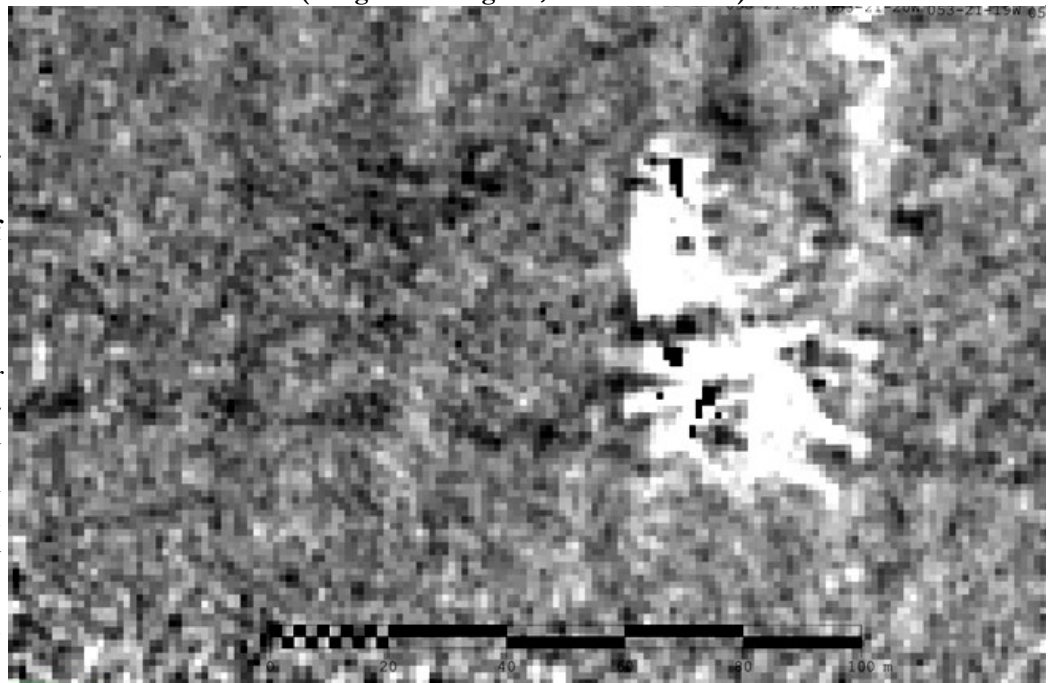
Limitations

The multibeam echosounder survey identified several targets that appear to be the remains of shipwrecks. However, the resolution of the images is a function of the depth of the shipwreck, since the sonar transducer is mounted on the hull of the survey vessel. The deeper the wreck, the poorer the image resolution. The multibeam images do not provide adequate detail to identify details of the shipwrecks' construction or identify the ships with any confidence.

Interpretation and Discussion

The multibeam image of the shipwreck south of Francois does not provide much detail on the

Figure 4: Multibeam backscatter image of unidentified shipwreck south of Trepassey, Newfoundland. Colour indicates the strength of sonar reflectance from the seafloor. (Image: Kirk Regular, Marine Institute).



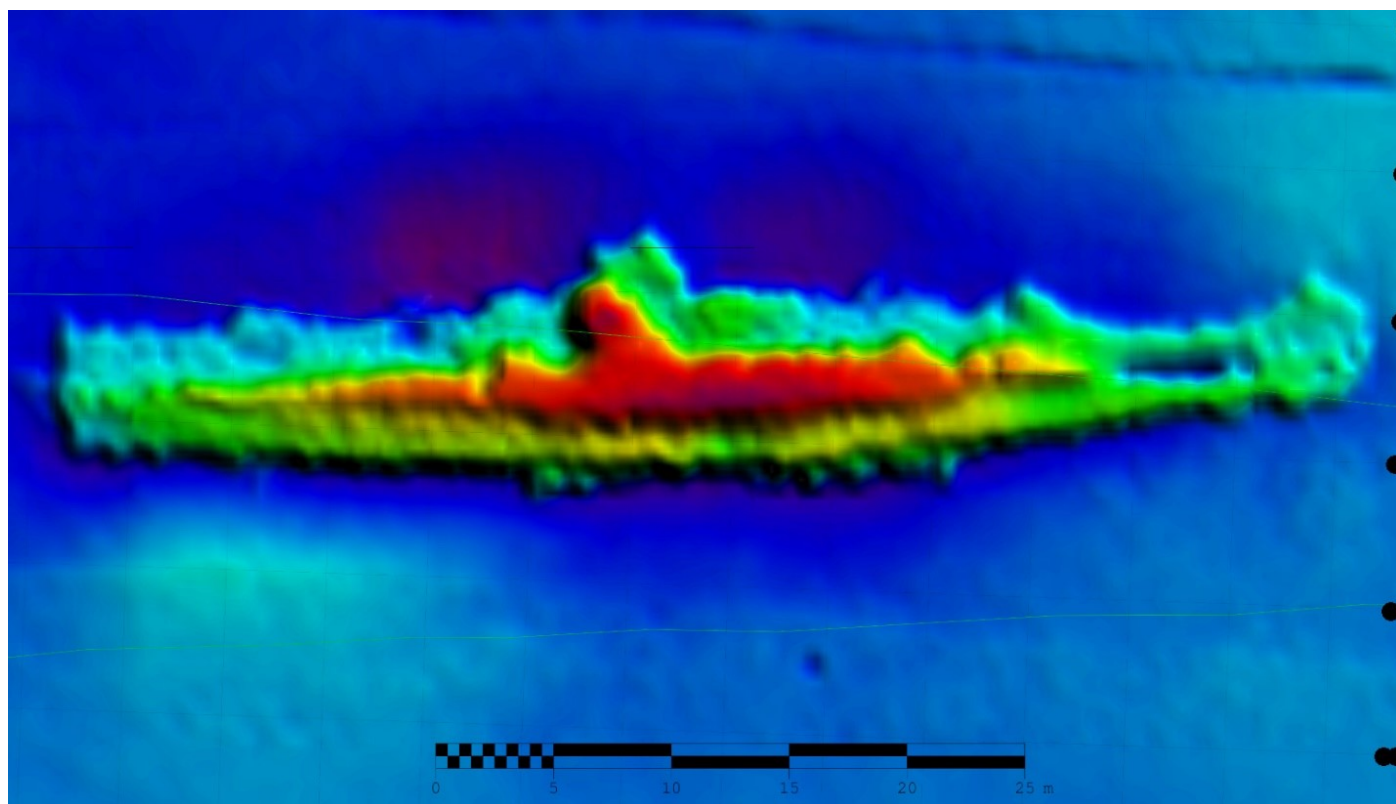


Figure 5: Multibeam echosounder image of Royal Navy submarine HMS P-514 southwest of St. Shotts, Newfoundland. The submarine's bow is on the left with the stern on the right. The conning tower is clearly visible in the middle. Colour indicates depth (red is shallower, dark blue is deeper). (Image: Kirk Regular, Marine Institute).

shape of the ship but it might be a fishing trawler with exposed fish holds.

The multibeam image of the shipwreck south of Trepassey does not provide much detail but appears to be a flattened wreck that may have wooden construction.

The multibeam image of the Royal Navy submarine HMS P-514 provides a good estimate of the ship's length and the shape of the conning tower. It also indicates the submarine is lying on its starboard side on the seafloor. The wreck's length measured from the multibeam image (55.7 m) is a close match to the actual length of HMS P-514 at 56.7 m (Figure 6). When HMS P-514 was rammed and sunk by HMCS *Georgian* in a tragic wartime error on June 21, 1942, all 42 sailors aboard the submarine died (Hadley 1985). Only one body floated ashore and was recovered. So, the wreck of HMS P-514 is a war grave and needs to be treated with the utmost respect.

Potential Risks to the Site

The depth of the wreck south of Francois (178 m) puts it well beyond the reach of recreational

scuba divers, so looting of the wreck is not a risk. The wreck could be reached by highly trained technical or commercial divers, but that is unlikely to occur. It is more probable that the wreck might be explored with a remotely operated vehicle (ROV) but again the looting of artifacts is unlikely.

The depth of the wreck south of Trepassey (57 m) puts it well beyond the reach of recreational scuba divers. The wreck could however be reached by technical or commercial divers. It is more probable that the wreck might be explored with a remotely operated vehicle (ROV) but the looting of artifacts is unlikely.

The largely intact submarine HMS P-514 may be attractive to looters or souvenir hunters. The depth of the wreck (50 m) puts it beyond the reach of recreational scuba divers. However, the wreck could be reached easily by technical or commercial divers. It is also possible that the wreck could be explored with a remotely operated vehicle (ROV). Public education may be the best means of fostering stewardship of this war grave.

Project Outcomes

Through this project, SPSNL has met its goals of locating, documenting and promoting public awareness of historically significant shipwrecks in the province. Outcomes include:

1. conducting historical research on the ramming and sinking of HMS P-514 by HMCS *Georgian* in 1942,
2. locating and collecting multibeam sonar images of HMS P-514 and two unidentified shipwrecks by the Marine Institute,
3. informing the Heritage Secretariat of the Royal Navy and the Royal Navy Submarine Museum in the UK about our discovery of the wreck of HMS P-514, and
4. submitting this report to the NL Provincial Archaeology Office.

Next Steps

There are several activities which SPSNL is planning:

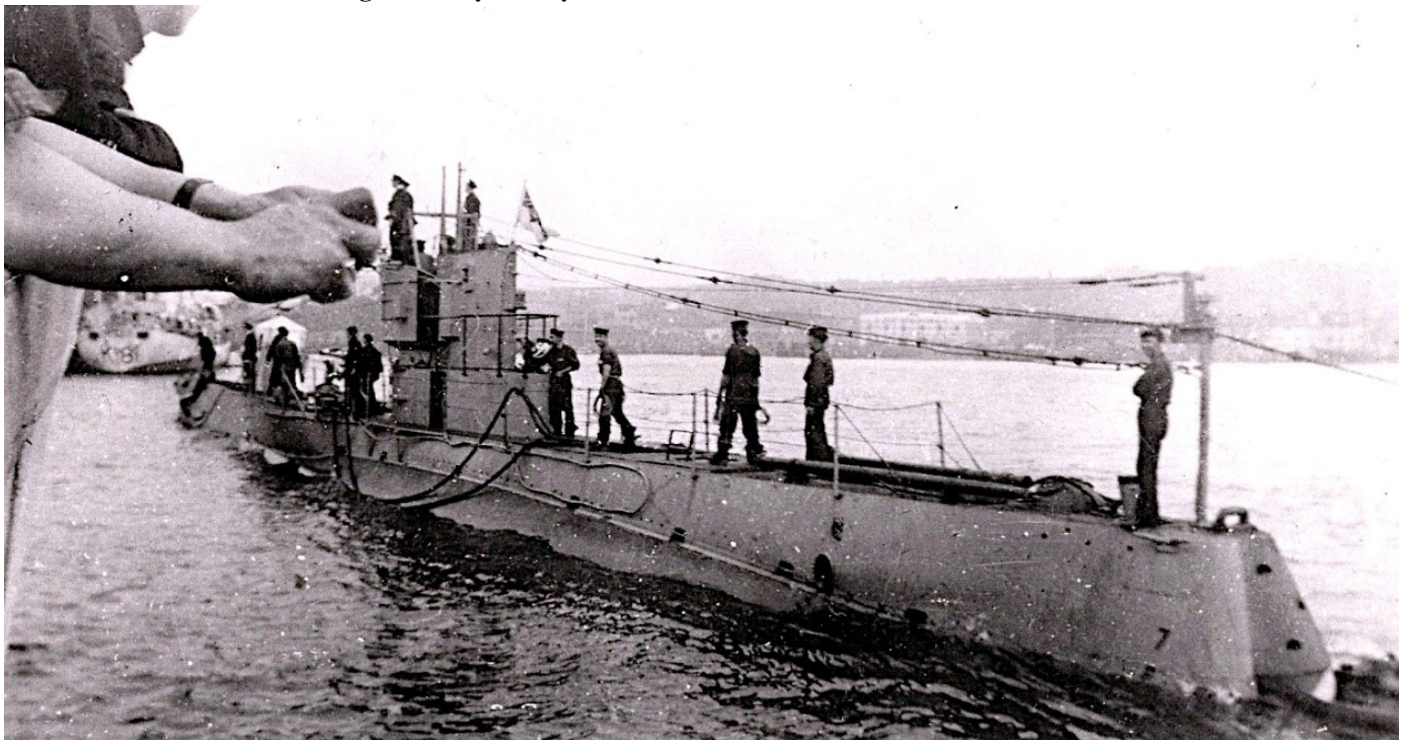
1. further historical research on these shipwrecks,

2. partnering with the Marine Institute to conduct further surveys of HMS P-514, and
3. continuing our public education activities on our website and social media channels.

Acknowledgements

SPSNL thanks the Centre for Applied Ocean Technology at the Fisheries and Marine Institute, Memorial University of Newfoundland for their continued support in documenting our province’s nautical heritage. We also acknowledge the support of RS Marine Ltd. and the crew of MV *Conner Murphy* for their assistance with this work. This shipwreck survey was carried out under an archaeological investigation permit from the NL Provincial Archaeology Office. We acknowledge the service and sacrifice of the Royal Navy personnel who served and died aboard HMS P-514 during the Second World War.

Figure 6: Royal Navy submarine HMS P-514 in Halifax Harbour.



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Gateways Project 2023: Excavations at a 16th century Basque Whaling Station in St. Paul River, Quebec Lower North Shore

William Fitzhugh

Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution DC



Figure 1: Aerial view of Bonne Espérance-4 (EiBk-61) excavation at completion, shot and assembled by Francisco Rivera-Amaro from drone photography. North to right.

This year's project was an expansion of the 2022 testing program we conducted at the Bonne Esperance-4 (EiBk-61) whaling station on the west shore of Bonne Esperance Island (Figure 1). This site is one of two small Basque stations identified by Brad Loewen and student divers from the University of Montreal, based on information provided by St. Paul's River fishermen and museum officials who knew the area's earlier Basque-derived name as 'Chaloupe Channel'. In the meantime, we learned that the 2022 baleen samples are bowhead, and one may be right whale. The core goal of the 2023 research was to document a small Basque whaling station, determine the activities represented, date the site (late 16th century?), and search for Innu or Inuit involvement. The latter question was raised by the presence of Basque roof tiles and iron nails found in the nearby Grand Isle Inuit site (EiBk-54) excavated in 2017-2019.

BE-4 is located on the lowest of a series of ledges where the hillside drops to the shore. The lowest ledge served the Basque requirements for butcher-

ing whales, constructing ovens and associated cooperage, preparing food, and for bringing chaloupes and small ships alongside. Another requirement was a shore protected from wind and sea swells, and narrow Chaloupe Channel met that need as well, since it was only a short distance from the whaling grounds of the open Gulf. The site is situated in a narrow bedrock trough 8-10 meters wide from the shore edge to the steeply rising hillside behind it. Excavations were conducted in a 5-meter wide strip of land paralleling the shore ledge, which dips gently to the north. This trough created a level space for Basque activities, but it also collected precipitation draining down the hillside, resulting in the development of 50-60 cm of peat and low shrub vegetation that restricted drainage, making the excavation pits into major water-collectors. In the northern part of the site, we excavated 40-60 cms of sterile peat to reach the Basque occupation level, which was identified by the appearance of roof tile, charcoal, wood, iron nails, and ceramics. Peat build-up was less extensive in the southern part of the site, where the bedrock trough disap-



Figure 2 a, b: (a) Wall/tryworks foundation at the south end of the site, and beyond, a midden of blubber cinder, fire-cracked tiles and rock, and charcoal. (Photo: W. Fitzhugh). (b) West profile at 2W. (Graphic: S. Vakhunitsky, A. Miulli, and D. Chechushkova).

peared, drainage was not restricted, and tryworks had been constructed by raising a stonewall to support ovens.

When Basques arrived, the site vegetation was probably like today, without trees but with a growth of low birch, willow, alders, blackberries (*Empetrum*), bakeapple (*Rubus*), horsetail, angelica, and grass. Stratigraphy showed that when Basques arrived, they burned off the vegetation and drier upper peat layer. In the southern industrial area where bedrock was close to the surface, vegetation and peat had burned to bedrock, and the occupation layer was mixed with charcoal directly on bedrock. In the northern part of the site, the peat was too thick and wet to burn, and the occupation layer was bedded between underlying unburned peat and post-occupation peat and surface vegetation.

The Site

BE-4 has three structural zones: **Zone 1**, a southern area consisting of a stone wall ending in a pile of boulders; **Zone 2**, a refuse pit at the north end of the boulder pile; and **Zone 3**, a domestic work area north of the refuse pit extending north 15 meters to the end of the occupation area. Eighty-eight square meters were excavated. The Zone 1 wall was constructed with 3-4 layers of laid-up rocks positioned 2-meters west of a ledge outcrop (Figure 2 a, b). The 1.5 m wide gap between the wall and the ledge produced tile, worked wood, and a fragment of a skin garment. West of the wall in 15S/2W was a thick layer of industrial midden consisting of charcoal mixed with burned, broken, and blubber-encrusted rock and

tile. The wall seems to have been constructed as the foundation for a timber frame structure that supported the tryworks. A small piece of blubber-encrusted sheet copper and a fragment of a cast iron pot are probably fragments of cauldrons. A few large iron spikes suitable for nailing logs indicates an open-sided tryworks structure had been erected here. At its north end, the wall ends in a built-up pile of fire-cracked and fat-encrusted boulders with a vertical face on its north side. The purpose of the boulder construction seems to have been to raise the level of the ground to the same level as the stonewall to the south, so that the three components could serve as a foundation for a timber tryworks.

Zone 2 lies immediately north of the boulder pile and consisted of a meter-deep pit. A 2019 test pit recovered charcoal, seeds, and the jawbone of a small mammal, leading us to imagine a small tent site or Basque camp. Excavation in 2022 proved the location to be a nearly meter-deep pit filled with stratified layers of charcoal, baleen, and tile fragments, whose lower levels contained waterlogged layers of baleen, barrel staves, sticks, and log fragments (Figure 3). In 2023, we excavated to bedrock on the south, east, and north sides of this pit, finding large masses of baleen and waterlogged wood beneath rocks that had fallen from the north side of the boulder pile. Several one-meter units were excavated west of the baleen pit, and these produced nails, fragments of one or more marmite earthenware pots, a twisted and knotted strand of baleen, raw baleen, and tiles. The function of this pit is not clear, but it was not for a blubber

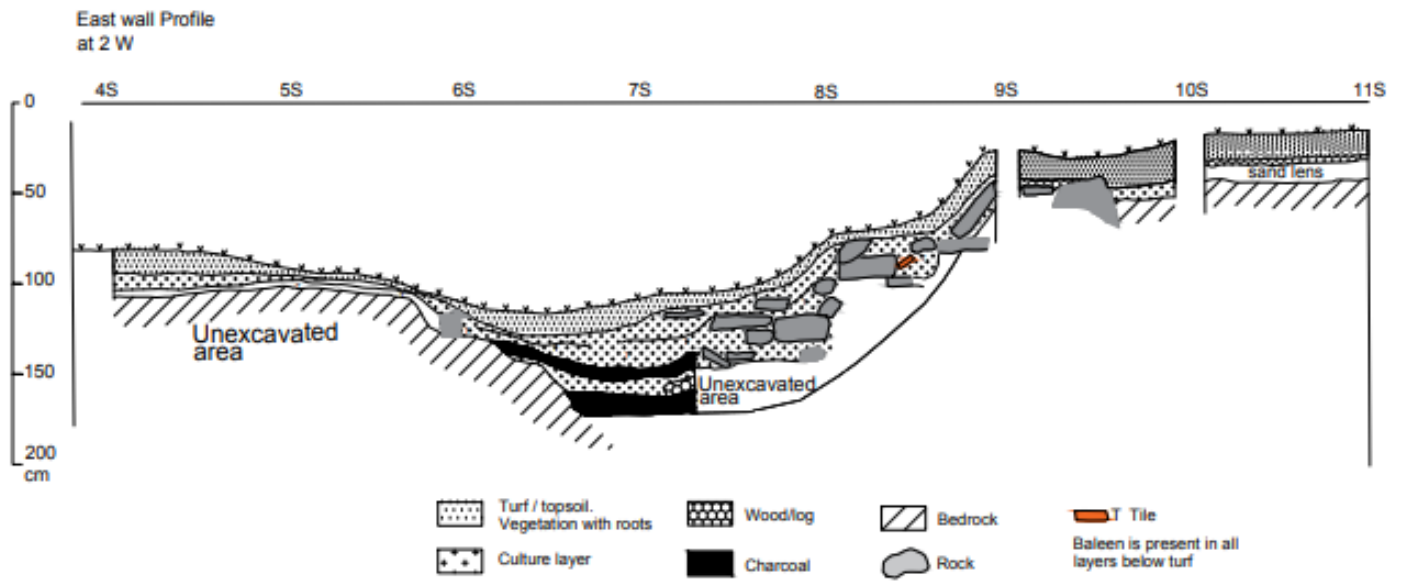


Figure 3: East wall profile across baleen pit 4S to 11S. (Drawn by Sarai Barreiro Arguelles and Dasha Chechushkova).

oven and contained no blubber cinders. Despite layers of charcoal and baleen, the baleen had not been burned, so the pit may have simply been for refuse disposal.

Zone 3 began north of the baleen pit in the 3-4m wide area level enough for non-trywork activity. We opened two 2-meter wide north-south trenches leaving space between them to provide a corridor for excavator access to the often water-filled excavation trenches on either side. The 2-m wide West Trench followed the 2W line from 5 South to 13 North and bottomed out on a granite ledge. These deposits grew wetter toward the north and ended with beach cobbles packed closely together, with cultural materials in the interstices. The cobbles were placed to facilitate drainage from the trough. This trench contained tiles, preserved bark and wood in its deeper parts, a few nails, and clusters of plain or lightly-glazed earthenware, some of which carried the centimeter-wide vertical decorated bands found on Basque marmite cooking pots. A cluster of blue-and-white glazed faience ceramic was recovered at the very northern end of the trench.

The East Trench, named the ‘mud pit’, paralleled the West Trench and abutted the hillslope on its east side. The thick peat deposits in this trench were saturated with water, and the trench filled overnight. Here we recovered most of the barrel staves, tops, and bottoms. Some round timbers may have been parts of surface structures, but none had nails or ar-

chitectural modification. The southern units were nearly barren of tiles and artifacts, while northern units had large amounts of earthenware, leading to the conclusion that this was a place for food preparation or consumption, while the central areas may have been for assembling barrels. Nothing in either trench provided evidence of surface structures. If wood floors or timber structures had been erected, we found no sign of supporting structures such as vertical posts.

The site was used for a relatively short period—perhaps only a single or a few seasons. Timber was available in the inner bays for fuel and constructing wood platforms for tryworks and other facilities. The stonewall and stone pile served as the foundation for the blubber works that produced the cinders, burned tile, stone, and charcoal. However, we did not find the usual type of oven piles with pot depressions known at Red Bay in Labrador, or Five Leagues or Middle Bay on the LNS. These characteristics configure BE-4 as a unique site, suggesting different strategies for rendering oil that complicate the historical picture of the Basque presence on the LNS. Perhaps some other type of trywork system was used to produce the waste and burned materials surrounding the wall and boulder pile. It may be that BE-3 (EiBk-60), a second Basque site a few hundred meters to the south on the same shore, will provide answers, as this site has the type of stone tryworks mound missing at BE-4.



Figure 4 a-c: (a) Stacked layers of baleen from the pit edge; (b) heel fragment of a leather shoe, and (c) a twisted knot of baleen. (Photo: W. Fitzhugh; graphics: D. Chechushkova).

The prevalence of baleen, which was especially evident in and around the pit, was a conspicuous feature (Figure 4 a-c). Basque whaling structures frequently used baleen between the roof frames and the tiles. This might explain why baleen was found throughout the site, but it does not explain the large masses in and around the pit. Its abundance suggests baleen was not yet a commercial product when the site was occupied. As in most Basque sites, roof tile was present in abundance, used for roofing but also as paving stones in muddy areas. Many tile varieties were present with different clay and temper, density, color, methods of forming, and surface textures. Low-fired and porous, they were prone to frost fracture, so roofs had to be replaced annually. Nails—always abundant on Basque sites where large spikes were required to fasten logs and timber framing—were rare at BE-4; only four or five large spikes were found, along with larger quantities of medium-size nails. Two small copper nails with flat, round heads might have been used to make decoration patterns on wooden trunks. Smaller nails were more common in the Zone 1 industrial area than in the northern zones. The absence of large spikes in the domestic areas suggests that timber frame structures were not present here, or that these nails were scavenged by later Basque explorers or Inuit who arrived after ca. 1600, but the absence of burned timber frames makes this scenario unlikely.

Unlike nails, domestic ceramics were more common in the northern part of the site (Figure 5 a-

c). Almost all were thin-walled, low-fired earthenware vessels known as marmites whose use in open fires resulted in frequent breakage. No fragments of *rechau-fleurs* or oil-fired heating pots were found. Decorative vertical bands were present on some body sherds, and many fragments bear remnants of burned glaze and food or oil residue. Most sherds were small fragments; rims, shoulder pieces, strap handles, and decorative bands all conform to common marmite typology. A half dozen sherds of tan or grey stoneware were present, indicating some early availability of this ceramic type not generally common until the 17th century. The other unusual ceramic appearance was a highly fragmented blue-and-white glazed majolica vessel, possibly a teapot.

Nodules of European flint were common as were flakes struck off for starting fires and a flake of Ramah chert scavenged from an Indigenous site may have been collected for the same purpose. Several gunflints were present including one of quartz. Highly unusual was a small, thick-walled, cup-shaped bowl made of soapstone with a tapered hole in its lower side and charred residue on the inside opposite the hole, exactly reproducing the form of a clay pipe bowl. At first, we thought it was lead because we found a puddle of lead sprue and three round musket balls, but upon inspection by conservator Anja Herzog, it turned out to be soapstone. It seems likely that Basques, who did not have their own soapstone industry, obtained the soapstone by trade with Inuit, who used this material extensively, or else found it at



Figures 5 a-c: (a) A marmite cooking pot recovered by Parks Canada divers in Red Bay (credit: PC Red Bay Museum); (b) barrel staves and end-pieces; (c) fire-starting European flint nodule (Photos: W. Fitzhugh).

the nearby Inuit site on Grand Isle. Another curious item is a small silver (?) pendant with a grooved top and an arrow or harpoon mark on one side—possibly a whaler’s talisman (Figure 6 a-c).

One of the many unanswered questions is the site’s date, for we found no coins. The absence of oven mounds with central pot hollows is peculiar given their presence at other sites in southern Labrador and the LNS, including the one found but not excavated 100 meters south of BE-4 at BE-3. We tested this mound in 2019 and found burned tiles. Could this have been the trywork site for BE-4? Probably not, given all the blubber residue at BE-4. One of the certain indicators of a pre-1600 date is the absence of clay pipes. Smoking and clay pipes were rare in Europe until 1600, so this is a clue that BE-4 should date before then. The abundance of baleen also suggests a time in the early period of Basque whaling before it was considered of high economic value. Mar-

mite styles and the few pieces of stoneware may provide dating clues. Results that are more specific may come from radiocarbon dating our organic samples.

Given their physical proximity, it seems unlikely that BE-3 and BE-4 were separate operations. We did not have time to investigate BE-3, and this should be a priority if further work is possible in 2024. Possibly BE-3 was a second station operated by another whaling team connected with a mothership supporting both sites. The character of the BE-4 operation may be imagined in a 2009 rendition of the Middle Bay Basque site produced by the artist Martin Lowe, on exhibit in the Middle Bay Museum (Figure 7).

A summary of our 2023 project appears in a short film by Alyssa Miulli titled “Life Among the Coasters”, prepared for the Whiteley Museum to orient visitors to the history and heritage of the Lower North Shore.

Figure 6 a-c: Three unusual finds from BE-4: (a) a soapstone pipe bowl with a removable stem; (b) a metal belt buckle; and (c) a silver (?) pendant. Color bars = 1 cm. (Photos: Anja Herzog; graphic: Dasha Chechushka).





Figure 7: An artist's reconstruction by artist Martin Lowe of a Basque store-shed, tryworks, and shore operations at the Middle Bay Basque site. (Source: Middle Bay Museum).

el: 1490-1604 cal AD (72.4%), 1609-1649 cal AD (23%).

Acknowledgments

2023 excavations were conducted with assistance of Alyssa Muilli, Sofia Vakhunitsky, Kody Shugars, Marie Trottier, Clarence Laliberté, and Thomas Garneau-Lelièvre, Francisco Rivera-Amaro, and Perry Colbourne. Financial support was provided by the Smithsonian Institution's Arctic Studies Center, University of Montreal, the LNS Littoral School Board, and the Whiteley Museum of St. Paul's River, Quebec. Logistical arrangements and hospitality were generously provided by the Whiteley Museum. Garland Nadeau and Eileen Schofield were our guardians, food and information-providers, and institutional hosts.

As this report went to press, we received a date (Beta-690618) on charcoal from the Basque lev-

Figure 8: Perry Colbourne, captain of Pitsiulak, beside the vessel that supported Smithsonian research in Baffin Island, Labrador, and the Lower North Shore since the 1980s, now being retired in Triton, Newfoundland.



Archaeology at Ferryland 2023

Barry Gaulton
Memorial University



Figure 1: 2023 excavation inside the colony's (ca. 1620s) defensive ditch, Area F, looking south.

The archaeology at Ferryland in 2023 was in many ways a continuation of previous investigations but also a time to redirect efforts toward recording the ongoing damage along parts of the exposed 17th-century waterfront caused by climate change. As such, the field season was highly informative concerning life in Ferryland during the early 1600s and late 1800s to early 1900s yet disheartening when considering the extent of erosion over the last three decades. Let us start with the good before we get to the bad/ugly.

Continued excavation of the colony of Avalon's defensive ditch, built in the 1620s and slowly filled in between the 1600s and 1700s, was the first area of investigation in 2023 (Figure 1). Work here had halted for several years while the team investigated other parts of the site (see Gaulton 2023, 2022; Gaulton and Bethune 2020; Gaulton and Teasdale 2019; Gaulton and Lacy 2018) but it was always our intention to return. Archaeology was re-established 10m to the south of the wooden bridge that once spanned the defensive ditch. The plan was to further expose intact deposits from the 17th and 18th centu-

ries; however, things did not turn out quite as expected. These early colonial layers were truncated by a late 19th- to early 20th-century subterranean wooden feature dug in the same location. Consisting of large quantities of decomposing wood fragments, including boards with corroded cut nails and rounded posts, the feature was highly organic and pungent in the summer heat. Upon the discovery of large quantities of glass bottle fragments and intact medicine bottles, the first thing that came to mind was that this might be the remains of a privy. Working with this preliminary theory, we continued

excavations to delineate the size of the feature, determine how it was built, its period of use, and what it could tell us about those who utilized it. Plans were also put in place to carefully wet screen the associated deposits to search for seeds and other preserved organic materials.

As work progressed throughout the summer, a tremendous number of objects were recovered mostly dating from the early decades of the 20th century including more intact medicine bottles, along with fragments of wine bottles, beer bottles, soda bottles, and bottles for preservatives, cod liver oil and sewing machine oil (Figure 2). Fragments of stoneware storage vessels, ceramic tableware and tea service vessels (mostly whiteware), tobacco pipe bowl fragments, an almost intact pressed glass goblet (Figure 3), and several non-ferrous metal button and buckle fragments rounded out the collection of durable finds. A slate writing tablet shown in Figure 3 is also worthy of note. As the burial environment was conducive to organic preservation, parts of a leather boot, a wooden knife handle and animal bones (from domesticates such as sheep) were recovered; howev-



Figure 2: (top) Intact 19th-century medicine bottle; (bottom) assortment of 20th-century glass bottle fragments.



Figure 3: (left) Pressed glass goblet; (right) slate writing tablet.





Figure 4: Outline of in-situ root cellar (Feature 222) measuring 2.1m by 2.7m (7 by 9ft), Area F, looking north.

er, no seeds were found during wet screening in the field or after flotation and sorting in the conservation lab.

During the final week of the field season, the full extent of the subterranean feature and its function was revealed. Measuring 2.1m by 2.7m (7 by 9ft), this feature was dug to the level of subsoil and its sides framed with upright wooden posts (Figure 4). The size, dearth of evidence for seeds and presence of many iron barrel hoop fragments at the bottom of the feature all suggest that it was a root cellar instead of a privy. When no longer functioning in this capacity, the abandoned cellar served as a convenient trash pit for nearby residents during the early decades of the 20th century.

As for who these residents were, the root cellar is situated approximately 12m from a former dwelling built by Jack Williams in the late 19th century (Annie Jordan, personal communication 2023). For those familiar with the history of archaeology at Ferryland, it was Jack's son Arch Williams who first convinced Jim Tuck to conduct excavations around the Pool in search of George Calvert's colony of Avalon. It is postulated that this subterranean wood-lined root cellar is contemporaneous with the construction of the William's house and served as one of its original outbuildings. For comparative purposes, a nearby cement-lined root cellar dug at the western end of the site by the Costello family in the early 20th century also measures exactly 2.1m by 2.7m. Now that the root cellar is fully exposed and recorded, excavations inside the colony's defensive ditch will continue in subsequent field seasons.

Although more limited in scope, two other areas of the archaeological site were investigated further in 2023. The first was a 19th-century stone footing from a structure located at the easternmost edge of the inner harbour and the second was the builder's trench directly behind Calvert's "Mansion House" (see Gaulton and Hawkins 2017, 2016, 2015). The former area served as the location for the 2023 Archaeologist for a Day program, while the latter is directly associated with ongoing research into the colony's principal dwelling built in the 1620s (Gaulton, submitted). Portions of the 19th-century stone footing (Feature 202) were first uncovered in 2015 and continued northeast toward the current beach. The goal for 2023 was to follow the footing, record associated



Figure 5: 19th-century stone footing (Feature 202), Area D, looking southwest.

deposits before the annual tidal events and storm surges wash these remains into the sea. As seen in Figure 5, an additional 1.5m (5ft) of stone footing was revealed by the end of the field season, as was a significant quantity of 19th- and early 20th-century artifacts, several of which are typically associated with children. For example, fragments from two different plates (Figure 6) — created for child members of the Victorian 'Band of Hope' temperance movement whose purpose was to educate children on the immoral behaviour of alcohol consumption — were among the finds (Shiman 1973). These and other 19th-century children's artifacts previously excavated from Ferryland formed the impetus for a conference paper presented by MA student Carli Perri at the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology (Perri 2023). Given the ongoing coastal erosion at Ferry-



Figure 6: Band of Hope plate fragments associated with Feature 202, Area D. Photo credit: Carli Perri 2023.

ues to be a wealth of objects associated with this brief period of construction. Notable artifacts include fragments of ceramic storage vessels from England, Portugal, France and Germany, clay tobacco pipes including a small bowl with a rose mark on the heel, as well as several copper aglets (Figure 8). Preserved animal, fish and bird bones continue to form a significant portion of the artifact assemblage, including pieces of mammal bone with visible cut marks associated with butchering. A variety of lead waste associated with the manufacture of windows was also found in the builder’s trench. As stated in previous newsletter reports (Gaulton and Hawkins 2017), I am convinced that a glazier was in Ferryland during the construction of the Mansion House, making windows for this and many other buildings, as opposed to shipping in prefabricated windows. In 2024, we hope to return to the builder’s trench and perhaps complete work on what is arguably the most important building in Ferryland’s early colonial history.

The final area of interest in 2023 was the 17th-century waterfront. This part of the site was uncovered in the early 1990s and today forms an integral part of the visitor experience. Given the repeated instances of storm surges and annual flooding in recent years, we decided to record the current state of these exposed archaeological features compared to their original post-excavation condition. Located closest to the inner harbour, the tidal flushing privy and water-

land, this part of the site requires further archaeological mitigation.

Excavation of the builder’s trench directly behind the Mansion House has been ongoing since 2012 but has not been completed due to the tremendous amount (upwards of 2m) of clay and rock used to fill in and level off the builder’s trench back in the 1620s. Simply put, it is a backbreaking task just to reach a thin occupation layer. This year, three 1m units were excavated with the continuing goal to gather information on the daily activities of the tradesmen who built the Mansion House (Figure 7). Surprisingly, there contin-

Figure 7: 2023 excavation of the builder’s trench associated with the “Mansion House”, Area F, looking northwest.





Figure 8: (left) Rosemark on heel of early 17th-century pipe bowl;
(right) copper aglet.

Figure 9: Previously excavated privy feature (ca. 1620s)
as recorded in summer 2023, Area C, looking north.





Figure 10: Previously excavated floor of storehouse (ca. 1620s) as recorded in summer 2023, Area C, looking west.

front storehouse, both constructed in the 1620s, are bearing the brunt of climate change. Figure 9 shows how high tides are displacing small rock and cobblestone from west of the privy to rapidly fill in the feature; this same tidal action is also destabilizing its clay-bonded walls resulting in the constriction of the privy. The storehouse floor presents a similar pattern of damage: the clay/sand bedding underneath the flagstone floor at the west end is eroding away and being pushed further east to carve out deep channels in the earthen floor at the east end of the building (Figure 10).

Some may wonder if this damage was simply caused by exposure to the elements for decades, and not the direct result of storm surges and high tides; however, a comparison with Ferryland's 17th-century cobblestone street is quite instructive in this regard. Built in the 1620s, this pavement was laid at a height roughly 2.4m above the level of the waterfront. The cobblestone street and associated sand bedding are the same in 2023 as it was in the late 1990s when first uncovered. Such a comparison between the contem-

poraneous features of the cobblestone street and that of the waterfront buildings — distinguished simply by their relative height and location within the 1620s village — is both startling and sobering.

In advance of future mitigation planning, the archaeology team decided to excavate a 1mx2m exploratory trench at the southwest end of the waterfront area, directly below a late 17th-century cobblestone feature (Gaulton, Tuck and Miller 2011) which has seen significant erosion of its underlying sand bedding and a resulting shift of the cobblestones during seasonal high tides. This operation was aimed at identifying the presence of earlier colonial deposits and recording the nature of said deposits before their archaeological integrity is lost (Figure 11). After the cobblestones and what remained of the sand bedding was removed, an early to mid 17th-century occupation was revealed. Measuring upwards of 20cm thick, this deposit contained iron nails, brick fragments and roof slates suggestive of a nearby building. Many of the recovered artifacts were domestic in nature including fragments of tin-glazed earthenware, North

Italian slipware, Saintonge polychrome, several seed beads, and a partial gold-gilded bead (Figure 12). If there is an earlier 17th-century structure underlying the late 17th-century cobblestone pavement, further

targeted excavation may be warranted, particularly since this entire area is under increasing threat.

