Protecting the Cambrien and Nachicapau Lakes Areas

Naskapi Archaeological Project

Archaeological Potential Study

Submitted to the *Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach*

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Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach

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Executive summary

The **purpose of the Naskapi Archaeology Project** is to raise awareness, promote, and enhance the archaeological and cultural aspects of the Cambrien Lake and Nachicapau Lake areas in the context of implementing protective measures for this territory. The human story of land use and occupancy is an integral part of a territory's identity, emphasizing that these lands are a lived environment with deep cultural and historical associations. The protection of this territory would serve social and cultural ends, as well as contributing to biodiversity and sustainable development on a broader geographic scale.

The Naskapi Archaeology Project as currently defined **involves both a pre-field potential study and a fieldwork component** that is planned to take place over four weeks in August and September of 2021. This report presents the results of the pre-fieldwork step, namely to develop an **archaeological potential study** involving a review of existing natural and cultural information, in order to define and map locations in the project area thought to be of archaeological interest.

The methodology adopted in this study is a **"contextual" review of background information**—an approach that seeks to understand a wide range of variables relevant to historic and ancient human occupation in the project area. This review, presented in chapters 4 to 9 of the report, is divided into **two thematic sections**.

- The first theme focuses on the **natural world**, covering the paleo-geography, current ecology, and geology aspects of the territory.
- The second theme is concerned with **the people** who have lived, hunted, and travelled in the project area—past and present—and their approaches to living well in this world.

Indications and patterns that emerged from the background review were used to develop a series of detailed maps that identify **preliminary sectors of archaeological interest**. The **survey strategy** in the field will be guided by this mapping exercise, while remaining flexible enough to accommodate new understandings and discoveries.

The report concludes with a series of **recommendations** (funding and COVID-19 restrictions permitting) that include,

- Undertaking archaeological survey work in August and September of 2021, focused on identified sectors of archaeological and geo-archaeological interest, as well as a sample of archaeological potential zones (i.e., terraces and strandlines, portages, areas of habitable terrain) identified using available satellite images;
- Inviting two Naskapi technicians into the field as contributors and participants for part of the project; and
- Spending time in the Naskapi community of Kawawachikamach to meet community members, conduct interviews, and discuss the goals and priorities of the archaeological project.

Participants and acknowledgements

Roles and responsibilities

Project director for Council of Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach	Councillor Gordon Dominique
Project managers (Atmacinta inc.)	Robert Prévost and Lindsay Richardson
Consulting biologist, field coordinator and helicopter pilot for flyover visit	Natalie D'Astous
Consulting archaeologists: research and report writing	David Denton and Moira McCaffrey
GIS / cartography	David Denton

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- Bill Jancewicz, linguist working for the Naskapi Development Corporation (NDC) kindly shared current versions of the NDC toponymy database, commented on past NDC toponymy and land-use mapping projects, assisted in the conversion of place name files, and recommended John Peastitute books referencing places in the Naskapi territories.
- Thomas Clark, geologist formerly with Géologie Québec (Ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune), greatly assisted with the identification of Labrador Trough chert and quartzite-bearing formations.

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- John Bishop, toponymist for the Cree Nation Government, generously agreed to comment on Naskapi place names, based on his wide knowledge of Cree place names.
- Peter Armitage, consulting anthropologist, provided information concerning faunal resources used by the Innu, especially waterfowl and caribou, and challenged our thinking on issues relating to ecology and Innu land use.
- Stephen H. Hull, Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, provided site location maps and archaeological reports, greatly facilitating our review of archaeological research in interior Labrador.

The authors are solely responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation.

1 Introduction

In March of 2020, the authors entered into discussions with representatives of the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach (NNK) in order to carry out an archaeological potential study, followed by fieldwork, in the context of a proposed protected areas project in the heart of Naskapi traditional lands. The proposed protected area was recommended by the advisory committee of the Nunavik Protected Areas Working Group. Represented on the advisory committee are Makivik Corporation, Kativik Regional Government (KRG), the NNK, as well as the Cree Nation Government (CNG) and the Ministère de l'Environnement et de la Lutte contre les changements climatiques (MELCC). The proposed protected area includes two conjoined sectors:

1. The Cambrien Lake sector is an area of almost 4300 km^2 which includes the site of Fort McKenzie, or Waskaikinish as known in Naskapi, a historic trading post and Naskapi gathering place. This sector was excluded from mining activity in 1992 by ministerial decree AM 92-170.
2. The Nachicapau Lake sector is an area of approximately 1500 km^2 adjacent and to the east of the Cambrien Lake sector.

The protected area project is led by the NNK in partnership with Kativik Regional Government (KRG), Makivik Corporation, Hydro-Québec, and the Government of Québec through an agreement approved by government decree and signed in 2018.

The Agreement defines the terms and conditions according to which the Cambrien Lake / Nachicapau Lake / Fort McKenzie (Waskaikinis) areas will benefit from certain protective measures. It includes conditional engagements on the part of Hydro-Québec to refrain from harnessing the hydroelectric potential of the Cambrien Lake sector for a period of 20 years and to seek alternative solutions that would allow its permanent exclusion from hydro-electric development.

COVER IMAGE: Valley of the Swampy Bay below Fort McKenzie, looking northwest, Nouveau-Québec, 1951. Photo by Paul-Émile Imbault BAnQ Québec, Fonds Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 03Q,E6,S7,SS1,P88325.

The NNK objectives relating to the proposed protected areas are as follows:[1].

Cambrien Lake sector "Determine efficient alternatives to hydroelectric energy development and allow the strict protection of the Cambrien Lake area....the NNK, who has prioritized the protection of this Area for cultural and ecological reasons for numerous years, is opposing hydroelectric development, *which would flood highly significant Naskapi cultural and historic sites*" (our emphasis).

Nachicapau Lake sector That these lands be reserved by Québec to ensure the effective and enduring protection of biodiversity and "Native cultural utilization."

Ultimately, the NNK's objective is for these two areas to have the same level of protection that would ensure their exclusion from all development activities, including mining and hydroelectric projects.

The NNK opted to carry out an archaeological project in order to collect information and promote awareness of Naskapi heritage in the context of the proposed protected area project. This research would add an essential human dimension to the understanding of this territory emphasizing that these lands are a lived environment with deep cultural and historical associations. The protection of this territory would serve social and cultural ends as well as contributing to biodiversity and sustainable development on a broader geographic scale.

1.1 Mandate for archaeology study

The NNK's original plan was to carry out a preliminary study of archaeological potential in the proposed protected areas that would include two-weeks of field investigations, interviews with Naskapi Elders, as well as background studies. Due to restrictions related to the COVID-19 pandemic, the field portion of the study was postponed until August and September of 2021, as were interviews with Naskapi Elders.

In June 2020 the NNK, with financial support from KRG, awarded a mandate to the authors to carry out an archaeological potential study. The objective of this study was:

- To prepare a preliminary assessment of the archaeological potential of the Cambrien Lake and Nachicapau Lake areas. This preliminary assessment would be refined and the archaeological potential of specific areas studied in more depth in future field work.

[1]NNK document: Protection of the Cambrien Lake / Nachicapau Lake / Fort McKenzie (Waskaikinis) areas

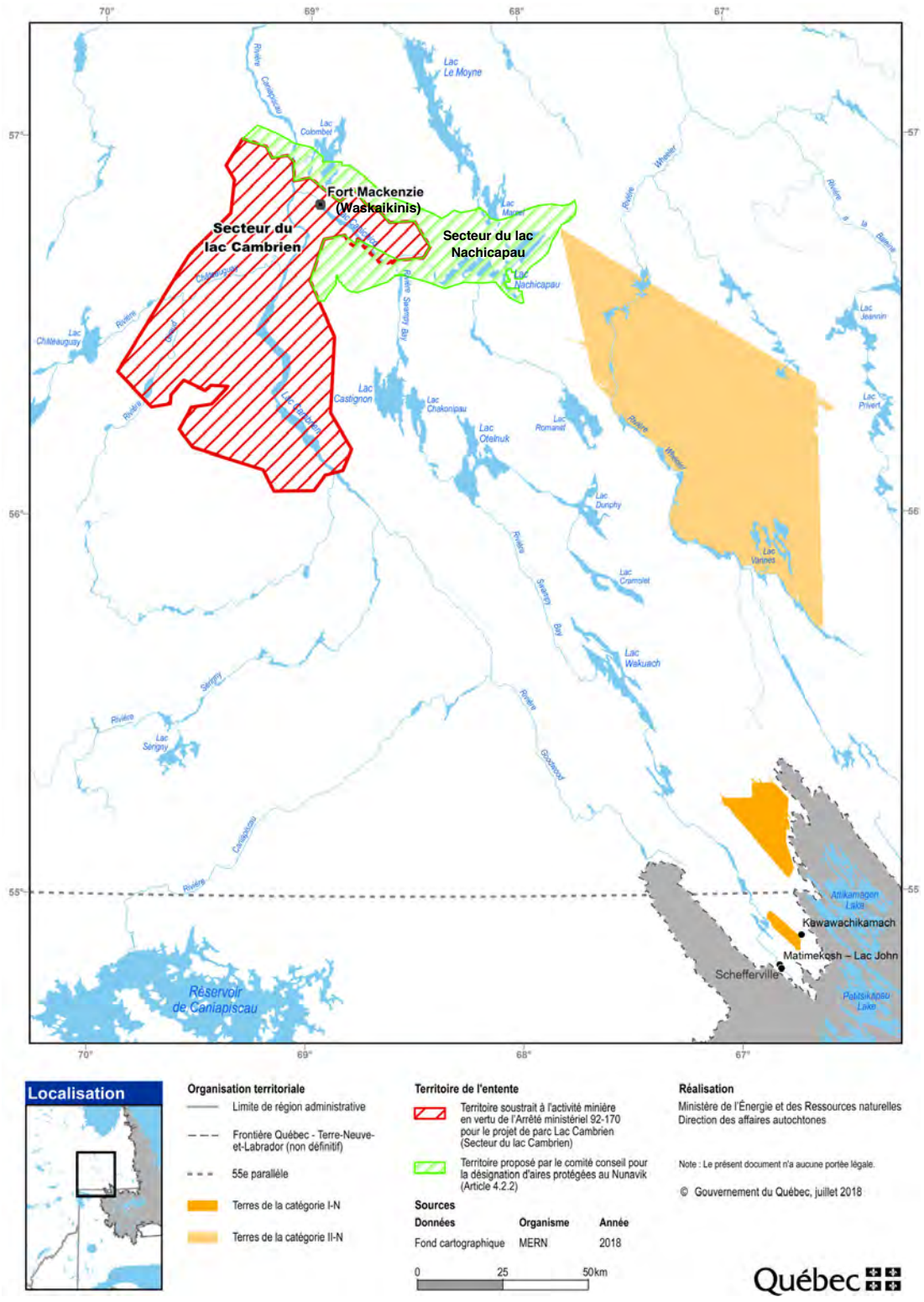

Figure 1.1: Location of the Cambrien Lake and Nachicapau Lake sectors of the proposed protected area.