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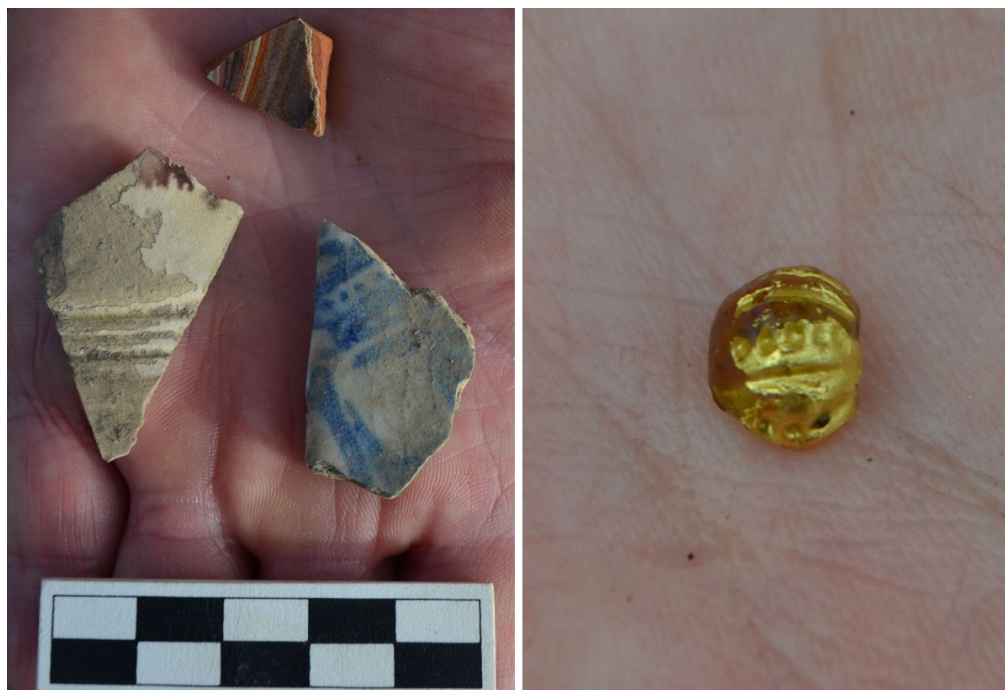


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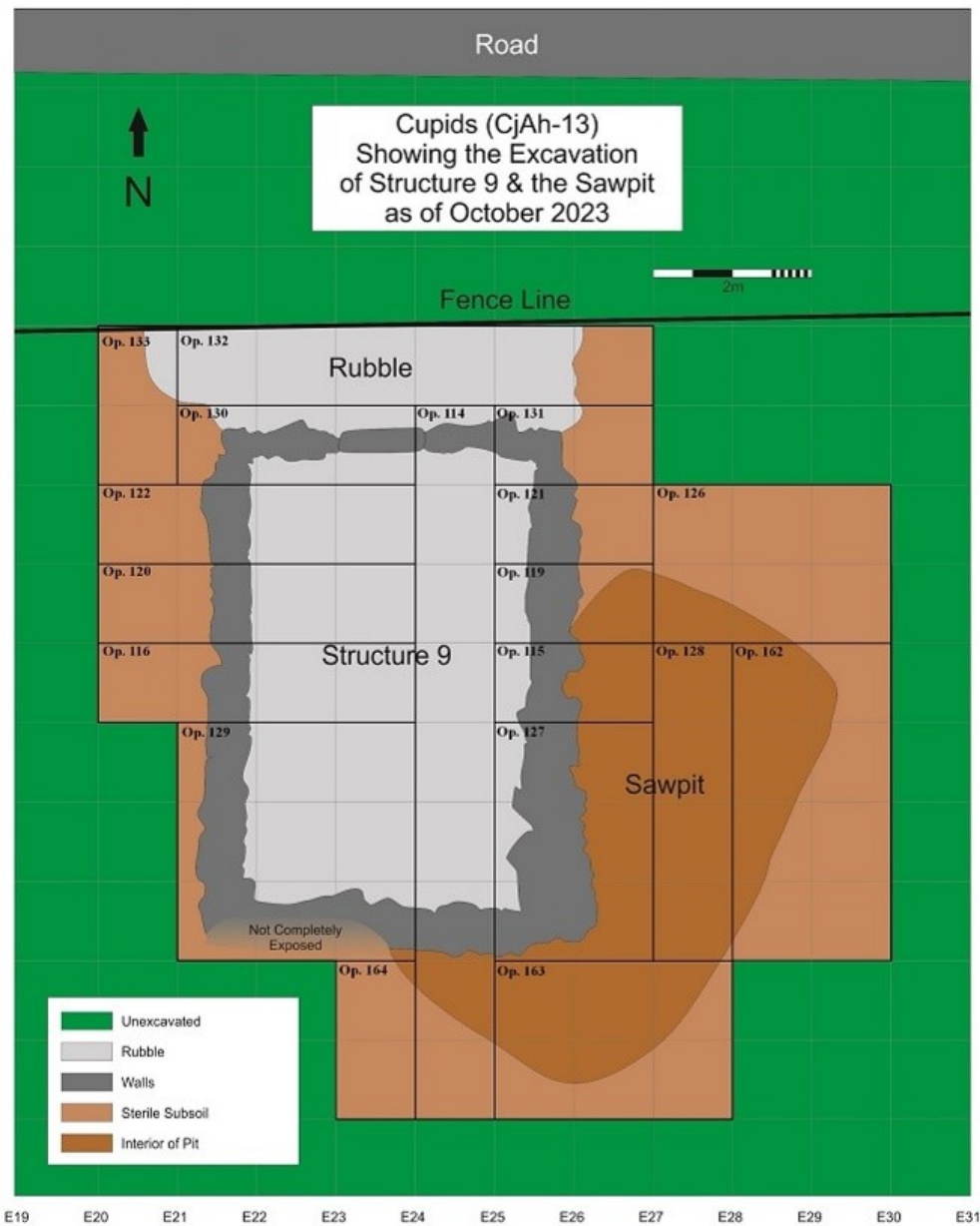
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Excavations at the Cupids Cove Plantation Provincial Historic Site (CjAh-13), 2023

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Baccalieu Trail Heritage Corporation/Provincial Historic Sites (PHS)



and prepare iron artifacts for conservation. During that time we spent one sunny day (20 October) conducting further excavations. Our work this year focused on the 17th century pit east of Structure 9.

Structure 9 and the Pit, Previous Excavations

Structure 9 was an early 17th century building located on the low ground at the foot of the terrace on which John Guy’s men erected their enclosure in the autumn of 1610. The building, of which only the stone footing and interior rubble fill remain, stood roughly 35 m north of the northwest corner of that enclosure and measured 7 m (23 ft.) long (north to south) by 4.5 m (14 ¾ ft.) wide. Today the remains of this building stand about 26 m (85 ft.) south of the edge of the Salt Water Pond at the bottom of Cupids harbour but this is a result of infilling and road work over the past 80 or so years: when it was built, Structure 9 would have been very near the water’s

Figure 1: Map showing Structure 9 and the Pit and the operations opened by October 2023.

In 2023, the Cupids Cove Plantation PHS opened to visitors on 20 May and closed to the public on 6 October. Excavations began on 13 June and most of our digging was completed by 6 October. However, some of the crew stayed on until 11 November to secure the site for the winter

edge. Rubble, that may have been ballast for a wharf or fishing stage, extends north for an unknown distance from the remains of the building towards, and possibly under, the present-day road which runs east to west about 4 m farther north. A roughly 1 m (3 ¼ ft.) long cut stone set in the centre of the footing of



Figure 2: Pipe bowl (circa 1620-1650) found in the rubble in the pit east of Structure 9 in 2013.

the building's north wall appears to have been the stone threshold for a doorway leading into it.

Our first clue that a building might once have stood here came in 2010 when we noticed some flat stones beneath a dilapidated garage we removed that year. In 2012 we dug a series of test pits on the edge of the terrace immediately south and east of these stones and uncovered a number of 17th century artifacts. In 2013 we returned to the area to conduct excavations and began by digging a 1 m wide trench (Operation 114) extending north from the base of the terrace for 9 m (Figure 1). This exposed 1 m wide sections of the north and south walls of Structure 9 and the rubble fill inside. Later that season, a 3 m wide area was opened extending west from our first trench for 4 m (Operations 116, 120 & 122) and east from it for 2 m (Operations 115, 119 & 121). This exposed more of the building's west and east walls and rubble fill.

In 2013, our excavations to the east extended beyond the east wall of Structure 9 for about 80 cm and revealed that, instead of solid earth, the bank rising up to the terrace there consisted of rubble fill littered with 17th century artifacts, including a clay pipe bowl dating to the first half of the 17th century (Figure 2). Our first trench (Operation 114) had ex-

tended south of the south wall of Structure 9 for about 2 m and here too we found rubble fill in association with 17th century artifacts. However, in this area we also could see the edge of a cut that had been made into the bank about 1 m south of the wall. Here the rubble was concentrated in the space between the wall and the cut.

Between 2014 and 2018, we exposed most of the remainder of Structure 9 and extended the excavation north to the fence line and farther east into the bank. It soon became clear that sometime early in the 17th century a pit had been dug into the bank and later filled with rubble. All the cultural material found in association with the rubble dated to the 17th century and included a number of pipe bowls, all dating to the first half of that century, and numerous pipe stems with 8/64 bore diameters indicating that the pit probably was filled in sometime prior to 1650. A 2 m wide unit extending east for 3 m from near the north end of the building (Operation 126) was opened in 2014 exposing most of the northern edge of the pit. Another two units (Operations 127 & 128) opened in 2015 to the south of Operation 126 uncovered the rest of the east wall of Structure 9 and extended the excavation east from it into the pit for almost 2 m.

The amount of rubble in the pit, and our work on Structure 9 and elsewhere on the site, made progress slow but, finally, after photographing and removing six layers of rubble, in August 2018, we reached the bottom of that part of the pit contained within the boundaries of Operations 126, 127 and 128. Initially we had assumed the pit was an extension of Structure 9, possibly a privy or midden attached to that building. However, when we reached the bottom, we could see that the pit, and the lowest level of rubble in it, extended west beneath that structure and clearly predated it. In fact, it seemed obvious that the section of the pit west of the bank had been filled in to create a level surface to support the southeast corner of Structure 9. The section of the pit west of the bank and beneath Structure 9 is fairly shallow, extending down just 60 cm (2 ft.) below surface; to the east the bank rises up 1.4 m to the terrace and here the bottom of the pit is 2 m (6 ½ ft.) below surface.

Excavations 2023

By the end of the 2018 season, we still had not uncovered the entire pit. We'd found its northern edge in Operation 126 and the cut in the bank south

of the south wall of Structure 9 looked like it was part of its southern edge but its exact size and shape still eluded us. Most of our time between 2019 and 2022 was taken up tracing the outline of John Guy's enclosure on the terrace to the south (Gilbert 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023) but in 2023, we returned to the pit in an attempt to determine its size, shape and purpose.

It now was clear the pit was not part of Structure 9 but something even older and the documentary evidence suggested two possibilities. The vessel that brought Guy and his men to Cupids in 1610 sailed back to England in early October but, according to Guy, the colonists did not complete their first dwell-



Figure 3: Fragments of a North Devonware tall pot from the rubble in Operation 163.

ing house and storehouse until “about the first of December” of that year (Quinn 1979:148). In a letter written by Guy to Sir Percival Willoughby on 6 October, 1610, and carried back to England on that ship, Guy reported that his men had created temporary shelters by making “safe places for [our provisions] and our selves to shroude us in untill our house could [be] built...” (Cell 1982: 61). From our previous excavations, it seemed clear that at least some of these safe places had been pit houses dug into the terrace. Could the pit east of Structure 9 be one of the colonists’ “safe places”? On the other hand, in the same letter, Guy also tells Sir Percival that “we have digged a saw-pitt hard by the sea side, and put a timber house over it covered in pine bo[a]rds” and that “there are two paire of Sawyers working in it”. Given its location near what once would have been the water’s edge, could our pit be John Guy’s first sawpit?

Since to do so would require dismantling part of the early 17th century building overlaying it, it is highly unlikely, we will ever excavate the westernmost portion of the pit. However, we were able to extend the excavations to the east and south. To do this in 2023 we established three units: Operation 162, a 2 m x 4 m unit running north to south immediately east of Operation 128 and south of Operation 126; Operation 163, a 2 m x 3 m unit running east to west immediately south of Operations 127 and 128; and Operation 164, a 1m x 2 m unit running north to south immediately west of the southern end of Operation 114.



Figure 4: West Somerset vessel fragment from the rubble in Operation 163.

Operations 163 and 164 were established to uncover the southern edge of the pit and, by 18 August, we had found the edge and exposed the first layer of rubble there. Over the course of the next six weeks, we photographed and removed four layers of rubble. Some of the stones were quite large and on one occasion we had to bring in a backhoe to remove a few of the largest ones. Perhaps not surprisingly, the artifacts uncovered here were similar to those found during our previous excavations in the pit. Numerous sherds of various types of coarse earthenware were uncovered, including fragments from at least two North Devon tall pots and several West Somerset vessels (Figures 3 & 4). Two more clay pipe bowls were found, both dating to the first half of the 17th century, along with numerous clay pipe stems, many with 8/64 bore diameters (Figure 5). Several blue trade beads also were found (Figure 6) along with a

number of red brick fragments and one complete yellow brick that may be of Tudor origin. Like other parts of the pit, the sections of it contained within Operations 163 and 164 produced a number of wrought iron nails.

Operation 162 was established to locate the eastern edge of the pit. This initially proved a little more difficult. Given the depth of the pit to the west of Operation 162, and the danger of collapsing rubble, we decided our safest approach was to start in the eastern half of the operation and work our way west towards the edge. We also assumed that the pit would be, if not circular, at least elliptical and its rounded eastern edge would extend into that half of the operation. As it turned out, the pit did extend that far east but not in quite the way we had expected. Here the edge of the pit first began to emerge beneath a cultural deposit, averaging about 50 cm thick, which contained a mixture of 17th, 18th and 19th century material, and appeared to have been ploughed. At first we were puzzled to find that the edge of the pit and the rubble inside it seemed to be concentrated only in a small area in the north of the unit. As we dug deeper, we were surprised to discover that, instead of a rounded edge, we had uncovered a rounded corner that made a roughly 90 degree turn. When we extended the excavation into the western half of the operation, we found that the edge ran southwest from that corner at roughly a 45 degree angle to the site grid. Climbing up our long stepladder for a better

look from above, it was clear, with its southern, eastern and northern edges exposed, that the pit actually was four-sided (Figure 7).

Given its shape and the fact that it was dug into the side of the bank, there can be little doubt that this was a sawpit, and its age and location, “hard by the sea side”, indicate that it almost certainly was the first sawpit dug by John Guy’s men on their arrival in August 1610. In her analysis of the 17th century Farnham Park sawpit in Tilford, England, Louise Maskill (2011) states that sawpits usually were rectangular and those dug for one pair of sawyers (one up and one down) measured on average “between 4 and 6 feet wide [and] 14 to 15 feet long”. Our pit is larger, measuring roughly 12 ft. wide by 21 ft. long, but, as Guy reported, his sawpit was designed to accommodate “two pair of sawyers”, so it would have been roughly twice as wide. Maskill also states that sawyers setting up in previously untouched woodland often dug their pits “into the side of a natural slope, reducing the need for excavation” and this clearly is the case with our pit.

One can easily imagine Guy and his men coming ashore from their landing craft for the first time and looking up at the tree-covered terrace on which they planned to build their plantation. The land on the terrace was heavily wooded: it had to be cleared and the logs sawn into boards to build their houses and the palisade that would surround them. Clearly one of their first tasks would be to dig a sawpit and, as the sawyers who accompanied Guy would have known, the fastest and easiest way to do this was to dig directly into the

Figure 5: Pipe bowl (circa 1620-1640) found in the rubble in Operation 163 in 2023.



Figure 6: Blue trade bead with white stripes from the rubble in Operation 163.





Figure 7: View of Structure 9 and the sawpit from above with the pit outlined in yellow. The green trap is covering sand bags placed in the pit to prevent it collapsing.

side of the bank at the edge of the terrace. Initially the pit would have been open to the elements but once enough boards had been sawn, construction could begin on the house “covered in pine bo[a]rds” to provide some basic shelter for the sawyers, some of the other colonists and their provisions. As more land was cleared on the terrace, more temporary shelters would have been set up until finally “about the first of December”, the first dwelling house and storehouse were ready to be occupied.

Conclusions

This first sawpit probably was only in use for a short time. Guy tells us that by May, 1611, the colonists already had established a second sawpit by the side of the lake about 220 m (“twelve score”) south of the plantation. In a letter dated 27 August, 1612, Henry Crout reported that by then Guy had begun work on a saw mill and we know from John Mason that that mill was still standing in 1620 (Middleton ms Mi x 1/15; Prowse 1895: 103). That Guy’s first sawpit

was abandoned for at least some time is attested to by the roughly 30 cm thick deposit of fine silt that accumulated in the bottom of it before it was filled with rubble: such a build-up must have taken at least a few years. We’ll probably never know exactly when the pit was filled in and Structure 9 constructed but it clearly was sometime in the first half of the 17th century and probably fairly early in that period. There were three distinct layers of fill in the pit. Directly above that lowest silt deposit was a roughly 40 cm thick deposit of small-to-medium-sized stones that, as mentioned above, seems to have been laid down to provide a level surface on which to erect Structure 9. Above this was a second layer of medium-to-large stones, up to 1 m thick in places, deposited, perhaps after Structure 9 was completed, to fill in the remainder of the pit. This was capped by a 10 cm thick deposit of silt and gravel laid down over the second layer of rubble probably to create a more even surface. This deposit was sealed off by a second layer of silt, averaging

about 10 cm thick and devoid of artifacts that, like the lower silt layer, seems to have accumulated naturally over time. Based on the clay tobacco pipe bowls and stems recovered from it, it seems all the deposits below this second silt layer date to the first half of the 17th century. Above the second silt layer and continuing up to the surface were various deposits of sandy silt and gravel typical of the cultural deposits found elsewhere on the site and varying between 20 cm thick on the low ground to the west and 50 cm thick on the terrace to the east. These deposits contained a mixture of 17th, 18th and 19th century material.

While we may never know for sure, it seems likely Structure 9 was a storehouse for salt cod. We know that not only were the colonists at Cupids catching, salting and drying cod for export to the markets in southern Europe themselves but that John and Humphrey Slany's agents in Newfoundland were purchasing salt cod from migratory fishermen and storing it at the plantation prior to shipment. One of their agents, Richard Newall, reported on 26 July 1623 that he and his partner had purchased 100,000 salt cod from John Milbury, master of the *Rose* of Dartmouth, and that it was "Layde up in the in the plantation Storehouse for the account of the worshipful Humfry Slany & [his son-in-law and partner] William Clowbery". This was in addition to "12 thon of Newfoundland dry fish" that Newall had purchased from Thomas Browne, master of the *Jane* of Dartmouth and an unspecified amount he received "from

M[aste]r hills at Cupids Cove". This fish was later loaded aboard the *Luke* of London and on 17 September, 1623 the *Luke* sailed out of Cupids Cove and, accompanied by a number of other vessels, set sail for Malaga in southern Spain (Malone mss 2: letters 1, 3, 4 & 7). Clearly, such large quantities of salt cod would have required a number of storehouses and, like Structure 9, these probably were located near the water's edge to facilitate transport from and to the vessels carrying them.

Plans for 2024

In 2024, we plan to continue our work around Structure 9 and the sawpit. In 2023 Operation 162 was taken down only to the top of the pit. This coming year we will complete the excavation of the section of the pit contained within the boundaries of that unit. We have also uncovered two postholes that may have been dug to hold posts for the "timber house" Guy's men erected over the pit. In 2024 we will extend the excavation beyond the pit in an attempt to find more evidence of this structure.

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Tshikapisk Research at Kamestastin and Sheshatshit 2023

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Figure 1: Mistasuapi and Tshakashue 1 components at the Mistanuk site as they appeared in late June 2023.

The 2023 season saw research and fieldwork conducted at Kamestastin, Sheshatshit and at the confluence of the Kamikuakameushipu/Red Wine River and Meshikamaushipu/Naskapi River Amatshuatan portage. This report will deal only with the fieldwork at Kamestastin and Sheshatshit. For details on 2023 archaeology at the Amatshuatan Portage site, see Stephen Loring's article elsewhere in this volume.

Kamestastin

Mistanuk Mistamunik (GICs-08)

Archaeological enquiry at Kamestastin con-

ducted under the rubric of Tshikapisk has now been going on for nearly 25 years. In the spring of 2023 most of the archaeological activity at Kamestastin narrows again focussed on the Mistanuk Site (GICs-08). It is a large caribou ambush site from an early archaic occupation (or series of occupations) which has been dated to around 6700 to 7000 calibrated BP. Dates and cultural period were determined both with C14 dating on calcined bone and utilizing comparative tool typology. The assemblages from the Mistanuk components have included diagnostic lithics such as nipple-based points. Work centered on the



Figure 2: Connecting units excavated between Mistasuapi (top of photo) and Tshakashue 1 components at GICs-08 in June 2023.

1 level. The change in elevation occurs where the eastern edge of the level ground on which the Mistasuapi component sits, gives way to the slightly lower elevation Tshakashue 1 and 2 components. This eastern limit of the Mistasuapi level cuts obliquely across the gridded area from southwest to northeast.

From this initial series of units aligned east to west linking the two components, further units to the north and south were excavated. This broadened the area opened to follow cultural concentrations suggested by finds from the initial series.

Apart from the two

stone piles at the southeastern limits of the 2023 excavations at Tshakashue 1 (see below), no structural

section of the site between the Mistasuapi and Tshakashue components. This is where the shallow terrace hosting the Mistasuapi linear hearth drops about a meter to the adjacent lower level where the two Tshakashue components are located.

A series of contiguous units were first dug running east to west and linking existing excavations at the Tshakashue 1 and Mistasuapi components. These excavations unambiguously revealed the discrete nature of the occupations at Tshakashue 1 and Mistasuapi separated by a clear section of sloping ground where the slightly higher ground upon which Mistasuapi sits drops about a meter to the Tshakashue

Figure 3: Mistasuapi component at the Mistanuk Site (center field) with excavations underway north and south from units connecting Mistasuapi to Tshakashue 1. Edge of Mistasuapi level is visible where the slate drawing board is standing.



elements, such as domestic hearths, were exposed during this exercise. However, small activity areas or features were revealed which involved the deposition of flakes and tool fragments and the apparent combustion of crushed bone usually within or beside shallow pits. Two of these stand out for the quantity of lithics, calcined bone and the placement of broken projectile points or knives with the flake and bone deposits. The latter tool fragments were placed either on the flanks of scooped out shallow pits or directly upon the deposits of debitage and bone. The features identified in the spring of 2023 join others excavated earlier at Mistanuk (GICs-08) which appear to evidence ritual behaviour around the deposition and burning of bone mash fragments. The practices evident at Mistanuk and Ushikuesh, which included bone mash burning also, involved the disposal of lithic debitage from a tool stone to which spiritual properties may have been attributed. One example from earlier excavations at Mistanuk, and which is at the more elaborate end of the spectrum of practices around bone disposal documented at GICs-08 is the find of a finely finished celt of white quartz lying over and amongst a deposit of burned bone mash with small Ramah flakes. The deposit had then been dusted with enough red ochre to stain the quartz tool. A second example that could be cited, is the small combustion feature unearthed at the Tshakashue 1 component. Over and around this lay thousands of small to micro flakes of Ramah with calcined bone fragments and carbonized material staining the sand around the burning feature. Two large biface fragments, one of



Figure 4: Deposit of burned bone mash and carbonized material placed in scooped out depression with Ramah flakes. Two bifaces, one complete and the distal end of another, had been placed over the bone deposit; the biface distal portion was heavily heat altered.

dark and one of light Ramah Chert, had been stuck into the slightly mounded combustion feature. The entire deposit had then been heavily dusted with red ochre, colouring most of the small flakes of Ramah a pinkish red. The two major spring 2023 bone mash disposal features, one in the northern section of the Mistasuapi level and the other in the southern section, shared the characteristics of other similar activity areas now ubiquitous at both the Mistanuk and the Ushikuesh sites. Both had deposits of small Ramah flakes, red ochre stains, and attendant small rocks and calcined bone fragments. At each of the referenced examples excavated on the eastern margins of the Mistasuapi level Ramah tools and tool fragments had also been placed over the bone and

flake deposits. The northernmost contained both the distal portion of a Ramah biface and a complete but diminutive bi-pointed biface of the same material.

The southernmost deposit was overlain with two large biface fragments. Both deposits had been made in shallow scooped out depressions or bowl like pits. The one with the two large biface fragments at the southern end of the Mistasuapi level component contained prodigious amounts of small Ramah flakes, which, according to the discreteness of the flake deposit with minimal dispersion, would likely have been placed there in a single deposition event. About a meter to the south of the profuse deposit of small Ramah flakes, a complete and intact biface of dark Ramah was lying amongst larger flakes of Ramah. This biface was a narrow asymmetric bi-pointed tool, which looked like, and may have served as, a curved



Figure 5: Curved elongated biface of Ramah (probably a knife) with crushing/grinding along the postulated hafting end. It is lying amongst Ramah flakes in charcoal stained sand near the southeastern end of the Mistasuapi platform.

knife. Some crushing along the edges at the thicker end suggests that it may have been hafted and the edges dulled there to help in binding to a handle.

Notable tools recovered during the expansion of the initial east to west series were two large scrapers, one of white quartz and one of dark Ramah. The Ramah scraper was very shallowly buried. Perhaps it was brought so close to the surface because of some sort of natural disturbance; possibilities are faunal turbation (including by both rodents and caribou hooves) or cryoturbation. The quartz example, which was found close by in two refitting

to tent floor stone clearing. Further excavation in this part of Tshkashue 1 may offer some explanation as to the function of these two apparently anthropogenic

Figure 6: Large scraper of Ramah near surface of the southeastern section of Mistasuapi.



fragments, was closer to the level where the vast majority of other tools and debitage were lying.

A series of three units were separately opened at the southern limits of the Tshkashue 1 component. Here the excavation of two adjacent units (N1W4 and N2W4) revealed a pair of enigmatic stone constructions, aligned east/west and each about 60 cm in length, with a modest amount of Ramah debitage amongst them. There was no charcoal, calcined bone or ochre immediately evident although the two features were not fully excavated beyond the removal of sand to better expose their shape and size. Their discrete character makes it difficult to attribute them



Figure 7: Selected bifaces from 2023 excavations at the Mistasuapi Component of the Mistanuk Site (GICs-08): from left to right six distal ends of heat altered Ramah bifaces, one complete bi-point of heat altered light coloured Ramah, small distal fragment of patinated Ramah, medial section of large Ramah biface; l-r at opposite ends of scale: medial section of quartz biface, medial section of Ramah biface; beneath scale, complete asymmetrical biface of Ramah.

features.

Ushikuesh (GICs-57)

A few units were also opened to the west of the existing Ushikuesh site following a couple of

small positive test pits amongst alders. The new units exposed yet another small bone mash-burning feature accompanied, as per the now established pattern, with a scattering of small Ramah flakes, calcined bone

Figure 8: Two enigmatic stone constructions at 2023 eastern limit of Tshakashue 1 component of the Mistanuk site.



fragments, red ochre stains and a cluster of small rocks. The new units to the west did not produce any recognizable formal tools. Three new units south of the previous Ushikuesh excavation were opened because of the emergence of a beige chert tool weathering out of the exposed surface of a unit in the southeast corner. This exposed yet another bone mash-burning feature with small Ramah flakes, red ochre, and the usual attendant small rocks and calcined bone in a greasy carbonized matrix.

**Sheshatshit
FjCa-51 CPB 2023 East,
South and West**

Further work was carried out at sites on two separate terraces in Sheshatshit. The first of these sits on a level area of FjCa-51 and was once (and was at the time of the preparatory archaeological work for the new housing division later to be built on both sides of Massek Road) the heavily wooded backyard of a housing lot alongside Massek Road. After most of the houses in this new sub-division were built and occupied, the householder at number 12, Massek Road, decided to remove the trees in a sizable area behind his house. Subsequently the householder paid a contractor to bulldoze the overburden and stumps, and then deposit sand over approximately half of the cleared area. Only a minor section of the bulldozed area formed part of the land that earlier survey and excavations were intended to clear archaeologically. Consequently, the remainder had been neither tested for archaeological resources nor had any heritage sites there been excavated. Examination of the disturbed area south of Massek Road revealed at least three features as well as a scattering of stone tools and debitage.

The largest of the features had been recognized since the initial grubbing by the householder and showed as a cluster of cobbles protruding through the exposed sur-



Figure 9: CPB 2023 East (FjCa-51) located in cleared area behind 12 Massek, Sheshatshit. The large roughly circular hearth is visible near center field with the red ochre pit and red stained surrounds beneath the drawing frame.

face with a scatter of tools and debitage; the other two smaller combustion features (CPB 2023 South and CPB 2023 West) were less obvious. CPB 2023 South consisted of a diminutive cluster of well seated cobbles and a single large chunk of modified red quartzite lying amongst them in very badly disturbed

face with a scatter of tools and debitage; the other two smaller combustion features (CPB 2023 South and CPB 2023 West) were less obvious. CPB 2023 South consisted of a diminutive cluster of well seated cobbles and a single large chunk of modified red quartzite lying amongst them in very badly disturbed

Figure 10: Two bifaces found lying near CPB 2023 West (FjCa-51) in disturbed ground. The one on the left is of pinkish chert and is intact and complete. The other is of grey quartzite and is missing part of the distal end.





Figure 11: Bifaces from the CPB 2023 East hearth and immediately adjacent area: L - R large biface of banded chert found in disturbed context, distal portion of biface of speckled red quartzite found in disturbed soil, side notched biface of red quartzite with low shallow notching, distal fragment of chert biface, convex based projectile point of grey quartzite with low shallow side notches, large point of lustrous dark purple brown quartzite with low side notching, bifacial knife of white quartz, large knife of heat altered indeterminate material.

ground from which all of the leached grey sand was missing. It is likely that if any other cultural lithics were once present, they were removed by the bucket of the loader, which pushed up a berm around the entire cleared backyard area. CPB 2023 West was a larger feature with a ring of profuse debitage of various sorts of quartzite and banded rhyolite lying up against the combustion feature cobbles. Part of the southern most portion of the combustion feature contained a small pit. No formal tools were recovered within or anywhere close to this feature.

The two smaller features were located during close inspection in the summer of 2023. For one reason or another disturbance of the impacted area was deepest and most intense beyond the immediate margins of the cleared

area, as if the ground had been shallowly dished out. Fortunately a generous portion of the major feature within the disturbed backyard referred to as CPB

Figure 12: A portion of the calcined bone from the CPB 2023 East hearth (FjCa-51).





and disturbance lessened as one progressed towards the eastern limit where most of the organic overburden was retained.

CPB 2023 East, including the large oval hearth and adjacent units, was comprehensively excavated. The excavations produced relatively large quantities of stone tools and debitage of quartzite from locally sourced glacial cobbles. In lesser amounts, various types of colourful interior cherts were also present. The category of small scraping tools (mitshikuana) was almost exclusively fashioned from cherts. Surprisingly (as

FjCa-51 excavations had previously yielded very modest faunal remains) the CPB 2023 East hearth contained comparatively generous amounts of well-preserved calcined bone. The bulk of this bone was recovered from a discrete dish-like cavity within the presumed hearth structure. Dr. Art Spiess at the Maine Historic Preservation Commission is currently

Figure 13: Red ochre processing pit just to the north of the large hearth at CPB 2023 East.

2023 East (a large oval hearth and its close environs) had escaped serious disturbance. This was because of its fortuitous location close to the limits of the archaeologically uncontrolled removal of overburden by the contractor. The western edge of the feature and the adjacent ground was most heavily impacted

modest faunal remains) the CPB 2023 East hearth contained comparatively generous amounts of well-preserved calcined bone. The bulk of this bone was recovered from a discrete dish-like cavity within the presumed hearth structure. Dr. Art Spiess at the Maine Historic Preservation Commission is currently

Figure 14: Scrapers from CPB 2023 East (all of chert). The example third from left may have been made from a repurposed projectile point. It remains for the moment the only side notched endscraper known from FjCa-51.



analyzing the faunal assemblage from this combustion feature.

A pit with prodigious amounts of red ochre in association with wood charcoal was situated within a meter or so from the northern edge of the CPB 2023 East large combustion feature. The ochre although concentrated in the pit itself was also dispersed around it and in places seems to have been spilled during the work in processing of the haematite. This inference is drawn from the occasional patch or wad of ochre noted in various locations around the pit. The location appears to have been used to heat ochre in a small fire pit to produce a more intense shade of red pigment.

**FjCa-79 and FjCa-60 Locus 2
(Sheshatshit 33-35 meter terrace)**

Following completion of the excavations at the CPB 2023 loci, we moved back to the Sheshatshit top terrace sites identified during the 2016 test-pitting program and on which work has continued since that time. Dr Fred Schwarz had earlier conducted some judgemental test pitting on this high terrace and encountered quartzite flakes at a location slightly north of the occupations discovered during our 2016 survey work. The location of Fred Schwarz's cultural lithics was assigned the Borden number FjCa-60. The first positive test pit during the 2016 effort led to the discovery of a combustion feature with wood charcoal, slate fragments, quartz

cover these new locations on the Sheshatshit top terrace.

In 2023, it was decided to open up several new one meter by one meter units to determine whether further elements of the Shukapesh 2 occupation continued on the same northwest/southeast alignment as the large linear hearth with its associated fire pit and calcined seal bone excavated in 2020. There was also a smaller combustion feature extending from the hearth's southeastern end. The new units revealed a continuation of the smaller combustion related feature along the same alignment and with associated quartzite cobble reduction debitage. The occupants of at least Shukapesh 2 and 3 may have belonged to the same or to a related group to that which Bill Fitzhugh identified as once occupying the high elevation Little Lake component on the North West River side of Sheshatshit narrows. The postulated Little Lake component was nevertheless defined on quite tenuous grounds, namely elevation, quartzite tool fragments and debitage and a single projectile point of locally sourced cobble quartzite. However, both the radiocarbon dates from the Shukapesh occupations and their elevation suggest that if they and Little Lake (FjCa-3) are broadly contemporary the suggested age for Little Lake may have been too young. The Shukapesh occupations sit at an elevation of around 33-35 meters while those on

chips and sparse quartzite debitage. Only two formal tools were recovered at this feature, a large slate celt and rough bifacially flaked disc of white quartz, which may have been used as a strike a light. We assigned the name Shukapesh 1 to this occupation site and the PAO recorded it as a locus of FjCa-60. Subsequently the same 2016 test-pitting program identified further occupations slightly to the west. We called these Shukapesh 2 and 3 and the PAO assigned a new Borden number, FjCa-79, to

Figure 15: Three projectile points from the Shukapesh 2 and 3 components of FjCa-79 on the Sheshatshit 33-35 m asl terrace area. The two examples on the left are of grey quartzite. The basal fragment on the right is of a whitish grey material, reduction debitage from which lay scattered around the Shukapesh 3 component.



which the Little Lake Component was proposed sit at about 22 meters. There was no C14 date obtained from samples in association with Little Lake material. Furthermore, the three projectile points/point fragments recovered from Shukapesh 2 and 3 do not appear typologically related to the stemmed example presumed to be associated with the high elevation Little Lake component. For the time being, it may be prudent to treat the Shukapesh high terrace sites and the Little Lake component as if their relationship to each other (if any) is not firmly established.

Expanded excavations of the Shukapesh 2 and 3 occupations may render obsolete a hitherto maintained separation between the two. A distinctive cobble industry on display at sites on this Sheshatshit top terrace sees the selection of small oblong cobbles as the first step in the production of rough finished cutting tools. The industry is present at both Shukapesh 2 and 3. The industry depends on these small oblong (and usually quartzite) cobbles being split longitudinally and the resultant pieces then being reduced by either unifacial or bifacial knapping. The intended result seems to be tools, which, in whole or in part, retain a dorsal ridge of cortex on one side. As it was reproduced in almost all of these split cobble cutting tools, this tool feature appears to have been achieved by design rather than because of an error in manufacture.

Another, though separate, class of tools at the same sites produces small better made bifaces, possible knives and/or projectile points where no cortex is retained. Of the three examples of notched points collected at Shukapesh 2/3, two were mainly complete and fashioned of grey quartzite. A third was of a white chalky material, which may have assumed its present appearance and texture through weathering. Only a proximal fragment of the latter point was recovered but the shape and notching style, (at least as evident in the surviving portion) conforms to that of the two more intact quartzite examples. The online digital reference collection of archaeological items in Québec, Archéolab-Québec of Le Ministère de la Culture et des Communications (MCC), has a similar looking point to the Shukapesh 2 and 3 side notched ones from Sheshatshit. The point was excavated at the FaFt-6 site on the Eastmain River and is assigned to the late Archaic as a “Hind” type.

Shukapesh 1 was the first cultural feature en-

countered during the 2016 test-pitting program. Though the hearth itself was not disarticulated at the time, the area adjacent to it was excavated to sterile. The assemblage from this feature and its immediate environs was very modest with only two formal tools found lying at opposite ends of the combustion structure: a large ground slate celt at the eastern end and a discoidal biface of white quartz near the western end. Since 2016, a series of units were excavated along the top of the terrace bank edge and adjacent to the presumed hearth feature. Apart from a few minute pieces of debitage, they were essentially bereft of cultural materials. Subsequently the hearth itself was fully excavated and, barring sparse quartzite debitage and a very small amount of calcined bone, produced little in the way of cultural material. The hearth was sectioned

Figure 16: Projectile point from the FaFt-6 site on the Eastmain River (in the James Bay region of the Quebec Labrador Peninsula).



and shown to have been built on a platform slightly raised above the surrounding ground. Analysis of the bone allowed one fragment of calcined bone to be identified as seal rib, probably from either Harbour or Ringed Seal (analysis by Dr Art Spiess, Maine Historic Preservation Commission.)

Odds and Ends

I thought to add a short section at the end of this report detailing a couple of pieces of archaeological news from the Quebec Labrador Peninsula in 2023.

One interesting news item from the Innu world is the discovery of a hitherto unknown (or better said forgotten) cemetery on the Vieux Poste point at the mouth of the Nutashkuan River across from the Innu village of Nutashkuan. This is located on the same sand dune dominated spit where Jacques Cartier wrote of meeting Innu in 1534. Cap Thiennot, on the same geographical feature, was so named after Cartier says the Innu told him they were later planning to meet up with a Capitaine Thiennot east of Nutashkuan. The latter individual was understood by Cartier to be a ship's captain from France but as the name Tsheniu (Old Man) has long been a common Innu name and Capitaine was used in the emerging trade pidgin of the 16th century for any prominent individual, I think it more likely that the personage was an Innu utshimau (leader or kamintushit) who was known as Tsheniu. At the time, Thiennot did exist as a diminutive of the Christian name Etienne, particularly in Normandy and Picardy, something that may have encouraged the confusion. Pronounced in Innu and in French the two names may have sounded indistinguishable to the European ear. Communication between Cartier's crew and the Innu group at Nutashkuan could not have been easy as they shared no mutually comprehensible language and relied mainly on

gestures and signs.

Still on the subject of heritage sites threatened by erosion is recent news from Uashat/Sept Iles where test pitting and other archaeological survey has recently identified three new sites (one of them dating to the pre-contact period) close to the old trading post in Uashat. This work is taking place in the context of accelerated coastal erosion along the Quebec North Shore, which is threatening many Innu ancestral sites. The communities of Uashat and Mani-

Figure 17: Jordana Benuen shows large bi-pointed biface of red quartzite she discovered at Cuff Harbour south of Hamilton Inlet. Jordana was with the Students on Ice project, which was conducted with the logistical support of the icebreaker Polar Prince. Some readers will recognize this ship as the former coast guard vessel Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The artefact was recorded, its coordinates taken with a GPS, and then it was placed back where erosion had left it in an apparently deflated context.



utenam and their Office of Innu Land Rights under Director André Michel, assisted by archaeologist Jean-Christophe Ouellet are doing their best to record and preserve heritage material from these sites. They are threatened not only by erosion but also by necessary remedial work to stabilize the banks overlooking the seashore.

(Information on the sites at Nutashkuan and Uashat is mainly derived from published articles in the local newspaper of the Quebec North Shore, *Le Nord Côtier*, and the cited article in *Le Devoir*)

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2023 Fieldwork Season – Black Cat Cemetery Preservation

Robyn S. Lacy & Ian Petty
Black Cat Cemetery Preservation

During the 2023 field season, Black Cat Cemetery Preservation undertook 12 projects, operating between March and November. Work primarily took place in eastern Newfoundland, along with a project based in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, in collaboration with Mapannapolis and Parks Canada staff at Fort Anne. This project will culminate in an online exhibit through Mapannapolis, a not-for-profit group, detailing the excavation of Charles Fort, a Scottish fort from the 17th century, which predated Fort Anne in Annapolis Royal.

The largest project of the season was the continued work with the Greenspond Historical Society, on the restoration of their six (6) historic cemeteries. We visited the community twice this year, one week in early June and one week in late August, to work on 10 gravestones at the New Anglican Cemetery, Old Anglican Cemetery, and the Old United Church / Methodist Cemetery. This last site has been extremely fruitful for the historical society, as it is right beside the major roadway across the island, and we had many visitors from the area and farther afield visit us on site. This greatly helped bolster local interest and support of the restoration work. Adam Walsh of CBC Radio and team joined us in Greenspond in June for a radio program about the community, [which can be listened to here](#). While in Greenspond, we gave a public talk about the project to the community, which was held at The Hub of the North restaurant, with great public turnout.

The major challenge to overcome when working in Greenspond is the low levels of topsoil across the high points of the island. As a result, grave markers are often set on blocks of concrete, many of which were poured directly into the ground, onto a bed of cobbles. These concrete bases quickly become unstable and degraded, causing the stone markers themselves to topple over. The restoration carried out on these markers typically involves removing the ‘rotten’ concrete all together, and resetting the marker on a new foundation of tamped gravel, which provides



Figure 1: Photos of the before and after of several gravestones at the Old United Church Cemetery, June 2023. (Lacy 2023).

stability and drainage, while allowing for some ground movement. The excessive use of concrete will continue to be the largest challenge of working on this project.

Over a two-day period in June 2023, work was completed at the St. Paul’s Anglican Churchyard in Trinity, NL. The remaining 38 (??) gravestones were cleaned, completing the care for all 188 known grave-

stones at the site. Several limestone markers with significant surface spalling were treated using a 30% solution of B72 Paraloid, injected into the cracks of the stone to assist in its stabilization for the future. These stones were rechecked several times throughout the season to ensure the Paraloid remained stable, and at the time of the last visit, the injected material was stable and there were no new areas of loss in the treatment areas.

We took on a new challenge this season with a project in Brigus, NL, which required the removal of a Victorian-era cast iron fence that formed the perimeter of the Munden family plot. Cast iron is apparently quite a bit heavier than it looks and does not like to cooperate with repeated attempts to move it. Nevertheless, the fence was removed in sections and was donated to Newfoundland Builders, out of Brigus, for reuse in their own projects. The reuse of this historic, locally made ironwork fence, rather than its disposal,

was important for ourselves and the client. This plan for a private client also included conservation work to each of the 10 headstones within the plot. The stones were a gorgeous mix of white and grey marbles, and sandstone and all received a full cleaning in addition to their recommended repairs. We also had to build a new tripod to accommodate the heaviest and largest stone we have tackled to date, weighing roughly 1800 lbs.

We began a collaborative project with the St. Partick's Roman Catholic (RC) Parish's 200th Anniversary Committee in Brigus this year, working on the preservation of the Chapel Lane Old RC Cemetery in preparation for their anniversary in 2024. The site, a graveyard that once surrounded the first RC church in Brigus, is located on Chapel Lane, and is dominated by a large obelisk monument and two chest tombs. We met with committee chairs in November on site to discuss the project, and to carry out the leveling of four (4) locally carved sandstone

Figure 2: The Robert Munden gravestone before conservation. The family had never seen the inscription on the gravestone, and it is unknown how long this marker was laying on the ground. (Lacy 2023).





Figure 3: The Robert Munden gravestone after conservation.
 This stone consisted of two pieces of marble,
 and a marble base set into concrete (See Figure 2). (Lacy 2023).

gravestones that were deemed most at risk of damage over the winter. In spring 2024, we will return to the site to clean the first four stones, and continue restoration efforts of an additional seven (7) stones for a total of 11 grave-stones. The committee is currently deciding if work will also be completed to clean and stabilize the obelisk and chest tombs.

Finally, we taught two workshops during the 2023 field season, one in Port de Grave for the heritage society, and one in Portugal Cove - St. Philip's

(PCSP) for the town in partnership with the Trail of the Caribou veterans' group. The Port de Grave Peninsula Heritage Society gave us the opportunity to present a talk and a Q&A on gravestone conservation in the morning, before transitioning to work in the burial ground following lunch. Together with those members in attendance, we identified a number of fieldstones on a tour of the site before working together to prepare and install a new base for a broken tablet headstone. Proper cleaning techniques were also discussed and implemented on a further three headstones and the volunteers will utilize the skills from the workshop to benefit other local burial grounds. The Trail of the Caribou was kind enough to host us locally at St. Peter's Anglican Cemetery for a workshop on headstone cleaning and care. Turnout was the highest yet for a workshop and after demonstrating proper techniques for the preservation of historic marble and sandstone, from buried base to obelisk tip, the attendees broke into groups and were able to clean a significant number of stones for a humid afternoon.

Overall, it was a productive field season, and allowed us to work on 75 gravestones around sites in eastern Newfoundland. We are looking forward to continuing to work with communities, families, and heritage groups to further the preservation of historic burial sites around the province.



Amatshuatakan, at the Portage Trail Site (F1Cf-1) Archaeology at Amatshuatakan – Trails that Connect the Past to the Future

Stephen Loring
Smithsonian Institution

“I look at that old Red Wine portage as a railroad with people travelling back and forth, Innu, us fellers, explorers from outside. It had portages branching off in all directions...” Louie Montague (2013:143)



Ferrying loads across one of the small ponds on the Amatshuatakan portage trail.

Photo taken by William Brooks Cabot, August 1921.

(William Brooks Cabot collection WBC 1921-52, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution).

Introduction

During the late-1980s-1990s, the Innu in Labrador were much in the news. Concerns over land-claims and the threats to their homelands posed by hydro-electrical development, mineral exploitation, and an increased military presence coupled with decades of government neglect and woefully inadequate health, employment and educational services fostered a horrific series of tragedies and loss of life in the communities of Utshimassit and

Sheshatshit. Recognizing that the root of *some* of these tragedies lay in a spiritual poverty and a lack of awareness and appreciation and pride in Innu history and culture led a group of Innu leaders and educators to consider an experiential education initiative for Innu young people that incorporated an archaeological perspective. In response to these concerns, the Pathways Project in 1993 sought to provide training for a generation of land managers able to articulate Innu needs and concerns with government agencies

and provide an opportunity for Innu young people to gain knowledge and experiences that fostered an awareness of Innu heritage and pride. Excavations and survey conducted at Amatshuatakan, at the beginning of a long portage trail on the Naskaupi River that provided access to the interior of Nitassinan (the Quebec-Labrador peninsula), coupled with historical records (including the notes and photographs of the American Algonquianist William Brooks Cabot), and the knowledge of Innu elders Mary-Adele and Louie Penashue, afforded an opportunity to introduce the practice of archaeology to an Innu audience. The Pathways Project played an important role in creating an appreciation and awareness of the potential for archaeology to connect Innu heritage with the challenges they face with the future (Loring and Ashini 2000, Loring 1998, 2009)

Tragedy as a Catalyst for Action.

On February 14, 1992, six children died in a tragic house fire in Davis Inlet. With no fire-fighting equipment in the community, people were powerless to fight the fire or save the children. The fire traumatized the community. After years of chronic unemployment, government neglect, inadequate social services, all of which served to erode Innu control over their lives and their destiny, it seemed that a nadir had been reached.

One year later, on the anniversary of the tragedy, a native constable forced his way into an abandoned house where six children had joined in a suicide pact. They had filled plastic bags with gasoline to inhale the fumes. Two of the children were unconscious. Heroic measures were initiated to save the children and overnight the community was transfixed by world media spotlights. A community that had previously seen planes two-three times a week, weather permitting, now was inundated by dozens of helicopters and aircraft bearing journalists. Davis Inlet, which had previously languished in quite ignominy, was suddenly catapulted into the Canadian consciousness. The international press was not long in sniffing out the sordid story elevating Davis Inlet to the status of an international embarrassment.

The litany of tragedies to befall Davis Inlet are familiar ones in communities throughout the North when confronted with the loss of traditional subsistence activities and land use (e.g., Samson 2003, Wadden 2008, and Sacco 2020). The social disruption,

community disintegration and despair that characterized the recent history of Davis Inlet has its roots in the policy of Canadian federal and provincial government intervention.

Innu leaders recognized that the source of the communities' problems lay in material and spiritual poverty summarized by Peter Penashue, president of the Innu Nation: "For kids growing up there is no self-esteem, no pride in our culture." (Scott 1993).

At a distance and far-removed from the immediacy of the tragedy I was queried by colleagues as to the circumstances behind the newspaper accounts. Since 1975, I had been conducting archaeological and ethnohistoric research in Labrador much of it focused on the Innu and their immediate ancestors and I was intimate with some of the families and some of the places that figured in the news. From my first encounters and subsequent visits with Innu, I had been humbled and awed by the knowledge and skills that community members possessed and was deeply envious of the rapport they had with the land and the animals. The few opportunities I had to hunt and travel, to share meals and to sleep in tents with carefully laid spruce bough floors had instilled in me a profound respect and appreciation of the country-based experiences of the older Innu. Moreover, I was not alone in romanticizing the "traditional" Innu caribou hunting past (Loring 1997). At the multi-million-dollar Mashantucket-Pequot Museum and Research Center (opened in 1998) in Connecticut the use of ethnographic analogy based on the Innu to imagine the earliest peopling of northeast North America essentially places the Innu as the intellectual bedrock of modern Algonkian Indian identity.

Having partially erected my own academic identity based on discoveries and interpretations of Innu history (Loring 1992) I sought to initiate a project that might, albeit in a very modest fashion, seek to create opportunities for Innu youth to gain an insight and appreciation of aspects of their heritage that were extraordinary. Interpreting the culture and history of indigenous peoples throughout the North had long been the purview of academics from away, but new directions in research and collaboration were in the wind and this seemed an opportunity for change (Nichols and Andrews 1997, Loring 2008).

The Pathways Project

In the late summer and fall of 1993, an ar-



Figure 1: Amatshuatakan. View to the south from the top of the terrace, where the Montague cabin is situated, across the Naskaupi River to the mouth of Kamikuakamiu-shipu (the Red Wine River). Prior to the construction of the Smallwood Reservoir, and the diversion of the Naskaupi River headwaters, the river would have been much higher and the riverbanks much less exposed. The east bank of Kamikuakamiu-shipu was a favored camping area for Innu using the Amatshuatakan portage trail and for archaeologists visiting in 1993 and 2023.

archaeological initiative by the Innu Nation, Innu Resource Centre, and the Smithsonian Institution's Arctic Studies Center sought to address the interest and needs of the Innu communities in Labrador in exploring their ancient land tenure. The research did not so much seek a concordance of the past as much as it sought to empower people with the relevance, authority and control of the past conveys, especially considering the usurpation of Innu control over their land by government. It recognized that the labels used by archaeologists are offensive to some Innu and that archaeological logic is a western "scientific" paradigm that while valid should not seek to continue imperialistic, colonialist attitudes at variance with local knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs.

The Pathways Project sought to 1) provide training for a generation of land managers able to articulate Innu needs with governmental bureaucracies and administration; 2) instill in young people knowledge about the accomplishments of the Innu and foster Innu pride. An essential feature of Pathways was the integration of instruction on Labrador and Innu prehistory and training about archaeology

with the knowledge, wisdom, and skills of participating elders. Classroom training was followed by a month in the country at Amatshuatakan ("ascending portage"), the beginning of an ancient Innu portage route that led to Seal Lake from whence the Innu used to travel on to now flooded Michikamau and from there north to Ungava, west to Hudson's Bay and south to the Quebec North Shore. Although unmarked on any printed atlas, Amatshuatakan was a major crossroads for the Innu in the 18th and 19th centuries, a point from which families departed to the furthestmost corners of Nitassinan (the Quebec-

Labrador Peninsula).

Amatshuatakan in History

For centuries, if not millennia, it is assumed that Innu and their ancestors and predecessors, whose intimate knowledge of the land and its resources had worked out the intricate topography of the country creating an elaborate understanding and memory of routes to places where resources—social, subsistence, spiritual—were to be found had discovered and worked out the Amatshuatakan portage trail. And while much of this extraordinary geographical knowledge has been lost in the passage of time some semblance of its pervasiveness lingers in the memories of older Innu born and brought up in the country as codified—in part—by geographical placename compilations (*Pepamuteiati Nitassinat*—"As we walk across our land" <https://www.innuplaces.ca/index.php?lang=en>).

The Amatshuatakan portage is situated on the north bank of the Naskaupi River directly opposite the mouth of the Red Wine River (Kamikuakamiu-shipu) (Figure 1). A steep bank leads up to a broad level terrace, which formerly was a favored tenting

site. There was also a small, fenced Innu cemetery there although no apparent trace of it now remains. Prior to the divergence of the river headwaters with the creation of the Smallwood Reservoir the Naskaupi had a significantly higher discharge and motorboats, like those run by the different trading concerns in Northwest River, regularly traveled up to Amatshuatakan ferrying heavy loads for the Innu. Both sides of the river at Amatshuatakan were popular well-known camping places for families traveling between the interior, the central coast of Labrador, and Lake Melville. Tenting sites are scattered back in the woods on both sides of the river.

The Amatshuatakan trail enters the historical record in 1834 when it was traversed by a young Hudson's Bay Company employee-Erland Erlandson-seeking out possible locations for inland trading posts and the feasibility of establishing supply lines between the Company's posts at Fort Chimo on Ungava Bay and those along the Quebec North Shore (Davies 1963). Erlandson, accompanied by four Indian "guides" left Fort Chimo on April 6th arriving at Northwest River on June 22nd. As the HBC had yet to establish a post at Northwest River Erlandson almost immediately set forth on the return journey to Fort Chimo, traversing the 1400kms or so in a remarkable 23 days! Several years later, in 1838, another Hudson's Bay Company trader John McLean with two Company employees, guided by two Innu, hurriedly passed through the region during the early winter of 1838 taking six weeks to make the trip from Fort Chimo to Northwest River (McLean 1932). That the Company's Innu "guides" could move so effortlessly and adroitly through the maze of waterways across the length and breadth of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula is confirmation of a cognitive geography of considerable complexity and nuance.

In 1905 a pair of competing expeditions, both bent on reaching the George River and descending it to Ungava Bay reached Amatshuatakan (Davidson and Ruge 1988). First at the site on the morning of June 29th 1905 was Mina Benson Hubbard who passed on her journey to Michikamau:

Thirteen miles above Grand Lake we reached the

portage route by which the Indians avoid the roughest part of the river. It leads out on the north bank opposite the mouth of the Red Wine River, passing up to the higher country, through a chain of lakes, and entering the river again at Seal Lake. By this route the Indians reach Seal Lake from Northwest River in less than two weeks, taking just twenty-one days to make the journey through to Lake Michikamau. (Hubbard 1908:62). Later, that same day, Dillon Wallace's party arrived (Wallace 1907). Unlike Hubbard who was guided by a trapper from Northwest River, Wallace chose to follow the Innu travel route, which he describes in his chapter "On the Old Indian Trail":

"...on a knoll some fifty feet above the river we saw the wigwam poles of an old Indian camp, and a solitary grave with a rough fence around it." According to Wallace's informant Duncan McLean, a trapper from Northwest River who guided the party over the beginning of the Indian trail, the trail had not been used for eight or ten years. Wallace's party camped at the top of the initial steep climb out of the river valley where traces of previous Innu camps were present. There an Innu man, John Ashini (known as Tshikapisk), who clearly described the way ahead, overtook them. Wallace mentions old Innu camps, some quite extensive, all along the trail to Seal Lake where *"many wigwam poles, in varying states of decay, together with paddles, old snowshoes, broken sled runners, and other articles of Indian traveling paraphernalia"* had been cached.

The Innu trail leaves the Naskaupi valley climbing steadily to the northeast to a broad knoll several hundred meters above the river. It continues in a north, northeasterly fashion through a system of ponds eventually reaching the Crooked River, which is ascended to Nipishish Lake (Nipississ). From Nipishish the travel route turns westward alternating between small lakes (Minisinakwa-Otter-Portage-Namaycush) and connecting portages eventually reaching Seal Lake¹

In August of 1921, the Boston engineer and avocational ethnologist, William Brooks Cabot, returned to central Labrador (Loring 1986/1987, 1987). He engaged Gilbert Blake² a trapper from Northwest River to travel with him into the country. Blake was one of those hardy Labradorians, fluent in Innu-

¹ Beginning in 1999 an avid canoeist adventurer Philip Schubert retraced Dillon Wallace's journey, his account provides an annotated description of the Innu travel route with detailed maps and commentary (Schubert 2012).

² In 1905, Gilbert Blake helped guide Mina Benson Hubbard on her epic journey across Labrador to the George River (Hubbard 1908, Davidson and Ruge 1991).

aimun and incredibly resourceful in the country. Blake trapped the Seal Lake region and knew the various portage routes and the Innu families who hunted there. At Northwest River Cabot met Pasteen,³ the leader of a small company of Innu that had agreed to travel together into the country. Cabot was well known to some of the Innu from his previous travels in the north (Cabot 1920). They had given him the name “Tshinuatipis” for his having traveled to the Innu camp at Tshinutivish on Indian House Lake in 1910. Cabot arranged for him and Gilbert Blake to spend a fortnight or so traveling into the country with a small Innu band led by Tshinish afterwards returning to Northwest River in time to catch the mail-boat at Rigolet. In addition to paying, something to Tshinish Cabot is generous with his supplies, clothing, and equipment, giving much away before the trip was over (Cabot 1921). Arrangements were made with the Revillion Frères Post manager, Raoul Thevenet, and

an independent trapper-trader named Pardee (Pardy) to ferry Cabot and the Innu up to the head of Grand Lake where several Innu families were camped (Figure 2). Tshinish’s party, 4 couples and as many children, arrived at the Amatshuatakan portage after paddling up the Naskaupi River. Cabot writes in his journal: *This is the old Naskaupi trail. They [used to come out?] to N.W., but one year all but one, the chief’s son, out of 30, died about this place, doubtless of something caught at post. They (NWR) have not come out here since.*”

Cabot spends four days with Tshinish as they negotiated the beginning of the portage trail Figures 3 -5). At the camps and along the portage trail rabbits were snared, ptarmigan, partridges and ducks shot, and fish were caught (more than 30 trout at one pond). On the trail, the men carried three fifty-pound sacks of flour, the women two. At parting, Cabot gave away much of his clothing, extra food and equipment noting that “*Thevenet did not allow them*

**Figure 2: Innu parties, bound for Amatshuatakan, disembark at the head of Grand Lake having been ferried there by Raoul Thevenet, the post manager for Revillion Frères.
Photo by William Brooks Cabot, WBC 1921-12, National Anthropological Archives (NAA), Smithsonian Institution.**



³ Cabot spells this name as Pastine who likely was Ispastien Ashini. “Old Pasteen, the first Indian in Labrador to adopt the ways of the white settlers. I know he had a motorboat and talked English with his Settler friends, something most Indians would not do in public in them days.” (Shiwak 1981). In addition to Tshinish, the party included his wife, his son-in-law Dominick, Dominick’s wife (who was sick), another man named Dominick, Pinashui (Francis) and his child (Figure 4).



Figure 3: Tshenish’s camp overlooking the mouth of Kamikuakamiu-shipu. The tents are situated either on top of the terrace where Louis Montague’s cabin now stands or in the clearing where the 1993 Pathways excavations took place. The spruce forest is considerably less dense and the trees much smaller than they are today suggesting that the area was recovering from a burn a century or two previously. Photographed from the steep rise in the portage trail north of the camp, a view completely obscured by the mature forest today. Photo by William Brooks Cabot, WBC 1921-20, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 4: Photograph taken by William Brooks Cabot at Tshenish’s camp at the beginning of the Amatshuatakan portage, August 1921. Top row, left to right: Shanut Antane, Mitunishan (Penashue Tshenish), a child, Tumanik Antane (Tshenish’s son-in-law); front row: Maniten?, small child, Tshenish (Shushep Takuapmakan), Natamiskanukueu Mani, Shunien Tshenish. This is the group which Cabot and Gilbert Blake (a Northwest River trapper) accompanied over the beginning of the portage trail and which he describes in his journal as consisting of “*Tshinish, his wife, his son-in-law Dominick, Dominick’s wife (who was sick), another man named Dominick, Pinashui (Francis) and his child*”. I am grateful to Anthony Jenkinson and Apatet (Ben Andrew) for their help in identifying the people in the photograph. Photo by William Brooks Cabot WBC 1921-57, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.





Figure 5: Natamiskanukueu Mani and Tshenish starting out on the Amatshuatakan portage. A low fence surrounds an Innu grave. Photo by William Brooks Cabot WBC 1921-27, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.

clothes this year all are reduced. [For] Some of the party that meant things were very light."

Prior to the advent of aerial transport the Amatshuatakan trail remained an important if intermittently used route to access interior resources. Also in the summer of 1921, E.M. Kindle of the Geological Survey of Canada visited the region about the beginning of the trail. During the winter of 1928-1929, a pair of English geographers followed the trail from the mouth of the Red Wine River overland to Nipishish where they left the trail to Seal Lake proceeding north to Hopedale (Scott 1933). They found adjacent the beginning of the portage the trapper's tilt used by Gordon McLean and Harvey Montague who ran a winter trap line alongside the trail. Old Man Michelin who had four small tilts spread beside it between Amatshuatakan and Nipishish had established the trap line around 1890. At least two parties of mineral prospectors crossed over the "old Innu portage route" on their way to Seal Lake in 1929 commenting on the abandoned Innu camps they encountered (Gray 2003) and in 1963 George Kitchen, Chief Forester for Labrador, traveled over the route guided by

Ponas Nuke, traveling from Seal Lake to Sheshatshit. (Kitchen n.d.).

Sometime prior to 1948, the Montagues built a small one-room cabin here that served as the starting point of their trap line (Figure 6). Louie Montague maintains that his family had used the site since about 1858 (Montague 2013). His father (John Montague) had a motorboat that would bring up heavy supplies for the Innu.

"For two or three years, my father ran a bit of trade goods at the Red Wine River for the Innu when they came out of the country. We had flour, butter, sugar, tea, tobacco, salt pork, anything that could freeze and not spoil. We kept these supplies in wooden boxes in a tent supplied by the HBC... The Innu would often come when we were on our cross-country trail, and we'd come back and some of the food would be gone and some furs hung up." (Montague 2013:48)

Montague thought the decline in use of the trail by the Innu was partially attributed to the death of many of the older people. He remembered as a



Figure 6: Louie Montague’s cabin and tilt/woodshed at Amatshuatakan.

the mouth of the Crooked River that had been abandoned 40 years, closing about 1925.

Proceeding upriver, he arrived at Amatshuatakan.

5 July 1968

John Montague’s trapping cabin south of the Indian camp area and graveyard. Portage Site. Across Naskaupi from mouth of Red Wine River there is a large clearing atop a steep bank. This marks the end of the much-used portage into Crooked River during the days when Indians canoed into the interior. Here they camped and made canoes in the spring.

“Piles” of wood chips reported for this site and on bank of Red Wine River -but we didn’t see too many now. Recently, Indians haven’t used the portage much as they have been flying into the interior. The portage trail, once clear and beaten into the duff, is now being overgrown and is less distinct.

boy seeing the Innu coming out of the country pulling toboggans that held dead family members in order to have them buried at Sheshatshit. Twice he came across individuals wrapped in canvas and temporarily cached on scaffolds aside the trail.

Previous archaeological work

Perhaps the most succinct account of the beginning of the Amatshuatakan trail site prior to our visit in 1993 is that provided by William Fitzhugh who visited the locale in 1968 as part of his inaugural fieldwork in Labrador (Fitzhugh 1972). Fitzhugh’s visit was part of a quick two-day survey about the head of Grand Lake. He test-pitted the prominent high bank on the west side of the Naskaupi at its debouchment into Grand Lake which, according to Herb Michelin and John Montague, was a favored camping spot for the Innu but found no traces apparent during his brief visit. V. Tanner, a Finnish geographer who visited it during the summer in 1937, photographed and described the site (Tanner 1944:615, 627). His photographs show a cluster of tents and a mostly open camping area littered with piles of shavings (from canoe and snowshoe manufacture) where a vigorous forest growth today obscures traces of the former campgrounds. Fitzhugh went on to visit the old HBC site across from the north end of “Long Island” on the east bank of the Naskaupi just above

Small brooks bound the site area on north and south. The site itself is sporadically bushed in by spruce, aspen, alder and grass. This area seems to return to bush very fast after disturbance. Sites do not remain open as they tend to some places. The local topography of the site is marked by stabilized dunes in some instance but most relief seems to have resulted from relatively unmodified glacial deposits, since gravels and sands are mixed and immediately underlie the thin layers of leached sands and duff or moss. Wind action and disturbance by human activity probably has caused some areas to remain fairly free of vegetation -but no prehistoric cultural remains could be seen in any of the exposures. Most of the open areas were tested as well as many recent camp sites but still nothing prehistoric. The majority of the tent sites—and their must be at least fifty visible today—are situate back from the riverbank. The site must cover several hundred square yards.

Surface indications of culture are everywhere—in cans, tent poles and stakes, pine boughs. In the duff, cutlery, toys of plastic and iron, glass, wire, and other material was plentiful. But only in one tent area was chipped stone found. Here there were only a few pieces, made from green stone similar to the chopper/scrapper found Sid Blake site—and there was nothing

diagnostic. The chipping was poorly done, and chips (4-5 only) were distributed throughout the duff from surface to junction with grey sand. Glass, plastic, and other goods occurred with the same distribution. I think the chipping was done as demonstration, perhaps by an old person, demonstrating bygone days to his children. The stratigraphical mixture of stone and quite recent material seems to be valid. No very early trade goods were found to suggest two occupations.

Black flies and heat caused a premature departure from the site. Though many spots were tested (negatively), many more need work, especially bushed in areas. This site is sure to yield prehistoric material, besides its voluminous historic material and significance. There seems to be no good prehistoric salmon spearing site nearby or considerable game resources. Only in days of fur trade and when HBC operated down the Naskaupi River would the site have been heavily occupied. Still, its significance as a transportation route to the southeast is important, numerous short-term occupations must have occurred. (Fitzhugh 1968)

**Fieldwork Narrative
The Pathways Initiative,
1993**

Discussions with Innu Nation leadership and with personnel at the Innu Tipatshimun Mashineikantshiup Resource Centre in the spring of 1993 initiated an experiential educational program in Innu archaeology and cultural heritage that brought me to Sheshatshit in the fall of that year. The goal of the program was twofold: to provide an awareness and appreciation of some historical aspects of Innu culture and heritage with training in basic archaeological theory and practice. With the specter of large-scale future economic development (the huge Lower Churchill Hydroelectric Project was imminent, as were further mining initiatives) that would necessitate cultural and environmental assessments it was hoped that the Pathways training initia-

tive could prepare Innu for employment to work as cultural resource specialists and environmental monitors.

From the applicants to the training program a team of eight Innu young people were selected for the introductory course of study and subsequent fieldwork: Richard Nuna, Richard Abraham, Dominic Penunsi, Dominic Rich, Sylvester Antuan, Edmund Benuen, Catherine Penashue and Edwina Jack (Figure 7). At the completion of a two-week course of study,

Figure 7: Pathways participants August 1993: left-to-right, back row: Dominic Rich, Sylvester Antuan, Dominic Penunsi middle row: Edwina Jack, Richard Abraham, Cathrine Penashue front: Richard Nuna, Edmund Benuen.



the group assembled and traveled by speedboat up past the head of Grand Lake and ascended the Naskaupi River to the beginning of the old Innu travel route at Amatshuatakan. Joining the archaeology team was Napes Ashini, his wife and son, and Elders Mary Adele and Louis Penashue along with their infant grandson. Louis Penashue's father, Mitunishan, had been in the party that William Cabot accompanied over the Amatshuatakan portage in 1921. Our time at Amatshuatakan was not entirely an exercise in how visiting archaeologists practice their profession. It was an opportunity to incorporate Innu values and

perspectives into a construction of history and an opportunity to expose Innu young people to the realities of life in the bush. In the evening, everyone had the opportunity to accompany the Penashues while attending their nets and snares, hunt for moose and bear, and prepare food. Later, as autumn nights lengthened, everyone gathered in tents to listen to stories about the old days, about starvation times, and extraordinary journeys by snowshoe and canoe.

We established a camp on the south side of the Naskaupi in the thickets adjacent the broad sandy beach at the mouth of the Red Wine River. This was, according to Fitzhugh's Settler informants, the preferred camping place for Innu where they camped in the spring and built canoes. Louie Montague thought that mostly the Innu camped on the north side of the river but that they often cached heavier objects here as he remembers seeing gramophones and sewing machines carefully wrapped in canvas and put up on scaffolds back from the river. On the opposite shore from our camp was a steep bank approximately 15 meters high that led up to a level terrace where Louis Montague has a small cabin and tilt. In 1921, the Innu that William Cabot accompanied into the country set up their camp on this terrace. There was then a small,

fenced burial area off to one side of which no trace is now apparent. Behind the Montague cabin, one descends the knoll to a broad level expanse, an open boreal parkland approximately 80 meters from the waters edge. Scattered throughout the woods are enamel containers and rusty cans, battered and fragmentary tin tent-stoves, all covered with a thick coat of moss. A forest of new growth birch and aspen encroached the cabin clearing on all sides. With but one exception the clearings and open areas described by Fitzhugh some twenty-five years previous had vanished as had all traces, but for the scattered bits of discarded materials and tin stoves, of tent structures. The single clearing in the area that remained was the top of a small knoll that was located about 45 meters northeast of the Montague cabin bordered on its south and east sides by the clearly defined portage trail and on its north and west by a shallow brook. This little knoll, approximately 25 x 35 meters extant became the focus of our 1993 fieldwork (Figure 8).

The site was identified after several shallow test-pits revealed the presence of historic artifacts just under the thick surface layer of moss and lichen vegetation. A surface inspection of the clearing found no apparent cultural or architectural features, no circular

Figure 8: View to west over the knoll-top clearing north of the Montague cabin showing the Pathways excavation area. The unexcavated portion in the lower right was opened in 2023 (T.P.#4)



raised earthen walls or cobblestone hearths as has been documented at many 19th and early 20th century Innu camps in the interior and along the central Labrador coast (Loring 1992:515-526, Samson 1975, McCaffrey, Loring and Fitzhugh 1989:124-125). Sixteen 1 x 2 meter excavation units were opened up in two contiguous areas (Site Plan Page 78). The surface vegetation was carefully removed to expose the top of the underlying black organic soil and roots beneath which was the brown and white sandy forest floor, which was scraped clean and inspected for any architectural features. Most units were excavated to a depth of about 10 cm. Excavations revealed a uniform distribution of late 19th -century and early-20th century artifacts across the site consisting of hunting and fishing paraphernalia, tobacco-related products, knives, cookware, medicinal containers, molasses jugs, combs, beads and coins. Small chunks of charcoal and the occasional congealed bits of paint (white and green) were ubiquitous and apparent in all of the excavated units. The “litter” that covered the site did not suggest any patterning except for one instance in 1S/2E (#2) where the clutter of artifacts in the east half abruptly stopped suggesting that the western half of the unit was outside a tent wall. Given the very shallow nature of the site stratigraphy, with all of the cultural remains coming from immediately below the layer of vegetation and the very top of the underlying

sand, we were unable to separate the material into separately defined features or activity areas. Our impression is that the site was repeatedly occupied resulting in a palimpsest of cultural materials spread across most of the open area. Catherine Penashue and Edwina Jack excavated a single test unit (#14) at the southern periphery of the site, 6S/10E, that came down on a nearly solid layer of decayed spruce boughs almost 10 cm thick. This unit had relatively fewer artifacts than other units had but produced a large blue and white annular ware sherd from a steep-sided bowl as well as several small blue seed beads, perhaps indicative of an earlier component at the site.

Although we could not clearly define the edges of any distinct structures, we did expose a series of features that would have originated inside or adjacent to a tent. Feature 1 was a 5 cm thick circular deposit of ash, charcoal, some fragmentary fire cracked rock and artifacts that were found on top of the sand. Initially it was thought to be the remains of a hearth, but Richard Nuna interpreted it as the dumped contents of a tin stove. An interpretation supported by the fact that the sand on which the ash deposit resided bore no sign of staining or burning as might be expected from the heat of a fire. Next to the ash deposit was a thick mat of decayed spruce boughs, our Feature 4, clearly the remnants of a spruce bough floor cover sleeping area. Feature 2 was a shallow trash pit about

Figure 9: Innu equipment and supplies including tin tent-stove and canoes to be carried into the country over the Amatshuatakan portage. Photo by William Brooks Cabot WBC 1921-23, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.



10 cm in depth that had a few fire-cracked rocks and assorted camp debris. Feature 3 was a loose cluster of fire-cracked rocks.

Several additional 1 x 2 and 2 x 2 meter units were placed in the relatively flat ground adjacent the trail, north of the knoll, up to the edge of the stream that borders the first steep rise in the trail as it passes to the north. There was considerable debris scattered about in the woods, but we were unable to locate any architectural features indicative of early (pre-20th century) occupation.

Excavations on the knoll and in the woods north of Montague's cabin recovered a wide array of very late 19th century and early 20th century artifacts including hunting and fishing paraphernalia, tobacco-related products, knives, cookware, medicinal containers, molasses jugs, combs, beads and coins. The absence of any formal cobblestone hearths suggests that all the structures associated with the artifacts were heated by tin tent stoves, quite a few of which are scattered about in the woods off to the side of the trail and suggested by the Feature 1 ash dump (Figure 9). The adoption of tin stoves by the Innu appears to be pervasive by about 1920, perhaps earlier south of Hamilton Inlet and later in the north.

2023 A Second look at Amatshuatakan

One of the lingering questions about Amatshuatakan and the southern terminus of the portage trail system linking a large portion of Nitassinan is the apparent absence of evidence for its use prior to the 20th century, this despite its prominence in historical accounts and Innu oral history. Neither Fitzhugh, during his brief reconnaissance visit in 1968, nor the Pathways project excavations in 1993, recovered more than a few broken pieces of quartz that might have signaled an earlier pre-contact occupation. The lack of formal cobble hearths and lithic debitage and artifacts was considered surprising. However, perhaps this should not be unexpected given that the primary function of the site was to facilitate movement from place to place and thus might not have the sort of occupational signature one might expect from a place where people lingered for a greater duration. For the Innu the establishment of trading posts at Northwest River gradually transformed it into a predictable source of foodstuffs, tea and tobacco, and the limited assortment of manufactured tools and materials that facilitated life in the country. The

significance of the posts gradually altered the movement of some Innu family groups to reside in closer proximity to Northwest River, at least seasonally, and linger longer in the Amatshuatakan vicinity.

Still the absence of any precontact cultural material was considered something of an enigma. Work subsequent to the Pathways project, at portages around Marshall Falls on the Kainairiktok River (Loring and Jenkinson 2018) and at Muskrat Falls on the Churchill (Schwartz and Skanes 2014), provided archaeological evidence of earlier (primarily Shashish Innu – Intermediate Indian) presence at important travel routes between the coast and the interior.

An opportunity to revisit Amatshuatakan occurred in the fall of 2023. Accompanied by Anthony Jenkinson (Tshikapisk Foundation) we returned to Amatshuatakan with the intention of testing additional areas adjacent to the 1993 excavations and to further explore the actual route of the portage trail itself. A quarter of a century had passed since the Pathways project had visited the site during which a dense growth of alder, aspen and birch had grown up on the terrace and slope leading up to the Montague cabin completely obscuring its view of the river. It is worth noting this dynamic example of forest encroachment on the previous open aspects of the site, something Fitzhugh recognized during his 1968 visit. When the Pathways team arrived at the site twenty-five years later most of the open areas had disappeared, and now almost all were gone in 2023. Cabot's photographs from 1921 show the forest around the site to be much more open and the spruce much smaller than the venerable stands that surround the site today (Figure 10).

Clearly, the optimal camping place at Amatshuatakan by dint of its broad level plateau and commanding view of the rivers was the space about where the Montague cabin and adjacent tilt were placed. In 1993, this area was not tested in deference to Louis Montague's wishes but its archaeological potential figured significantly in my imagination. The 2023 fieldwork focused initially on the cabin terrace. Our Test Pit #1, a 1 x 2 meter unit, was placed about halfway between the cabin and the edge of the steep slope down to the river. After removing the surface vegetation, we came down onto a 10-12cm layer of clean light brown sand that was on top a dark organic buried humus layer. This former ground surface had



Figure 10: Tshenish's camp at the beginning of the Amatshuatakan portage (as seen in Figure 3) with William Cabot's conical tent on the right. In 2023 this area was covered by a dense stand of mature spruce that towered over the clearing. Photo by William Brooks Cabot WBC 1921-41, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.

been buried when leveling the ground for the cabin construction. We dug down through the buried surface to expose the sterile pebbly brown sand beneath. Above the buried surface in the sand cast out from the cabin construction were several iron nails and a 1962 US Lincoln penny. No trace of any earlier occupations was recognized. The top of a modern trash pit (plastic sheeting, crockery, meat tins, plastic green rope) was exposed (but not excavated) in the north-west corner of the unit. Test Pit #2, a 1 x 1 meter unit, was placed about 15 meters to the east of the Montague cabin in a level space adjacent the path that led off to the east parallel the river. The test pit was placed on the most level portion of the terrace that appeared to be the most suitable for a tent on the terrace-top that was not disturbed by cabin and tilt construction. The surface vegetation and a very thin organic layer mixed with dark humus soil was removed to expose the underlying clean white sand. Other than, an occasional small piece of broken window glass and several unfired .22 caliber cartridges no cul-

tural materials were encountered, no trace of fire-cracked rock or debitage that might signal an earlier component.

Two paths mark the beginning of the Amatshuatakan portage trail, one to the east down river of the terrace, and the other from the west adjacent a small forest brook. The two paths meet just behind the Montague cabin and pass for a hundred meters or so through relatively flat ground before crossing a brook and immediately starting up a long steep grade. This area of relatively flat ground might well have been something of a forested glade prior to the mature stand of spruce that covers it now. Traces of former activity are scattered about protruding

from under a thick carpet of moss: broken sled parts, tin stoves, and crockery. Test pit #3 was a contiguous series of four 1 x 1 meter units placed off the west side of the portage trail adjacent some large pieces of a flattened tin tent stove. Test pit #3 was about 20 meters north and just below the knoll on which the 1993 Pathways excavations were situated. The surface vegetation and underlying humus was scraped away down to the top of the sandy forest floor. As with the Pathways excavation, there were no apparent features although a few broken fire-cracked rocks suggested the presence of hearth features in the vicinity. A continuous thin distribution of early/mid-20th century artifacts and debris was spread over all the units essentially duplicating the assemblage recovered from the knoll above.

Our last formal test-pit (#4) was a 1 x 2 meter unit that was placed on the knoll adjacent the eastern block of the Pathways excavation. The recovered assemblage duplicated materials found in 1993 (Figure 11). Once again, no trace of earlier, pre-1900, occupa-

tions were recognized.

The Portage Trail.