- The study of the archaeological potential would involve the review of existing information from previous archaeological research and other sources in order to define and map locations considered to be of high archaeological potential.

The study was to incorporate a review of background information including:

- Historical information
- Archaeological information
- Naskapi land-use information
- Toponymy
- Geology
- Geography / paleo-geography / ecology
- Additional background research

The report would represent a preliminary evaluation of the archaeological and historic potential of the proposed protected areas and would include a mapping of zones of archaeological interest to be examined in the course of future fieldwork.

The mandate also included provisions for carrying out a pilot project to evaluate the usefulness of high resolution satellite images to identify and map Naskapi heritage sites. However, by agreement with the project managers, this pilot project was put on hold and is not included as part of the archaeological potential study in this report.[2]

1.2 Organization of the report

The report is divided into 11 chapters, including Acknowledgements and the Introduction. Chapter 2 presents the Methodology that guided the preparation of this archaeological potential study—an approach that can best be described as "contextual" or seeking to understand as much as possible about aspects of the project area that are relevant to historic and ancient human occupation. The brief Flyover Visit of the project area that took place in 2020 is described in chapter 3, with an emphasis on general assessments of the territory relevant in planning fieldwork.

The following three chapters focus on aspects of the natural environment. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the Paleo-environment by looking at the dramatic environmental changes that

[2]There are two reasons why this component was suspended: 1) It had originally been hoped that it would possible to obtain high resolution imagery at little or no cost, which turned out not to be the case. 2) In the course of the fly-over visit (see chapter 3) it was determined that the satellite imagery would be of limited usefulness at this stage of the project given the unexpectedly dense nature of the vegetation in critical parts of the project area, including Cambrien Lake.

have taken place over many millennia. This is followed by chapter 5, Present environment and landscape, where we consider elements important for thinking about past land and resource use, travel and settlement, and archaeological survey strategy. Special attention is paid to caribou, a species that is extremely important in Naskapi history, beliefs, and lifeways. Finally, due to the potential importance of chert-bearing formations in the Labrador Trough, chapter 6 is devoted to Geology and lithic materials.

The three chapters that follow are concerned with the human and cultural story. Chapter 7, Archaeology overview, presents a summary of archaeological research projects that have taken place in the project area, as well as in surrounding regions. This is followed by sections that review the Precontact and Contact periods as they are currently understood in the northern interior of Québec-Labrador, based on archaeological data. Chapter 8, Historical overview, starts with an outline of Naskapi history beginning in the 17th century through to the establishment of Kawawachikamach, while the second part offers a close reading of fur trader James Clouston's journal—an early 19th century account by the first person of European origin to travel through the project area. Finally, chapter 9 covers Land-use and cultural information gathered from Naskapi place names, as well as from existing resources such as interviews, and land use and occupancy maps.

Chapter 10, Archaeological potential and survey strategy, presents the results of the potential study exercise, summarized in a series of detailed maps that highlight specific sectors of archaeological interest to be targeted during planned survey work. The report ends with chapter 11, Summary and recommendations.

2 | Methodology

Archaeologists usually carry out a background study prior to initiating field survey (or inventory) work in a given area. The term most often used for this preliminary stage of research is "archaeological potential study." In some cases—for example, work carried out in advance of development projects occupying a very small footprint—it may be possible to test or examine much or all of the area concerned for the presence of archaeological sites. However, most often the size of the project area precludes such an approach. The low density of sites in forested or forest-tundra areas in northern Québec also rules out a random sampling approach. How then to initiate an archaeological program in a vast region such as the proposed protected area surrounding Cambrien and Nachicapau lakes, which is almost entirely archaeologically unknown? Archaeological potential studies—which attempt to identify and map areas where the probability of finding sites is higher than elsewhere in the project area—offer a partial solution to this problem. There is no magic formula for determining potential, however, and often archaeologists are obliged to practice what could be considered a form of "educated guessing," that is making inferences based on different types of information at their disposal.

The methodology used in this study can be described as "contextual": to understand as much as possible about aspects of the project area that may be relevant to historic and ancient human occupation. As mentioned in the introduction, this includes a review of different types of background information, primarily geographic and cultural-historical. Our objective is to carry out a *preliminary* assessment of archaeological potential—an initial evaluation that will be "refined and the archaeological potential of specific areas studied in more depth" during survey work scheduled to begin in the summer of 2021. We do not intend to map all places of possible potential within the territory, nor could we, as might be done for an archaeological potential study in a much smaller area subject to development. Rather, our study seeks to develop a strategy for an initial intervention that will help us test a number of ideas about zones and locations of potential archaeological interest.

Again, as mentioned in the introduction, the initial, pre-COVID conception of the study involved a two-week field reconnaissance that would have allowed us to familiarize ourselves with the project area, and begin to test early hypotheses concerning archaeological potential. Importantly, this visit would have included a short stay in Kawawachikamach to carry out interviews with Naskapi Elders concerning their former use of the area. Unfortunately, the pandemic and associated restrictions ruled out both the field visit and the interviews in Kawawachikamach, and we had to be content with the two-day flyover described in chapter 3. The silver lining in this scenario is that the initial field work in 2021 will be carried out with the benefit of more detailed notions or hypotheses about archaeological potential based on a detailed background study. Similarly, interviews with Naskapi Elders scheduled for the summer of 2021, COVID restrictions permitting, can focus on more precise questions that have emerged from the background research.

The following elements form the backbone of this study.

2.1 Review of archaeological and historical information

Archaeological potential studies generally review results from relevant archaeological work within the project area and in surrounding regions. Ours begins with the work carried out at Fort McKenzie in the 1980s. In order to provide adequate context we expand our view to include past archaeological work in a broad area of interior Québec-Labrador peninsula surrounding the project area. Finally, we present a summary of current knowledge of ancient history in the region, with a focus on the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula (Precontact and Contact periods), based on existing archaeological research.

Our approach for the review of historical information is slightly different. We begin with an overview of Naskapi history, and then focus on the project area with two sets of written observations from the early decades of the 19th century. These include an 1820 account by James Clouston, the first European to visit the project area. We map the movements of Clouston's party within and near the project area to better understand where Naskapi he met there were living, and to situate geographically other of his observations. We also use a similar historical approach to identify the general location of a short-lived HBC trading post in the project area.

2.2 Review of Naskapi land-use and cultural information

An important part of the original project methodology was to carry out interviews with knowledgeable Naskapi Elders in Kawawachikamach, and to have at least one Elder present with us

for the two-week field reconnaissance. These would have encouraged direct input by Elders in identifying campsites and places of historical interest. In other areas of the Québec-Labrador peninsula, using local Indigenous knowledge as the starting point for investigations has proven to be a very successful strategy for finding and investigating both recent archaeological sites and those going back thousands of years (see for example Arbour et al. (2018) and Bibeau and Denton (2015)).

In part due to the lack of direct input from Naskapi Elders determined by COVID-19 restrictions, available Naskapi land-use and occupancy data, and cultural information such as place names and oral history, took on an even greater methodological importance in the study. These are of interest to us for the following reasons:

1. Archaeological sites dating to the period for which Naskapi land-use information is available, primarily the 1940–1958 period, could be of interest in and of themselves to illustrate this important period of Naskapi life. Archaeological information from these sites could add many details not provided in the land-use data.[1]
2. Naskapi land-use and occupancy information could signal potential for finding older sites. Our approach can be considered a variation of the "direct historical approach" in archaeology (Steward 1942) in which researchers work back in time from sites associated with a historically identified group. In our study, we suggest that places identified as Naskapi camps could have been occupied at earlier periods by members of the same or closely related groups. Despite dramatic changes in way of life over hundreds or even thousands of years, many of the factors that made camp sites desirable in the 1940–1956 period were also at work in the more distant past, including access to nearby resources, good drainage, protection from winds, location close to water, etc.
3. Our study pays close attention to Naskapi place names and oral tradition relating to places on the land, suggesting that these can reveal traditional use areas that are of archaeological interest.

2.3 Geographic analysis

Archaeological potential can also be inferred from analyses of the landscape. However, making the leap between geographic information and archaeological potential requires a set of assumptions about how people used, travelled, and settled on the land. This is especially true in northern forest or forest-tundra zones, where many archaeological sites are hidden from view by forest and

[1] See Marcoux (2015) for an example of Cree recent archaeology for a similar period.)

lichen or moss cover. In such a context, archaeologists select elements of the environment and the landscape thought to be critical in determining where sites are located, and based on these criteria, they attempt to "predict" archaeological site location. Essentially, there are two approaches to inferring archaeological potential that are often employed in combination:

"Inductive" approaches: These involve analyzing the location of known archaeological sites and then predicting that similar geographic contexts in nearby locations would also have a high potential for archaeological sites.

"Deductive" approaches: Ideas about human behaviour and needs are used to "deduce" where sites might be located. This could involve general considerations that would apply to any human settlement and movement on the landscape, or they could be tailored to specific groups based on descriptions of how these groups lived, moved about the territory, and chose campsites in various seasons. Such description could be by anthropologists (for example Rogers 1973; Rogers and Rogers 1959 for the Mistissini Cree) or by knowledgeable Elders and land users.

While various combinations of these approaches can be applied, they share similar difficulties of projecting what is known in the present into the distant past (Hamilton 2000). In general, while we can suggest some places on the landscape that are of high potential based on present knowledge, it is much more difficult to state categorically that other areas have little potential. There are always surprises when sites in unsuspected locations come to light, for example, as a result of soil exposure due to forest fires, erosion, or development.

In practice, many archaeologists apply a rough checklist of geographic criteria. To take the example of a potential study carried out for the Fort McKenzie and lower Swampy Bay River areas, such a checklist could include the following factors:

Geomorphology Presence of particular formations such as marine, riverine or lacustrine terraces, strandlines, etc.

Topography Presence of relatively flat surfaces with low relief and excellent drainage.

Hydrology Accessibility of water for movement (lakes, streams, rivers, marine) and drinking.

Accessibility of resources Concentration of seasonal or annual resources.

Proximity to transportation route Accessibility to a major transportation axis (for example, river, overland route, or portage).[2]

Much of this can be reduced to some (perhaps overly) simple criteria based on the assumption that people prefer to live on well-drained surfaces that are relatively close to water for travel,

[2] Adapted from Archéologie illimitée inc. (1983: Table 1).

hunting, as well as drinking, cooking, etc. Protection from dominant winds in the fall, winter, and spring may be significant, while some exposure to wind is important in summer to keep biting insects away.

In reality, there are many exceptions to these general assumptions. For example, in mid-winter people may have sought more protected areas, but drainage may not have been an issue. Rather than seeking sandy surfaces people could well have chosen to set up camp over a large boulder to be used as a central hearth.[3] Caribou hunters may have been willing to sacrifice protection for a view of their prey. In fact, we are quite limited in determining how aspects such as geomorphology or topography could have influenced choices for campsites. And our knowledge of how Naskapi and related Cree and Innu, may have used the environment in the project area, and the elements of it that were most important to them (Traditional Ecological Knowledge or TEK), are indeed limited. The same can be said in consideration of possible Inuit occupation of the territory.