The portage trail at Amatshuatakan is itself a remarkable physical feature on the landscape: 30-40 cm wide, 5 cm deep and kilometers in length. Generations of travelers, some with canoes on their heads, have traversed it creating a tunnel-like passage through the forest. Fallen trees have been cleared away (as revealed by cut and sawn stumps) and branches cut back. Occasionally one spots old blazes as well as discarded merchandise (teapots, molasses tins, and broken glass) off to the side. We had hoped to follow the trail through over the first steep climb and on to a pair of ponds where the Innu often paused but circumstances dictated an earlier return to Sheshatshit then had been anticipated (Figures 12-13).

Artifact Analysis

As revealed above we failed to identify any architectural features or cultural materials that unequivocally attest to use of the site by Innu prior to about 1900. We believe, based on historical documentation and Innu oral history, that this is a matter of site sampling and the relative invisibility of transient Innu camps and is discussed further at the conclusion of this paper. While some 19th-century Innu sites have been excavated and described (Samson 1975, Loring 1992, Loring 2014) I am unaware of any detailed discussions of 20th century Innu sites and what the archaeological signature of such sites might look like. Hopefully the reader will bear with me as I provide a detailed inventory of the artifacts recovered from the Pathways excavations that evidence the participation of some Innu families with the social and



Figure 11: Artifacts from 2023's T.P.#4 at Amatshuatakan (FICf-1).

Of interest is the rectangular piece of lead, almost a centimeter thick (at 7 o'clock/lower left), a similar piece was recovered in 1993.

economic milieu adjacent the posts at Northwest River.

Artifacts broken, lost, and left behind include an assortment of tools: a file, two two-bladed pocket-knives and parts from an aluminum flashlight (Figures 14-15).

Ceramics

Broken bits of ceramic vessels and glass were found in most of the excavation units. There were 46 porcelain sherds from a minimum of 14 different vessels: including two shallow bowls (one with a molded art deco interior rim motif), two decorated and two plain teacups, three different decorated tea-saucers, two undecorated plates, two pieces from the lid of a tea-pot, a sherd from the body of a large container



Figure 12: The Amatshuatakan portage trail, a light snow having fallen, 2 October 1993.

Figure 13: Discarded tin tent-stove adjacent the Amatshuatakan portage trail, 5 October 2023.



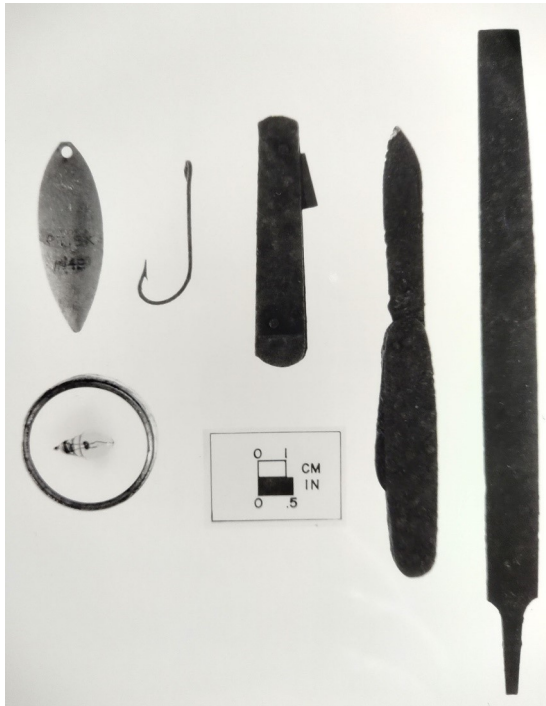
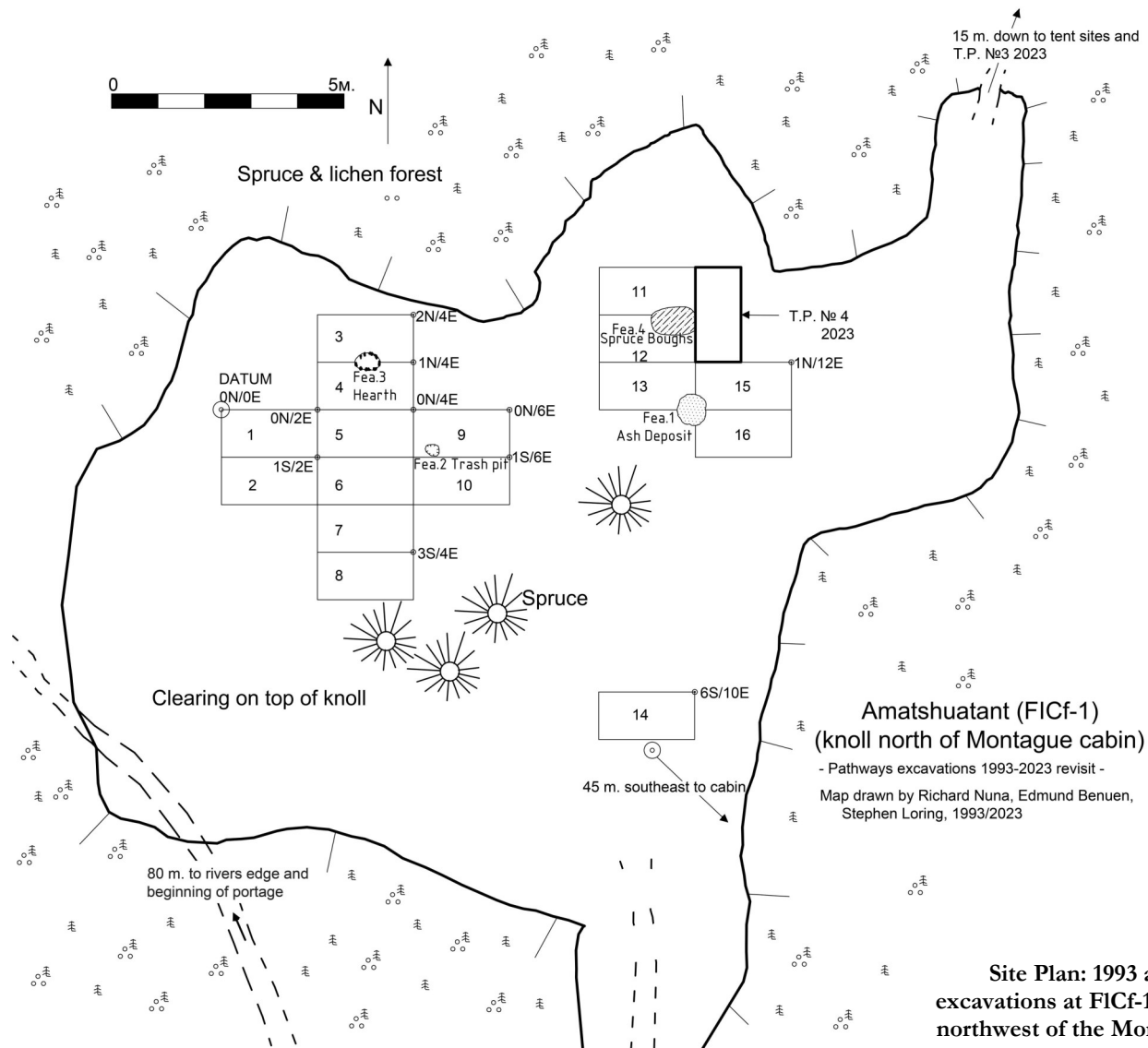


Figure 14: Left, Tools and fishing equipment: #4 spinner from a fishing lure; barbed hook (-23); 2-bladed pocketknives (-7,53); file (-6); flashlight rim (-119) and bulb (-43).



Figure 15: Right, Dominic Rich holding a two-bladed pocketknife found in 0N/12E.



Site Plan: 1993 and 2023 excavations at FICf-1, on the knoll northwest of the Montague cabin.

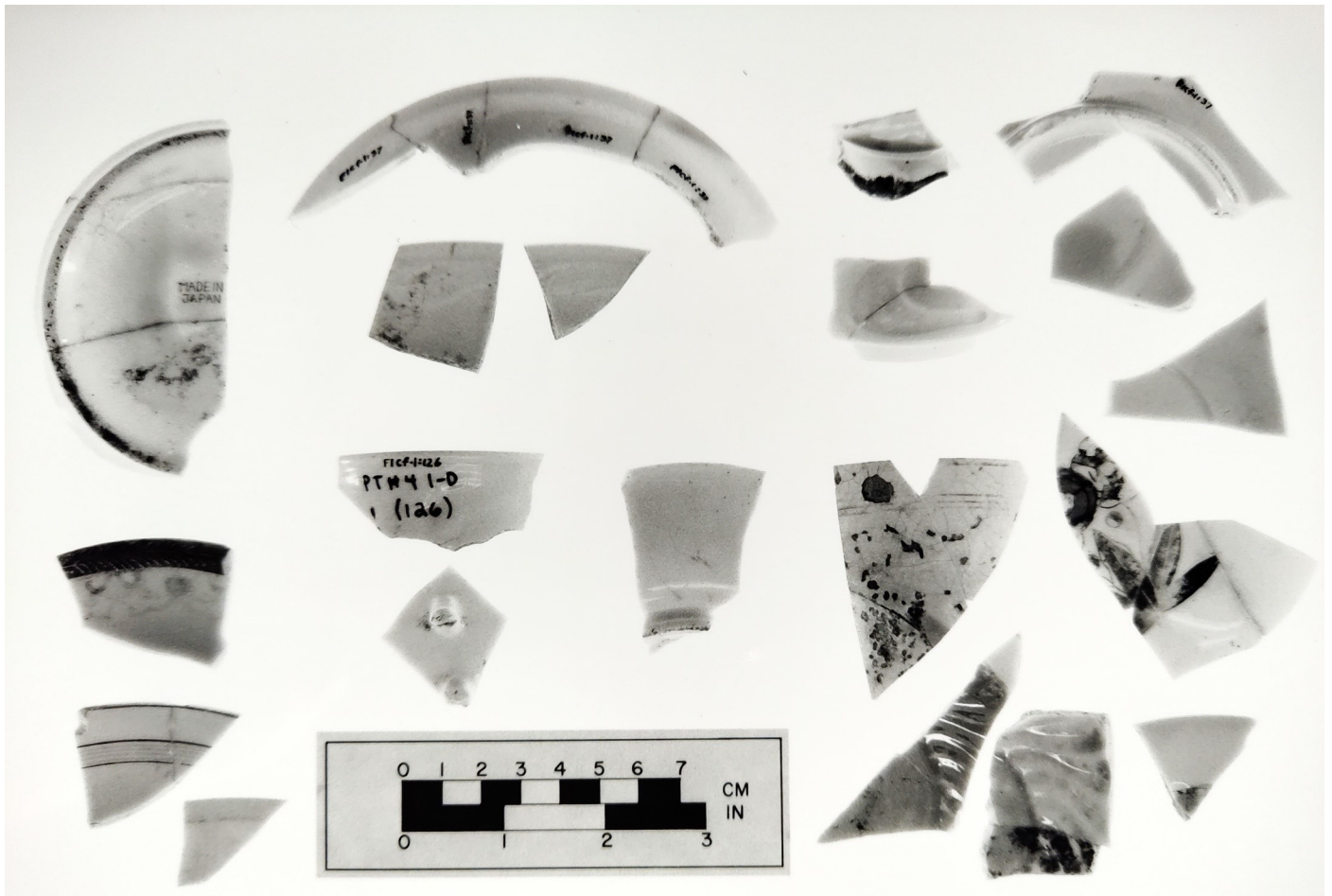


Figure 16: Porcelain Ceramics from FICf-1. (Top Row, left to right: base of "sukiyaki plate" (-151); rim sherds from two different shallow bowls (-37 above, -15,83 below); two fragments from the lid of a teapot with molded floral design (-170,202); sherds from two plates (-37,208). Middle Row: tea saucer with green band and floral design on interior rim (-208); three sherds from two plain teacups (-170 and 126; -37); large teacup with silver bands around exterior (-42); hand-painted floral motif from an unidentified vessel type (-151,208). Bottom: tea saucer with gold and pink interior bands (-205); tea cup with pink interior rim band (-202); 3 sherds from a gold luster molded tea saucer (-37,-224).

decorated with a hand-painted floral motif, and the base of a small Sukiyaki plate stamped "MADE IN JAPAN" (White 1994:194). "Made in Japan" ceramics were produced between 1921 and 1940 (White 1994) (Figure 16).

Sherds from at least five different earthenware vessels were recovered including sherds from at least two large steep-sided bowls one of which had a blue annular design. 32 sherds belonging to a large bowl 7 3/4"s in diameter with a floral design on the exterior rim were recovered as were two very small sherds (one blue, one green) from vessels with transfer-printed designs. The remains of at least one large tan and brown molasses jug (represented by 17 sherds) was recovered (Figure 17).

Glass

Fragments from clear glass containers (n=68,

mnv=6), including a jar, a milk bottle with *Parson's* in molded relief near the bottom of one side, 2 different ink jars one has a screw-rim and is labeled CARTER'S in raised molded lettering on the bottom of the base, a flask-like bottle with an oval base which has raised molded lettering SN or it could be NS; a small bottle with a raised geometric mold design. Also recovered was the ground shank of a glass stopper most likely from a medicine bottle (Jones and Sullivan 1989:154), and another purple glass stopper with a decorative finial, possibly from a perfume container (Figure 18:3). Six pieces of brown bottle glass (one piece partially melted) were recovered.

A last glass artifact was a hemispherical piece of glass 1 1/2" in diameter, flat on one side domed on the other, that appears to have been inset into something but whether a magnifying glass or a flash-

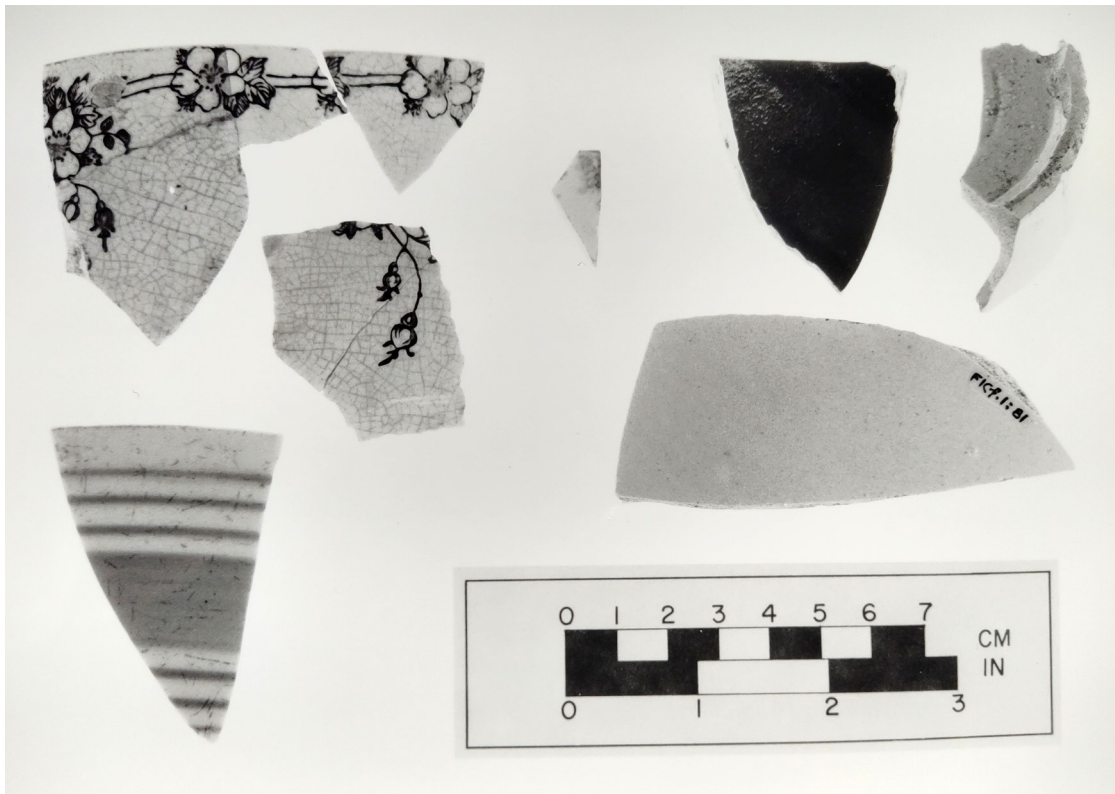


Figure 17: Earthenware ceramics from FICf-1. Rim sherd from large bowl with blue bands (-108); 3 sherds from large bowl with decal decorative border (-162/42, -40); blue transfer-printed sherd (-37); 3 sherds from a molasses jug (-20,81,103).

Figure 18: Top row: 1. clay concretions (-221,-164,-138); 2. glass hemisphere (174); 3. glass stoppers (-225); 4. tin box for safety razor (-111) and razor injector (-149); 5. long bracket (110), short bracket (78) and pair of brackets (135), and iron packing strips (232); 6. perforated lead scrap (-188); 7. key for can (191); 8. small hinge (24); 9. tin caps (117), one of which is perforated (142); 10. paint can lid (-73) and MAGIC BAKING POWDER lid (-70).



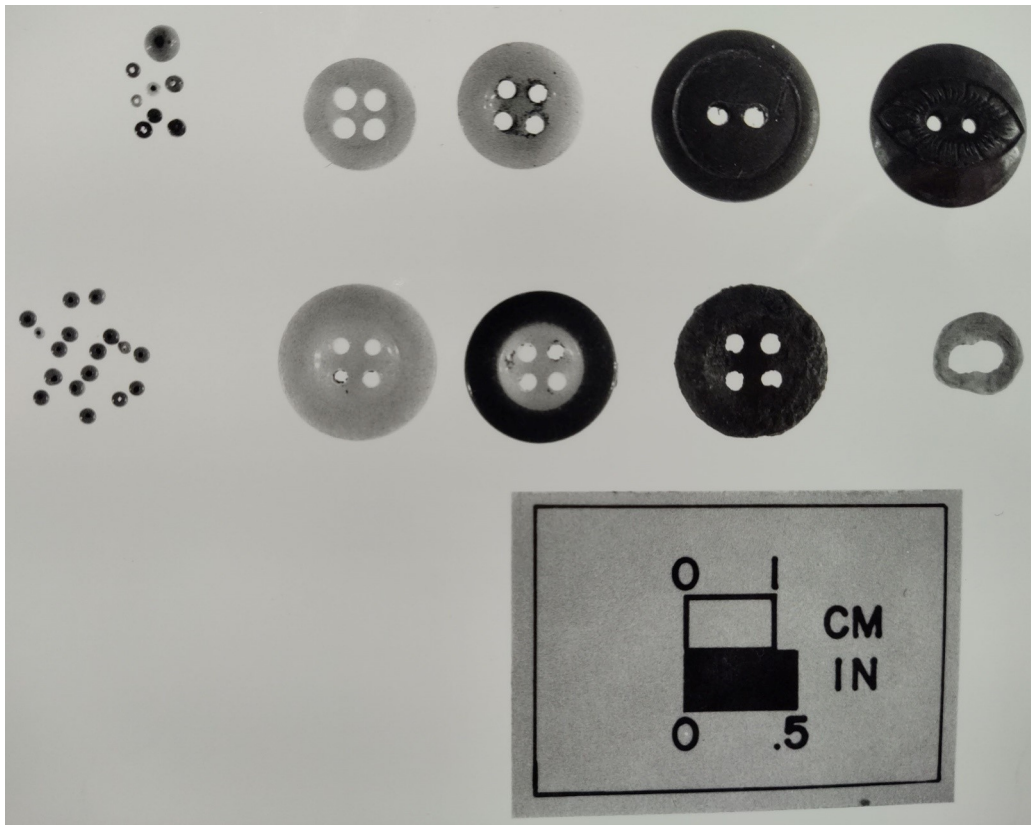


Figure 19: Buttons and beads from Amatshuatakan. Upper (left-to-right): plastic buttons (-184, -98, -93, -219); Lower: white porcelain button (-145), white porcelain button with brown glaze (-101); tin metal button (-60); 2-hole shell button (broken) (-100); small glass beads (-199).

light or something else (probably) we were unable to determine (Figure 18:2).

Clothing and Grooming Related Artifacts

Small bits and scraps of cotton clothing, thread, light weight cotton tent canvas, cut pieces of felt duffel (n=3), nylon cord, cut leather scraps and strips (n=5) attest to domestic chores attending to clothing manufacture and repair.

Buttons

Of eleven buttons that were recovered six are plastic, two are porcelain, two are tin, and one is shell. All were complete except for one small white plastic button broken in half and the shell button whose middle has broken out. (Figure 19).

Beads

Of 30 small drawn glass seed beads recovered 29 are extremely small (17 turquoise, seven blue/dark blue, two red, two white, one clear) (Figure 19). These tiny beads are testimony to the careful excavation work of the team members; they are less than 2 mm in diameter and less than 1 mm in thickness. A

single example of a small globular turquoise bead was also recovered. In comparison, it appears gigantic although still only 4 mm in diameter and 3 mm in thickness.

Buckles & Fasteners

In addition to the scraps of woven cloth a variety of clothing hardware, buckles and pins were recovered: regular safety pins (n=3), a buckle for a cloth coat belt, suspender clasp and a snap (the metal button) for suspenders, a garment buckle and a broken hinge from a boot buckle (Figure 20). A large safety pin, used to close up the flap of a canvas tent was recovered during the 2023 excavation on the knoll (Figure 11).

Personal Hygiene

Artifacts pertaining to personal hygiene include plastic combs (n=4), including two with very finely spaced teeth for removing lice (Figure 21). Numerous broken teeth from green, black and white plastic combs, like matchsticks, were all over the excavated units. Shaving paraphernalia included the bottom of a tin case, 5 x 10 cm, with a stamped sheet insert that is molded to harbor a safety razor and a razor-injector, one of which was found (Figure 18:4).

Tobacco Related Artifacts

Tea, tobacco and flour were among the most sought-after consumables that brought Innu out to the coast and figured significantly in their commerce and trade with the mercantile establishments at Northwest River. In addition to pipes, (none of which were found at Amatshuatakan) the most recognized material correlates of tobacco consumption are tobacco tin tags (Figure 22). Tobacco tin tags in a wide variety of shapes and colors with sharpened prongs were used to identify plug tobacco brands. Stamped from sheets of tin and embossed with com-

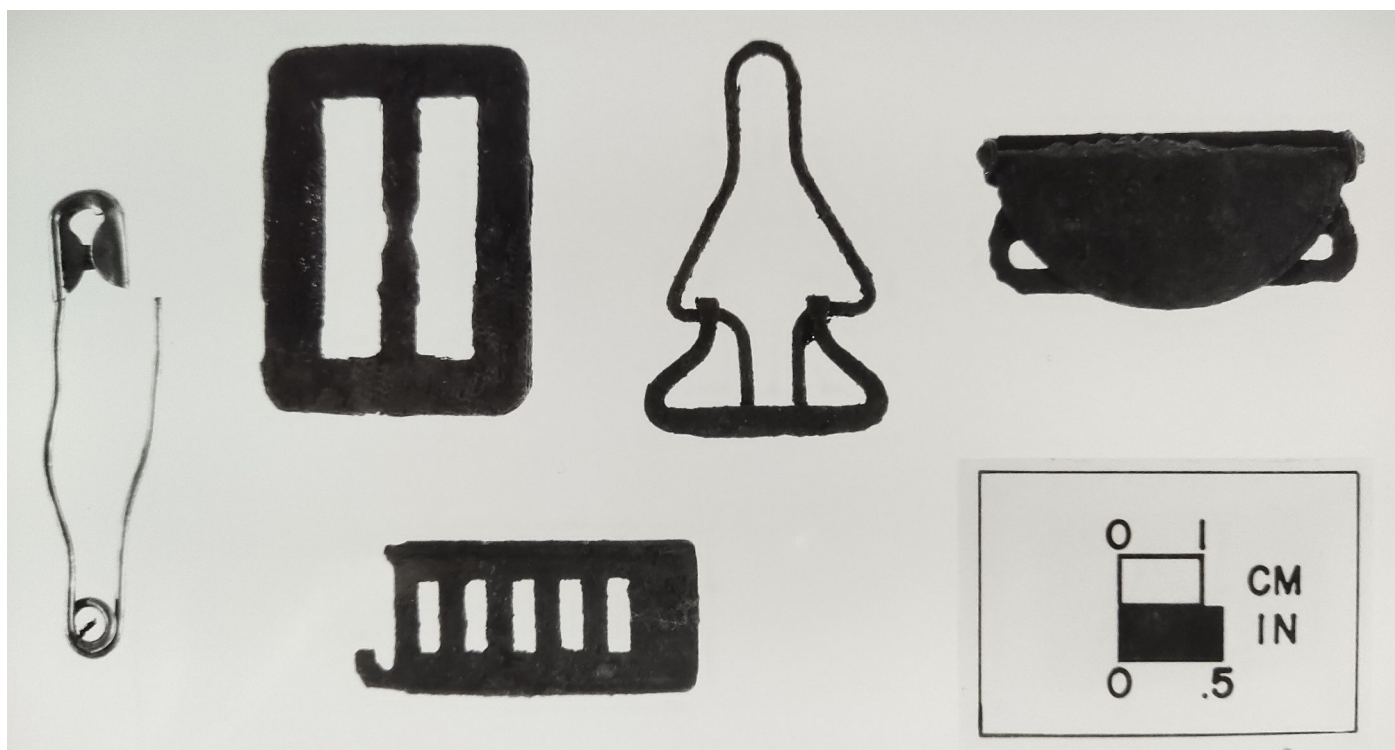


Figure 20: Buckles and pins from Amatshuatakan.
Left-to-right: safety pin (-210), belt buckle (-01), garment buckle (-71), suspender clasp (-38), boot buckle (-71).

Figure 21: Miscellaneous artifacts from Amatshuatakan, 1993: pocket comb (-143/228); comb with handle (-69); lice comb (-139), medicinal tins, Lincoln penny, and three tightly rolled birch-bark tapers.



pany designs and logos they are regularly encountered at late 19th-century and 20th-century Innu sites in Labrador (Loring 1992:520). Plug tobacco was an important item of trade at Davis Inlet in 1903 (Cabot 1920:105-106); in the country it could be shaved into small pieces and mixed with additives such as birch fungus and spruce bark to stretch its use (VanStone 1985:34). Fourteen tobacco tin tags in three different styles were recovered at Amatshuatakan. The most common variety (n=7) is a small heart-shaped tin tag.

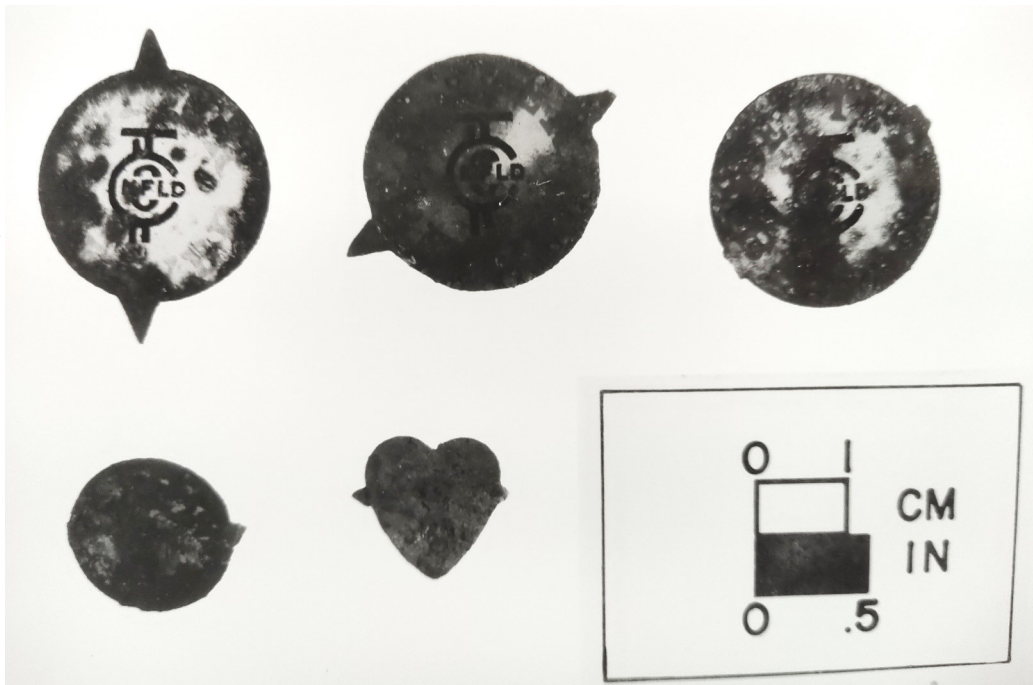


Figure 22: Tobacco tin tags from Amatshuatakan: large circular (-79,227), small circular (-21), heart shaped (-183).

These differ from 19th-century heart-shaped tin tags recovered at Innu sites at Indian House Lake (Samson 1978:201) which all had a smaller heart-shaped cutout of the center. A second variety (n=6) is a circular tag 25mm in diameter, the face of the tag was painted yellow with red lettering around the margin BETTER BEAVER surrounding a black company logo in the center. The logo appears to be a design incorporating the letters I, T, C, O, surrounding NFLD. A third variety (n=2) is a small circular tag 18mm in diameter. Unfortunately, rust has obscured any painted design it might have one time had.

Medicine and Food Products

Over-the-counter medicinal and health products in the collection include the plastic cap to an ointment tube; a BAYER Aspirin tin (12 tablets for \$.18); VICKS VapoRub screw cap and an aluminum label: MADE IN ENGLAND BY HOUNSELLS BRIDPORT LIMITED (Figure 21).

Tin Cans

Five different types of tin cans were collected including 1) a small rectangular tin box (8 x 11 cm), 2) small paint can (n=2) and paint can lids, 3) oval snuff/tobacco tins (n=8), 4) baking powder tins (n=6), and 5) a single small round can 8 cm tall, 7.5 cm in diameter with a central round hole on the lid. A number of small tin caps 1" in diameter (n=6) appear

to have been crimped onto a cardboard container. That there were so many suggests they must have been from a popular item, perhaps from tobacco containers (?) (Figure 18:9). Baking powder came in cardboard containers with tin tops and bottoms. The top lid had the stamped embossed message: MAGIC BAKING POWDER PURE WHOLESOME (Figure 18:10). Finally, additional tin scrap included: a screw-cap lid to glass jars, 6.5 cm in diameter (n=1); and cut pieces, scrap raw material, cut from the sides of tin cans. A key for opening canned meat suggests a recent visit to town as it would be unlikely that heavy canned store-bought food would be carried far into the country (Figure 18:10).

Domestic Camp Debris

A surprisingly diverse amount of hardware was found scattered about the Amatshuatakan tent site excavations. We did not notice any concentrations or associations that might delineate a specific task activity area. Congealed green paint, canvas scraps and small copper nails are pretty good evidence of canoe construction and maintenance, but they are found scattered about not as one might suspect in close association.

Hardware

It is hard to imagine that at any one time, any group would carry with them the wide variety of

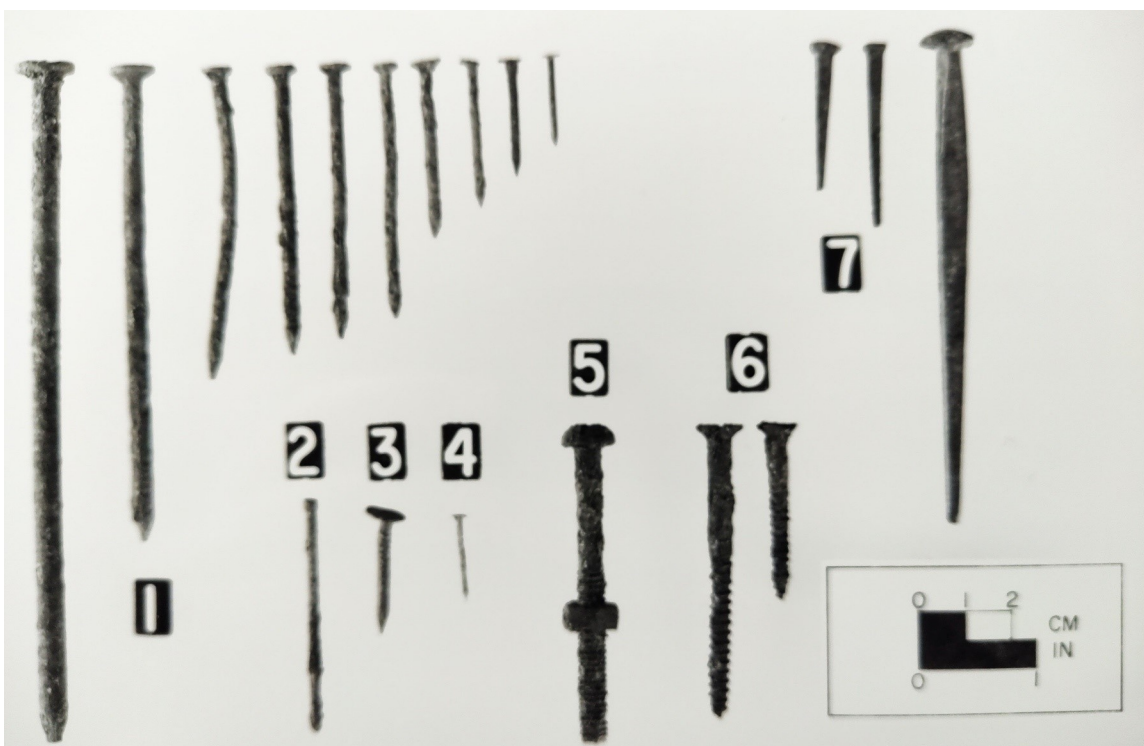


Figure 23: Nails, Nuts, Screws and Bolts. 1. Wire Nails (left-to-right): 6" (-49), 4" (-214), 3" (-214), 2 1/2" (-158), 2 1/4", 2" (-64), 1 1/2" (-64), 1 1/4" (-64), 1" (-158), 3/4" (-214); 2. 2" finishing nail (-198); 3. 1" roofing nail (-158); 4. 3/4" copper tack (-68); 5. 2 1/2" 1/4" bolt (-215); 6. wood screws 2 1/2" (-214), 1 1/2" (-214); 7. machine cut nails 1 1/4" (-14), 1 1/2" (-157), 4" (-17)

Figure 24: Tin back to alarm clock.





Figure 25: Ammunition. Top: lead sprue (-118); .22 short w/"D" headstamp; .22 long with "D" headstamp; 2 .22 long cartridges, "H" headstamp and silver casings (all .22 cartridges are -181); 30 caliber cartridge case, Winchester Repeating Arms Company (-214); .30-.30 caliber cartridge case, Dominion (-46); .44 caliber cartridge case, Winchester. Bottom: shotgun shells: Dominion 12 ga. (-153); Remington 12 ga. (-241); Dominion 12 ga. (-241); Dominion 16 ga. (-16); Leader 20 ga. (-16); Dominion 28 ga. (-155).

nails, bolts, and screws recovered at the camping site (Figure 23). The diversity is perhaps one of the best demonstrations of the use and reuse of the site over time.

Bolts

Two 1/2" long 1/4" bolt with nut (n=1); small washer 1/2" diameter

Machine cut nails

The largest of these at 4" (n=1) appears quite old and may predate much of the assemblage (although it might derive from old stock lying about the Hudson Bay Company store); 1 1/2" (n=1); 1 1/4" (n=2).

Wire nails

6" (n=1); 4" (n=2); 3" (n=1); 2 1/2" long (n=13); 2 1/4" (n=26); 2" (n=34); 2" finishing (n=2); 1 1/2" (n=16); 1 1/4" (n=7); 1" (n=6); 1" roofing (n=2); 3/4" (n=1); 3/4" copper tack (n=1); fragments (n=2).

Wood screws

Two 1/2" (n=1); 1 1/2" (n=1)

of heavy gauge wire -the longest piece is 11") and wire handles from a lard bucket or syrup can (n=2); iron and heavy tin brackets for crate construction (Figure 18:5); small hinges (n=2) (Figure 18:8); and pieces of a cast iron stove lid or rim (n=14).

Discarded pieces of metal include a small scrap of melted lead and a 9x5cm rectangular piece of sheet lead in which a row of nail holes had been punched in along one edge (Figure 18:6); a somewhat thicker block of lead was recovered in 2023 (Figure 11:lower left).

Strips and rectangular pieces of galvanized tin likely resulting from tin stove manufacturing or repair (n=6).

Miscellaneous

Two unusual and unexpected items recovered included a 1926 US Lincoln penny and, most surprising, the back to a spring-driven alarm clock (Figure 24).

Small tightly wound little rolls of birch-bark (n=5) between 3.5 and 5 cm in width and when un-

Numerous scraps of folded and flattened aluminum foil littered the campsite (n=26+). The foil was a heavier gauge than that in common kitchen use today. When unfolded many of the pieces were rectangular, roughly 20x15 cm and had sealed edges as if they had been a pouch protecting some product. I suspect that these might be liners from small bags of tobacco, perhaps snuff. Other pieces have served various camp functions including cooking. Many pieces had been heavily burned as if the package had been discarded into a stove.

Additional miscellaneous bits of hardware include wire bits (a single piece of braided two-ply wire and five small pieces

rolled between 5 and 9 cm long were collected including one which was contained in a small hinged-tin box (Figure 21). Unfortunately, I neglected to ask Napes Ashini or the Penashues how these might have served, perhaps as secured tapers to help start a fire.

Quite a few small clay concretions were carried up from the river's edge and distributed about the campsite. In the course of our excavations, we collected 16. These included round circular ball shaped concretions, rods, and strange zoomorphological shapes. None showed any evidence of alterations or use and we suspect they were picked up as novelties by children to play with.

Other lithic objects at the site include a small slate roofing shingle fragment that has parallel-scored lines and has been polished from use as a small whetstone. Two pieces of broken quartz were recovered, neither shows any use wear but one is splattered with red and green paint.

Subsistence Activities

Fishing Tackle

Despite the proximity of excellent fishing waters only a pair of artifacts relating to fishing were recovered. A large (size 4) silver-coated metal spinner, engraved A.L.W. TORONTO and a single large barbed hook both appropriate tackle for *kukamess* and *tshinusheu* (lake trout and pike) (Figure 14). While no evidence of nets was recognized almost certainly they were used which would account for the paucity of other fishing gear.

Ammunition

Rifle cartridges (Figure 25) include 25 long and one short .22-caliber cartridges (3 have silver-colored steel cases with an "H" stamped on the base, the rest are brass with a "D" stamped on the base) and 6 large caliber cartridges:

Two .30 cartridges, headstamp reads: W.R.A.Co. 30 W.C.F.

Two .303 cartridges, headstamp reads: D.C.Co. .303 S.

One .32 caliber cartridge

One .44 cartridge, headstamp reads: W.R.A.Co. 44 W.C.F.

Ten brass shotgun castings include the following:

Six 12-gauge shells:

One REM-UMC No12 NEW CLUB

One DOMINION No12 IMPERIAL

Made in Canada

Four DOMINION No12 EMPTY

Made in Canada

One 16-gauge shell:

DOMINION No16 EMPTY

Made in Canada

One 20-gauge shell:

1901 No20 LEADER

Two 28-gauge shells:

DOMINION No28 CANUCK

Made in Canada

The variety of firearms as evidenced by the different rifle and shotgun cartridges is substantially different from the earlier 19th century Innu sites at Indian House Lake (Samson 1975) and along the central Labrador coast (Loring 1992) where artifact assemblages are dominated by 44-40 cartridges. The diversity suggests both access to several different purveyors and to reoccupation of the camping area over time, as it seems unlikely that the small family bands traveling together would carry so many different rifles and shotguns. The only gun part recovered was a brass swivel screw from a rifle stock.