Still, our geographic analysis—read together with land-use and occupancy data and historical information—helps identify probable axes of movement and points to sectors of archaeological interest. An important additional element is our identification of geological formations and strata containing chert and quartzite, which could have been used by local hunters and their families as sources of stone for the manufacture of tools. We also pay particular attention to changes in the landscape over time, and consider the possibility that Indigenous peoples may have been using the project area at a time when raised beach terraces or strandlines were active lacustrine / fluvial or marine shorelines.

2.4 Archaeological visibility

An important aspect of our methodology relates to the concept of archaeological visibility, in particular, considering burned areas or certain other areas where vegetation and organic soil layers have been removed by erosion. An important aspect of our original proposal was to carry out a pilot project to use high resolution satellite images to identify Naskapi lodges in areas of relatively sparse vegetation. As discussed in the introduction, this was not carried out as part of the present study both for financial reasons and because of a realization that in many parts of the project area the forest and ground cover are simply too dense to detect indications of dwellings remotely. However, our strategy for survey work to be carried out in 2021 will look at several

[3] As is the case in a number of winter occupation sites in the Caniapiscau Reservoir area.

areas on the Larch Plateau where vegetation is very sparse and where it may actually be possible to use this technique in a later phase of the project.

We have recently realized that some salient features of Naskapi presence are visible with standard online (Google and ESRI) satellite imagery. In particular, we are referring to certain major portage trails including the very long portages from Lake Canichico to Nachicapau Lake and up the Swampy Bay River toward Lake Wakuach.

2.5 Archaeological potential: Defining a strategy for an initial survey

As already mentioned, we equate archaeological potential with an initial strategy to guide survey work. The defining of archaeological potential is an iterative process that will involve ongoing testing of ideas about human settlement in the project area. As described in more detail in chapter 10 we define a number of "sectors of archaeological interest" to sample during the initial field survey based several kinds of information:

1. Historical references or oral history;
2. Naskapi toponymy;
3. Naskapi land-use information;
4. Considerations of archaeological visibility;
5. Representivity of different areas or ecological zones within the project area.

Within the sectors of archaeological interest, we define a number of smaller "archaeological potential zones." For the most part, we have selected zones that are relatively close to major waterways and at low elevations above the water. We have endeavoured to select well-drained areas (sand and gravel), but have not systematically privileged locations on one side or another of a body of water.

We also define "areas of geo-archaeological interest" by first identifying specific geological formations, followed by an analysis of the spatial intersection of chert-bearing geological strata with prominent lakes and rivers. This is based on the assumption that the most readily accessible deposits of high-quality chert would be those most likely to have been exploited.

Finally, our methodology includes the selection of a small sample of raised terraces and strandlines that may play host to the oldest evidence of occupation in the area, with an emphasis on those in "strategic" locations such as the narrows on Cambrien Lake.

3 Flyover visit

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the report introduction, the original plan had been to carry out a two-week "field reconnaissance" that would provide an opportunity to visit a sample of zones within the project area and do some initial archaeological testing. A knowledgeable Naskapi Elder would be present some of the time to provide input relating to Naskapi traditional use of the area. This initial survey would have allowed us to test preliminary ideas about site location, and to have a clearer view of the project area and its geography for the purpose of planning a longer and more systematic archaeological inventory the following summer.

Some months before the planned field reconnaissance, it became clear that COVID-19 restrictions would make this portion of the project impossible to carry out, and our mandate was adjusted to exclude this work. However, at our request, and in accordance with the Public Health recommendations, NNK agreed to allow one of us[1] to visit the area by helicopter in order to make initial observations, primarily from the air, but also with the possibility of landing at selected places to examine the terrain. This short flyover visit took place at the beginning of September 2020, and was coordinated with visits to the project area by biologists from KRG and a team from CPAWS, whose mission was to capture high-quality video images of the area. NNK agreed to cover an honorarium and travel expenses from a separate budget.

3.2 Preparation and objectives

In preparation for the flyover, we produced a map showing numerous sites of potential interest based on several criteria. We began with a preliminary examination of satellite images readily available as online map layers[2] and topographic maps [3]. Our attention was focused on major wa-

[1] David Denton was available to do this work.
[2] For the project area, we found ESRI Satellite layers to provide the highest resolution images.
[3] Canvec 1:50,000 maps with 10 m contour intervals.

ter courses and lakes, especially Cambrien and Nachicapau Lakes. We noted flat and well-drained areas close to the shoreline and at relatively low elevation. We sought areas with vegetation cover suggesting well-drained, sandy soils.

We also carried out a preliminary mapping of geological formations and fault lines using data from the SIGÉOM (2021b) online database (presented in more detail in chapter 6, focusing on formations likely to contain deposits of high quality, "knappable" stone such as cherts and fine-grained quartzites, which Naskapi ancestors or other ancient visitors to the area might have sought out to make tools. In particular, we mapped areas where such formations and fault lines were in close proximity to major waterways. Finally, we noted lakes and other locations that indicated land use according to our initial examination of Naskapi place names.[4]

Figure 3.1 shows the results of this preliminary mapping exercise carried out in preparation for the flyover visit. The map shows areas selected according to the criteria described above and based on our examination of satellite images, geological maps, and Naskapi place names. Depending on logistical and other constraints, these places of interest would be examined, mainly from the air, in the course of the helicopter flyover.

Principal objectives for the flyover were as follows:

1. Obtain a first hand view of the terrain in the project area and make a preliminary assessment of prospects and constraints related to archaeological survey work in this area;
2. Examine from the air a number of places of interest defined through the process described above, in order to test the feasibility of identifying such places from online satellite map layers;
3. Attempt to view from the air outcrops associated with geological places of interest, as described above;
4. Examine a sample of Naskapi land-use areas as reflected in place names;
5. Examine the large burn area (dated to 2014) surrounding the confluence of the Châteauguay and Caniapiscau rivers to evaluate the intensity of the burn.[5]

Figure 3.1 also shows the location of photographic images taken from the helicopter, indicating the flight path and our attempt at documenting places of interest and other parts of the territory.

In the following section, we present a summary narrative of our short helicopter visit to the project area.

[4] At this stage in our investigation we did not yet have access to any other Naskapi land use information.

[5] Forest fires that are hot enough to burn the organic layers on the ground surface can greatly improve "archaeological visibility" in areas of otherwise dense vegetation, where sites may be very difficult to find.

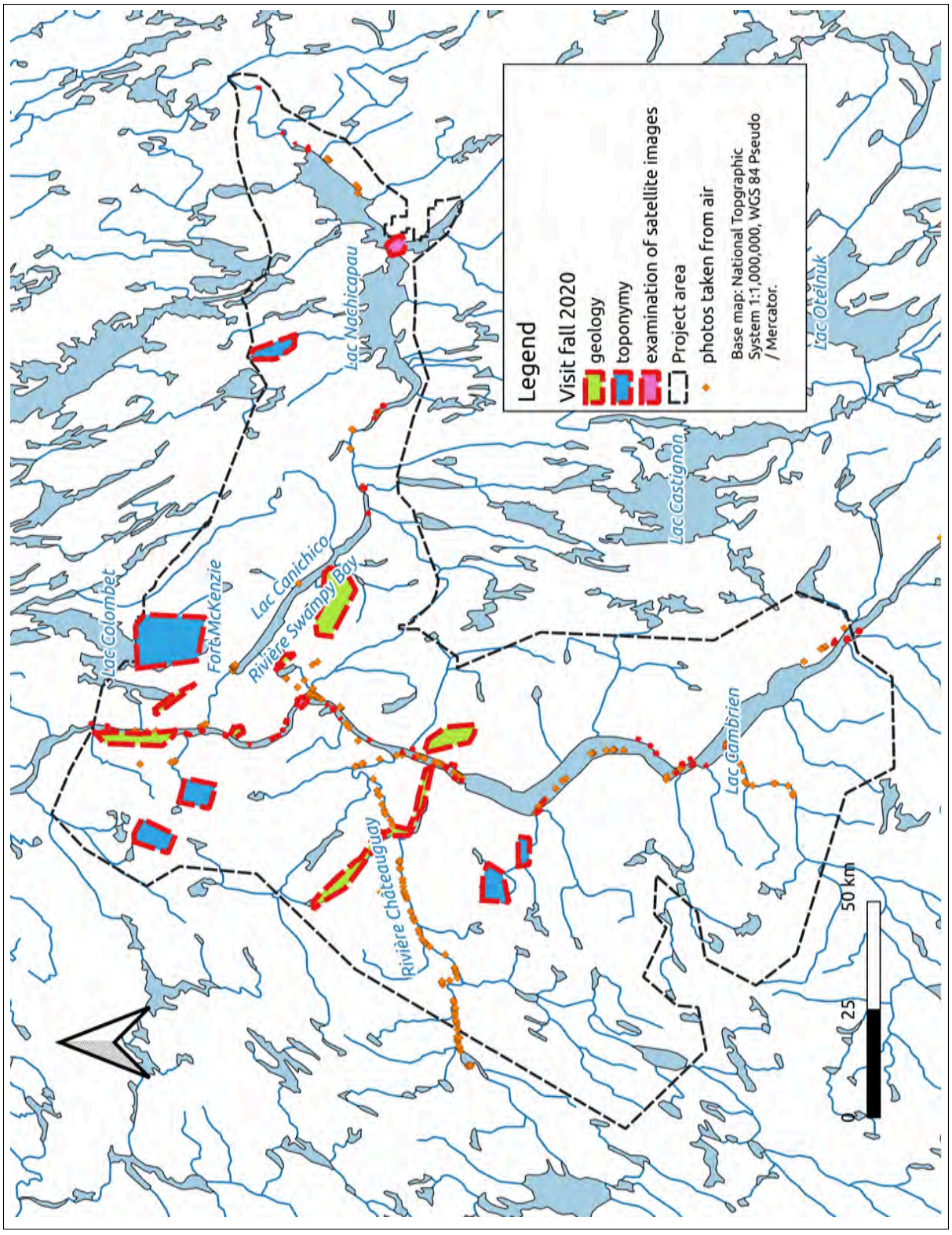

Figure 3.1: Locations of interest for the flyover visit and images taken from the air.

3.3 Narrative

The following is a summary narrative of the brief flyover visit.