Faunal Analysis

Altogether only 26 animal bone fragments were recovered. As the bone was in good condition, the small amount of remains is probably attributable to cultural practices such as disposing of animal remains in the stove or on scaffolds or specially designated areas. Certain elements of prey species, including skulls, antlers, beaks and wings, are often left suspended on trees at the margin of Innu camps (Loring 1983, Innu Nation 1993:9-11) as propitiatory offerings and probably figure in the scarcity of animal remains at the site. The animal bones that were recovered were sent to Dr. Arthur Spiess (Maine Historic Preservation Commission) who has had over fifty years' experience working with faunal remains from Labrador. He identified eight porcupine, two snowshoe hare, two canis (impossible to tell if a dog or wolf), one caribou, two small duck (goldeneye or bufflehead) and 11 unidentified bones (pers. comm. 15 October 1997). None of the bone fragments were from elements that duplicated one another so it's one individual animal of each species mentioned. The mammal long bone shaft fragments had been chewed by a dog and digested. The ducks indicate the site was occupied during open water. No burned or calcined

bone fragments were present.

Some thoughts on the assemblage

Almost certainly, there is more to be gleaned from beneath the lichen and moss at Amatshuatakan. For the historic period the use of canvas tents erected with wooden poles and stakes and heated by tin stoves have left few architectural (if any) traces (Figure 26) compared to the remains from earlier sites when skin tents secured with hold-down stones and raised earthen walls with carefully constructed central stone hearths were used. It is quite possible that a few of the artifacts recovered might date to the late 19th-century (some of the crockery, the .44 caliber cartridge, machine cut nails) but clearly most of the assemblage dates to the early-mid 20th century. The “litter” which forms a fairly continuous spread across all of the excavation units at Amatshuatakan is in striking contrast to the paucity of manufactured items, often limited to a few ceramic sherds, rifle cartridges and tobacco tin tags, recovered from late-19th/early 20th century Innu sites in the interior (at

Mistinibi, Kamestastin and Indian House Lake). The artifact assemblage from Amatshuatakan provides a stark material culture signature to the pervasive changes in Innu lifeways as they increasingly came to participate in and rely on external economic and governmental influences. The challenge for archaeologists, with their predisposition to equate culture with the things they find and can hold in their hands, and for Western society to equate wealth and prosperity with a dense diversity of things, is never to lose sight of the intangible knowledge, language and stories that link people, other-than-human-beings, land and animals. In short, the paucity of earlier material culture remains should not necessarily be construed to imply the absence of Innu, or their ancestors. There is after all the evidence of the trail itself.

Oral narratives from the Field Notes

A central tenet of the Pathways project, in addition to providing formal training in archaeological methods and theory, was to create an opportunity for the young Innu participants to be in the country

Figure 26: Breaking camp, a scene along the Amatshuatakan trail, August 1921. Rolling up the tent canvas after an overnight camp with the tent poles and stakes in background.

Photo by William Brooks Cabot WBC 1921-30, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.





Figure 27: Tshenish’s party at a rest stop and boil-up after the first steep climb on the Amatshuatakan trail, August 1921. Photo by William Brooks Cabot WBC 1921-35, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.

in the company of older hunters and Elders who had been born and brought up in the country and to whom we could turn to for discussions and explanations about the places we were visiting and interpret the function and use of the things we found. Earlier, back in Sheshatshit, when talking about Innu culture history, I would stop and say, “you know I am just making this all up...that I’ve been taught a certain way of seeing things and drawing conclusions, that I believe are true but may, or may not be”. Now, in the country, it was easy to defer for explanations to Napes Ashini and the Penashues and to endeavor to think about “history” in profoundly different ways. Often in the evenings after meals, and with the children settling down, we would gather in the Penashue’s tent to hear other ways of knowing about Innu history and heritage. The following account was

compiled from notes on listening to Mary-Adele and Louie Penashue compiled by Catherine Penashue, Edwina Jack, Richard Nuna, Richard Abraham and Sylvester Antuan:

It has been forty years since Mary-Adele and Louie had traveled over the old portage trail. They saw lots of places where people had once camped (Figs.26-27). Today all the sticks for the tents have fallen and rotted away. People stopped using the trail when their grandfathers passed away. They no longer remember all the names of the lakes that they traveled but they used to go a long way, the trail is older than the village [Sheshatshit]. The old people who used the trail like Antuan Ashini, Akuankush and Stuasbish Pinip, that used it are now dead. The trail led to almost all the lakes in the northern part of the country, it’s the route the Davis Inlet people used to travel. Everyone used it, it was like a migration trail that the caribou make. People used to make the shaking tent here, right

where Louis Montague now has his cabin. Mary-Adele allowed as it had been. maybe fifty years since she had seen the shaking tent. She remembers how people would gather around the tent; no noise could be made when the shaman went inside to call the animal spirits. The shaman was Uashaunipan (Atuan Ashini). He played the drum. Afterwards the men would go hunting. They would be gone five nights. They would return and they would honor the shaman by giving him the best caribou, the one with the most fat. They would have a mukushan and all the people from the camps along the river would be invited. Then the families departed for their winter camps only to return when supplies were needed. Sometimes the men would leave their families here and make a trip to Northwest River for supplies.

The other shamans were Uatsbatsbish, Stuasbish Pinip and Meskinapen. In the shaking tent the shamans could contact each other, learn where the animals were and treat sickness. The tent was built with uskasku [ushkuai - birch] or uatnantuk. Shamanism was about dreams and about singing and about the drum. All the beliefs were based on the dreams. The shamans would know if something bad was coming.

Once a powerful shaman Akuankushipan was canoeing across a lake with his wife who was pregnant. The wind came up and they began to take a lot of water over the side. Finally the old man stood up, stepped out of the canoe and stood on the water in the middle of the lake! He then proceeded to unload the canoe and dump out the water and load it back again.

One night, in response

to a question, Mr. Penashue begun an account of a time when as a young man he and his family had come across the trail to Amatshuatakan in desperate circumstances:

"In the old days, everybody lived in nutshimit and everything was fine, except for starvation. The food would run out and that is when the problems started."

His was a harrowing account of a midwinter

**Figure 28: On the Amatshuatakan trail August 1921.
Photo by William Brooks Cabot WBC 1921-28, NAA, Smithsonian Institution.**





Figure 29: Edwina Jack and Catherine Penashue beside the Amatshuatakan trail October 1993.

themselves on their ability to move fast and efficiently across the land (Henriksen 1973:20-24). Resource procurement strategies, centered on caribou predation, and kinship ties created a web of social engagement that could serve to buffer local resource shortfalls. Mobility figured significantly in the success of this adaptation and was facilitated by transportation technologies-snowshoes and toboggans in winter, canoes in summer-the manufacture and use of which were integral to every family. In Labrador, but also significantly throughout the North (Andrews and Zoe 1997, Holyoke

and Hrynck 2015), portages are prominent features in knowing the land, yet, with relatively few exceptions, they tend not to figure in discussions of settlement-subsistence patterns that tend to focus on seasonal encampments of long (or long-ish) duration. An essential feature of portage sites is the transient nature of their function, a place that facilitated access to other places and resources. Prior to their engagement with mercantile and later ecclesiastical and governmental contacts the Innu were self-sufficient and able to construct the whole of their material needs –tools, clothing, and housing-as desired. Their transient lifestyle, the necessity to be able to move quickly and assuredly, in response to the movement and acquisition of game, unburdened by excessive equipment and appliances, may help contribute to an explanation of the paucity of earlier materials being found at Amatshuatakan. However, fundamentally underlying the assumption of previous land-use and occupancy is the invisibility-or nearly so-of an Innu presence, at least as far as archaeology is concerned. Ironically, as the portage trail itself asserts, their footprints are everywhere. As archaeologists, trained to interpret the past relying almost entirely on tangible objects, there is a tendency to equate the absence of things as an

End of Project

Kevin MacAleese, with the Historic Resources Division, with his own keen interest in Innu history, joined us towards the end of the fieldwork and accompanied us back to town. He oversaw the subsequent cleaning and cataloging of the collection and helped to arrange a student-led presentation to the Sheshatshit community. After which the collections were packaged and sent to the Newfoundland Museum (now The Rooms) for curation pending a proper storage facility being constructed on Innu land.

On Portages

“In a perfect world, portages would not exist...”
(Sherratt 2006).

It is in the country that so much of Innu identity and heritage reside. Only relatively recently that age old strategies that facilitated a far-flung social interaction network all across Nitassinan have been constrained by village life. A prominent feature of the successful adaptation that 19th century, and earlier, Innu groups shared was their remarkable mobility (Loring 1992: 165-170). Innu have always prided

indication of poverty, ignoring the complexity of geographic knowledge and the profound depth of their engagement with the intangible world of the animal masters and other-than-human-beings. It is not until after the middle of the 20th-century that transitions to village residence and dependence on social and economic influences from afar that manufactured products (paper, glass, plastic, etc.) replace traditional material culture (wood, skin and bone) and dramatically transform their appearance in the archaeological record. Even then their signature on the land can be a slight one (Loring and Jenkinson 2018:182).

Portages facilitate getting from place to place. In that respect the Pathways project, the first to explicitly involve Innu with the practice of archaeology, paved the way for Innu Nation to design and initiate archaeological research on their own (Loring, McCaffrey, Armitage and Ashini 2003). It also set the standard for involving Innu in cultural resource mitigation at mega-projects like the Voisey's Bay mine and the hydroelectric development of the Lower Churchill River. Pathways participants have figured significantly in transferring an awareness of archaeology practice and interpretations throughout Innu communities and through experiential education initiatives like the Tshikapisk Foundation (<https://nlarchaeology.wordpress.com/2015/03/13/archaeology-kamestastin-lake-the-tshikapisk-foundation/>). The trail started down by Pathways in hopes of creating opportunities for Innu to explore their heritage promises to be an exciting one. Innu involvement with archaeology, in liberating it from the exclusive confines of the academy, can foster an appreciation and understanding of Innu history and heritage that speaks to the future.

At Amatshuatakan, nearly a century apart, much has changed but the indelible link between the Innu and the land endures (Figs. 28-29).

Postscript: In 2022, Innu Nation proposed Amatshuatakan to the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Parks Canada as a significant feature of the Meshikamau-shipu Travel Route National Historical Event.

Acknowledgments

Archaeological reports such as this seem poor compensation for the extraordinary kindness, patience and friendship of Innu families and friends down through the years. I am painfully conscious of

my inability to express my appreciation for this generosity and can only hope that our work and travels together have brought some measure of inspiration, amusement, and pride. The Pathways project was deeply honored to be accompanied into the country by Louie and Mary-Adell Penashue whose wisdom, gravitas and life-experiences served to connect us to Innu values and traditions and by Napes Ashini (accompanied by Katie Rich and Mr. T). Pathways participants included Richard Abraham, Sylvester Antuan, Dominic Rich, Cathrine Penashue, Richard Nuna, Edwina Jack, Edmund Benuen, and Dominic Penunsi. Research was conducted with an Archaeological Investigation Permit issued by the Historic Resources Division, Department of Tourism and Culture, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (under the auspices of Martha Drake and Bernard Ransom) and the support of Innu Nation, with funding provided by Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Education Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission through the Pathways to Success program (thanks to Carter Russell and Sharon Kendall at the Canada Employment Centre, Happy Valley for facilitating this), the Innu Band Council at Sheshatshit and the Smithsonian Institution's Arctic Studies Center. I am extremely grateful to Sheilagh Henry with the Innu Resource Centre and Kevin MacAleese with the Historic Resources Division for their help in pulling the program together and seeing it through to completion. Dr. Arthur Spiess, Archaeologist with the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, examined the faunal remains. The return to Amatshuatakan in 2023 was with a permit from the Provincial Archaeology Office overseen by Dr. Jamie Brake. Fieldwork was conducted with Anthony Jenkinson and only possible by the graciousness of Marcel Ashini and the loan of his speedboat. The significant drop in the level of the river and an unanticipated need to hurriedly return to town brought it back to him a little worse for wear. Another debt I need to repay.

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Turpin's Island, Little St. Lawrence, CfAu-05

Small Scale Archaeological and Paleoenvironmental Excavation

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Memorial University



Figure 1: Turpin's Island (CfAu-05) location in Little St. Lawrence Harbour.

Little St. Lawrence is located on the southeastern side of the Burin Peninsula, on what is called the Chapeau Rouge Coast after the mountain that borders the western side of the entrance of St. Lawrence Harbour (Figure 1). Little St. Lawrence Bay lay just east of St. Lawrence Harbour. Turpin's Island (CfAu-05), a small peninsula extending from the east side of Little St. Lawrence Harbour, has been recognized as a high

potential site since 2006, associated with European and possibly precontact occupations.

The Great History of Little St. Lawrence

The earliest accounts and maps of Newfoundland mention St. Lawrence or Chapeau Rouge (the Mountain located on the west side of St. Lawrence Harbour) suggesting that the area was known since the first half of the 16th century. The toponym St. Lorens first appears in *Cosmographie universelle, selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes* written and illustrated by the cartographer Guillaume Le Testu, published in 1555 (Figure 2). More than the antiquity of the designation of St. Lawrence Harbour by European cartographers, it seems that in the second half of the 16th century, St. Lawrence, and especially the very noticeable feature of the Chapeau Rouge Mountain, became a landmark in pilot books and navigation charts of Newfoundland and the Strait of Cabot. A good example is the pilot book of Martin de Hoyarsabal (1579) which gives routes to and from St. Lawrence: “[...] Giset port de Belin & **S. Laures**, est suest & oest norroest, y a 6. L. [...] Gisent la **montaigne qu’est à l’entrée de S. Laures**, & le cap de S. Marie Norroest & suest, y a 15. Lieuës”. This information entails that St. Lawrence was used by fishing crews in the early 16th century, as cod fishing was the reason for the European presence in the area.

In terms of cultural affiliation, it is likely that Basque crews fished in the area during the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. Laurier Turgeon (1986:532-533) demonstrated that a majority of the vessels outfitted in Bordeaux in the second half of the 16th century were from the Basque Country (Saint-Jean-de-Luz and Gipuzkoa), and that the majority of them fished for cod. His research also showed that Placentia Bay was an important fishing destination for the Basque ships in the 16th century. An archival record mentions a Basque ship in Little St. Lawrence in 1597: In “Great and Little St. Lawrence, encountering



Figure 2: Detail of *Cosmographie universelle, selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes* by Guillaume Le Testu (1555) showing Saint Lorenz (Gallica).

one Spanish ship at the former and “certain Basks” at the latter” (David Quinn 1979:68-75 cited in Penney 2009:13-14). Prowse (1895:48) cites an archive indicating that the “French fishery of 1640 superseded an earlier Basque presence at both San Lorenz Audia and San Lorenz Chumea, Great and Little St. Lawrence”. Besides the discovery of Basque tiles in Placentia, the Basque cod fishery of the South Coast of Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon is almost totally unknown archaeologically. Indeed, most archaeological projects pertaining to Basque settlements have been associated with the iconic whaling stations located in the Strait of Belle Isle and along the St. Lawrence River (Losier et al. 2018).

Archives provide further insight into the French occupation of Little St. Lawrence. The 1662 *Règlement établi à Saint-Malo suite aux « abus des capitaines qui vont à la pesche de la morue à la coste du chapeau rouge et lieux circonuoisins* mentions that Little St. Lawrence Harbour can accommodate a fishing crew of 60 men while Great St. Lawrence can welcome 150 men (Harvut 1893:23-26). The census written in 1676 by Lieutenant Courcelle on the back of a Newfoundland map reports one fishing vessel in St. Lawrence, and five in Great St. Lawrence. The French accounts of Great and Little St. Lawrence are very interesting, but the relationship between the French (Bretons or Normans) and Basques fisherfolks is difficult to deci-

pher. As it will be discussed later, it seems that Basque tile fragments are found in association with French artefacts, which can suggest contemporaneity between the occupations, or be evidence of mixed crews. However, archives indicate that there is a distinction between the French and Basque ships, and maybe by extension, of the Chapeau Rouge Coast settlements (Prowse 1895:48; Turgeon 1986:532). This question is interesting and will command in-depth study of documentary sources and archaeological contexts.

Amanda Crompton (2017) in her publication “The Atlantic Travels of Henri Brunet, a Migrant Merchant in the Seventeenth-Century French Newfoundland” mentions two accounts of Henri Brunet travelling to St. Lawrence and Little St. Lawrence. First, in 1672, Henri Brunet goes to Petit St. Laurence to visit a man named Fontanelle from Grandville in Normandy (Crompton 2017: 121-122). In 1674, Henri Brunet visits St. Laurence again and meets a man named La Rue who sent for his brother fishing in a nearby harbour to join them for the night (Crompton 2017: 122). This harbour could be Little St. Lawrence. This information is invaluable as it gives us the names of two people associated with St. Lawrence and Little St. Lawrence during the French tenure of the South Coast of Newfoundland.

Another account of the French presence at Little St. Lawrence is provided by William Taverner, who mentions in his second report (1718) written in the aftermath of the War of the Spanish Succession: “There ffishes one planter, who hath not taken the Oath, he caught the last year about 280 Quintls of ffish p boat, there are Two ffish^s Roomes. for Ships, which is all fflakes”. The important aspect of this quote is the fact that there are two fishing rooms in Little St. Lawrence Harbour. William Taverner also mentions that the planter living in Little St. Lawrence during his visit did not take the Oath to the British crown during his visit, suggesting that this man was

French and probably left for Île Royale or France soon after (Taverner 1718:230-231). This archive supports the fact that Little St. Lawrence was used by French crews for fishing and processing cod that was laid out to dry on the shore installations.

The replacement of French by English fisherfolk in Newfoundland¹ and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) is certainly not as drastic as it is sometimes portrayed in the historical narrative. French settlers were given the choice to either retreat to France, or another French territory like Île Royale (Cape Breton Island), or to take the Oath to the British Crown in order to keep their fishing premises. In fact, Taverner's survey (1714; 1718) along with some research by Olaf Janzen (1987; 2013) and Livingston & Losier (2021) indicate

that the French presence continued after 1713, particularly in Saint-Pierre, in Baie d'Espoir and on the Southwest Coast of Newfoundland (Cape Ray, Codroy) up until 1755 depending on the settlement (Janzen 2013).

The state of Little St. Lawrence occupation is (for the moment) unknown until 1767. English planters and merchants were active in Placentia, Placentia Bay and in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. Therefore, we can assume that it was connected to the English fishery if any activities were taking place in Little St. Lawrence between 1718 and 1767. In 1767, Captain James Cook charted Great and Little St. Lawrence and noted "...severall inhabitants employ'd in the Fishery and likewise severall Stages and Fishing Rooms and convenient places for severall more" at

Figure 3: Canada Archives *A chart of the sea-coast of Newfoundland between St. Lawrence and Point May survey'd by order of Hugh Palliser esqr. commodore & c. & c. by James Cook (1765) (Archives Canada).*



Great St. Lawrence, but no inhabitants at Little St. Lawrence (Cook 1767 cited in Penney 2009: 15). Indeed, Cook's 1767 map seems to suggest that no fishing stations were active in Little St. Lawrence as the stages depicted in yellow on his map indicate a convenient place to build a stage, not an actual one (Figure 3). It seems likely that Cook placed the stages on the foundations of the two fishing rooms described by Taverner in 1718. Indeed, as it is the case today, the foundations of the stages may have been visible at low tide when he visited the harbour. This map was probably made to encourage English planters to settle on the South Coast of Newfoundland as it indicates 47 sites suitable for new fishing establishments

¹It needs to be mentioned that the first iteration of the French Shore was put in place in 1713. French crews were allowed to fish but not overwinter in Newfoundland between Pointe Riche and Cap Bonavista.

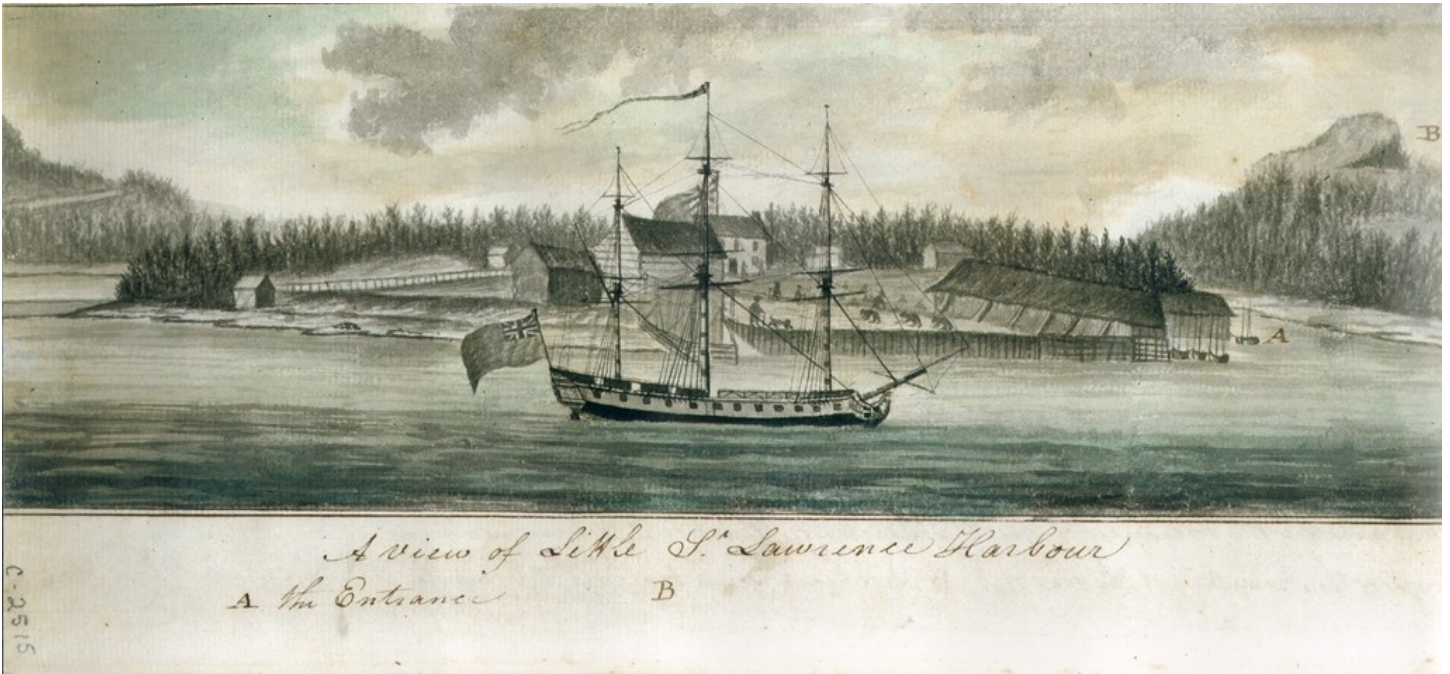


Figure 4: View of Turpin's Island (Penney 2015: 23) (Top).

Figure 5: Little St. Lawrence Harbour (Meres, HMS Pegasus, July 14th 1786) (Canada Archives) (Bottom).

(Whiteley 1975: 20). This survey may have influenced the decision of Robert Newman & Co. to use Little St. Lawrence as a company base.

It is in 1784 that Little St. Lawrence was established as a base for the Newman & Co. fishing enterprise (Matthews 2003). Soon after, the bustling trade in Little St. Lawrence prompted the opening of additional branches in Burin and Little Bay in Fortune Bay (Matthews 2003). When Newman & Co. move its headquarters from St. John's to Harbour Breton in 1812 (Maritime Archives), records leave us uncertain about the continued operation of the Little St. Lawrence premise. However, the company persisted in its operations along the South Coast of Newfoundland until 1907, when Newman & Co. finally withdrew from Newfoundland (Maritime Archives). The Newman & Co. fishing settlement was captured

in drawing by James S. Meres a member of the crew of the *HMS Pegasus*, which brought Prince William Henry (future King William IV, 1830-1837) in Newfoundland. *HMS Pegasus* sailed along the Chapeau Rouge Coast and visited several harbours including Little St. Lawrence (Figures 4 and 5). James S. Meres also draws a chart of Little St. Lawrence harbour with the mooring emplacement of the *Pegasus* (*Pegasus Log Book 1786*: c-2516). In the *Pegasus* logbook where the chart is visible, it is mentioned, "people are employed variously" in Little St. Lawrence.

Information pertaining to the 19th-century occupation of Little St. Lawrence as not yet been collected. We can assume that fishing continued in Little St. Lawrence whether associated with Newman & Co or not. At the beginning of the 20th century, a short-lived economic revolution took place in Little St.

Lawrence with the construction of a whaling station by Ludwig Rissmüller in 1903. Hunting began on November 1st 1903, when the Norwegian-built catcher *St. Lawrence* was commissioned. That year, seven whales were caught before the end of the season (Dickinson and Sanger 2005: 57). Little St. Lawrence station's catch in 1904 was 112 whales, including 37 blue whales, 65 fin whales, 9 humpback whales and 1 sei whale. Of the fourteen shore stations in Newfoundland and Labrador, Little St. Lawrence comes at the fifth rank in terms of the number of whales caught. This is a testament to the importance of the station. The factory produced 192 024 gallons of oil, 502 tons of guano (fertilizer) and 200 tons of bones (Dickinson and Sanger 2005:67) along with “glue, canned meat and sausages developed by Ludwig Rissmüller as an experiment that is thought will become a marketable commodity” (Dickinson and Sanger 2005:73).

Already in 1905, whale catches began to decline, and the Department of Fisheries suggested that caution be exercised against over-hunting, as it was unlikely that the stock could sustain the level of exploitation of 1903 and 1904 (Dickinson and Sanger 2005:73). This recommendation was ignored. In 1905, the *St. Lawrence* catcher brought in 70 whales, the station processed 21 whales in 1906 and 30 in 1907, before the Little St. Lawrence station was liqui-

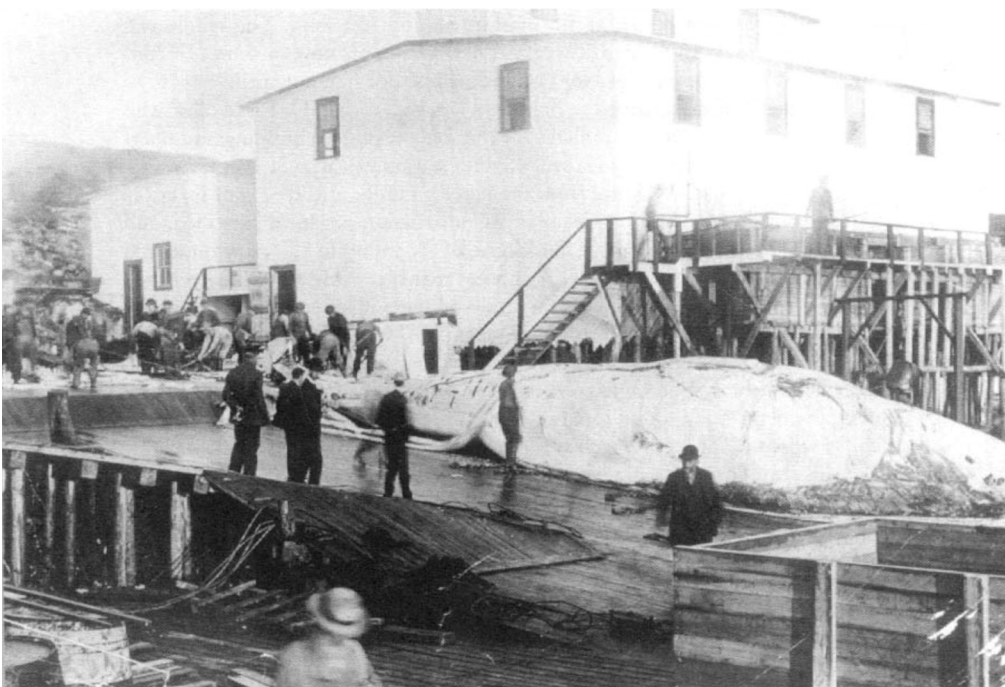
dated that year. Ludwig Rissmüller and the catchers *St. Lawrence* and *Mic Mac* (who was also in activity on the South Coast of Newfoundland) sets sail to British Columbia to continue their careers in the whaling industry (Dickinson and Sanger 2005:107-113). Ludwig Rissmüller, who moved from Newfoundland to British Columbia to work with Sprott Balcom at the Pacific Whaling Company, informs us of the names of some of the workers at the Little St. Lawrence station between 1903 and 1907. Indeed, some of them followed Ludwig Rissmüller to British Columbia. We learn that Charles Smith and Edward “Ned” Scalpen were involved in construction of the Little St. Lawrence station, M.F. Carrol supervised the sale of Little St. Lawrence and Captain George Le Marquand was the manager of Little St. Lawrence station.

According to Little St. Lawrence community members and K. Stuart Barnable (2006:14), the St. Lawrence Whaling Co. was not located on Turpin's Island proper, but across the bay on the west coast of the harbour. The photograph of the station also suggests this, as the hill in the background does not match Turpin's Island landscape (Figure 6). The detailed account of whaling in Little St. Lawrence was provided because it is not impossible that some activities associated with the whaling industry could have affected Turpin's Island landscape.

To conclude this section based on archives

and secondary sources, it should be noted that Turpin's Island might have been affected by the Burin tsunami of 1929. Alan Ruffman (1996: Map 1 cited in Penney 2009: 10) “concludes that the tsunami flooded to 13 meters above sea level in Great St. Lawrence Harbour, swamping Shingle Point and the near-shore to the southeast, as well as penetrating well into the woods backing Blue Beach Cove”. The impact of this event must be considered with respect to Little St. Lawrence archaeology. An aerial photograph took in 1949 shows two buildings on

Figure 6: Flensing at Little St. Lawrence, c. 1906
(R. Street in Dickinson and Sanger 2005:58).



Turpin's Island, in the area where we can still see two concrete blocks on the site (Figure 7). These buildings are most likely associated with the Turpin family who lived on the peninsula in the 20th century. The whaling station, the tsunami, and 20th-century buildings may have disturbed earlier occupations.

Turpin's Island Archaeology

Historical accounts of the Chapeau Rouge, St. Lawrence, and Little St. Lawrence, as well as the maps depicting the west side of Placentia Bay, the Burin Peninsula and more generally the South Coast of Newfoundland leave little doubt regarding the continued importance

of the Chapeau Rouge region since the beginning of the early 16th century. Little St. Lawrence was identified as a high potential site when K. Stuart Barnable conducted the Heritage Inventory of the Burin Peninsula in 2006. K. Stuart Barnable listed five places of interest in Little St. Lawrence as reported by local informants (Barnable 2006:10). While the interpretation of some features and places of interest may need to be re-evaluated, this does not diminish the historical importance of Little St. Lawrence, and brought this site to the attention of archaeologists. Turpin's Island was assigned a Borden number CfAu-05 by the Provincial Archaeology Office in 2007 after a field survey led by Stephen Hull.

Gerry Penney revisited the site in 2009 and collected archival and cartographic information about Little St. Lawrence. He highlighted that although information seems scarce (which is not the case, as demonstrated above), it is evident that this harbour was used by Basque, French and English fisherfolks. He was also the first archaeologist to visit the site with James S. Meres' drawing in hand, and suggested that some of the features still visible in the landscape could be associated with an 18th century fishing premise. Gerry Penney was therefore the first to hypothe-

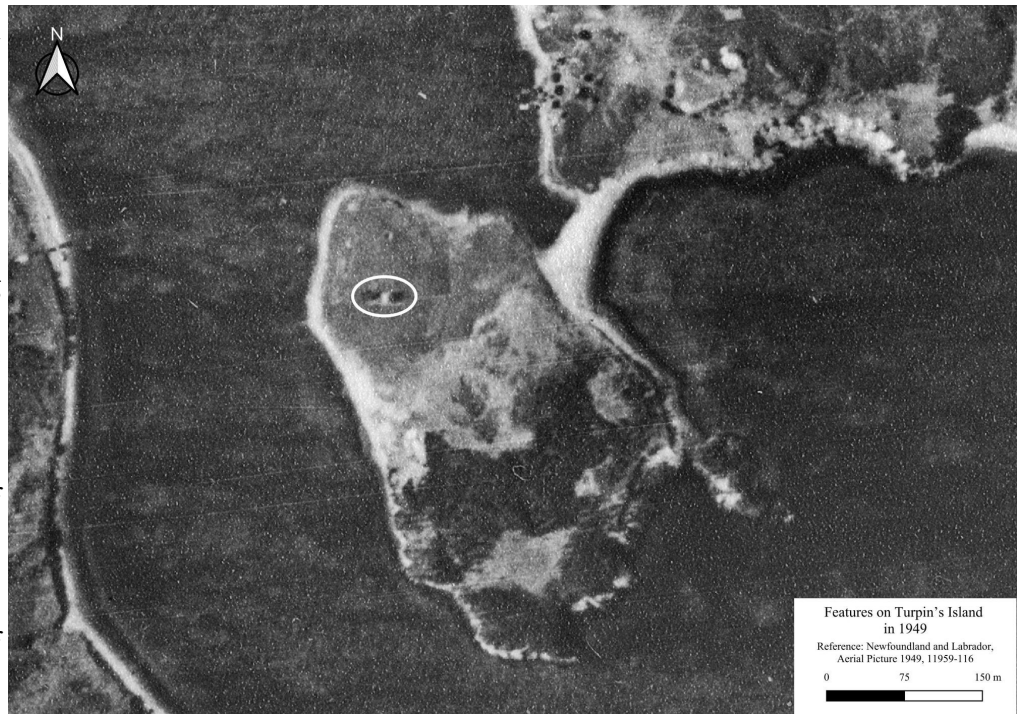


Figure 7: Aerial picture of 1949 showing buildings on Turpin's Island, likely associated with the Turpin family according to local residents (detail of aerial picture NL- 11959-116).

size that Turpin's Island was the site of the premises of the Newman & Co. built in 1784 (Figures 4 and 5).

In 2015, the Provincial Archaeology Office (NLArchaeology 2015) published the blog post *The Prince, the merchant and the Pegasus at Little St. Lawrence*. The post summarizes what was known about the harbour; point out some of the features visible in the landscape, and artefacts found during testing (wine bottle, ceramic, pipe stem, red coarse earthenware). Additional information is provided about the visit of *HMS Pegasus* on which Prince William Henry sailed. The Prince and the crew of *HMS Pegasus* spent five days in Great and Little St. Lawrence, from July 11th to 16th, 1786. William Henry wrote in a letter to George III (his father) that he considered the western coast of Placentia "as far more preferable to that [country] we left to the eastward." "The Guernsey and Jersey people", he writes, "are settled in these parts & are peaceable & well behaved" (Rollman cited in PAO 2015). Steve Mills (2018) has written a research note on the *Pegasus* voyage and how the work of James S. Meres can inform archaeological research. Given the details of James S. Meres' drawing of Little St. Lawrence, there is little doubt that this is the case. In fact, the foundations of the two stages shown to

the right of James S. Meres' drawing can be seen at low tide on Turpin's Island (Figure 8).

In 2021, Dr. Amanda Crompton prepared the *Historic Resources Overview Assessment and Archaeological Potential Study of the South Coast of Newfoundland from Baie d'Espoir to Burgeo*. The Burin Peninsula falls just outside of the study area, but its proximity makes the study extremely relevant to Little St. Lawrence. Indeed, the collection of maps presented in the report's appendix is a bounty of information, showing that the harbours of St. Lawrence, Little St. Lawrence and the Chapeau Rouge Mountain have been landmarks since the beginning of the European exploration of Newfoundland in the 16th century. In addition, the study presents references to various archives and secondary sources that are very useful to get a better sense of Little St. Lawrence occupations and the Chapeau Rouge area in general (Crompton 2021: 16-21).

In 2020, during a trip to Fortune to take delivery of the artefact collection from Anse à Bertrand site in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, students Meghann Livingston and Mallory Champagne, and Dr. Catherine Losier stopped at several locations on the Burin Peninsula to better assess the archaeological potential

of the peninsula. Little St. Lawrence was one of these sites. While exploring the site, we saw some of the features identified by Gerry Penney (2009) and the Provincial Archaeology Office (2015); we also identified two linear heaps of stones located in the intertidal zone on the northwestern tip of Turpin's Island. We interpreted these as the foundations of fishing stages, as they are similar to what we saw along Saint-Pierre Harbour (Figure 8). These features are very likely to be associated with the two stages that we can see in James S. Meres' drawing of 1786 (Figure 5), but they could be older. Let us recall that during his survey in 1713, Taverner (1718:230-231) reported that two fishing rooms were present in Little St. Lawrence harbour: "of ffish p boat, **there are Two ffishg Roomes.** for Ships". In addition, it cannot be a coincidence that the convenient place for building stages on Cook's map (1765) are located exactly where the stages are located on James S. Meres' drawing, and where we find the foundations today (Figure 3).

While looking at the western side of the island (near to the southern stage foundation), we found what looked like a Basque tile in the intertidal zone. This discovery was officially reported by Meghann

Figure 8: Foundation of the two stages in the intertidal zone on the western side of Turpin's Island and excavation of unit 1A (Pete Whitridge, June 2023).





Figure 9: Location of the archaeological (1A) and paleoenvironmental testing area (2A) excavated in June 2023.

the site. Fieldwork took place between June 12th and June 16th, 2023. The objectives were threefold: 1) Conduct a high-resolution drone survey of Turpin's Island and its surroundings; 2) Get a better sense of the archaeological context of Turpin's Island by excavating a 1 meter by 1 meter unit on the western side of Turpin's Island; 3) Acquire a chronological sequence of the paleoenvironmental changes induced by the presence of human populations at the site by collecting a sample in the peat bog to analyze pollen, insects, and date the stratigraphy with the help of radiocarbon to establish a

Livingston during her 2022 survey when she found another, more convincing, fragment (along with French Normandy stoneware and a gunflint). In January 2023, during the SHA meeting in Lisbon, Meghann Livingston presented this finding and it was confirmed by Dr. Iosu Etxezarraga Ortuondo (archaeologist from the Basque Country) that these were most likely Basque tiles. This discovery is thrilling and can be tied to the fact that the toponym of St. Lawrence has certainly Iberic roots (San Lorenzo) and that as suggested by the pilot book of Martin de Hoyarsabal (1579) and Pierre Detcheverry (1677 map), Basque mariners were aware of these harbours. It should be noted that another fragment of what appears to be Basque tile was found (but not recovered) on the beach in the same area during a visit by Drs. Jamie Brake and Catherine Losier on May 15th, 2023.

June 2023 Small-Scale Excavation

This was the state of the historical and archaeological knowledge before a team of six archaeologists from Memorial University (Dr. Catherine Losier (PI); Drs. Paul Ledger, Pete Withridge and Véronique Forbes; graduate students Kassandra Drake and Pier-Ann Milliard) undertook a limited testing of Turpin's Island to better assess the archaeological potential of

a fine-grained chronology of the site (Figure 9).

The first objective proved to be straightforward thanks to excellent weather. Dr. Pete Withridge employed three DJI drones on site: a Phantom 3 Pro, a Mavic 2 Pro and a Mavic Mini. In addition, time lapse videos were generated with an iPhone 14 Pro and DJI Osmo Mobile 3 gimbal mounted on a camera tripod. Table 1 summarizes the number of files and file sizes. In total, 1623 still images (17.67 GB) and 13 videos (0.92 GB) were created of the site and hillslope on the adjacent mainland. The Phantom 3 Pro represents an earlier generation (2016) of camera drone that is relatively bulky, hence exceptionally stable in windy conditions, and yielded stills of 4.9-5.8 MB each. The newer Mavic 2 Pro is much more compact and has an improved camera that produced vertical stills (i.e., while mapping) of 11.3-15.7 MB each. The Mavic Mini produced small stills (4.0-5.0 MB), but is small, agile and was useful for generating video in flyovers of the site. Each worked most effectively when operated with different mapping apps (DJI GS Pro, PIX4D, or Copterius) and different devices connected to the controllers (iPad, iPad Air or iPhone). The iPhone 14 Pro mounted on a tripod was used for

creating time-lapse videos of the test excavations in Mimo that will be useful for public outreach.