- Tuesday, September 1, 2020
  - David Denton arrived in Schefferville in the early afternoon and was greeted by Natalie D'Astous and CPAWS employees Alice de Swarte and Clélia Germain;
  - Departed in the helicopter with pilot Natalie D'Astous, Gordon Dominique, and his wife, Myriam Rossignol;
  - Followed the Goodwood River to the Caniapiscau and then down the Caniapiscau to Cambrien Lake;
  - Examined places of interest along the west shore of Cambrien Lake;
  - Flew over the Châteauguay River, followed by aerial inspection of burned area in the lower Châteauguay River and nearby portions of the Caniapiscau River;
  - Flew over Chute aux Schistes, then to Fort McKenzie and to Fox Lake to refuel;
  - Flew over the western arm of Nachicapau Lake;
  - Returned to Schefferville by way of the heavily folded highlands to the south of Nachicapau Lake;
  - Landed back in Schefferville at about 7:00 pm;
- Wednesday, September 2, 2020
  - Left Schefferville by helicopter for the project area, with pilot Natalie D'Astous, Robert Prévost, Alice de Swarte, Clélia Germain, and François Léger-Savard;
  - Again followed the Goodwood and Caniapiscau rivers, arriving at Cambrien Lake;
  - Examined several zones along the west shore of Cambrien Lake, especially near the confluence with rivers flowing into the Caniapiscau from the west;
  - Flew a short distance west over the lower portion of the de la Mort River (Waawiiyu-usiistikw Sipiy) and then back to continue our course north along Cambrien Lake;
  - As on Tuesday, flew up the Châteauguay River as far as the Châteauguay Club outfitting camp located on a small lake (expansion of the river) just west of the project area boundary, and landed to examine the camp in view of its possible future use as a research base;
  - Returned down the Châteauguay to Chute aux Schistes, and crossed over to Fort McKenzie;

- Explored Fort McKenzie and the surrounding area on foot for about 90 minutes while Natalie refuelled the helicopter at Fox Lake; this on-the-ground examination did not include the cemetery on the opposite side of the lake.
- Flew down the Swampy Bay River to the Caniapiscau, and examined the confluence;
- Flew to Lake Nachicapau and flew over the two arms of the lake;
- Returned to a Nunavik Rotors cache for more fuel;
- Flew over heavily folded areas on the way back to Schefferville, arriving shortly after 6:00 pm.

3.4 Results

In this section we present a number of important observations, as well as some general comments on the territory, based on the two-day helicopter flyover.

3.4.1 Assessment of specific sites

The flyover allowed for an appreciation of numerous places of potential interest that were identified following our examination of satellite imagery. Some of these places are clearly priority locales that we plan to survey during the fieldwork phase of the project (see images in figure 3.3). Others turned out to be too far from the shore or at too high an elevation in relation to the shore. A few of the locales turned out to be rock outcrops rather than sandy soils.

We also had the opportunity to fly over a number of potential geological sites of interest and to photograph outcrops along fault lines. While a detailed assessment of the archaeological interest of these sites will require on the ground inspection, none of the images show obvious, massive chert deposits (see images in figure 3.2).[6]

3.4.2 Visit to Fort McKenzie

A visit to the former HBC post of Fort McKenzie provided an opportunity to assess the geographic context of several "known" archaeological sites recorded in the 1980s. It was also a wonderful opportunity to visit a place that was used intensively by the Naskapi in the 1916 to 1948 period.

During the short time that we were at the site, we searched for evidence of the hundreds of Naskapi lodges located near the former trading post, as documented by archaeologists in the early 1980s (Duguay 1994). We were curious to see what remains would still be visible on the ground

[6] At least not any obvious, lustrous chert deposits with high silica composition.

Figure 3.2: Select images of places with archaeological potential photographed during the flyover visit.

Figure 3.3: Select images of geological sites of interest photographed during the flyover visit.

Figure 3.4: Examples of modern Naskapi lodge remains, September 2, 2020.

after close to 40 years of vegetation growth. While some tent (tipi) and other lodge remains can still be seen, as shown in figure 3.4, vegetation (sphagnum moss, dwarf birch, Labrador tea, fireweed, and conifers) has effectively obscured most evidence of former lodges.

We also looked for precontact archaeological sites identified in the 1980s at and near the old trading post, including in the general area of "Fort McKenzie point," as well as within easy walking distance to the southeast and north northwest. Although we had GPS locations, in most instances we were unable to see evidence of these sites in the short time available to us.:: Most surprising was the fact that we could not identify the outlines of excavation units for the site on the point, although it was clear that we were in the right location. This is an indication of the degree to which surface vegetation has regrown (see figure 3.5).[7] The only clear indication of previous archaeological work was a wooden stake of the type used by archaeologists, marking the location of a site 400 m to the north northwest of the former post.

We also observed the remains of the HBC store, as well as indications of a recent visit to the site, in August of 2020, by a group of Naskapi (see figure 3.6).

Finally, we could see the Fort McKenzie cemetery on the other side of the lake, directly opposite Fort McKenzie (see figure 3.7).

[7] It is also a likely sign that the archaeologists did a thorough job backfilling the site on completing their work.

Figure 3.5: Areas of precontact archaeological sites at Fort McKenzie, September 2, 2020. Note wooden stake marking an archaeological site (top left).

Figure 3.6: Remains of HBC store at Fort McKenzie and Naskapi women's sweat lodge with fireplace, September 2, 2020.

Figure 3.7: *View of McKenzie cemetery in 1984.* Photo by Camille Laverdière, Collection Paysages du Nouveau-Québec de 1974 à 1984.

Figure 3.8: View of burned area near Châteauguay River showing erosion of high, glacial-lake terraces.

Our visit to Fort McKenzie had some useful lessons for the present Naskapi archaeology project, in particular, highlighting the impact of vegetation growth in obscuring even modern (20th century) habitation remains. This suggests that lodge remains of a similar age (1919–1948) elsewhere on the land may be overgrown with vegetation, and difficult or impossible to detect by visual inspection alone.

3.4.3 General assessment of the territory

The most significant result of the flyover visit was a new appreciation of the project area with respect to the prospects for archaeological research. Its immense scale and diversity of landforms are impressive, convincing us that it will be challenging to evaluate the archaeological potential of the area as a whole. The process of understanding how various parts of the territory were used over thousands of years of history will, by necessity, be a long-term project.

In particular, our preconceived view of the territory, which had been strongly influenced by our previous work near Schefferville and around Lake Caniapiscau, was completely revised by the flyover visit. Although located further south, Schefferville and Lake Caniapiscau (now the Caniapiscau Reservoir) are on the Lake Plateau at much higher elevations. They are dominated by open lichen-woodland forests with the tops of major hills being tundra or forest-tundra. The

Figure 3.9: View of terraces on the Châteauguay River.

project area also has tundra and forest-tundra conditions at higher elevations and in particular areas such as along the Châteauguay River. However, the forests along the main course of the Caniapiscau River / Cambrien Lake region, which forms the most important north-south waterway in the project area, are much denser—almost closed crown forests—than anything in the Schefferville and Lake Caniapiscau areas. Ground cover is dominated by Labrador tea and Kalmia and spagnum mosses, with patches of lichen-woodland on the best-drained surfaces. Even in the Nachicapau Lake area the forests are generally denser than those found around comparable lakes on the Lake Plateau.

The archaeological significance of the density of forest and ground cover, especially but not limited to the Caniapiscau River valley, is that sites will generally be harder to find. With the exception of the high, glacial lake terraces and certain areas with dunes, there is relatively little erosion that would help expose archaeological remains.

Concerning the large burned area centred on the confluence of the Caniapiscau and Châteauguay rivers, the flyover allowed us to determine that this fire did not burn intensively enough to remove much of the surface vegetation and organic soil, except perhaps in the area of the high, pro-glacial lake terraces. Thus, it seems unlikely that this burn will be of much use in providing enhanced "archaeological visibility" for surveys closer to the present-day shoreline.[8]

[8]In many subarctic or hemiarctic areas that have been burned, archaeological structures such as fireplaces and tent rings, as well as some artifacts, are visible on the ground surface.

The implication of these observations is clear: in most parts of the project area, we should not expect visual inspection alone to bring to light much evidence of past human occupation. With the exception of the glacial lake terraces, we expect that in most areas the excavation of test pits will be required to reveal evidence of past occupation older than about 70 years.

Prior to the flyover visit, we had hoped that satellite imagery might reveal evidence of Naskapi tent rings or other habitation structures—possibly dating to the Fort McKenzie (1916–1948) period. Initially, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, we had intended to carry out a pilot project to examine high resolution images for locations around Fort McKenzie, where archaeological sites including early mid-20th century Naskapi tent rings, had been identified and mapped by archaeologists in the early 1980s. The flyover visit brought home the density of vegetation along major waterways, and the degree to which it has grown up in certain areas (like Fort McKenzie) in the last 40 years. This factor, combined with the prohibitive cost of purchasing high resolution satellite imagery, effectively put this pilot project on hold for the time being.[9]

A visitor flying over Cambrien Lake and the Châteauguay River in a helicopter cannot help but be impressed by the dramatic, high glacial-lake terraces that we have already referred to several times. The flyover visit certainly reinforced the question of whether these terraces were used by Naskapi ancestors or other visitors for hunting, camping, or other activities that may have left material traces on the ground that might be detected through archaeological inspection. This subject will be explored further later on in the report.

[9] If tent rings or similar features are found in areas of very open vegetation during the 2021 field survey, we may revisit this decision.

4 | Paleo-environment

This chapter will look at some aspects of the dramatic environment changes that have taken place over millennia, focusing on events relating to glaciation and deglaciation. These events, in turn, caused other events, such as the filling of large glacial lakes that covered much of the project area, and their subsequent draining into the sea. In the earliest period following deglaciation, the area was actually close to an arm of the sea, an estuary of the Caniapiscau River. Since that time, the land has been rising in relation to the sea and the shoreline has moved far to the north to become Ungava Bay as it is known today.

While most of these events happened long—perhaps thousands of years—before Naskapi ancestors or other visitors arrived in the project area, they set the stage for human occupation. Therefore, we need to entertain the possibility that some of the earliest Indigenous people to live in the project area witnessed a very different landscape from the present one.

4.1 The end of the ice age

Like much of Canada, the project area was covered by waves of massive glaciers, several kilometres in thickness, over periods of many thousands of years. During the last glacial period, the ice was at its maximum between 25,000 and 20,000 years ago. Geologists who study this relatively recent period of geological history make reference to the Labrador Sector of the Laurentide Ice Sheet, which covered the Québec-Labrador peninsula, and was at its thickest over the Lake Plateau to the southwest of the project area. By examining streamlined landforms left behind by ice flows that scraped the surface of the land, meltwater channels, and striations on exposed bedrock, geologists are able to determine the history of the ice flow sequence from the centre of the ice sheet towards the margins.