The Mavic 2 Pro imagery proved to be far superior to the others for photogrammetry. 3D models, orthophotomosaics and false colour 2D digital elevation models (DEMs) were created in Agisoft Metashape Pro (1.7.3) based on images generated by flying the drone in DJI GS Pro. Four ground control points (GCPs) were laid out around the margins of the mapped areas and later shot in with the total station. While the orthophotomosaics provide a valuable high resolution photographic overview of the site, suitable for a GIS base map, the 3D and DEM models are especially useful for detecting features on the

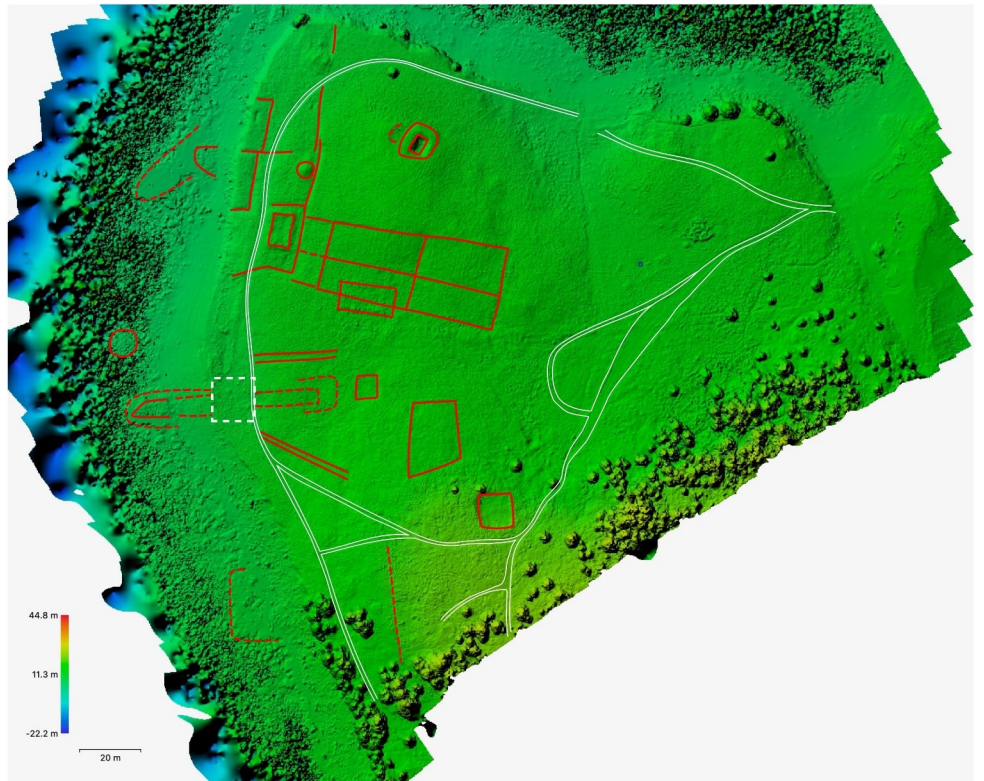


Figure 10: Digital elevation model (DEM) of Turpin's Island with features highlighted in red (Pete Whitridge, 2023).

site surface that are often not legible in photographs due to the highly variable colouring of the vegetation, which ranged from tan to dark green at this time of year. The false colour models, in particular, capture elevation changes on a scale of a couple of centimetres using subtle variance in shading that allows surficial features to be readily discerned in plan view. On this basis, rectilinear ditches, cellars and walls, as well as offshore footings for wharves, were outlined on the model (Figure 10) and will be used to guide further investigation.

The second objective was to excavate a trench at the head of a stage to get a sense of past human occupations. The placement of the trench was motivated by the fact that in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, the excavation associated with the stage gave fantastic

results and allowed to obtain a complete chronology of the occupation of the Anse à Bertrand site (Losier 2021; Losier et al. 2023). Although, the results diverged from the initial expectations, they are far from being uninteresting. We excavated a unit of 1 meter by 1 meter down to the natural layer. The recording system used is the lot system used by Park Canada and this unit is named 1A.

The sod (1A1; average thickness of 10 centimetres) was first remove and a small assemblage of artefacts was recovered. Artefacts dating from the 18th century to the 21st century were found together: a plastic gun cartridge, ballast flints, transfer print whiteware, a wine bottle sherd, a pipe stem and a fragment of brick or roof tile. The first soil layer (1A2; average thickness of 10 centimetres) rich with artefacts can be associated with a French occupation. The assemblage is described below. The next layer (1A3; excavated on 30 centimetres) differed from 1A2 by the pres-

Table 1: Turpin's Island drone and phone imagery inventory, June 2023.

Device	Date	Nbr. stills	File size (GB)	Nbr. videos	File size (GB)
Phantom 3 Pro	13-juin	379	2,03	-	-
Mavic 2 Pro	13-juin	577	7,41	-	-
Mavic 2 Pro	14-juin	651	8,17	-	-
Mavic Mini	14-juin	16	0,06	7	0,56
iPhone 14 Pro	14-juin	-	-	6	0,36
Total		1623	17,67	13	0,92



Figure 11: Artefacts testifying of a French occupation recovered in layer 1A2, Unit 1A.

ence of a silty soil and an increased in the proportion of rock in the matrix. 1A3 was extremely compact and essentially consisted mainly of rocks (1 to 20 centimetres in diameter) that were rounded at the surface of the layer and angular toward the base. This is most likely a natural layer (undisturbed and non-anthropic) as the only artefact was found in the upper part of

layer 1A3: one fragment of flint and three fragments of nails. No feature was found in this unit.

The stratigraphy of this sector of Turpin's Island appears peculiar. It almost looks like the top of the profile has been shaved off. Indeed, after removing the sod and a thin layer representing modern disturbance of the site (1A1), the next layer is the testi-

mony of the French occupation of the site, dating most likely from before 1713. It looks like the layers representing the occupations dating from later in the 18th century to the 20th century are missing. It is to be expected that some erosion of the shoreline created this situation. It seems that the sector where we excavated was disturbed, the DEM map shows that the terrestrial part of a feature, likely the stage, is missing in the area where we excavated (see white rectangle with dotted line on Figure 10). It is not impossible that perturbation of this sector took place during the 1929 tsunami or another erosion episode, but more research needs to be done regarding this hypothesis.

The most exciting aspect of the excavation of unit 1A is the artefact assemblage recovered in 1A2 representing the French occupation of the site. The assemblage dates from the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century and is very similar to the assemblage dating from the same period found at Anse à Bertrand in Saint-Pierre. The collection consists of 15 sherds of Bessin-Cotentin stoneware (Normandy), 12 sherds of Mortainais-Domfrontais stoneware (Normandy), 18 fragments of pipe stems, one with a maker's mark identified as Reuben Sidney, Southampton (1687-1748), one fragment of pipe bowl, four sherds of wine bottles, two sherds of blue-green French glass, one sherd of window glass (probably out of context), two sherds of translucent glass (probably out of context); one sherd of a Saintonge pitcher? handle, one sherd of a Saintonge bowl, three

sherds of whiteware with a blue transfer print decoration (probably out of context), one sherd of porcelain, one opaque white glass button, 19 fragments of flint (only samples of the flint was recovered) (Figure 11). In terms of metal, 27 nails or nail fragments, five iron concretions and one lead nodule were recovered.

The only major difference with the Anse à Bertrand collection is the discovery of 14 small fragments of Basque roof tiles as these objects are not present in the 17th and 18th century context in Saint-Pierre. This observation raises three questions: 1) are the Basque tile fragments present in a French layer due to disturbance of the soil profile, after all whiteware and window glass are present in the layer; 2) are the Basque tiles associated with the French occupation of Little St. Lawrence, we know that Basque ships were regularly outfitted in Bordeaux (Turgeon 1986: 532; 1998); or 3) is there a distinct Basque occupation at Little St. Lawrence? Archives seems to suggest it might be the case. These questions will only be answered by further excavations at the site. But either perspective is interesting.

The third objective of the field work was to undertake a palaeoenvironmental sampling in a small peatland that developed in lower lying areas in the north of Turpin's Island. The basin measures approximately 100 meters north-south by 30 meters east-west and appears to be fed by groundwater and runoff from surrounding slopes (Figure 12). The topography of the peatland is relatively level and dominated

Figure 12: View across the peatland to the east of Turpin's Island. The sampling location is visible at the centre of the photograph.



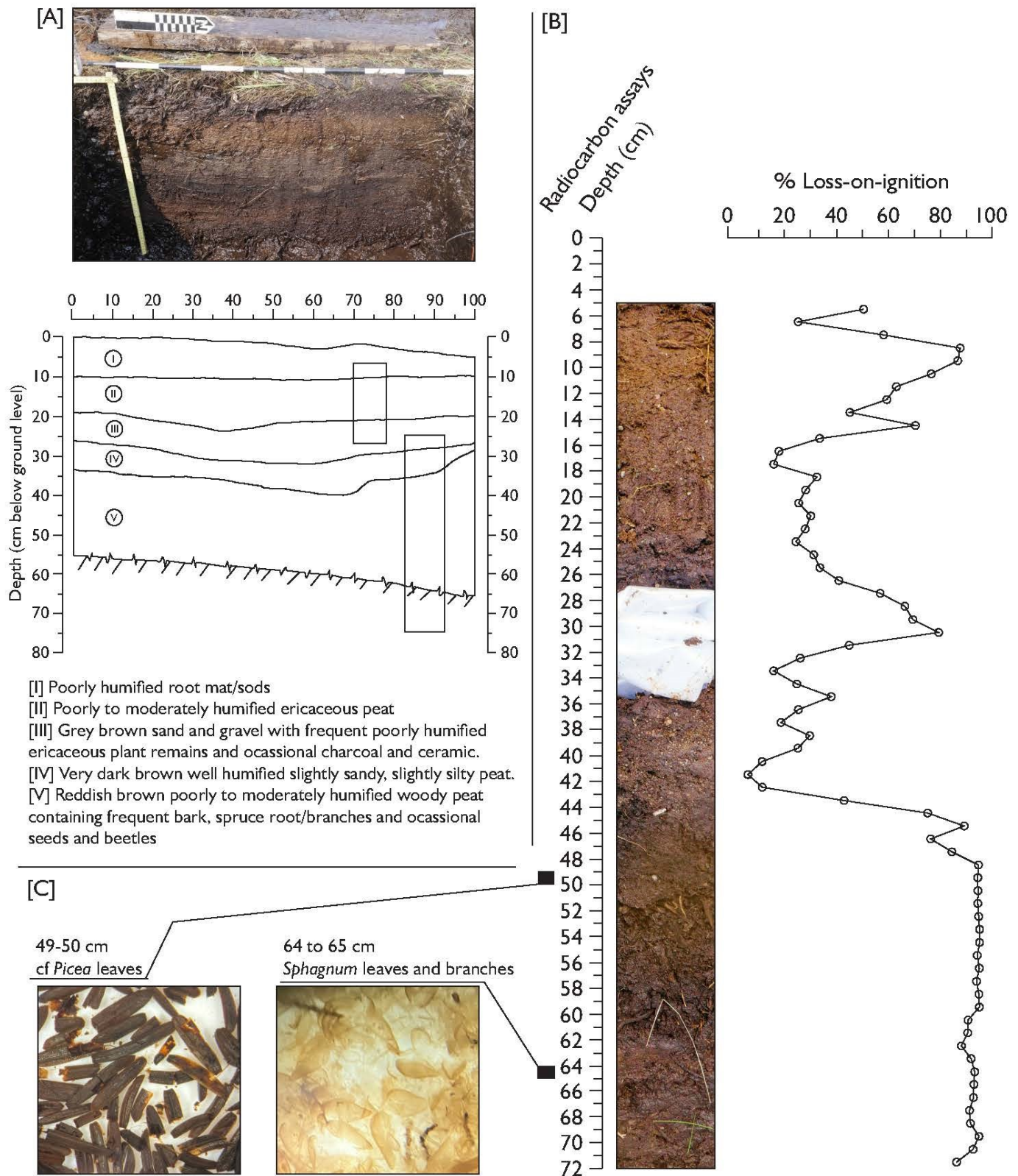


Figure 13: [A] Photography and profile drawing and sediment descriptions of the western profile of palaeoenvironmental sampling trench 2A illustrating location of monoliths collected for pollen analysis. [B] Composite photograph of the monolith samples collected from trench 2A. The plastic bag between 27 and 36 centimetres was placed in a void where there was incomplete recovery of sediment. Loss-on-ignition (LOI) analysis of sediments showing the relative flux of minerogenic sediment into the peatland (lower LOI values indicate mineral sediment). [C] Images of the two samples of macrofossils submitted to the Lalonde AMS laboratory at the University of Ottawa for radiocarbon dating.

by sedges and *Sphagnum* mosses with only rare occurrences of ericaceous and other woody heaths/shrubs.

A cursory auger survey was undertaken to establish the general depth of peat across the basin. Little variation in sediment depth and type was observed and a location was selected near the centre of the basin for a 1 meter by 1 meter sampling trench identified as unit 2A. The root mat and upper sods (2A1) were removed in approximately 15 centimetre thick blocks across the trench using a knife, trowel and spade. The excavation of 2A2 was then undertaken in arbitrary levels through alternately sandy-rich and well-humified peat deposits to a depth of approximately 40 centimetres below ground level. These deposits contained occasional fragments of ceramic between 20 to 25 centimetres below ground level and small fragments of charcoal were observed throughout. Between 40 and 45 centimetres below ground level the deposit transitioned to a poorly humified wood peat (2A3) containing frequent roots and branches and stems of above ground elements of species of *Picea* (Spruce), *Alnus* (Alder) and *Betula* (Birch). From around 55 centimetres below ground level a large log/trunk, dipping at an approximately 30-degree angle, was encountered in the southeast corner of the trench.

The trench was terminated at approximately 60 to 65 centimetres below ground level and the west profile was selected for palaeoenvironmental sampling. Prior to sampling, the west face was recorded and the trench deepened in the northwest corner to a depth of 80 centimetres below ground level to permit the collection of samples. Two overlapping monolith tins were inserted into the western profile of the trench to recover palaeoenvironmental samples for pollen analysis (Figure 13). The monolith tins were cut from the profile using a knife, trowel and spade before being wrapped in plastic and transferred to the PEAT lab at Memorial University for sub-sampling.

The analysis of the palaeoenvironmental samples is currently ongoing. However, the stratigraphy

and the loss-on-ignition test indicates changes in the paleoenvironment of Turpin's island (Figure 13). The two samples sent to the Lalonde AMS laboratory at the University of Ottawa for radiocarbon dating will allow us to better understand if and when these changes occur, and according to the dates, they will indicate which of the groups that settled on Turpin's Island they are associated with. We are planning to send additional samples for radiocarbon dating with the objective of developing a fine-grained chronology to precisely date evidence of anthropogenic disturbance in the landscape.

The results of the initial historical, archaeological and paleoenvironmental analysis are absolutely exciting. There is no doubt that Turpin's Island holds tremendous research potential spanning over the 500 years of occupation of the site. As of now, our goal is to produce a biography of the site from the first human occupation to the 20th century, and to link the occupations of Turpin's Island, their continuity and changes, to the geopolitics of the Atlantic world, particularly in relation with European expansion from the 15th century onward.

Acknowledgement

Many thanks to the team at the Provincial Archaeology Office for their support and trust, but most importantly the email that sparked this project. We are also very grateful for the Provincial Archaeology Office funding that supports the analysis and to SSHRC. Thanks a million, to the field crew: Drs. Paul Ledger, Pete Whitridge, Véronique Forbes, and graduate students Cassandra Drake and Pier-Ann Milliard you are legends. Your good spirit, camping skills, dedication and archaeological expertise made the sojourn flawless and productive. It is incredible how much data the team recorded in just three days in the field. Finally, many thanks to the community of St. Lawrence and Little St. Lawrence for their warm welcome, visit and support, to Karen Lundrigan of the Little St. Lawrence Service District and the St. Lawrence Historical Advisory Committee.

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Summary of Historic Resources Impact Assessment 2023 for New Found Gold’s Queensway North Property

Chase McLean & Michael Rooney
Stantec

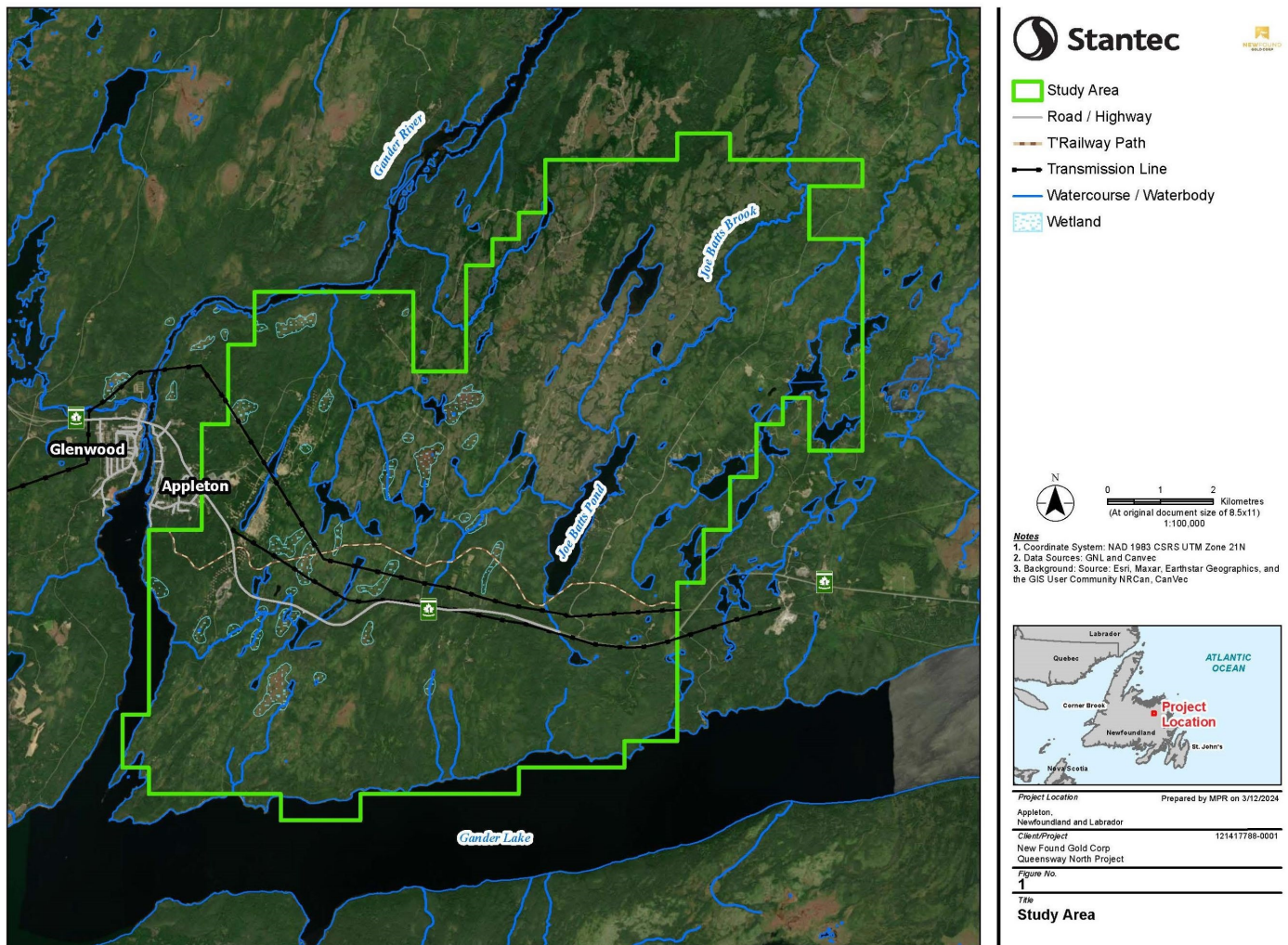


Figure 1: Study area.

This submission summarizes the results of the archaeological shovel testing and survey program conducted by Stantec from October 16 to October 20, 2023, on behalf of NFG (New Found Gold Corp, the proponent). NFG is proposing to continue exploration at its Queensway North property located 15 km west of Gander, Newfoundland, with the objective of developing a gold mine (the Project). At the direction of NFG, Stantec completed a desktop Historic Re-

sources Overview Assessment (HROA) of the Study Area to determine the potential for heritage and cultural resources to be present in the Study Area that may be affected by the Project (Stantec 2023). This summary presents the results of the HRIA based on that HROA.

The Stantec archaeology field team was composed of Mike Rooney, B.A., Laurie McLean, M.A. and Chase McLean, M.A. and was completed under Permit NFLD Lab 23.35. The HROA indicated that

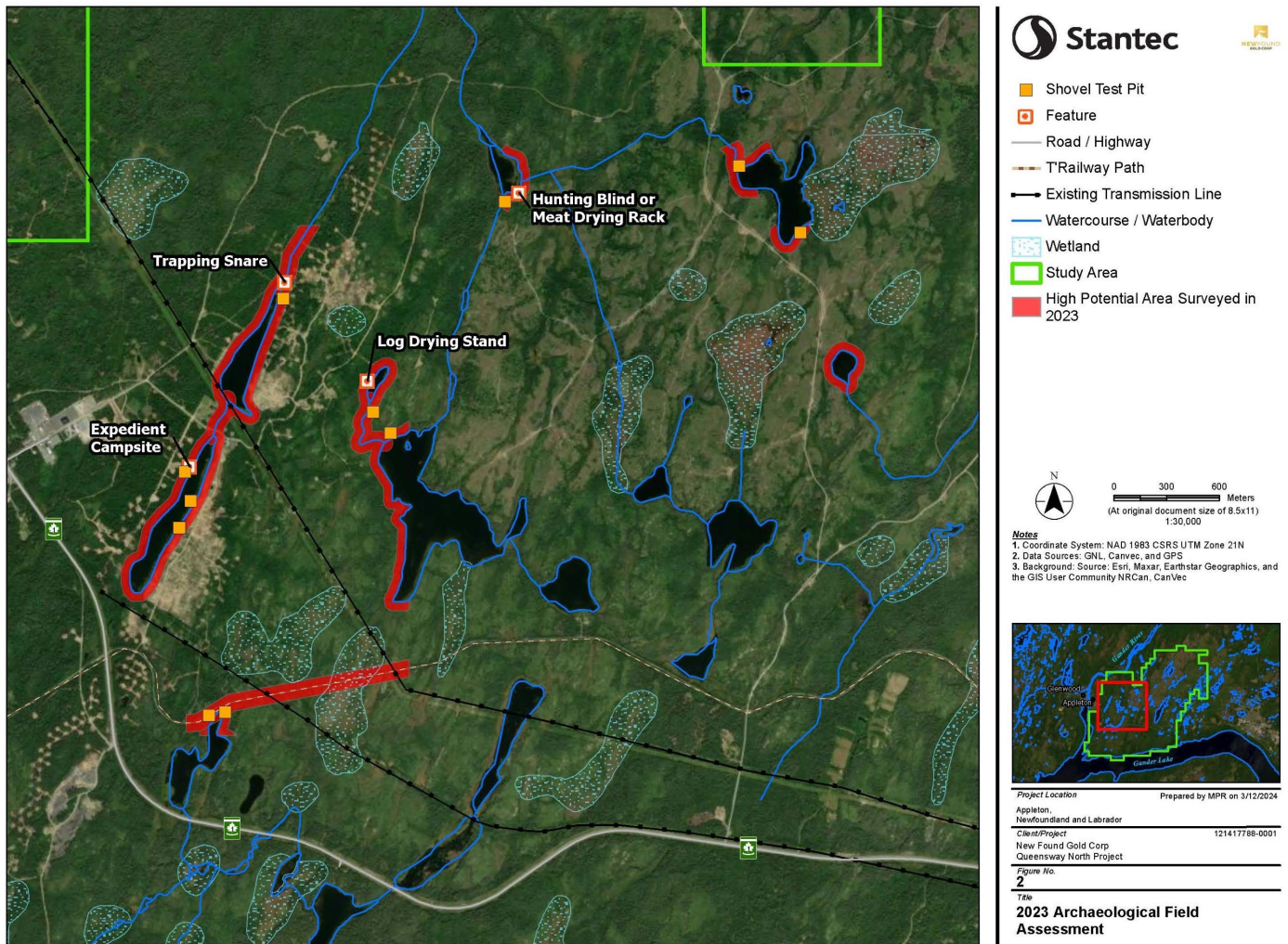


Figure 2: 2023 Archaeological Field Assessment.

the Study Area (Figure 1) has broad theoretical potential for archaeological resources, particularly those pertaining to the Pre-Contact Period and specific aspects of the Historic Period such as the logging, railway, and aviation industries while moderate potential exists for historic Beothuk and Mi'kmaq occupations of the north-central interior. The HROA identified a generalized high archaeological potential zone within 50 m of the majority of watercourse and waterbody shorelines within the Study Area / NFG mineral claim. A 50 m high archaeological potential zone is also identified on either side of the former Newfoundland Railway line (now a T'Railway). The methodology for the HRIA included surveying buffers of 50 m along the shorelines of eight different waterbodies and the current T'Railway. Figure 2 shows the specific areas of watercourse / waterbody shorelines that were targeted for archaeological assessment in 2023 due to the possible impacts from future ground

disturbing activities relating to mining exploration. Exploratory archaeological shovel testing was conducted wherever ground conditions exhibited characteristics suitable to past human habitation or activity that would leave an archaeological trace.

The results of the survey found the ground conditions to consist mainly of wet, undulating terrain covered with muddy sphagnum moss, and poor soil development. These areas were considered to be of low archaeological potential. The few drier locations that were identified were subject to exploratory shovel testing. In addition to these drier locations, the exploratory testing also included locations that resembled features, such as a potential house pit-like depression feature or circular depressions. Twelve (12) shovel test pits were dug in locations within the 50 m high potential buffers of the waterbodies. The stratigraphy of each test pit varied with a thin moss-covered humic layer sometimes overlying a thick layer of peat



Figure 3: Recent historical metal trapping snare.

and sometimes overlying gravelly sand material interpreted as till. Podzolized soil development was rare in most test pits and typically comprised a very thin lens (i.e., 1-2 cm) of pale grey eluviated sandy loam (Ae horizon) overlaying another thin lens (i.e., 2-5 cm) of mid greyish brown sandy loam (B horizon) - both with little to no pebble content. In some cases, no Ae horizon was visible, only a thin lens of B horizon. When present, these layers were underlain by culturally sterile gravelly sandy till or bedrock material, both interpreted as archaeological bottom. Archaeological bottom was frequently recorded at relatively shallow depths (i.e., 20-25 cm depth below surface) except for a few pits that included a thick peat

layer, in which the test pits terminated at between a 50 – 60 cm depth below surface.

No Pre-Contact Period artifacts were encountered in any of the subsurface test pits. Evidence of recent historical activity was encountered during the field assessment related to tree harvesting and hunting/trapping activities. Ethnographic features were identified as “junks”, which are piles of cut wood that are left for the summer on the ground and local residents can return to retrieve the “junks” in winter. A recent historical metal trapping snare, a log drying stand, an expedient campsite, and a separate possible meat drying rack or tarped blind for storing firewood were also

and sometimes overlying gravelly sand material interpreted as till. Podzolized soil development was rare in most test pits and typically comprised a very thin lens (i.e., 1-2 cm) of pale grey eluviated sandy loam (Ae horizon) overlaying another thin lens (i.e., 2-5 cm) of mid greyish brown sandy loam (B horizon) - both with little to no pebble content. In some cases, no Ae horizon was visible, only a thin lens of B horizon. When present, these layers were underlain by culturally sterile gravelly sandy till or bedrock material, both interpreted as archaeological bottom. Archaeological bottom was frequently recorded at relatively shallow depths (i.e., 20-25 cm depth below surface) except for a few pits that included a thick peat

Figure 4: A log drying stand.





Figure 5: Expedient campsite looking west.

encountered within the Study Area. These were not considered archaeologically significant.

The field assessment, including walkover and shovel testing, determined the areas evaluated for this phase of the investigation to have low potential for archaeological resources and no further investigations or mitigation measures are recommended for these areas. None of the findings are considered archaeologically significant.

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Tracing Shanawdithit, Archaeological Research in the Badger Bay Watershed and Western Notre Dame Bay Permit No. 23.21

Laurie Mclean
Consulting Archaeologist

Introduction

Shanawdithit was a Beothuk female who, along with her sister and their mother, Doo-debewshet, surrendered to European furriers on the eastern shore of Badger Bay in April 1823 (Howley 1915:170). These three women, possibly accompanied by one male, had walked 48 kilometers over an extended period through the Badger Bay watershed to the bottom of Badger Bay. They then trekked another six kilometers along the coast to the location where they encountered William Cull and other trappers. Shanawdithit's uncle and his daughter had made a similar trip six weeks earlier, raising the possibility that Shanawdithit followed the same route to the coast (Ibid:169, 244).

Shanawdithit lived among Newfoundland's European settlers for six years. She provided much information to William Cormack while she was his houseguest for at least six weeks during the fall of 1828 (Marshall 1996:217). She drew a number of sketches while in Cormack's company, 12 of which have survived (Ibid: 212, 214). The latter include a detailed map of her final trip through the Badger Bay watershed.

The author was invited by a resident of Pilley's Island in 2022 to direct an archaeological assess-

ment of Shanawdithit's 1823 move to the Badger Bay coast. That project identified a mid-to late eighteenth century Beothuk hearth (DiAw-18) and a nineteenth century Beothuk site (DiAw-19) at the bottom of

Figure 1: Shanawdithit's route through the Badger Bay watershed and part of Badger Bay.

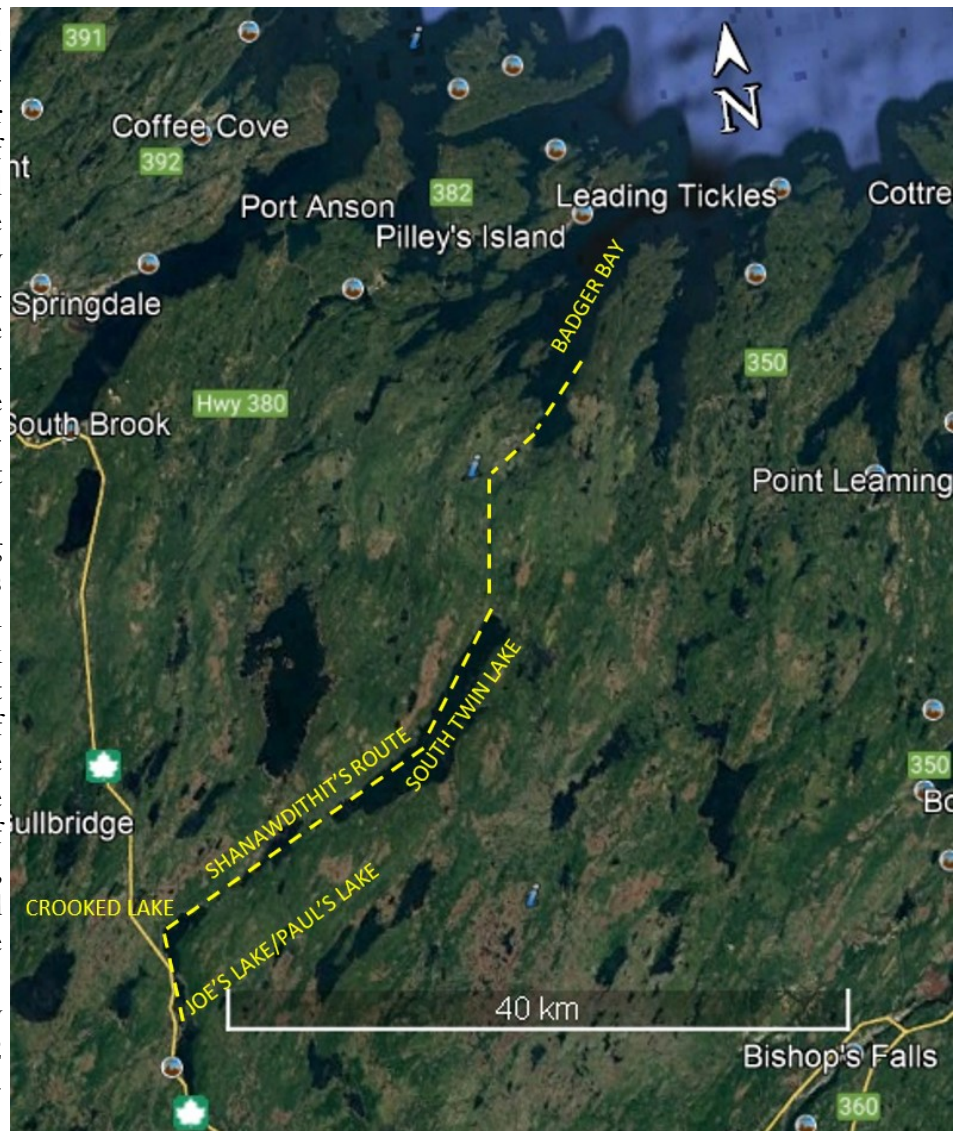




Figure 2: Silas Cove, landing for DiAv-09 (arrow points to site location).

were recorded along the northern edge of a stream extending from the lake's northeastern corner and a European tilt was mapped nearby in 1820 (Waller 1820). Shanawdithit, in 1823, walked along the lake's 17 kilometer-long western side before veering

Badger Bay (McLean 2022:8, 21). We continued our examination of Shanawdithit's journey and adjoining parts of the western Notre Dame Bay coastline in 2023.

2023 Survey Results

The author obtained Research Permit 23.21 from Newfoundland and Labrador's Provincial Archaeology Office. Pilley's Island residents Perry Moulton and Orvin Strickland assisted the author on 13 field days implemented between June 15 and September 27. Seven new sites were recorded and eight known localities were re-visited.

We had hoped to check part of Crooked Lake's northern shoreline where Shanawdithit and 18 other Beothuk appear to have camped, utilizing three wigwams, in the spring of 1823 (Marshall 1996:222). We made a number of preparatory visits to Crooked Lake during the spring of 2023 and concluded that Shanawdithit's former camp is buried under or destroyed by the prolific construction of cabins there. Rampant cabin occupation, unfortunately, extends south through Joe's Lake and Paul's Lake, seemingly greatly reducing the archaeological potential of this region. A brief questionnaire inquiring about possible private archaeological discoveries was sent electronically to Badger Lake's cabin owners. People expressed support for our research, but there were no reported artifact discoveries or related tips.

New Sites

South Twin Lake (DhAw-01)

South Twin Lake, which lies between Crooked Lake and Badger Bay, was assigned high archaeological potential based on historic information. Two wigwams

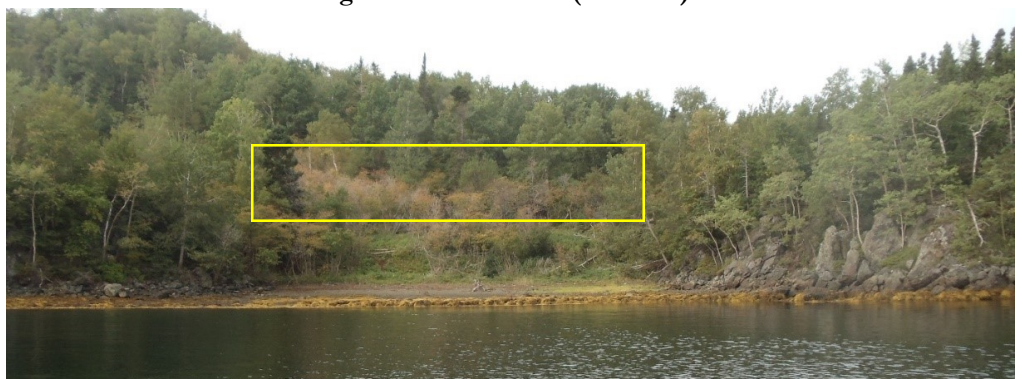
inland at its northwest corner. Mi'kmaq people, in 1826, reported seeing recent Beothuk material along the lake and Cormack, in 1827, observed a prominent Beothuk portage station at its northern end (Howley 1915:176, 190). Cormack also described a large Beothuk village, containing at least eight housepits, along with smaller structures and other features, in this area or near the New Bay Ponds. The negative results of this year's analysis, combined with previous surveys' lack of finds, suggest the latter location is more likely (Penney 1988: Figure 2).

Accessible portions of the dense forest at the lake's northeast end were test pitted in 2023. All results were negative, but a number of surface features associated with twentieth-century logging were reported as South Twin Lake (DhAw-01). The suggested wigwam location proved to be inaccessible during the survey due to the near-impenetrable forest cover and time limitations, but we hope to resume this assessment in 2024.

Silas Cove (DiAv-09)

Silas Cove occurs midway along Badger Bay's eastern shoreline and appears to be Shanawdithit's point of contact with European furriers in 1823. The cove's south-facing beach offers good landing conditions and gently rises to an 8000 m² linear tract of land that is suitable for camping. Systematic testing of

Figure 3: Snow's Cove (DiAw-23).



most of the terrace did not produce diagnostic Beothuk material, but a flake cluster was found in sub-surface context near the southern edge of vegetation. This suggests a precontact or early Beothuk assemblage.

Snow’s Cove, Raft Tickle (DiAw-23)

Historic information records a number of Beothuk wigwams and hearths, as well as Beothuk travelling in canoes, in Pilley’s Tickle, Raft Tickle and Flat Rock Tickle during the 1800s (Howley 1915:115, 126; Peyton Family Papers). The crew therefore checked a number of attractive settings in these channels. Flakes were found in test pits dug on a dry level terrace in Snow’s Cove, indicating that early Beothuk, ca. A.D. 1500-1725, or pre-Beothuk, manufactured, or repaired tools at this location.

Rice’s Cove, Flat Rock Tickle (DiAw-24)

Rice’s Cove is an attractive harbour with a brook flowing to the coast, making it a good candidate for human occupation. Test pits dug here contained wrought iron nails and pieces of a large iron door latch. A nineteenth or early twentieth-century liveyere occupation is suggested although the cove was not fully tested in 2023, meaning that additional cultural material may be present.

Big Island-3 (DjAw-26)

The search for a privately-reported mound of red ochre and birch bark took the crew to an island where a Little Passage/Beothuk grave (DjAw-17) and a Beothuk grave (DjAw-18) were accidentally found in 1886 (Howley 1915:330) (see below). The crew used a metal detector to sweep a number of small



Figure 4: Jigger found at DjAw-26.

caves/overhangs on a steep hill. This pursuit recovered a fishing jigger from sub-surface context within a chamber formed by huge slumped boulders. It is not directly associated with a burial or other cultural deposit, but the presence of a Little Passage interment and two Beothuk graves nearby tentatively suggests a latter eighteenth-nineteenth century Beothuk deposit. The area was not comprehensively tested, meaning that supplementary cultural material possibly occurs nearby.

Big Island-4 (DjAw-27)

The metal detector survey of Big Island recorded additional material from a small cave nine meters away and five meters downhill from the jigger. Excavation of a test pit revealed two small pieces of lead shot and three bone fragments which appear to be human. These items were measured, photographed, briefly examined and reburied. The combination of lead shot and human

Figure 5: Location of DjAw-17, 18, 25, 26.