Unfortunately, there have only been a few studies of glacial history in the project area. A notable exception is the early study of glacial geomorphology in the Cambrien Lake area by Drummond (1965). While this entire north-central section of the Québec-Labrador peninsula is

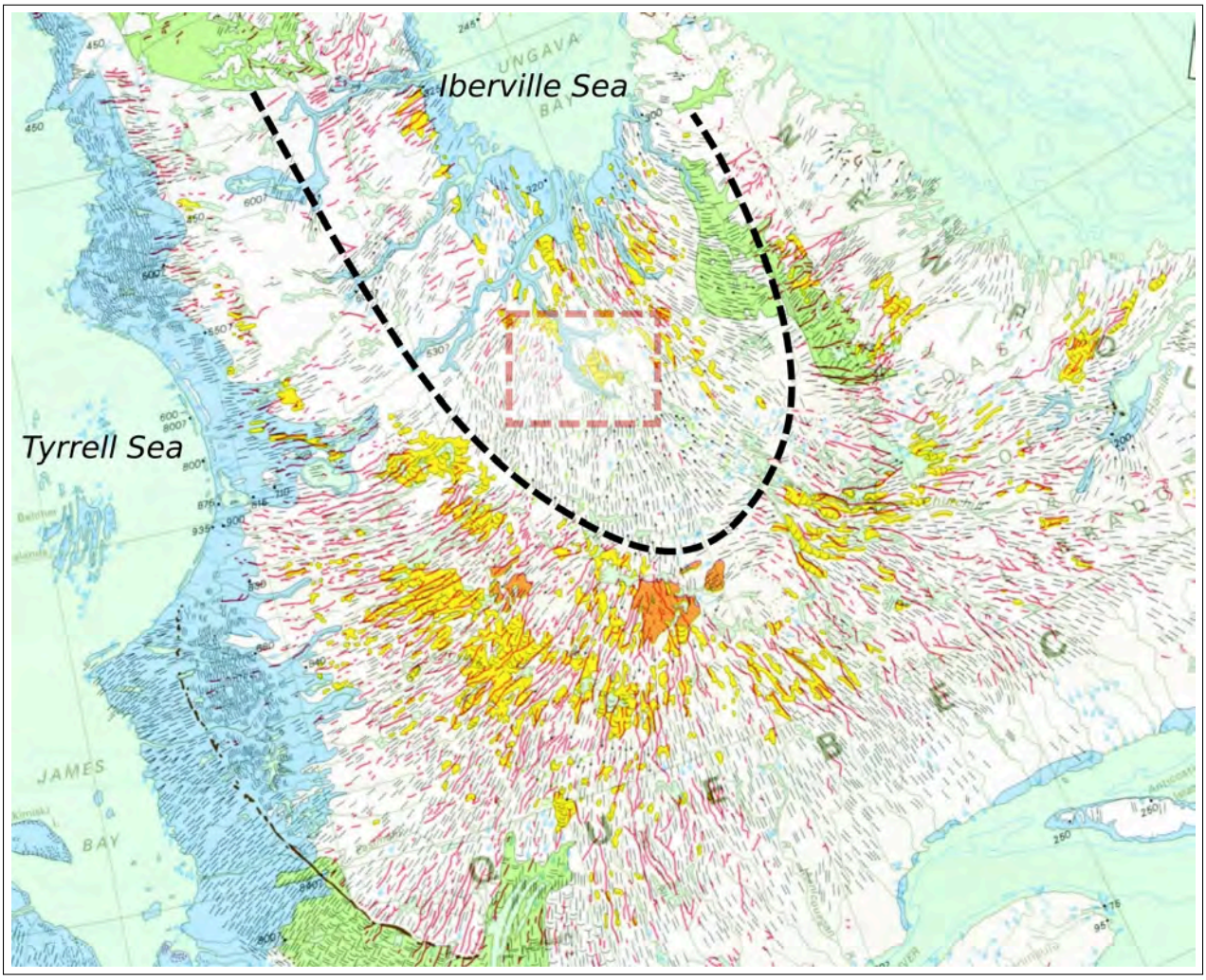

Figure 4.1: Glacial map of Canada (detail) showing zone of Horseshoe unconformity in relation to the project area (Clark, Knight, et al. 2000). Shown are glacial features indicating flow direction (grey lines), eskers (red lines), formations of ribbed moraines (yellow areas), and areas of maximum marine invasion (blue). Modified from Prest et al. (1968).

almost a blank slate in terms of glacial studies, there has been work over a much broader zone that allows (sometimes conflicting) reconstructions of events.

Not all Quaternary geologists agree on the interpretation of the history of late glaciation and deglaciation. Without going into detail, the controversy centres on the interpretation of landforms and striations showing different patterns of glacial flow on either side of a line often referred to as the Horseshoe Shaped Unconformity (Clark, Knight, et al. 2000: 1345). South of this line, striations and glacial landforms indicate a radial pattern of flow to the west, southwest, south, south-east and east. North of the line, landform and striation records highlight converging ice flows towards Ungava Bay. Two basic assumptions have been made concerning the Horseshoe Shaped Unconformity. The first and simplest is that the Horseshoe Unconformity represents an ice divide position, and that the ice flowed in opposite directions from that divide at approximately the same time 4.2A. In this case, it would be possible to map the outward flow of the glacier from this divide at different times, and to map the retreating margin of the ice as the glacier melted and finally disappeared (figure 4.2).

This scenario is essentially the one described by Dyke and Prest (1987) and refined by other researchers. However, it has been noted that this model does not account for the presence of numerous glacial lakes to the north of the presumed ice divide. The northward drainage of these lakes would have been prevented by the presence of glacial ice to the north, and thus, according to this view, the final wasting of the glacier would have taken place well to the north (and east) of the proposed glacial divide. To account for the existence of these glacial lakes, an alternative model associated the eskers and glacial landforms north of the Horseshoe with relic features that were preserved under a cold-based ice mass centered over Ungava Bay (Gray and Lauriol 1985; Jansson 2003; Jansson et al. 2002; Kleman et al. 1994) (see figure 4.2B). While the detailed analysis of glacial flows does not concern us, the location of the glacial margin and glacial lakes at various periods is of great interest and may be relevant to considerations of early human occupation in the region.

A reconstruction of late glacial retreat based on the ring of glacial lakes in northern Québec-Labrador is presented by Jansson (2003), who viewed the lakes as indicating the northward retreat of the glacier towards Ungava Bay. Clark, Knight, et al. (2000) present a somewhat different model that also involves an ice mass centred on Ungava Bay, which fragments into "residual ice masses" responsible for damming the lakes. In general, most Quaternary geologists continue to support the southward retreat of the northern margin of the ice mass, but have refined mapping of the ice margin in different periods and mapping residual ice masses in the latest phases of deglaciation (Dalton et al. 2020), presented here in figure 4.3. As shown in this figure, the deglaciation of the

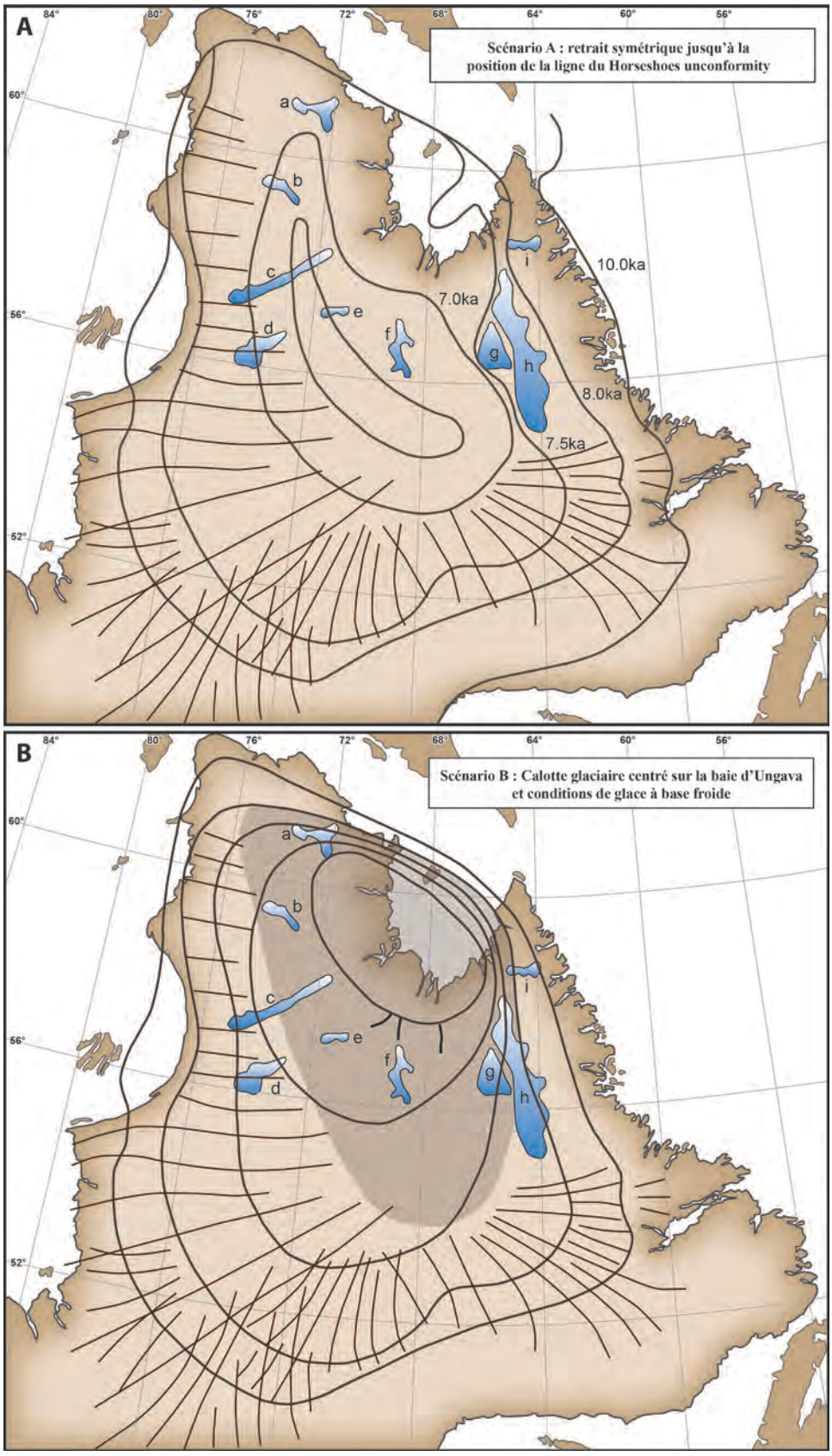

Figure 4.2: Two scenarios of ice flow and glacial retreat from the ice divide reflected by the Horseshoe unconformity (Clark, Knight, et al. 2000). From Dubé-Loubert, Daubois, et al. (2016: Fig. 7A and 7B).

eastern edge of the project area began about 6500 years ago. The area was completely deglaciated by 5000 years ago.

4.2 Glacial lakes: terraces and strand-lines

Some of the most prominent geomorphological features in the project area are a number of well-defined terraces and a series of strandlines (shore lines), located predominantly near Cambrien Lake and along the Châteauguay River (see figures 4.4 and 4.5). Several types of terraces or strandlines were examined by Drummond (1965: Map V-1 and Table V-2), including what he refers to as "pitted valley terraces," strandlines, and bluffs. Drummond examined three groups of strandlines—two roughly in the middle of the Cambrien Lake basin and a third at the southeast end—that are interpreted "as having been formed by a body of water, most probably a lake, centred over the present Cambrian Lake at a maximum elevation of 550-575 feet [168-175 m] a.s.l [above sea level]...." Some of these features, and other similar ones, were also later mapped by Jansson (2005) as "glacial lake shorelines." While the assumption is that most of these terraces and strandlines relate to glacial lakes, as we will see in the following section, it seems likely that at least some of these features are of marine origin. Indeed, the clear identification of glacial lake versus marine shorelines in the region remains one of the largest problems in understanding the events of the late glacial / early post-glacial history of the area.

Glacial maps show a chain of glacial lakes that formerly occupied the drainage basins of the major rivers that would eventually flow in a northerly direction into Ungava Bay, as shown in figure 4.6. However, the evolution and final draining of these glacial lakes is obscure. Glacial Lake Naskaupi is an exception: its evolution and chronology of events is now quite well documented as a result of recent work by Dubé-Loubert and Roy (2017) and Dubé-Loubert, Roy, et al. (2018).

It seems clear that there were a series of glacial lakes of varying size that occupied the Caniapiscau River drainage basin. An outline of the evolution of glacial lakes in central and northern Québec and Labrador has been proposed by Jansson (2003) based on analysis of glacial features observed in aerial photographs and a reading of lake levels from available digital elevation models (DEM). While the reconstructions of glacial lake stages remain preliminary and somewhat theoretical due to lack of data in many areas and lack of field verification, it does provide a useful preliminary framework. For the Canipaiscau drainage basin there are no fewer than 13 stages of glacial Lake Caniapiscau with shorelines at elevations from 609 to 310 m a.s.l.. Of these, the last three stages (11-13) are relevant to the project area (see purple area in figure 4.7). An additional two levels are proposed for glacial Lake Cambrien, at elevations of 290 and 220 m a.s.l. (see fig-

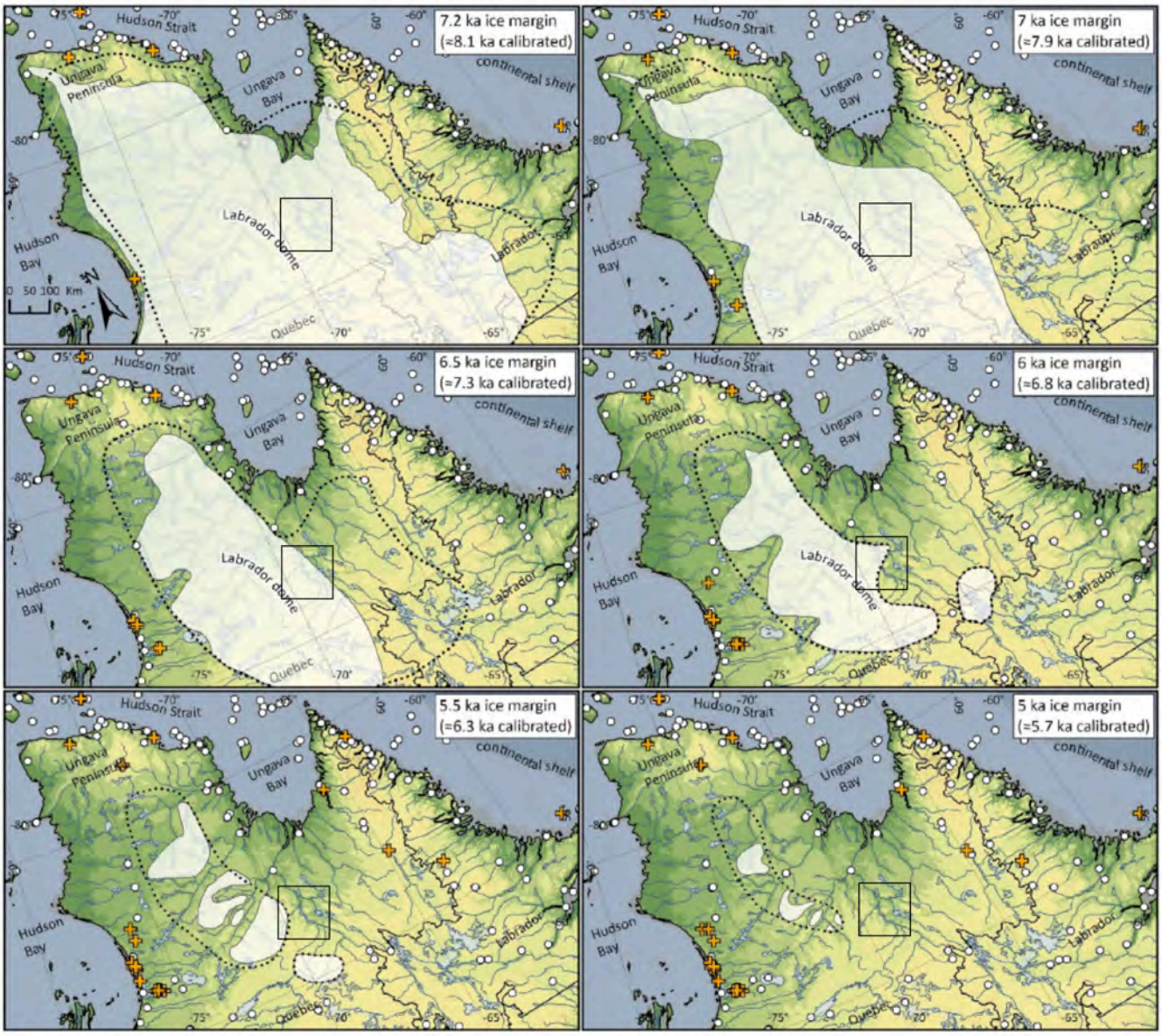

Figure 4.3: Updated chronology of the ice margin during the deglaciation of the Labrador dome of the Laurentide ice sheet. The black dashed line represents the previous view of the ice margin location through time (Dyke 2004) and the black rectangle shows the approximate location of the project area. Modified from Dalton et al. (2020).

Figure 4.4: Well-defined terrace to the northeast of Cambrien Lake. Original caption: *Netteté d'un niveau de terrasse de la mer de D'Iberville, nord-est du lac Cambrien, Sud-Ungava.* Université de Montréal (2007: CL03604A).

Figure 4.5: Step-like terraces to the east of the narrows in Cambrien Lake. Original caption: *Terrasses marines en gradins à l'est du lac Cambrien, Sud-Ungava.* Université de Montréal (2007: CL03603A).

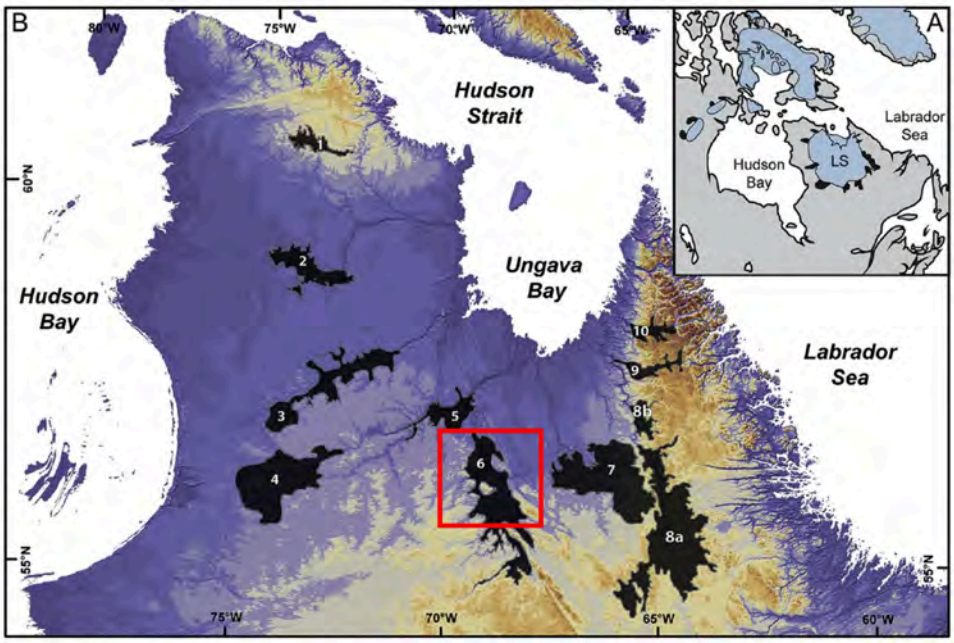

Figure 4.6: Location of project area in relation to ice-dammed lakes in northern Quebec during the last deglaciation: 1) Lake Nantais; 2) Lake Payne; 3) Lake Minto; 4) Lake à l'Eau-Claire; 5) Lake Mélèzes; 6) Lake Caniapiscau; 7) Lake McLean; 8) Lake Naskaupi (a: Indian House Lake basin; b: Pyramid Hills basin); 9) Lake Ford; 10) Lake Koroc. Modified from (Dubé-Loubert, Roy, et al. 2018: Fig. 1).

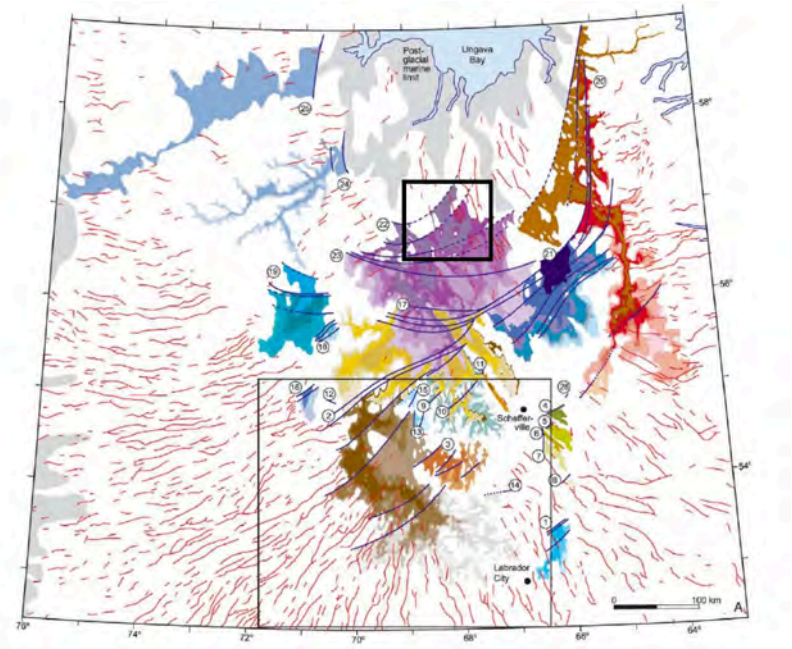

Figure 4.7: Glacial lakes formed during the last glaciation in Labrador/Ungava in relation to the project area. The final three levels (11-13) of glacial Lake Caniapiscau are shown in purple. Modified from Jansson (2003: fig. 17).