Figure 6: Price (DjAx-09) collection.

plan to build a new home there, meaning that this archaeological resource is threatened. We briefly interviewed the couple who were quite impressed with their land's significance. We dug a few test pits and checked the local surfaces, recovering 31 lithic artifacts and 5 pieces of refined white earthenware. Almost all of the artifacts were found in two test pits. A few lithic items occurred under an eroding bank along the northeast edge of the peninsula. The presence of a historic root cellar that the occupants were not aware of was suggested by our reconnaissance.

bone is provocative considering that two Beothuk were shot 12 kilometers away on Badger Bay's eastern shoreline. Further excavations are needed to learn more about this deposit.

Price (DjAx-09)

A cache of stone artifacts found on private property a few years ago was shown to the crew. The objects, including three large bifaces, biface fragments and large flakes, mostly made from a red jasper-like material, reportedly were in a skin wrapping that quickly disintegrated. The property owners are receptive to controlled testing being implemented on their land to render more details pertaining to this site.

Re-Visited Sites

Robert's Arm-1 (DiAw-01)

This Groswater site was identified in 1980 (Pastore 1981). At least two generations of Randells have lived on this small peninsula and one of the current occupants grew up there. The current residents

Pilley's Tickle (DiAw-13)

The Pilley's Tickle site, consisting of lithics and a possible tent ring on the surface of a narrow neck of land, was identified in 2015 (Site Record Form). Much of this concentration occurs in the tidal zone. Five poor quality lithic items were observed here in 2023, but in situ material was found in test pits dug along a meter high bank extending west from the small isthmus. Twenty-five lithic artifacts include a biface, a microblade, a quartz crystal flake, a re-touched flake, a utilized flake and 20 flakes, indicating a Pre-Inuit occupation.

Pretty Tickle (DiAw-15)

An adze, which was not collected, observed on a beach surface in 2015 constituted the Pretty Tickle site (Site Record Form). The slightly inclined forested area behind the beach had not been tested, resulting in our re-visiting the area this year. We recovered 34 non-diagnostic stone artifacts from two

test pits placed just over a meter apart. Two additional pits dug nearby were sterile suggesting this deposit represents a brief precontact/early Beothuk occupation although additional testing is warranted.

Figure 7: Robert's Arm-1 (DiAw-01).

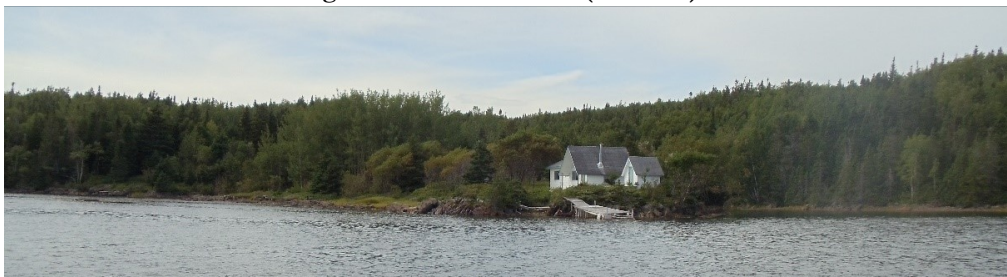




Figure 8: Crewmember walks across Oil Islands cobble beach tombolo.

Oil Island (DjAw-15)

The Oil Island site was recorded in 1965 by Helen Devereux who acted on a tip of private collecting on the island (Site Record Form). Pre-Inuit and Recent First Nations artifacts have been recovered there from the surface and from limited excavation. A cobble tombolo connecting two islands contains 40 housepit-like depressions, which cannot be satisfactorily identified as cultural features (Penney 1988:52; Stopp 1994:77, 80, 81, 83). The site appears to have been eroding since its identification and it continues to deteriorate. Thirty-seven lithic items collected there this summer include two Pre-Inuit microblades and a Little Passage projectile point. Most of these artifacts were surface finds except for a few flakes from a shallow depth in the middle of a small depression. The majority of the cobble beach depressions

appear to be intact although some have had recent fires inside them and a few suggest other disturbance.

Big Island-1 and 2 (DjAw-17, 18)

Big Island-1 (DjAw-17) was initially thought to be a Beothuk child burial, but the absence of European materials among its grave goods and a radiocarbon date of 549 ± 62 BP (CAL AD 1298-1449) are evidence for a Little Passage interment (Jerkic 1995; McLean 2021:86). This grave and an adult Beothuk female, (Big Island-2 (DjAw-18) who was laid out in a cave 15 feet away were both accidentally found in 1886 (Patterson 1892). Although parts of the bodies and some of the associated grave offerings had been collected, the exact location of the graves were never identified.

Our crew had been informed of a mound of red ochre and birch bark occurring on the southwest end of Big Island, in Pilley's Tickle. We did not find

these items, but a metal detector sweep of the surrounding hillside led to the discovery of three iron fragments, pieces of birch bark, four human bone fragments and a complete bone from a small cave. We expanded our search and found a fragment of stitched birch bark and other bark pieces on a small talus-covered ledge 2.7 meters away from the cave burial. All artifacts were reburied following brief analysis. These two graves are located 60 meters north-east from the new cave burial and the jigger found this year, suggesting this was a special place for local Beothuk people.

Permit No. 23.29

Beothuk Institute Field Trip to Aspen Island (DfAw-04, 05, 06)

The author, assisted by Don Pelley of Grand Falls-Windsor, led eight members of the Beothuk Institute on an archaeological tour of Aspen Island on August 19. Many artifacts have been disturbed by erosion of the island over the past few years, so the author obtained Permit No. 23.39, which would enable him to collect any important cultural objects encountered during the stopover there.

Fortunately, cultural items were not present on the surfaces of Aspen Island-1 (DfAw-04) and Aspen Island-2 (DfAw-05), the two re-visited sites. Erosion of the Aspen Island-2 Groswater component appears to have subsided and there is young vegetation encroaching over the author's last excavated area there in 2021 (McLean 2022). Beothuk housepits 1, 2 and 4 are visible but exhibit pronounced slumping and infilling. Salvage excavation may soon be needed here before the features are irrevocably altered. Housepit 3 could not be re-identified under the dense alders, which now cover it. Housepits 13 and 9 appear to be intact.

Housepits 1, 2 and 3 at Aspen Island-1 (DfAw-04) were found in good shape. We did not attempt to find Aspen Island-3's (DfAw-06) single housepit due to the dense vegetation covering the site. We could not identify this feature in 2021. These brief re-visits indicate the importance of regular brush cutting and monitoring at Exploits Valley archaeological sites.

Twillingate Islands' Archaeological Potential and the Possible Impact of Hiking Trail Construction

The Town of Twillingate is planning to install 52 kilometers of hiking trails circumventing North and South Twillingate Islands. Newfoundland and Labrador's PAO informed the town that a desktop study of Twillingate's archaeological potential should be undertaken to facilitate evaluating the proposed trails' possible impact on local archaeological resources. The author performed this research in December, 2023 and January, 2024.

The desktop analysis concluded that the significant Northern Archaic settlement and associated cemetery (DjAq-01-04, 07, 18-21, 25, 29, 30 32) located in Back Harbour, on North Twillingate Island has overshadowed archaeological evaluations of the Twillingate Islands since the 1960s. While Pre-Inuit material has also been identified in Back Harbour, as well as at one site on South Twillingate Island, there is no conclusive archaeological evidence for Ancestral Beothuk or Beothuk from the islands. Similarly, there are no archaeological data concerning French seasonal fishing, which started at Twillingate during the 1500s, nor are there any sites pertaining to the beginning of English settlement in the eighteenth century (McLean 2024).

The planned hiking trail will link up a number of small inlets, beaches etc. that were deemed areas of interest from an archaeological perspective, meaning there is a strong likelihood of significant resources associated with the previously listed periods. Therefore, archaeological field assessment of the entire 52 kilometer-long route is advocated. It is anticipated that much of the planned route, namely wetlands, steep inclines, exposed bedrock, etc. will not warrant extensive testing, but this approach will nonetheless deliver a comprehensive appraisal of much of the Twillingate coastline. These new archaeological data will significantly enhance the expanded trails' interpretive message.

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Surveys at the South Side and North Side Cemeteries in Ferryland, Newfoundland

Alessandra McMillan
Memorial University



Figure 1: Headstones in the South Side Burial ground.

During the 2023 summer field season with the help of Ph.D. student Valentin De Filippo, Dr. Barry Gaulton and others from the Colony of Avalon Foundation, I conducted surveys of the North Side and South Side cemeteries in Ferryland, Newfoundland as part of my Masters research. The survey was a combination of Real Time Kinematic Positioning (RTK), photographs, measurements of markers and aerial photography. This survey is but one component of my project seeking to answer why the South Side cemetery still receives visitors and occasional maintenance, while the North Side seems to have been left without any form of care. This contributes to the larger question asking what this difference in treatment can tell us about how certain things become valued as heritage to be cared for while others, apparently of the same type, do not.

The South Side and North Side cemeteries are the oldest known in the community, with the exception of the older and now lost 17th century burial

ground associated with the 1621 Colony of Avalon (Lacy 2017). The South Side cemetery is a non-denominational burial ground, which appears in records as early as 1749 (Newfoundland's Grand Banks 2020). It is located on a hill across the road from the Colony of Avalon interpretation centre and is easily accessible. The North Side cemetery is an Anglican cemetery, which appears on a historic map dating approximately to the 1790s (Waller 1790s). The Anglican burial ground is tucked away on Fox Hill (also known as Forge Hill) and prior knowledge of the cemetery is required to be able to locate it. Both cemeteries fell out of use some time in the 19th century, both receiving final burials of non-locals in the early 20th century. Newfoundland Grand Banks conducted earlier surveys of both burial grounds in 2000 and 2005 documenting the visible headstones. However, several headstones were missed during these initial surveys and were only discovered this 2023 field season. Both cemeteries consisted mostly of fieldstones,

flat local slate or shale that have not been carved with names or dates, but placed upright to denote a grave.

Condition of the Cemeteries

The South Side cemetery was overgrown with tall grass and other vegetation. Between the beginning of the fieldwork in May and its completion in August, there was rapid growth that hid previously visible headstones and fieldstones. Many of the headstones had fallen over, broken in multiple pieces; and others were buried by several inches of dirt. The presence of the majority of the stones was not obvious and the burial ground looked significantly less populated prior to the start of the survey. The headstones, which remained upright, were often at a slant due to the shifting soil over the centuries. A photograph in The Rooms provincial archives from the 1930s shows many previously slanted headstones that have since fallen over (Brooks 1938).

Despite the overgrown condition of the South Side cemetery, the North Side burial ground was in a significantly worse state in comparison. The area was covered in rose bushes, which were removed

by a team of volunteers. The rose bushes concealed a significant amount of the headstones and once removed, were quickly replaced by grass. The Anglican cemetery itself is significantly smaller compared to the South Side. Due to its size and the majority of headstones having the same surname, it was believed by many for a number of years to be a family cemetery.

Results

Upon completion of the RTK survey, it was discovered that the South Side cemetery is approximately 2650m² in size. We based our boundaries on where the final markers were found and where the modern fence is located. It is possible the burial ground was at one point larger and extended past the fence but no evidence of this was found during the survey. In addition, there were approximately 946 graves including both headstones and fieldstones. The oldest datable headstone belongs to Sarah Carter who died in 1772 at the age of nine. This headstone was removed from the burial ground sometime in the mid-20th century before being donated to the Ferry-

Figure 2: North Side cemetery after rose bushes were removed.





Figure 3: Headstone of Bridget Rose made from local shale in the South Side cemetery.

additional potentially older headstone belonging to William Saunders which may date to 1770 (Newfoundland’s Grand Banks 2020); however, the headstone is currently illegible and could not be confirmed. Several previously unknown headstones, which were buried by grass and dirt, were discovered during the survey: Mary Saunders 1792, Bridget Rose 1821, James Howe Carter 1859 and John William 1866(?). The headstone of Bridget Rose is made of local shale and an example of early local headstone production in Newfoundland. This challenges earlier research (Pocius 1981) which posited that local headstone production began in the 1830s.

The North Side cemetery is significantly smaller than the South Side cemetery at 250m². There were also significantly less markers with 47, comprised of both headstones and fieldstones. In addition, there were nine depressions in a row, at the east end of the burial ground, which likely represent additional graves. The oldest datable headstone in the North Side cemetery is that of Neil Shannan who died in 1818. However, like the South Side cemetery there is potential for additional older markers, which are currently buried. There are several burials mentioned in the journals of Robert Carter which do not currently have corresponding headstones.

Conclusion

The surveys conducted on the South Side and North Side cemeteries are just one component of this research project. Archival research was conducted alongside

land Museum and as of 2023 is currently in possession of the Colony of Avalon Foundation. There is an

interviews with knowledge holders in the community about both burial grounds. These three components



Figure 4: The headstone of Neil Shannan, the oldest known headstone in the North Side cemetery.

as it relates to the burial grounds.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my two supervisors Dr. Barry Gaulton and Dr. Mario Blaser. As well as Valentin de Flippo, Chris Morry, Colony of Avalon Foundation and all others who helped with this project. I would like to also acknowledge the financial contributions of the Provincial Archaeology Office of Newfoundland, Memorial University of Newfoundland, and the J.R. Smallwood Foundation.

will be combined and explored further in my Masters thesis, discussing topics such as identity and heritage

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Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology Fieldwork 2023

Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology/Heritage
Lena Onalik, Corey Hutchings, & Deirdre Elliott

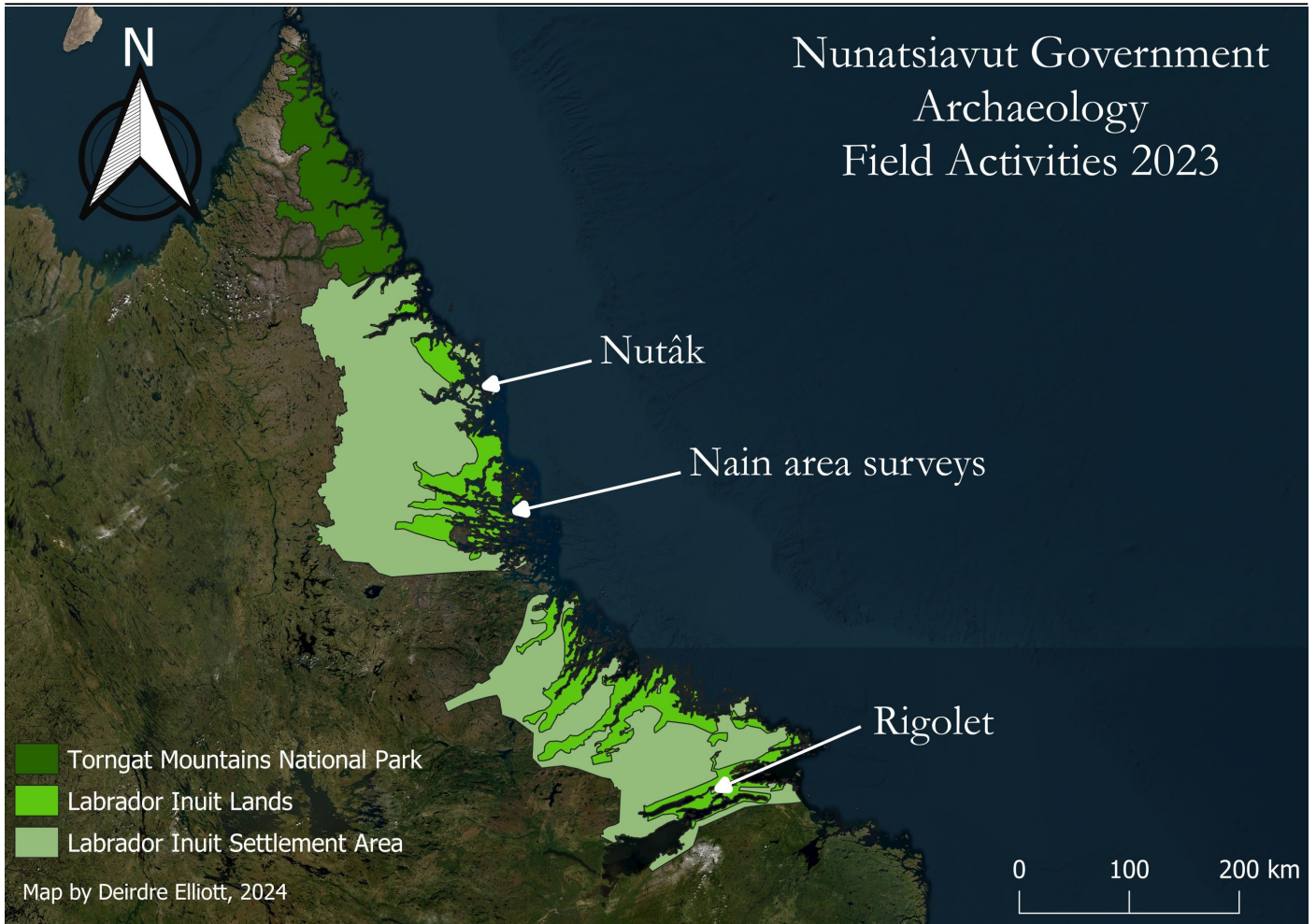


Figure 1: Map of areas covered by Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology 2023 activities.

Despite the general return to normal seen worldwide after the prolonged effects of COVID-19, Archaeology in Nunatsiavut has yet to return to its previous levels of field research. Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology saw a general decrease in all archaeological activities in 2023, most notably in fieldwork, thus undoing the recovery seen last year over the slow pandemic years. Regulatory and policy work continue to be our core functions, along with planning and implementing archaeology and heritage projects and programs, and fostering partnerships with other researchers and institutions at local, provincial, federal, and international

al levels. In 2023, the Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology team reviewed 36 land use applications and 15 mineral referrals, and issued seven archaeology permits. Of these seven permits, there were two internal office permits, a single external researcher permit, and three cruise ship permits. The final permit was the major regulatory project this year: the permitting, review, and consultation on heritage protection work related to construction of the proposed airport south of Nain. Thus far, a desktop assessment report has been submitted and accepted along with the preliminary report summarizing the fieldwork completed in July 2023.



Figure 2: Sample photo from the Chipeniuk collection – “Climber standing inside of sod house, Nachvak Fiord, 1974”.

that related to expeditions he undertook in Nunatsiavut in the 1970s-1980s, contacted NG Archaeology and Heritage. The pictures themselves show the expected mix of mountaineering, wildlife, and travel shots but also include photos of Nain and people along the coast and archaeological features (Figure 2). This donation was welcomed and, thanks to the purchase of a slide scanner by the office, the 35mm slides have now been scanned at archival quality and added to the

Heritage Forum

Due to recurring COVID-19 outbreaks and poor weather, two “annual” Nunatsiavut Heritage Forums were held in 2023 – the first, in Makkovik from March 2nd-5th, and the second in Rigolet from October 3rd-6th. The Forums this year were a great return to form with multiple heritage related events including community and researcher updates on heritage projects, storytelling with elders, community tours, and Inuktitut lessons. Other highlights from the Forum in Makkovik included a presentation by Noah Nochasak and Andrea Procter on Kajak traditional knowledge and a genealogy workshop conducted by the esteemed Dr. Patty Way. The Forum in Rigolet included a summary of Rigolet’s military history presented by Danny Pottle, and a school visit, which allowed students to interact with artifacts recovered from the area. The Rigolet forum also marked the end of the long-running Double Mer Point Archaeology project. The past summers’ finds and progress were summarized and plans were discussed for the future interpretation and presentation of the site. The Heritage Forum continues to be a valuable resource in identifying future projects and making connections between communities and experts to accomplish heritage-related goals.

In the Office and Around the World

Early in 2022, Ray Chipeniuk, who wished to donate a collection of documents and photographs

archives maintained by the Nunatsiavut Government. With the purchase of this scanner and other digital infrastructure, including a server and dedicated collections management software, NG Archaeology/Heritage is well underway to meeting its goals for management of heritage materials.

This past year, 2023, was a busy year for discussions surrounding repatriation and care of Inuit collections. As museums around the world begin to implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, many are increasingly reaching out to descendent communities regarding ancestral remains and belongings in their care. Working with university researchers and museum personnel, Nunatsiavummiut community members and representatives of the Nunatsiavut Government in 2023 visited collections in Germany and Scotland, and other institutions have initiated contact as well. These initial conversations are an encouraging sign for bridging the gap between institutions descendent communities, and helping in the work of bringing collections and access back to Labrador.

Field Activities Nain Area (NG23.01)

A group of environmental scientists working at sites near Nain informed Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology of a potentially unreported grave. The group had been taking various environmental measurements in the area since 2019. During their work in March 2023, the researchers, guided by Nain local



Figure 3: Map showing NG Archaeology Nain area survey locations.

Joey Angnatok, noticed a small pile of rocks. Joey recognized that it was man-made and remarked it could possibly be an old grave. The lead researcher reached out to NG Archaeology and provided a rough map and some high altitude drone photos that showed the feature.

The reported location of the site was approximately 20km northwest of Nain on top of the steep hill at the eastern end of the small peninsula between Nain Bay and Tikkoatokak Bay (Figure 3). The site is 4 km to the east of the well-known skidoo portage trail on the ‘neck’ of the peninsula and overlooks Nain Bay. As the site would be challenging to reach in summer, we decided to visit and document the site by skidoo. Due in large part to help from the conservation officers, Richard Maggo and Simon Kohlmeis-

ter, Corey Hutchings and Lena Onalik were able to relocate the site. The feature turned out to not be a burial but instead an incredibly complete example of an Inuit stone fox trap, now designated HdCl-05 (Figure 4). The trap is roughly 1.5m by 2m and made mostly of flat stones that appear to have been collected from nearby. The location is at a high elevation of over 120m and situated over 600m from the ocean. No other features were recorded at the site but there was still a significant amount of snow on the ground.

After informing the researchers of what we found, they sent along additional drone photos taken in August 2021. The researchers indicated that these earlier photos did not seem to show the trap, suggesting that it may be of recent construction (Robert Way and Yifeng Wang, personal communication). The building of Inuksuit, trail markers, stone hunting blinds, and caches is a tradition that is still active among Labrador Inuit (e.g. Larkham and Brake 2011), but there are no records of recently-built stone fox traps. For this trap, there was notable differential lichen growth between rock faces that are exposed to the sun and areas that are in shade. These correspond to the current arrangement of the stones. Additionally one white rounded stone on the ground had been recently dislodged from the top of the feature, leaving a shadow in lichen growth,

Figure 4: Stone fox trap, approx. views (left to right) southeast, southwest, and south (with Simon Kohlmeister).



and the stone itself has been inverted and shows no lichen growth on the newly exposed face. The dating of stone features has been a constant struggle for archaeologists as some are still in active use by people and the making of new features is a widespread and popular activity. In this specific example, we do not believe that the trap is of recent construction but it did raise questions about why it was not visible in the earlier drone pictures (e.g. albedo, sun angle, shadows, vegetation, etc.) and if drone pictures are always suitable for identifying features.



Figure 5: Drone photo over tent rings at HbCh-08.

The winter picture is incredibly clear, with the rock of the trap contrasting with the snow, whereas, as can be seen in the handheld pictures, the mottled colour of the surrounding bedrock is an exact match with the stones used to construct the trap. This is working to camouflage the trap in the summer drone pictures. In addition, the drone pictures are at slightly different angles, with the summer shot placing a boulder directly behind the trap removing the contrast with the skyline and placing the feature in the shadow of the boulder. All of this shows that despite the value in drone photography for survey and documentation of archaeological features, special care must be taken to capture various angles and lighting conditions to give an accurate representation.

Iglosiatik Island (NG23.01)

On August 31, we received a Land Use Application for the construction of a cabin on Iglosiatik Island, approximately 50km southeast of Nain - a popular location for goose hunting. On review of the application, the site requested was close to three previously reported sites. The largest of these sites, HbCh-01 (Figure 3), is a large Inuit village site consisting of 16 semi-subterranean sod houses, and is acknowledged as an important pre-contact site on the central Labrador coast (Kaplan 1983; Whitridge and

Woollett 2008). The other sites nearby consist of a small Intermediate site (HbCh-03) and a small suspected Dorset site (HbCh-04). Based on the proximity to these known sites, it was decided that the location should be visited before a decision was made.

On September 7, Deirdre Elliott and Corey Hutchings, accompanied by Conservation Officer Richard Maggo, traveled by boat to the Island. Large numbers of tent rings and other surface features were visible immediately upon landing. To the east of the small cove that serves as the most obvious boat landing there is a 150 x 50 m flat area that rises slowly to the north toward the location of known sites. This whole area is covered with overlapping tent rings, caches, and hunting blinds. No dating was possible for the tent rings from our visual inspection, but the site was free of modern features and with the exception of some plastic shotgun shells and an empty snack-sized bag of Ruffles All-Dressed chips, recently past its best-before date, in the larger of the hunting blinds. A walking survey was conducted of the area but no artifacts were located. A large number of stone features are clearly visible in our overhead drone photos (Figure 5). Kaplan (1983:462), in her description of the area around HbCh-01, references tent rings nearby, but they are not recorded in any of



Figure 6: Rigolet Cemetery, view to northwest.

the existing Site Record Forms, and therefore, given their distance from the sod houses and other previously recorded features (~250m), were given a distinct Borden number (HbCh-09).

Based on these findings, the requested location for the cabin was found to be inappropriate, but alternative location 100m west was surveyed and test pitted with no archaeological evidence being uncovered. This area was forwarded to the Lands Dept. and was accepted as a compromise.

Rigolet Area (NG23.02)

In the fall of 2022, the NG archaeology office was contacted on behalf of the Town of Rigolet with concerns related to two cemeteries. The first of these was the old cemetery within town limits. Many of the grave markers were missing, and the area, though recently cleared, had until recently been significantly overgrown, making maintenance and re-marking difficult. The second cemetery lies 10km southwest of Rigolet at Moliak. There are also issues here around inability to identify actual graves due to length of time since burial, and this concern is magnified due to this graveyard still being in active use. Climate change is also a larger concern at Moliak, as with its low elevation and sandy soil there are concerns of gravesites being at risk of exposure or erosion. Because of the lateness of the season, we were forced to hold off visiting until the spring when the snow and ice conditions were better. On June 19th, 2023, Deirdre and Corey conducted preliminary surveys to assess both

sites for their suitability for future work such as Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR).

Rigolet in town

The cemetery is not actively in use today except for visitation and is situated a short distance from the town school. The historic record of the cemetery is currently unknown, but standing headstones date from the late 1800s to the early 2000s. Markers are of all kinds with a mix of granite, limestone, wooden, slate, and possibly some military headstones (Figure 6). A modern fence appears to have been erected within the last 5 years or so. This fence has a diamond layout with N,E,S,W corners, and does not completely align with at least some of the graves, which are on an east-west alignment. The fenced area of the cemetery is roughly 30m wide by 40m long and possibly a little wider in the SW corner. Based on old clearing and what looked to be leveled but regularly mounded areas, we suspect that there may be graves outside the fence, on the southwest side.

The ground surface slopes steeply to the south/southwest and despite the fenced area having been cleared of vegetation in the last couple of years; the surface is hummocky, both from graves and from tree and alder stumps. Based on nearby exposed soil the matrix of the graveyard is likely peaty and rocky with a mix of cobbles and small boulders. Along the NE side, inside the fence, a small run-off incipient stream leaves the ground muddy and marshy. There



Figure 7: Drone photo over Moliak cemetery, view east.

are a number of aboveground obstacles including several standing headstones, a few graves with picket fence surrounds, and unfilled grave cuts now filled with water, which do not lend themselves to an uninterrupted uniform grid. Additionally, the graves do not follow a single alignment, making going between the headstones difficult. This location is therefore not suited to GPR, and other detection and mapping methods are being explored.

Moliak Cemetery

This cemetery has been in use by a handful of families since the 1800s, and is still in occasional use today. The original site record form for the site gives the impression of only a few graves, but there are actually dozens. The most recent headstone seen on this trip was dated 2007, and some individuals have indicated that they intend to be buried here themselves. Many graves are marked, but some markers are now missing or have rotted away.

We visited the Moliak (AKA Mulliak, Mulliauk, Moliach) cemetery in the afternoon of June 19th, with boat travel and expert navigation provided by NG Rigolet Conservation Officer David Wolfrey. The graveyard is markedly different from Rigolet and appears to be a better candidate for GPR in all respects. The whole of the area is quite flat with no obvious rocks above grade (other than those used as

head and foot grave markers) and with less than 5 degrees of slope across the whole area. The substrate, where visible, consists of beach sand covered by a thin vegetation layer. Vegetation consisted of some sparse (relative to a forest) trees (tamarack and spruce) and bushes, but mostly open patches of caribou moss and/or low crowsberry. Graves seem to be largely oriented east west, and most appear to be in well-aligned rows. There is currently no standing fence enclosing the area - there seems to have been a log-post fence along the east side of the cemetery above the shore-break, but it has since collapsed and that edge is eroding. Despite this lack of a formal edge, the dimensions can be roughly estimated at 50m x 50m. Obstacles to GPR are limited and mostly include the at least 2 dozen grave markers. These markers are a mix of headstones (many standing, some fallen, some with footstones), several wooden crosses, some wooden planks, and some small piles of cobbles that may be grave markers. Most marked and visible graves are clustered on the point that projects into the cove but a number of standing stones are further inland inside the treeline. No large raised grave mounds, but some small sunken mounds and a few grave cuts that do not seem to have been filled exist.

Our time on site was limited by the falling tide, and it was quite windy and very sunny, so the drone pictures (e.g. Figure 7) required editing before producing an acceptable 3D drone map of the area. The processed drone imagery and the digital surface model allowed for the detailing of a number of grave cuts that were invisible on the ground. Existing site records for Moliak Cove (GaBp-08) indicate the presence of a habitation site with the remains of two sod and three plank houses. Although the records plot this site in the same location as the cemetery (on the inner/westernmost point on the south side of Moliak Cove), we observed no house remains here, and believe them to be on another prominent point within the cove (see updated SRF for GaBp-08).

Rigolet Area Summary

We reported these findings to the community at the Heritage Forum in October. The consensus was that additional work should be completed and that there was support to take whatever steps were required to identify and protect the burials. Maria Lear of Memorial University, whom we had contacted to assess the suitability of the sites for GPR, was in attendance, and presented on the process and limitations of GPR. She agreed that only the Moliak site was a good candidate, and planning is underway to decide when this work may be completed. Beyond GPR, discussions about further historical research and other data collection methods are ongoing.

Double Mer Point

For a few weeks in July and August, Corey Hutchings and Deirdre Elliott alternated in spending time in the field at Double Mer Point with the crew under the direction of Lisa Rankin, for the final year of the Double Mer Point Archaeology Project. Corey had first worked at Double Mer Point (DMP) in 2013, when Lisa conducted some initial testing before taking on the full excavation. Deirdre had been a DMP crewmember from 2015-2018, and it was here that she found her passion for Labrador archaeology. The end of the project is bittersweet; though we are sad that the long-running community-initiated project has seen its last day in the field, it has already produced a large body of research, with potential for much more, and has garnered public interest locally and nation-wide. We look forward to future research, and to working with the community toward developing public interpretation at the site.

Nutak Family Project

In the summer of 2023, Department of Language, Culture and Tourism – Archaeology/Heritage with the assistance of representatives from each department of the Nunatsiavut Government had planned to lead two reunions at Hebron and Nutāk for the remaining Elders of both locations. The current total number of evictees is 71; 43 Hebronimiut and 28 Nutāmiut. Due to the logistical challenges of hosting these remote location reunions for the Elders in a safe and timely manner, sadly, the decision to postpone the reunions until summer of 2024 was made.

With the funding we had secured internally, the Minister of LCT at the time recommended we use the funds to bring some of the evictees of Nutak/Okkak Bay area home, a project similar to the Hebron Family Archaeology project that NG Archaeology/Heritage has hosted in the past. The evictees of Nutāk- Okkak Bay were not included in selection for the Hebron Family Archaeology Project, so that is where the request was coming from. We had a small group of evictees who indicated that they were capable of traveling by speedboat and quickly made arrangements to do the project during the week of August 14-18, 2023.

The support team consisted of bear guards, mental health support, and maintenance staff, cook and boat drivers. Richard Maggo, Nain's conservation officer and his summer student Peter Dicker drove the NG staff boat, Shawn Solomon captained the Elders boat under charter from Avani Adventures, Simon Kohlmeister was bear guard and human GPS. His family was part of the Nutāk as well as Hebron relocations, Helena Kautjasiak was cook, interpreter translator and family support, Rutie Lampe was the official Mental Health support person, John Maggo was the maintenance person, and Lena Onalik was the project lead. Each member of the team wore multiple hats to ensure a safe program for the Elders. We had assistance with transporting our personal gear from Samuel Ittulak, NG maintenance as well as newly hired conservation officer Emma Rose Murphy who helped move supplies on the way up to Nutāk and back to Nain but did not stay for the week.

For the duration of the week, the group planned to visit areas of importance to the Elders and their families which included the former community

of Okkak, Silutalik/Cutthroat, Ullik, Ogatsiuvik, and Naparttusuak, all while using Nutâk as their base camp.

On Monday, August 14th, the group were greeted at the wharf by the Nain Brass band, OKâla-Katiget Radio Society as well as community members who bid them farewell and safe journey to their former home in Nutâk/Okkak Bay. There was a storm over the weekend and seas had not fully calmed on the open water outside. The group traveling in four small open speedboats journeyed as far as Fish Island off the coast of South Aulatsivik Island. They waited out the winds for several hours before deciding to return to Nain and try again the next day.

In the early hours of August 15th, the group departed Nain for Nutâk and successfully arrived in the late morning after journeying through the inside route from Cape Kiglapait to Okkak Bay, Naparttusuak then over to Nutâk. It was a powerful and heartfelt experience to be with the Elders as they returned to their former homeland together. Everyone was overcome with emotion.

On August 16th, it became clear that we would have to cut our trip short by a day due to impending weather on the 18th and a self-defense polar bear kill to which the Conservation Officers needed to attend. That day, we visited Silutalik, which is located on Cutthroat Island, and also known as Cutthroat. It was once a fishing camp for people living in the area, and after relocation, families continued to come to the area to fish and hunt seasonally. From here, we went by Opingavitsoak. The winds were too strong on shore and we could not make the landing, so we went on to Ullik. From Ullik we continued on to Okkak through the inside travel route. Our group decided to have a boil up on the beach. We fetched water for our kettle from the stream that still runs through the abandoned community. The alder brush has taken over all the trails and is coming up through the stone foundations, which made walking around very difficult. It was almost not possible to land. Despite this, the Elders were able to collect rhubarb, which still grows in the garden. People continue to return every summer to collect rhubarb from Okkak. On August 17th, after breaking camp, we went northwest to Ogatsiuvik. We spent some time walking along the beach and telling stories. We found some old tent rings, which were probably from the period

that one of the Elders' family were there. From there, we decided that we would continue up to Okkak Bay and have a boil up inside of Martin Island, before returning to Nain

Though we met with rough seas, polar bear calls, and boat trouble, having the opportunity to share the experience of returning to the homelands with the Elders is very rewarding and heartwarming. The Nutâk- Okkak Bay Elders who accompanied us on this project were just children in the 1950's when their families were made to leave their homes. Their way of life has changed significantly since the evictions happened 65 plus years ago in 1956/57 and Hebron in 1959. Even though the Elders are getting up in age, they have valuable knowledge they are itching to share with anyone who will listen. Some of the Elders worried that this experience would be their last to their homelands. Being able to be part of that experience is almost indescribable. Our Elders are our living connection to the past. They have knowledge and experience that only comes with age. It makes you wish you could do more for them. I will end with a quote from mental health support, Rutie Lampe, "They shared many stories and memories of the way they lived with their families, who their family members were, what they hunted and done to live the best way off the land/sea and air. It gladdened their hearts, and they had felt a lot better in their well-being to go home again. Nakummek."

Conclusion

Field activities were significantly reduced this year due to greater in-office requirements and wider non-archaeological heritage activities that are falling to the office. This was coupled with a seeming decline in external research interest. In the coming year we have laid out a multistage plan to identify critical research areas, and to engage outside researchers by promoting Nunatsiavut as a unique and inviting research area with numerous community-supported projects and massive potential for interesting and relevant archaeological research.

Acknowledgements

We extend our sincerest thanks to all those who made our 2023 fieldwork possible: Jamie Brake, Stephen Hull, John Erwin, and Delphina Mercer at the PAO; Lori Temple and Elaine Anton at The Rooms; NG Conservation officers Simon Kohlmeister, Richard Maggo, Emma Rose Murphy, and David

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Excavations at the Summer Houses, Gander River

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Figure 1: The rock weir, known as “the works” photographed at low tide.
Caution is needed when navigating the river in this area by boat to avoid damaging propellers.

Located on the east bank of the Gander River near the community of Gander Bay is the probable remains of an early eighteenth-century seasonal commercial salmon fishing station operated by George Skeffington. The site, Gander River 3 (DhAp-01), is commonly referred to by locals as the Summer Houses and contains well-preserved and relatively undisturbed early eighteenth-century industrial fishing contexts, including a largely intact rock fishing weir in the river (see Figure 1). Archival records suggest that the Summer Houses, along with other salmon stations established by Skeffington throughout Bonavista Bay, had cleared lands with extensive infrastructure related to the harvesting and curing of salmon for markets in the Mediterranean (see Figure 2) (Skeffington 1720:332; Taylor 1985; Rollmann 1994). (Insert Figure 2 here) There are few historical and archaeological records on the early salmon fishery in Newfoundland. As a result, this ear-

ly industry is not well understood and has not been subject to significant research, with only eight archaeological sites on the island identified as having evidence of historic salmon fishing activities. However, recently research into Newfoundland’s historic salmon fishery had been undertaken, with efforts made to better understand Skeffington’s Gander River salmon fishery and, subsequently, his larger 1720-1729 salmon fishing enterprise (Roberts 2021; Brake *et al.*, 2021; Brake *et al.*, 2022).

Archaeological Background

Ralph Pastore, who speculated that it could be the location of Skeffington’s Gander River salmon fishery, had previously visited the site in 1998. During this visit, he did some testing and collected over 300 historic artifacts dating to the early eighteenth-century. However, a record of his activities and the details about the site and the weir were unclear and partially incorrect (*for further explanation, see: Brake et*

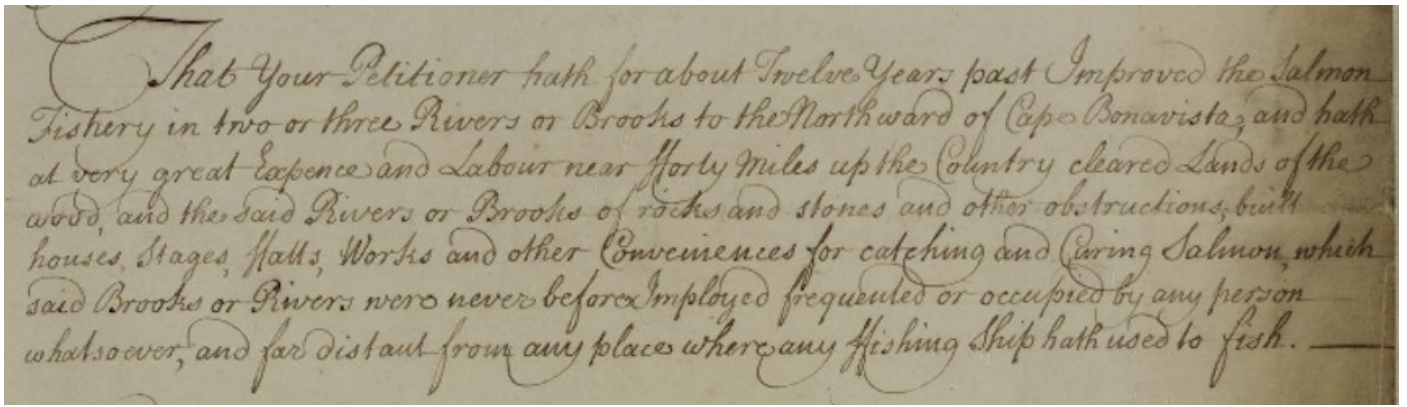


Figure 2: George Skeffington’s letter petitioning a monopoly over salmon fishing rights on the rivers in the Bonavista Bay region, which he was successful in obtaining (Skeffington 1720:332).

al., 2021:15-18). The site was not revisited until 2020, when Jamie Brake and Allan Brake carried out additional testing at the site. Their work revealed more historic artifacts and potential buried structural features, as indicated by the presence of low mounds. They were also able to determine the approximate size of the site using a metal detector and they record-

ed the rock weir. The date of the weir is uncertain, however, local oral tradition suggests that it was originally constructed by the Beothuk, who speared salmon on there until European salmoniers displaced them and took possession of the weir, and ultimately reconstructed it (Saunders 1986; Brake *et al.*, 2021). Historic records indicate that Skeffington had used weirs

Figure 3: Looking south at Chermaine Liew using the RTK.



to catch salmon during his occupation of the site, making it possible that the reconstruction of the weir coincides with his Gander River operation (Saunders 1986; Rollmann 1994; Roberts 2021). In 2021, a preliminary artifact analysis of the 1998 collection was completed as part of an undergraduate Honours thesis (Roberts 2021), which has further developed into investigating the site as part of my MA research and thesis.

Fieldwork

As part of this research, two visits to the Summer Houses were made to conduct fieldwork under permit 23.14. In August 2023, over 3 days, Anthony Roberts and I made an initial visit to the site by foot. The visit included completing a foot survey



Figure 4: Test pit 14 (trench) the two iron axe heads and 6 rolled lead fishing net weights.

of the site, collecting artifacts from the surface and shoreline, and capturing images of the weir with a drone. In September 2023, with the help of an archaeology graduate research assistant, ZheMin (Chermaine) Liew, we visited the site by riverboat guided by Raymond Butler, a local Gander River guide and outfitter. The objectives of this fieldwork were to attempt to gain a better understanding of the historic salmon fishing operations and infrastructure at the Summer Houses and to shed light on the daily lives of the seasonal salmon fishing crews who worked there

In September, over the course of four days, Chermaine Liew and me carried out a series of surface surveying and targeted test pitting. However, due to the extreme overgrowth of trees and other dense vegetation, only the clearings throughout the site could be surveyed and subsequently tested. We surveyed the site with a metal detector and used pin flags to mark the location of each metal detector hit. Fol-

lowing this, Chermaine recorded each pin flag using Real-Time Kinematic (RTK), which will allow us to produce a map of the site in GIS with every metal detector hit mapped on it (see Figure 3). We successfully recorded approximately 300 metal detector hits with the RTK in the accessible and surveyed areas of the site. After our survey was complete, we selected where we would test pit. The locations of these pits were determined based on the location(s) of previous test pits and where there were areas of highly concentrated metal detector hits. Additionally, we test pitted a portion of the site that appears to be frequented by amateur metal detectorists who have been conducting their own unauthorized digging at the northern end of the site, evidenced by several dispersed holes in the ground.

We completed 14 test pits and extended the last test pit into a small trench. The first six test pits at the northern end of the site contained only modern

Figure 5: Test pit 14 (trench), additional rolled lead fishing net weights found beneath the iron axe heads. Pictured is the lead sheet with a pierced hole that may have been the material used to create these weights.





Figure 6: Chermaine Liew holding the iron animal trap found in test pit 13.

garbage (aluminum Pepsi and beer cans and tabs); however, the remaining eight test pits were located throughout the forested areas of the site and continued to the location of the weir. All eight of these test pits contained rich and undisturbed artifact deposits whose contents were similar to the items collected by Brake in 2020 and Pastore in 1998. We collected 182 items from seven of these test pits, and the last test pit, which we extended into a small trench, contained another 108 items. The location of the trench appears to have been an area where rolled lead net fishing weights were stored, or perhaps manufactured, as evidenced by the discovery of a cache of a dozen of them and one that appears to be a “work in-progress” weight, all piled up between wrought iron axe heads (see Figure 4 & 5). The test pits produced faunal remains, fragmented kaolin pipes and pipe bowls, wine bottle glass, various ceramic types, a collection of lead shot, many rolled lead net weights, cooking pot fragments, and an extensive collection of iron nails - none of which appear to be modified. Interestingly, we also uncovered a large piece of an iron animal trap (see Figure 6).

It may be possible that trapping activities were occurring at the Summer Houses during the

same time that the site was occupied by salmon fishermen. However, future research is required to confirm this. On the other hand, it may post-date Skeffington’s fishing operation and could be associated with trapping activities in the area of the late eighteenth century-early nineteenth century that Raymond Butler described to us. From our surface finds, we collected a number of lead fragments, a lead button, a large iron hook, a complete kaolin pipe bowl, a partial case bottle base, plate glass, and eighteenth-century decorated English stemware. Despite our intentions to investigate the

potential buried structural remains reported by Brake *et al.*, (2020), we were unable to achieve any progress with that goal as the dense overgrowth of ground vegetation made most of the forest floor difficult to clear. We were also unfortunately met with a forecast of poor weather and significant amounts of rain due to weather associated with Hurricane Lee, which resulted in us ending our fieldwork one day ahead of schedule to get off the river and back to St. John’s.

During our time on the river, we quickly noticed that the Summer Houses and the surrounding river environment are falling victim to coastal erosion, evidenced by artifacts washing up on the shoreline daily and sinking riverbank edges. The Gander River experiences several significant daily fluctuations in water level, and the site is located near the mouth of the river near the intertidal zone, which further subjects the site to tidal fluctuations. In September, we experienced a significant drop in water levels, allowing us to walk several meters into the riverbed, almost to the middle of the river (see Figure 7). This drop in water levels was quickly followed by fast rising water levels, which nearly submerged the rock weir and forced us to move our gear to higher ground.

It also cannot be ignored that the area is often frequented by amateur metal detectorists, hunters and fishermen, logging activities, cabin construction, and ATV activities. In 2020, the PAO documented evidence of unauthorized digging at the site, which we also saw evidence for during our fieldwork. Upon our arrival in September, two large holes were present in the clearing at the northern end of the site that were not present on the initial visit in August. It appears that the portion of the site that dates to the early eighteenth century has remained relatively undisturbed by any unauthorized digging. This may be due to the dense forest vegetation that has, for the most part, concealed the site.

Field Results

Preliminary artifact analysis of the entire collection from the Summer Houses has provided al-

most 600 artifacts dating from the late seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century. This assemblage includes evidence of infrastructure (e.g., 235 iron nails of varying sizes), fishing activities, tool use, food and beverage consumption, cooking activities, personal objects, and tobacco use. The material culture collection, combined with the few historic records available, and the intact weir, have all provided ample evidence to the long-standing speculation that the Summer Houses could be the location of George Skeffington's early eighteenth-century Gander River salmon fishery.

As noted by Brake *et al.*, (2021 and 2022) and Roberts (2021), the research potential for the Summer Houses remains high and certainly warrants further and more extensive archaeological investigation. Understanding this fishing station more may open

Figure 7: Gander River during a significant drop in water level.

Note: the items to the left had to be moved to avoid the river levels quickly rising a few hours later.



opportunities to possibly identifying more salmon stations on Newfoundland's rivers and aid in our understanding of this early industry.

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A glass bead chrono-typology for eastern Québec and Labrador, 1560-1870

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A Master's thesis in historical archaeology from a maritime perspective analysed glass beads from 78 sites located along the Québec-Labrador coastline from the Saguenay River to northern Labrador. Archaeology on these sites has revealed about 20,000 beads, mostly of glass but a few also made of jet (a black stone), paste (Prosser process beads) or a frit core decorated with a tin-glaze motif. Several of the main sites studied in this thesis are familiar to Labrador archaeologists, as they include Red Bay, Peter's Brook, Huntingdon Island, Pigeon Cove, Eskimo Island I, Snook's Cove, Double Mer Point, Black Island and Kongu. Québec archaeologists will also recognise Hôtel-Tadoussac, Pointe-à-John, Chicoutimi, Métabetchouane, Ashuapmushuan, Lac-Nicabau, Mingan Terre-Ferme, Nétagamou, Petit-Mécatina, Brador, Hart-Chalet and Belles-Amours.

An initial goal of the project was to discover the regional chrono-typological sequence for glass beads covering the entire period from about 1560 to 1870. For the 16th century, the regional equivalent of Glass Bead Period 1 (1580-1600) as defined for southern Ontario, two distinct assemblages occur in the Strait of Belle Isle (Red Bay, Blanc-Sablon) and along the Saguenay fjord. Three diagnostic types found in the Strait of Belle Isle are oval jet beads, a seven-layer chevron (III_m1), and square-sided blue tubular beads often called Nueva Cadiz (Ic). They contrast with varieties occurring along the Saguenay, dated to 1590-1610 by Jean-François Moreau (1994), namely four-layer chevrons (III_k1), indigo "rice grains" with fuzzy white stripes, sometimes spiraled (II_b67, 69, 72), "gooseberries" (II_b18, 19, 58) and frit-core beads. The presence of two regional typologies indicates that different 16th-century supply networks brought the beads to the Québec-Labrador coastline.

The Saguenay region, including Lac Saint-Jean, is rich in specimens belonging to Glass Bead Period 2 (1600-1630), a group associated with the first French fur trade monopolies, and likely manufactured in Rouen. These beads are remarkably ho-

mogeneous, abundant, and tightly dated to this period throughout the Northeast. The diagnostic types identified in Ontario by Thomas and Ian Kenyon (1983) appear to hold true wherever these beads occur. These types occur very rarely along the coast east of the Saguenay region, and we found none in Labrador. As well, we found none of the types associated with Dutch trade networks that radiated from the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys (Bradley 2006: 43). This detail is noteworthy for archaeologists trained in Ontario, where specialists use the spillover of Dutch beads from New York to sub-divide Glass Bead Period 2.

As in other regions of the Northeast, it proved difficult to identify a set of beads that reliably belong to Glass Bead Period 3 (GBP 3), which Ontario archaeologists assign to 1630-1650, ending with the destruction of Huronia. Québec archaeologists, following Moreau (1994), extend this period to 1670, a *terminus ante quem* that better reflects regional findings and coincides with the reorientation of fur trade networks away from the Great Lakes and toward the Lac Saint-Jean interior. GBP 3 is also noteworthy for shifts in European production. The opacifying agent used in white and coloured beads changes from tin (Sn) to antimony (Sb), first among Dutch-traded beads and later among French-traded beads. Possibly, this technological change reflected the end of beadmaking in Holland and Rouen, as Dutch and French trading companies appear to have obtained their beads from workshops in Venice and the Bavaria-Bohemia border region. In our study region, circular blue beads (II_a40, etc.) found at sites on the northern Gulf shore track the eastward penetration of Canadian French trade networks. The first of three distinct waves of Cornalines d'Aleppo (IV_a-) also appears at this time, also on the northern Gulf coast. On several single-component sites in the Saguenay region, the full range of GBP2 beads, as well as II_a40 examples, rub shoulders with Saint Lawrence Iroquoian pottery. Examples of II_a40 blue beads occurred on Inuit sites (winter houses) along the Québec Lower North Shore, including Belles-Amours

and Hart-Chalet that lie less than 25 kilometres from the Québec-Labrador frontier. However, we found no diagnostic GBP 3 beads in Labrador.

Early glass bead chrono-typologies did not extend beyond 1650 or 1670, although George Quimby (1966) evoked a “Long Historical Period” covering the rest of the French Regime, to 1760, while William Fitzgerald (1990) suggested the creation of a Glass Bead Period 4 also extending to 1760. In our study, the use of typological cross-references to sites in southern Québec, Michilimackinac (Stone 1974) and French Louisiana (Brain 1979) allowed us to divide this 90-year period into three shorter phases. For the first phase, estimated as 1670-1700, we could identify only one diagnostic type, a so-called “Roman” bead likely made in Bohemia and found at Petit-Mécatina, seen as a black wound bead with an irregular trail of white glass wrapping several times around the equator (IIj2). The second phase, estimated as 1700-1730, saw an influx of several new types and a general abundance of beads that extended eastward to Brador, southern Labrador and as far north as Hamilton Inlet. While their date range may exceed this phase, spherical, monochrome wound beads are especially abundant. At Red Bay East (EkBc-17), for example, they show Pierre Constantin’s re-use of a 16th-century Basque whaling tryworks. Diagnostic varieties include a second wave of Cornalines d’Aleppo, numerous at Peter’s Brook, as well as so-called “peanuts” that are white tubular beads whose ends are lamp-rounded in the a speo method, causing them to become bulbous and sometimes droop (often classified as IIa15). A black bead with spiral white stripes (IIb’2) and amber-coloured wound beads (WId1) belong to these years, as do wound beads moulded to a “raspberry” shape (WIIId). The high number of diagnostic types for this period, likely made in Venice, sets it apart from the previous and following phases within Glass Bead Period 4. During the third phase, estimated as 1730-1760, some varieties introduced in the previous phase still occur, but are notably joined by monochrome wound faceted types (WIIc, WIIIf) from Bavaria or Bohemia. Imitation wampum, that is, stubby tubular beads in blue, black or pale blue hues, broadly concentrate between 1700 and 1760 (Ia2, 5, 6, 12, 16).

Finally, Québec-Labrador bead collections extend well into the 19th century and allow us to sug-

gest a logical continuation with a Glass Bead Period 5 (1760-1870), divided into two phases. Following the British conquest of New France, trade bead networks gradually rebuilt and by the 1780s, the North-West Company of Montréal gained control of the string of formerly French “King’s Posts” in eastern Québec. Moravian missionary traders founded posts in Labrador, supplied from London in conjunction with the Hudson’s Bay Company. In the meantime, Venetian and Bohemian patenôtriers adopted new styles and technologies, so that beads from about 1760-1830 show unprecedented exuberance. Dating these beads relies on tight contexts in western Canada, notably from 1795-1815 and 1788-1831 at York Factory (Karklins & Adams 2013) and the 1791-1798 Fort Rivière-Tremblante (Karklins 2021). Diagnostic “fancy beads” from this period include wound eye beads (WIIIb), red-on-pink Cornalines d’Aleppo, and oblong beads with inlaid, coloured vegetal motifs reminding of foliage around the equator (WIIIb-), as well as large pearl-coloured oval beads (WIIb1).

A second phase within the proposed GBP 5, estimated as 1830-1870, coincides with the appearance faceted pressed-moulded beads, a technology developed in Bohemia. Such beads (MPII), previously mistaken for garnet (stone) beads, occur at Red Bay and extend the sequence at this site – though not without hiatus – from about 1560 to 1870. Crimson-on-white Cornalines d’Aleppo (IVa9), monochrome tubular faceted beads (If), and tubular hexagonal beads (IIIIf1) arrive during this phase, notably at sites in northern Labrador.

In all, at least 24 bead varieties found in eastern Québec and Labrador from 1560 to 1870 appear to have a diagnostic temporal value within ranges of 20 to 50 years. The earliest beads may come from Venice or Paris (Turgeon 2001; Loewen & Dussubieux 2021). From 1600 to 1630 approximately, Rouen was a major supplier (Loewen 2019; Karklins & Bonneau 2019). Subsequently, Venice and the Bavaria-Bohemia border region were the main suppliers (Ross 1979, 1990; Sofia 2021), although in the later 19th century, some beads also came from China (Burgess & Dussubieux 2007). This shifting landscape of bead production grafted onto equally complex transatlantic distribution networks based in France, Holland and England. One of our goals was to analyse maritime networks using the time-space distribu-

tion of bead types. This approach is also useful for understanding bead complexes, that is, bead types that occur together. Glass beads are not only dating tools, but as we learn more about their provenances and maritime distribution networks, they also shed new light on the structures of trade from the patenôtrier's workshop in Europe to Iroquoian, Innu, and Inuit households in Québec-Labrador.

Research for this project took place during the first year of the global Covid-19 pandemic, which closed many archaeological laboratories as well as the provincial boundaries east of Québec. Fortunately, we could count on an inventory of beads from 984 Québec sites conducted by Chloe Lee-Hone during a previous "Les pots et les perles" project funded by SSHRC. We received a truly heart-warming boost from Aubrey O'Toole, a graduate student at Memorial University who photographed thousands of beads from Labrador sites held at The Rooms, and from Lori Temple who tirelessly pulled the beads from storage. Money provided by the ArchéoSciences–ArchéoSociale research team, funded by FRQSC, helped to remunerate Aubrey O'Toole for her priceless contribution. Not least, Stephen Hull of the Provincial Archaeology Office worked magic by identifying sites with beads in Labrador, without which this

project could not have happened. Although the saying refers to a different context, it seems appropriate to say that for projects of this scale, "it takes a village"! Contributions from Karlis Karklins were also pivotal in this study. His guidance and constant contribution to ongoing discussions significantly enhanced the direction of the research.

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Diagnostic Bead Types from 19 Important Archaeological Sites												
			Haskimo I, H2 (GaBp-1) <1760	Huntingdon Island (FKBg-3) 1720-1740	Bradford Post (EiBh-84) 1703-1760	Mingan Post (EiBhDa-8) 1700-1732	Peut-Mécatina (EiBh-3) Phase 3 : 1671-1730	Red Bay East (EiBh-17) >16th Century	Poste-de-Traité-de-Chicoutimi (DeEs-1 & 2) 1590- ≈ 1610/1615	Hôtel Tadoussac (DaEk-10) Phase 1: >16th Century	Blanc-Sablon (EiBh-1B) >16th Century	Red Bay, Saddle Island (EiBh-1) Phase 1 : 1530-1580
Nueva Cadiz	Ic, IIIc'1 to IIIc'4											2
Jet	N/A										1	2
Frit-core	N/A								1	1		
Chevron	IIIk3								1	5		
	IIIml							1				
Gooseberry	IIb18-19-58				22	27	2		1	2		
Large blue bead with white stripes	IIb67-69-72								11	1		
Rice grain	IIa15								111	109		
Cornaline with black or green interior	IVa-		64	7	71	14	6		10	10		
Roman, or black with sinuous whites lines	IIj2						2					
Drawn black bead with spiral white lines	IIb'2						2					
Large cornaline with black interior	IVa-			1								
Wound faceted	WIIIf			1		2						
Wound faceted	WIIe*		7						1			
White with 6 red stripes	IVb*(a)		17									
Peanut	IIa15		1				1					
Raspberry and Melon	WIIId*- WIIIf					2						
Wampum-like/ Wampum	Ia2-5-6		1						156	151		
Wound with inlaid decorations	WIIIf*											
Cornaline with pink interior	IVa*(a)											
Wound amber coloured	WIIId1-											
Wound with foliage inlaid	WIIIf*											
Mold-Pressed, rounded, faceted	MPII											
Blue, white multi-lines	IIb*											
Tubular faceted	If											
Tubular hexagonal	IIIfl											
Cornaline with white interior	IVa9				1			1				
			French Regime 1670-1700					Basque Period and French beginnings 16th century - 1700				
			French Regime 1700-1760									
			French-Canadian Regime 1725-1760									

			Kamah Bay Mission (HcC-3) >1871	Point St Charles (EiBg-158) 1820-1890	Snook's Cove H2 (GaBp-7) >1860	Kongu (IgCv-7) end of the 18th Century - 19th Century	Black Island (HcC-15) <1776->1800	Double Mer Pt, H1-H3 (GHBc-2) 1760-1810/1830	Red Bay East (EKBC-17) and Peters Brook (EKBC-29) Phases 2-3 1700/1701-1760	Red Bay Saddle Island (EKBC-1) Phase 2: 1701-1732	Pigeon Cove (FIBF-6) 1725-1763/1775
Nueva Cadiz	Ic, IIIc'1 to IIIc'4										
Jet	N/A										
Frit-core	N/A										
Chevron	IIIk3										
	IIIm1										
Gooseberry	Iib18-19-58							1			
Large blue bead with white stripes	Iib67-69-72							1			
Rice grain	IIa15										
Cornaline with black or green interior	IVa-				9	7	> 16	> 229	102	1	17
Roman, or black with sinuous white lines	IIj2						2**				
Drawn black bead with spiral white lines	Iib'2										2
Large cornaline with black interior	IVa-			1	8			2*			
Wound faceted	WIIf										
Wound faceted	WIIf*										
White with 6 red stripes	IVb*(a)							4*			
Peanut	IIa15							4*			
Raspberry and Melon	WIId*- WIIf*							2*			1
Wampum-like/ Wampum	Ia2-5-6		1		1		39	8*	86		
Wound with inlaid decorations	WIIfb*				3		4**	1*	1		
Cornaline with pink interior	IVa*(a)				5	7	8	1*	1		1
Wound amber coloured	WIId1-						1**	2*		1	4
Wound with foliage inlaid	WIIfb*				3		2**				
Mold-Pressed, rounded, faceted	MPII				1					2	
Blue, white multi-lines	Iib*				4			1			
Tubular faceted	If			1	4	1					
Tubular hexagonal	IIIIf1					1					
Cornaline with white interior	IVa9		1	1							
			Moravians/ Hudson Bay Company				Moravians/ North-West Company 1771-1821			French Regime 1670-1700	
										French Regime 1700-1760	
										French-Canadian Regime 1725-1760	



Blair Temple Associates Limited – 2023 Activities

Blair Temple
Consulting Archaeologist

Water Street Infrastructure Improvement Project, St. John’s
2023 marked the final phases of the Water Street Infrastructure Improvement (WSII) project: the completion of the remaining portion of Phase 4 (Prescott Street/Jobs Cove intersection), and Phase 5 (Waldegrave Street/Harbour Drive intersection).

The 2023 season began at the intersection of Water Street with Waldegrave Street and Harbour Drive (Phase 5). Four existing sites were impacted: CjAe-17, 92, 96 and 166. Excavations at the junction of Water Street with Harbour Drive exposed mortared stone foundations from a large commercial structure that stood on the corner of Water Street and Steers Cove (CjAe-92). Portions of this same complex were first recorded in 2008 (GPA 2009). Associated artifacts were sparse, but finds were consistent with a construction date after the 1846 fire, or reuse of foundations constructed shortly before that event.

Excavations on Water Street west of Waldegrave Street, exposed extensive disturbance stemming from the Harbour Interceptor Sewer project excavations in 2008 and 2009 (GPA 2009 and 2010). However, an undisturbed profile exposed at CjAe-96 contained an extensive deposit of sand, containing a variety of late 18th/early 19th century artifacts, including a complete Dutch tobacco pipe bowl. This sand – which does not appear to be local – would have been used in mortar production, either during the post-1846 fire rebuilding process, or more likely during a spurt of growth in the area during the c. 1810s-30s.

Excavations on Water Street, at the base of Waldegrave Street and eastward, exposed part of an undisturbed 17th century deposit. Artifacts were sparse, but the recovery of a mid 17th century tobacco pipe bowl suggests that the deposit may be one the oldest yet recorded in St. John’s.

Once excavations at Phase 5 were complete, the project shifted to the intersection of Water Street and Prescott Street, to conclude Phase 4 infrastructure installation. Excavations at Phase 4 first began in 2021, but due to the size of the project area, the Prescott Street intersection was excluded until 2023. Two existing sites were impacted or exposed (CjAe-73 and CjAe-74) and a new site recorded (CjAe-193). Excavations up through Jobs Cove (CjAe-73 and CjAe-74) exposed the remains of the former mercantile struc-

View of the sand deposit at CjAe-96.





Two tobacco pipe bowls from the sand deposit. The bowl on the right is Dutch.

ture that stood on the corner of Water Street and the former route of Jobs Cove/Hunters Cove from c. 1893 to the late 1960s. Many of the structural features closer to Harbour Drive were concrete and 20th century, but towards Water Street, several mortared stone features were recorded. At the junction with Water Street, further remains of this large commercial structure were exposed. While the area was heavily disturbed, several of the structural features forming the building's basement exhibited evidence of vaulting. Some of these vaulted structural elements may have been re-used from the pre-1892 fire structure. They likely relate to a vaulted storage structure found under adjacent Water Street 2021 (CjAe-65; BTA 2021).

Evidence of the fire of 7 November 1817 was exposed under Water Street immediately north of the post-1892 features; including a mortared stone foundation and various deposits related to post-fire roadwork. Most of the finds were burnt ceramics, in ware types and with decorations typical of the early

19th century. Stratified strata were also exposed under the post-1892 structure's concrete floor, including a deposit of sand used for mortar production after 1817.

On Prescott Street (CjAe-193), excavations exposed more evidence of the 7 November 1817 fire (a second fire occurring westward two weeks later, on the 21st), including structural remains and fire-related deposits. Again, burnt ceramics were most common. Most prominent however was a wide spread of 1846 fire debris, found throughout the bottom of Prescott Street. Finds varied, ranging from tobacco pipe bowls, to a small concentration of bone buttons, to a copper clock-winding key. Not surprisingly, many burnt ceramic sherds were recovered. One concentration included the highly fragmented remains of numerous tankards, possibly suggesting a tavern. Prior to 1846, Prescott Street was positioned further west than today, and these deposits relate to the destruc-

View of an arched foundation feature. Note the brick vaulting extending in two, possibly three, directions.





West profile of water main exploratory unit, showing stratified debris from the 7 November 1817 and 1846 fires.

tion of buildings along the eastern side of Prescott Street’s former route to allow for the shift to its current course.

Bay Bulls (ChAe-15)

Testing and Data-Recovery Excavations

In late June, B. Temple, with the assistance of Pier-Ann Milliard, Robyn Lacy, Ian Petty and Lori Temple, returned to ChAe-15 in Bay Bulls. The initial focus was: (1) to determine whether an organic, fisheries-related deposit dating to the later 17th/early 18th century (identified in 2022), extended inland beyond a gravel road into the central and wet part of the property; and (2) to delineate the landward extent of another late 17th/early 18th century deposit identified a few metres to the west in 2019, and partially excavated in 2021. If time permitted, an additional task was to confirm whether a late 18th century deposit exposed in 2019 elsewhere on the property was secure, and of that date.

Mechanical testing within the wet portion of the property determined that water issues at the site were greater than anticipated, greatly hindering field-

work. Fortunately, excavations did confirm that little of the organic deposit (comprised of stratified branches, wood chips, etc.) identified in 2022 extended beyond the gravel road above the shoreline. Mainly later 19th and 20th century finds were exposed.

Excavation on the landward side of the gravel road to identify more of the late 17th/early 18th century deposit from 2019 and 2021 proved productive. A redeposit of contemporary material was exposed (its depositing likely dating to the late 17th/early 18th as well), containing tobacco pipe fragments and small quantity of ceramics, including Totnes-type and early Westerwald. This redeposit lay on a secure stratum, containing a small quantity of early material, including Totnes-type. This bottom stratum also produced traces of upright wooden posts or poles, possibly the remnants of a fish flake, suggesting a relation with the fisheries-related deposit identified in 2022. These deposits are similar in many respects to those identified and excavated southward, suggesting that the deposit is quite large (BTA 2021; GPA 2019).

The late 18th century deposit within the centre



Late 17th/early 18th century tobacco pipe bowls from ChAe-15.

exterior retaining wall (first recorded in 2007; GPA 2008). The Custom House’s foundation was faced on its exterior with fine sandstone blocks, atop a sturdy mortared stone footing. Between this and the exterior retaining wall, was a c. 1.85 m wide alley extending around to the rear of the structure. The interior face of the retaining wall was faced in neatly laid brick, though the wall’s stonework was quite rough.

Excavation on the eastern side of the property (CjAe-192) exposed sections of a mortared stone sewer (mortared sewers and drains being rare in St. John’s), probably running from an alley on the land-

of the property was tested, and confirmed to be of that date. However, excavations suggested that the deposit was probably secondary. Time permitted additional testing at a possible early deposit discovered in 2019, at the northeast end of the property, near the river. The deposit was found to be a mix of 18th century and 19th century materials.

National War Memorial Restoration Project, St. John’s

BTA completed a desk-based archaeological assessment of the property and surrounding area for the PAO in early 2023, outlining the property’s land-use history and its historic resource potential. In May, BTA monitored the excavation of six geotechnical test pits at the property, with three exposing historic features (BTA 2023a and 2023b).

Between late August and early December 2023, BTA monitored excavations for the installation of new storm and sanitary sewer infrastructure (BTA 2024) through both ends of the property, from Duckworth Street down to Water Street. Excavation on the lower, western trench (on Water Street, CjAe-77), exposed traces of the c. 1847-1892 Custom House and its

ward side of Duckworth Street (west of Kings Road), down to the harbour. The feature contained artifacts dating c. 1830s-1850s. This is one of the features identified during geotechnical testing, at that time tentatively identified as structural. This feature was part of a large effort through the 19th century to deal with residential drainage and water issues in the area, caused partly by a brook adjacent to Kings Road.

On the west side of CjAe-192 were the remains of a linear structure at the rear of the Custom

Exterior of the Custom House’s western wall. Most of the mortared stonework would have been buried during the structure’s life.





Sections from Major Robe’s plan of the 1846 fire (published 1851) and Frederick Page’s 1849 plan of the city three years later. The possible structure reused in c. 1847 is illustrated.

House. Like the Custom House, it was constructed c. 1847 and destroyed in 1892. The building was found to be two separate sections, divided by a stone partition, consistent with some cartographic depiction. Finds from the lowest 1892 fire and destruction-debris within the southern “half” include plate and teapot fragments – suggesting either a dwelling (possibly upstairs), or an office space with dining. The northern “half” of this linear structure has foundation sections noticeably different in quality and construction compared to those southward, and may represent the reuse of pre-1846 foundations. Oddly, the destruction debris within this portion produced no artifacts. However, below the floor or sub-basement surface, were the remains of an early 19th century cel-

lar pit (or similar feature), likely abandoned and back-filled in the aftermath of the February 1816 fire. A lot of burnt ceramic were recovered, as well as other diagnostic finds such as non-cylindrical bottle fragments typical of the early 19th century and Buckley ware ceramic, uncommon in deposits before and after in St. John’s.

On Duckworth Street (CjAe-194), the remains of two structures were exposed. One structure just metres west of Kings Road had a wooden “platform” along its exterior (south), seemingly along the edge of the street; it may have functioned as a sidewalk (though at c. 4.7 m width is atypical). The lack of datable cultural material from the overlying fire-related debris has resulted in an uncertainty re-

Buckley ware pot rim sherds, CjAe-192.





**View of the structural features, Duckworth Street, with traces of the wooden “platform” at right (under the photo scales).
This wood feature was found to extend out from the wall c. 4.7 m.**

Parish Hall Geotechnical Test Pit Monitoring, St. John’s

In April, BTA monitored the mechanical excavation of nine geotechnical test pits throughout the property. Additionally, a series of geotechnical drill holes were drilled throughout the sloped upper property.

Several of the test pits were placed within portions of the property previously assessed by BTA during the demolition of the former Church of England/ Anglican Parish Hall structure in 2021 (BTA 2021). Thus, extensive modern infill was encountered in most. A mortared stone foundation was encountered, though may be a remnant of the former Parish Hall’s footing (and not entirely removed in 2021).

Two test pits closest to the eastern retaining wall exposed traces of a cobble drain, likely part of a similar feature exposed in 2021.

Excavations on the hill (below Harvey Road) to construct an access road for the drill machine exposed redeposits and soil cover typical of tree-covered areas. Small quantities of historic artifacts were exposed.

garding dating, namely, whether the structure was destroyed in 1846 or 1892.

The other structure on Duckworth Street (at the western end of the study area) proved equally odd. The features are of poor construction, with loose bonding, though are confidently part of a post-1846 structure built on the corner of Duckworth Street and an alley opposite the former Gambier Street. This structure had been razed by 1880, and the property sat idle until 1890/91, when G.H. Gaden built a bottling factory on the site. The low quality of the foundation bonding seems odd given the new structure’s function, suggesting that the features may be older but incorporated into the new construction, or were the remains of a temporary structure. Fire debris was more enlightening in terms of diagnostic artifacts, most significantly being several melted Gaden’s bottles dating to c. 1890/91-1892. Evidence of an earlier deposit was exposed as well, likely related to the earlier, post-1846 occupation.

Melted Gaden’s bottles.



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Gerald Penney Associates Ltd

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2023 Report on The Rooms Archaeology and Indigenous Peoples Collections

Lori Temple, Collections Manager, The Rooms

2023 was a very busy year in the Rooms Archaeology unit. The Rooms continues to support researchers, artists and members of the province's Indigenous communities by providing access to the collections. Work continues on updating our collections management software program EMu that continues to improve our ability to manage our collections data.

Highlights of 2023 include

A new exhibition entitled *Fantastic Finds* opened in the summer of 2023, which explores various aspects of Newfoundland and Labrador archaeology by highlighting some of the artifacts and sites found in the province. We have had great feedback from the public and I wanted to say a huge thank you to all those who were involved in the production of this exhibition and helped make it a success. The ex-

hibition is located on The Rooms second-floor Atrium and will be open through to 2025.

[Fantastic Finds: Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador | The Rooms](#)

With financial assistance from a Museums Assistance Program (MAP) grant, The Rooms undertook a 3D scanning project, which introduces members of the province's Indigenous communities to the collections, museum/gallery operations and 3D scanning technology. So far, members of Nunatsiavut and Nunatukavut took part in the project during the fall and early winter of 2023 and we are hoping to continue into 2024 with members of the Innu Nation scheduled to visit in January. We have also reached out to the Mi'kmaq communities to collaborate on this project.

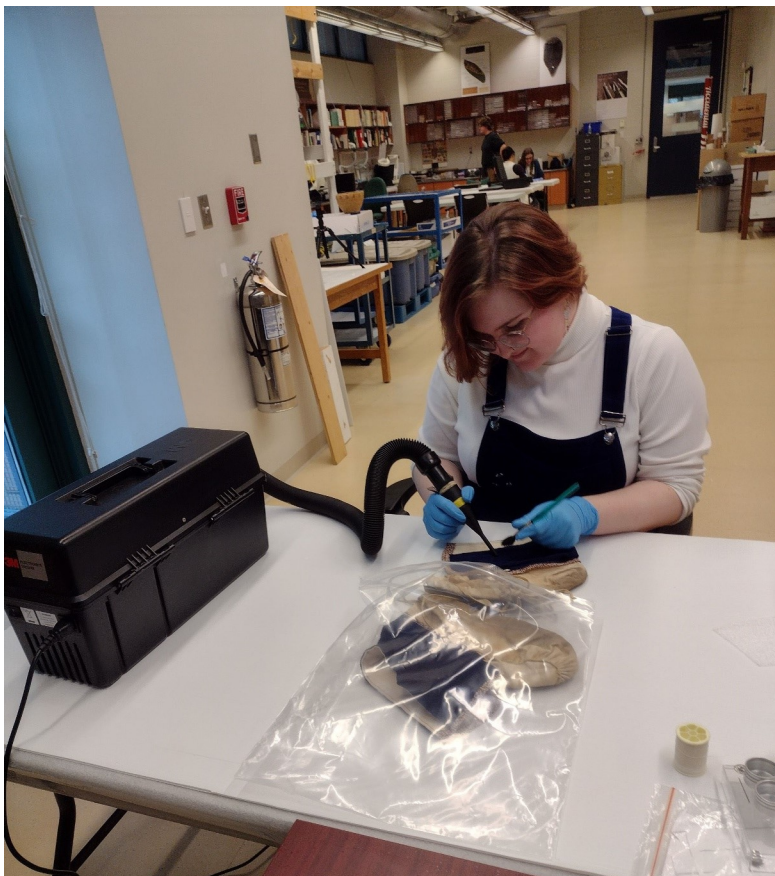
The Rooms received a large donation of Innu related material from a private donor. Belongings include tea dolls, clothing and wall hangings as well as audiotaped interviews of Innu community members. Fleming College intern Charlotte Leopold cleaned and catalogued the 86 belongings from this donation. The Rooms is working with the Innu Nation to determine a plan for the curation of this collection of belongings.

In November, Memorial University's Conservator Donna Teasdale gave a talk on the 170-year-old crate of Enfield rifle-muskets that was dragged up by a fishing trawler off the coast of Cape Freels, Newfoundland in 2011. Donna's talk focused on the 12 years of conservation treatment that the guns underwent and what was discovered about the guns during that process. The guns are currently on display on Level 2 at The Rooms as part of the *Fantastic Finds* Exhibition.

Statistics for Archaeology and Indigenous Peoples Collection in 2022 include:

- 130 requests received for information, loans, research visits, tours and photograph use.
- 32 researchers used the collections and archaeology lab.

Fleming College intern Charlotte Leopold cleaning Innu related material from a private donor.



- Over 20 museums throughout the province displayed archaeology artifacts from our collections through our Community Loans program. The Rooms also continues to support exhibitions across the country at The Canadian Museum of History, the National Gallery of Canada and several Parks Canada locations.
- Archaeology artifacts were transferred to The Rooms via the Provincial Archaeology Office through 14 submissions from archaeologists and members of the public representing 4836 artifacts and samples from 87 sites.

Anyone wishing to access our collections for research can contact Lori Temple, Collections Manager for the Archaeology & Indigenous Peoples Collections at (709) 757-8076 or by email at LoriTemple@therooms.ca

A portion of the new exhibition entitled Fantastic Finds at The Rooms.



RECENT PUBLICATIONS & THESIS

Brydon, Calum

2023 *Shoes From a 17th-century French Military Fort in Placentia, Newfoundland*. Hons. Dis., MUN

Daly, Lisa M. (2023). Engaging the Public at the Crossroads of the World: Methods and Site Preservation of Aviation Archaeology Sites in Newfoundland and Labrador Canada. In [*Strides Towards Standard Methodologies in Aeronautical Archaeology*](#) (Hunter W. Whitehead & Megan Lickliter-Mundon, eds.). Switzerland: Springer Nature, pp. 239-256.

Holly, Donald H. Jr., John C. Erwin, Christopher B. Wolff, Stephen H. Hull, Amanda Samuels, and Jamie Brake
2023 Scaling Up and Hunkering Down: The Evolution of Beothuk Houses and Households. *North American Archaeologist* 44(4):146-175.

Loewen, Brad

2023 Sea Change: Indigenous Navigation and Relations with Basques around the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, c.1500-1700, dans Allan Greer (dir.), *Before Canada: Northern North America in a Connected World*, p. 109-153. Queens-McGill University Press, Kingston, Montréal.

McLean, Chase K.A.

2023 *Establishing Beneficial Roles: Integrating Community Members into Archaeological Practices in Atlantic Canada*. MA, MUN

Rankin, Lisa, Julia Brennan, David Finch, Scott Neilsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs. 2023. Military Legacies and Indigenous Heritage in Canada's Newest National Park Reserve, in *Toxic Heritage Legacies, Futures, and Environmental Injustice*. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid and Sarah May (eds.), pp 93-105. Routledge.

Samuels, Amanda. 2023. *Examining Colonial Impact on Beothuk Technological Traditions on the Island of Newfoundland*. PhD, University at Albany, State University of New York

Venovcevs, Anatolijs. 2023. Industrial Vestiges: Legacies of Ancillary Impacts of Resource Development. *Historical Archaeology*. 57(1): 336-362.

Venovcevs, Anatolijs. 2023. *Vestiges of a Previous Industrial Age: A Contemporary Archaeology of Twentieth Century Single Industrial Mining Regions in the Far North*. PhD Thesis. Department of Archaeology, History, Religious Studies, and Theology. UiT: The Arctic University of Norway.

**If you have any comments or suggestions for the next
Archaeology Review please contact Stephen Hull.**

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