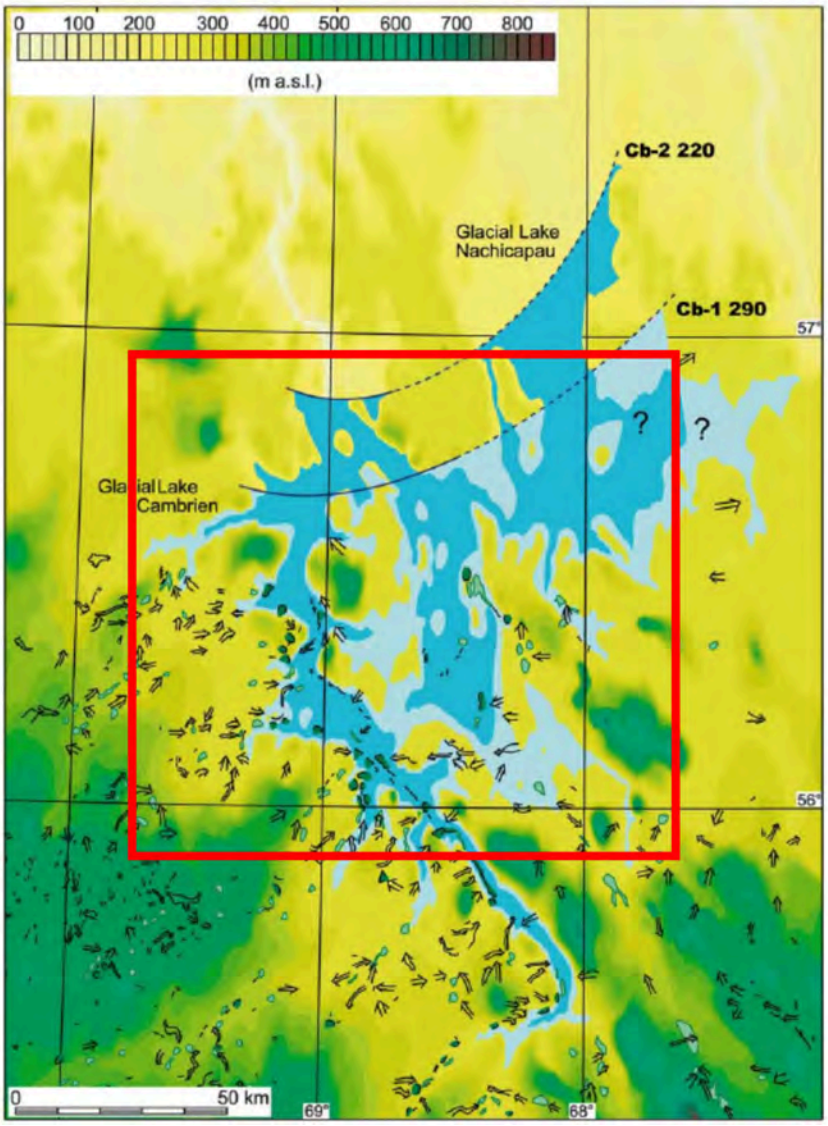

Figure 4.8: Two levels of glacial Lake Cambrien (290 m and 220 m) in relation to the project area. Glacial Lake Nachicapau forms part of eastern glacial Lake Cambrien. Adapted from Jansson (2003: Fig. 15).

ure 4.8). Blocked by the ice from draining to the north, the two proposed stages of glacial Lake Cambrien would have drained to the east. In theory at least, it is these lake levels that would have created the terraces or strandlines in the project area (see figure 4.8). For now, the best that can be said is that the 290 and 220 m lake levels relating to a proposed glacial Lake Cambrien are hypothetical and need to be verified.

4.3 Era of marine invasion

If the final melting of the glacier freed the rivers to flow to the north, it also allowed the sea to invade the Ungava Bay lowlands that had been previously covered—and depressed—by the glacier. The paleo-sea that flooded inland from Ungava Bay stretched well up into the low-lying river valleys. This body of water has been named the Iberville Sea by Quarternary geologists. For our study, knowing the elevation of the maximum marine limit in this area is critical to understanding the environment immediately following deglaciation and the draining of glacial lakes. Therefore, is of key importance to know whether tidal waters stretched as far south on the Caniapiscau River as Cambrien Lake (as shown in figure 4.1).

Released from the colossal weight of the glacier, the land began to rise in relation to the sea in a process known as isostatic rebound or uplift (also post-glacial recovery), and the longs arms of Ungava Bay that were part of the Iberville Sea began to retreat towards the north. The land rose and the sea gradually lowered in relation to the land, taking many centuries for Ungava Bay to assume the form we see today on the map, This process is ongoing. This uplift did not take place at the same rate everywhere: those areas where the ice dome was thicker were depressed further and thus rebounded at a greater rate than neighbouring areas where the ice was somewhat thinner. For this reason, the elevations of the maximum marine limit are not the same in all areas. Generally, along the southern margin of Ungava Bay, they increase from east to west, from 100 m near the mouth of the George River (Allard et al. 1989) and inland along the George River (Dubé-Loubert, Daubois, et al. 2016), to 162 m on the Whale River (Hugo Dubé-Loubert, pers. comm.), to 175-185 m near Kuujjuaq (Drummond 1965; Pienitz et al. 1991), as much as 195 m to the south of Kuujjuaq along the Mélèzes River (Gray, Lauriol, et al. 1993), and 270 m along the eastern coast of Hudson Bay, to the south of Lake Guillaume-Delisle (Hillaire-Marcel 1976). While there have not been detailed studies of the maximum marine limit within the project area, strandlines mapped by Drummond (1965) at maximum elevations of about 175 m, and photographed by Laverdière as marine terraces (Université de Montréal 2007), as well as other strandlines at elevations of between 175 and 180 m, could well correspond with glacial marine features (Hugo Dubé-Loubert,

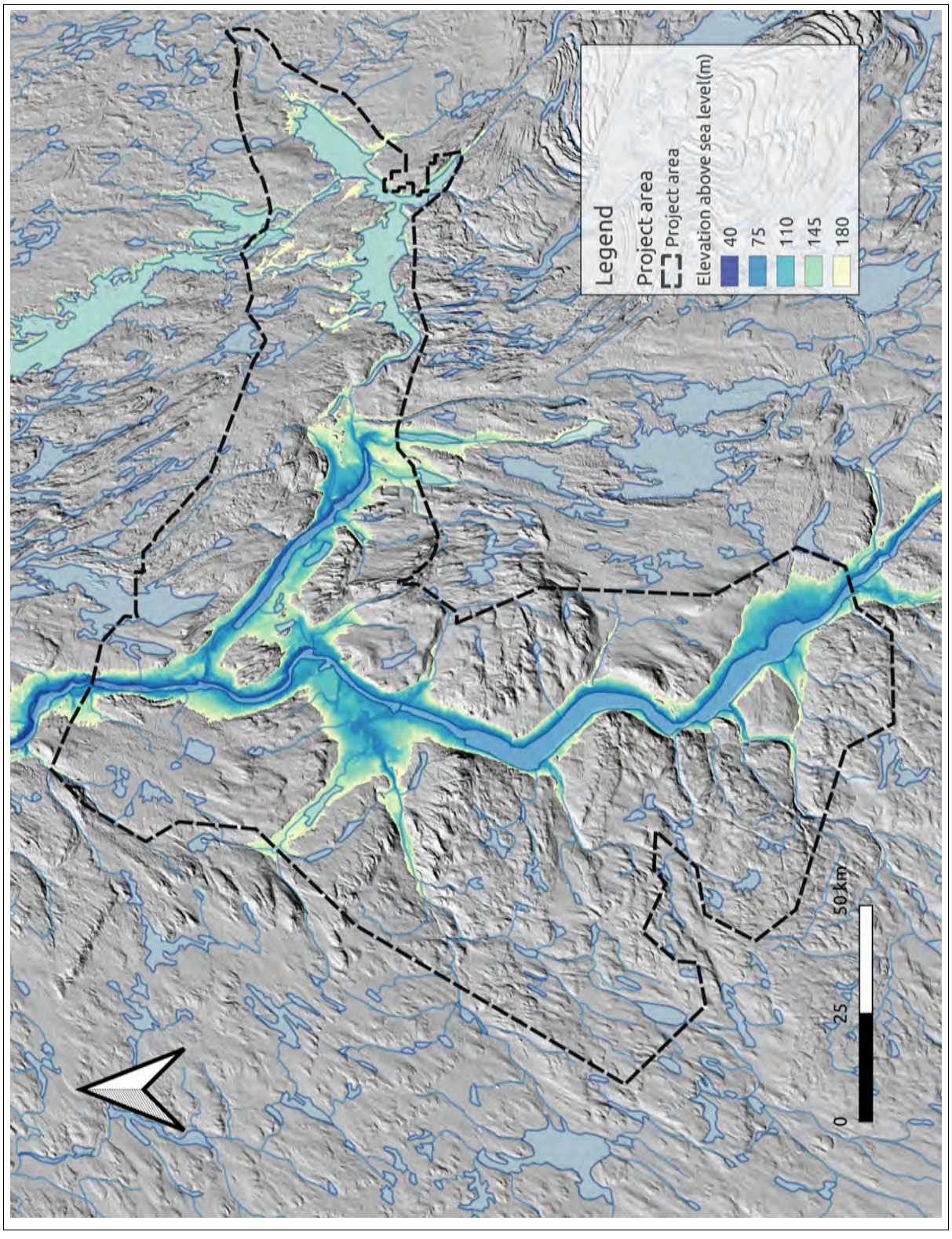

Figure 4.9: project area showing theoretical maximal marine limit of 180 m with digital elevation model.

Table 4.1: Uplift rates near Ungava Bay.

Locale	Rate of uplift	Chronology	Reference
Kuujjuaq	5.7-5.8 cm / yr	7000–4600 BP	(Pienitz et al. 1991)
	.9 cm / yr	Since 4600 BP	
Western Ungava Bay	4-5 cm / yr	7000–5000 BP	(Gray, de Boutray, et al. 1980)
	.3 – 1.0 cm / yr	Since 5000 BP	
Southeastern Ungava Bay	7 cm / yr	7000–5700 BP	(Allard et al. 1989)
	,4 cm / yr	Since 5700 BP	Figures estimated from emersion curve (Fig. 12)

per. comm.). Drummond did not observe any strandlines around Cambrien Lake at elevations below about 105 m (approximately 30 m above the present water level).

Of related interest, is the presence of clays in the region, including varved sequences[1] at elevations just above the modern lake levels to as high as 106 m. While Drummond (1965) attributes these to higher lake levels, possibly caused by blockages at Chute aux Schistes, they could also relate to deposition in a quiet tidal, estuarial environment.

In sum, the maximum marine limit in the project area may be as high as 195 m, as in the Mélèzes River valley (Lauriol 1982, cited in Gray, Lauriol, et al. (1993), but it is more likely in the range of 180 m. Figure 4.9 illustrates the extent of the sea at the 180 m maximum limit. At this level, much of the valley of Cambrien Lake would have been filled, as well as Lakes Canichico and Nachicapau. Very likely, the sea did not remain at this elevation for long, in relation to the land. After deglaciation, the land began to rise at a relatively rapid rate for a couple of millennia, then slowing to a much lesser rate. For the Ungava Bay area, the initial rate would have been on the order of 4-7 cm per year, slowing after a couple of thousand years to less than 1 cm per year (see table 4.1). The dramatic change after a few millennia—leading to the "elbow shape" bending of the uplift curves—is doubtless an artifact of the lack of chronological constraints, especially for the last 5000 years, the most important period for our study.

In the Cambrien Lake area, there are several series of beach ridges, as shown in Laverdière's photograph (figure 4.5), which now appear to be of marine origin and thus reflect uplift of the land and the resulting retreat of the sea. As in the Ungava Bay area, the most rapid changes in marine levels would have occurred relatively soon after deglaciation and the emptying of any glacial lakes. Hypothetically, if we took 180 m as the maximum marine level in the area and

[1] Thin bands of clay and silt representing annual deposits.

assumed a date of 6000 BP for this level, and an uplift rate of 7 cm per year, the land would have rebounded 70 m each of the following millennia, bringing the level to 110 m at 5000 BP, slightly over 30 m above the modern water level of the lake. By 4500 BP, the marine level would have been at 75 m, or just below the modern lake level, and by 4000 BP, the sea would have retreated some 100 km down the Caniapiscau River valley below the Chute aux Schistes, but still above the Chute de la Pyrite and Chute du Calcaire. Of course, there are many elements of this scenario that are unknown—such as the elevation and dating of the maximum marine level, and how variable rates of uplift or other factors such as sea level rises might have affected the evolution of the marine shoreline in the area.

It is clear, however, that during the period when the project area was influenced by tidal waters, it would have been near the head of an extremely long, narrow estuary, in which salt and fresh water mixed. The nature of this environment, its vegetation and faunal resources, remain to be explored. The big question for us is a chronological one: what was the actual timing of the late marine shorelines and when did the sea finally retreat from the project area? Is it possible that the Iberville marine invasion and retreat, as well as the evolution of glacial Lake Cambrien, were events contemporary with early occupation by Naskapi ancestors?

4.4 Changing climate and vegetation patterns

Over the thousands of years since deglaciation, there have been some significant changes in the climate, both in northern Québec and globally. These changes are associated with variations in regional vegetation patterns reflected in the relative frequency of different pollen species in lake sediments and peat bogs. Changes in the frequency of forest fires measured by the relative presence of charcoal particles during different periods (Oris et al. 2014), periods associated with the formation of sand dunes (often following forest fires) (Filion and Bégin 1985; Filion, Saint-Laurent, et al. 1991), and the development of peatlands (Bhiry et al. 2019) are among several other measures that tell the story of a changing climate.

At the time of deglaciation about 6,000 years ago, the vegetation in the broad zone surrounding the project area was quite different from that of today.[2] It was a shrub tundra dominated by alder and dwarf birch (see figure 4.10), suggesting somewhat warmer temperatures overall but possibly cooler summers (Richard 1995). This was the beginning of what is referred to as the mid-Holocene climatic optimum—the modern geological period following the Pleistocene or ice-age. Spruce was rare in the region at this time; however, this phase of shrub tundra vegetation was

[2]See section 5.3 for a presentation of present forest ecozones.

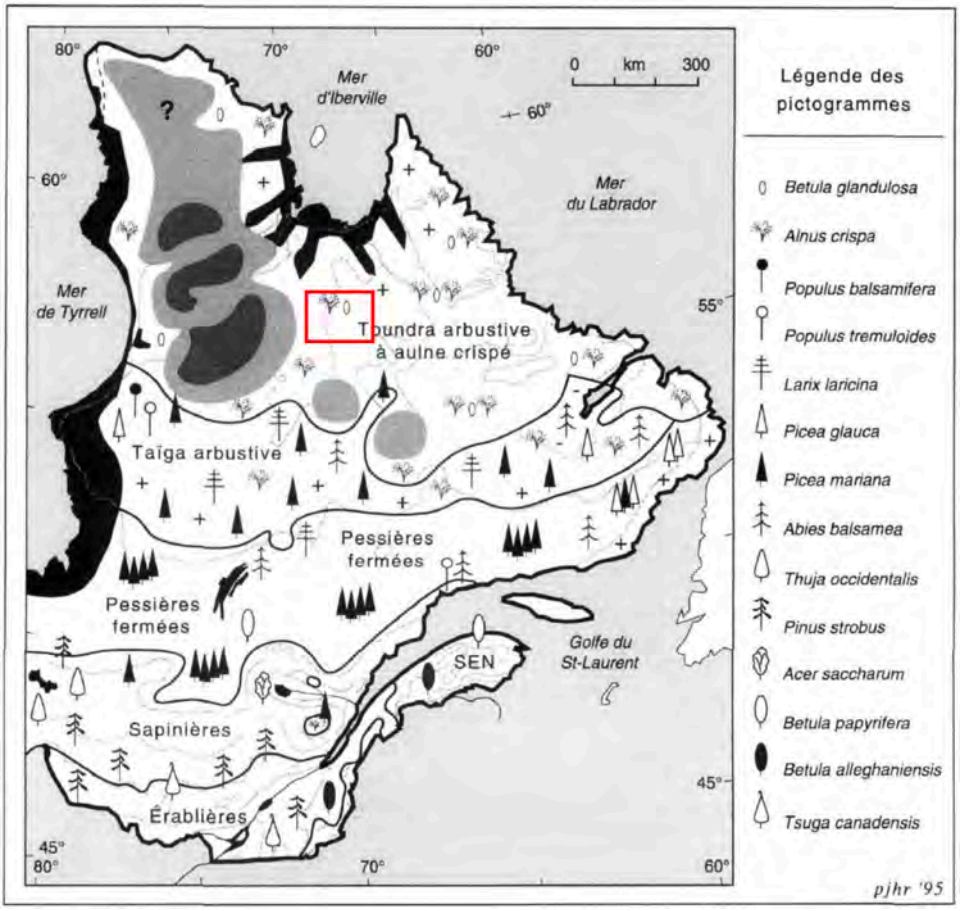

Figure 4.10: Vegetation zones in Québec 6000 years ago showing the approximate location of the project area. Modified from Richard (1995: Fig. 7).

relatively short-lived. Spruce forests became established in the project area between about 5000 and 4000 years ago (Gajewski 2019). In the last 4000 years, the predominant climatic tendency has been a cooling trend, which increased 3000 years ago and continued until the end of what is called the Little Ice Age, a very cool period of several hundred years that lasted well into the 19th century. Climatic cooling is reflected in changes in the density of forest cover, with pollen associated with non-arboreal species increasing in relative frequency rather than with significant shifts in the location of the tree line (Gajewski et al. 2021). This general cooling trend over several millennia is only briefly interrupted by somewhat warmer periods shortly after 2000 years ago, and again 1000 years ago (Filion and Bégin 1985).

The effects these broad changes may have had in the project area are not clear. As shown in figure 5.5 the project area is presently at the boundary between the forest tundra ecotone and the lichen woodland of the Boreal forest. During the climatic optimum and until the cooling trend began in earnest 4000 years ago, the forest may have been more dense, and the lichen woodlands

more extensive, even on the plateau (Larch Plateau) in the western portion of the area. With the cooling trend beginning 4000 years ago and increasing 3000 years ago, the forest tundra likely expanded at the expense of the lichen woodland, and the latter would have become more open.

To the east of Hudson Bay, the formation of dunes increased dramatically in the period between 1650 and 1300 years ago. Colder and drier conditions encouraged forest fires and prevented the post-fire reestablishment of the forest, resulting in wind erosion (Filion, Saint-Laurent, et al. 1991). We hypothesize that this was also a major period of dune formation in the project area, including the large dune fields near the Chutes aux Schistes.

4.5 Conclusions and implications for human occupation

The main takeaway message from this chapter is that there are major events that shaped the landscape of the project area, including deglaciation, the presence of glacial lakes, and the invasion of the sea onto lands formerly depressed by ice. However, these events remain to be clearly defined and dated, beginning with deglaciation.

While it seems likely that there were different stages of glacial lakes that covered the area, including glacial Lake Caniapiscau and the smaller glacial Lake Cambrien centred on the valley of the modern lake, the extent and duration of these lakes has yet to be defined. The latest stages of Cambrien Lake could well have been created as a result of blockage by ice-dams (Drummond 1965) or by one of several rapidly shrinking ice masses remaining in the area south and west of Ungava Bay (Dalton et al. 2020). When considering the earliest human occupation of the project area, it would likely be only the latest glacial Cambrien Lake stage (CB-2 at 220 m in Jansson's 2003 reconstruction) that could be of potential interest. However, a confirmation and clearer definition, as well as dating of this event is necessary. It seems that the drainage of glacial Lake Cambrien occurred somewhere around 5500 years ago (Dalton et al. 2020), and that the ice had completely disappeared from the Caniapiscau valley by this time (see figure 4.3).

While we had initially associated terraces and strandlines in the project area with glacial lake stages, it now seems more likely that many of these—located at elevations of about 180 m down to about 105 m (or approximately 30 above the modern water level of Cambrien Lake—represent the shoreline of a long arm of the Iberville Sea (Hugo Dubé-Lubert, pers. comm.); however, this remains to be confirmed as well. The rate of uplift and retreat of the shoreline are potentially of great significance in locating the oldest archaeological sites in the area. If our hypothetical reconstruction has value, strandlines at an elevation of 105 m could mark the location of the estuary shoreline about 5000 years ago. Some 500 years later, the head of the tidal zone (75 m)

could have been in the area of the Chute aux Schistes. Even later, when the head of the tidal waters retreated down the Caniapiscau River valley to the north, and Cambrien Lake occupied its modern shorelines, the presence of the sea not far to the north could still have been an important factor in human occupation.

Our hypothetical chronology for the final stages of marine presence in the project area is well within the range of possible early dates for human occupation. There is an obvious need to clearly identify and date the marine shorelines at different levels in order to develop an accurate chronological framework for the last deglaciation. The investigation of possible marine clay deposits in the area is of similar interest.

The earliest human occupation may have taken place shortly after deglaciation while the area was still dominated by a shrub tundra, or during the climatic optimum about 5000 years ago when a spruce forest was well established. The subsequent cooling 4000 years ago, and especially 3000 years ago, would have contributed to an opening of the lichen woodland forest and an altitudinal retreat of the forest to lower and more protected sites on the Larch Plateau in the western part of the project area. While it is important to be aware that there have been changes in vegetation over the course of millennia, it is more difficult to imagine the effects of these changes on the people who lived in the area. The opening of forests would have been good for winter grazing of caribou, and may have encouraged the development of the large herds of caribou that migrated through and wintered in the northern part of the project area, or just further north (see discussion in section 5.6.) Cold and dry conditions may also have encouraged forest fires, however, such as those that raged through the northern part of the project area in 1832 (see section 5.4) in the latter part of the Little Ice Age, and that appear to have resulted in a local scarcity of this important resource. In general, the effects of climatic factors on caribou populations are much debated for relatively recent historic periods (Bergerud et al. 2007; Crête and Payette 1990: 135-149), and with respect to modern climatic change (Canada 2017; Corre et al. 2020; Leblond et al. 2016; Mameamskum, Hermann, et al. 2015; Sharma et al. 2009). This seems to advise caution in associating broad climate trends with caribou populations in the distant past. Likewise, it is difficult at this point to consider how such climatic trends could have affected other faunal or vegetal resources important to early Indigenous occupants of the area.

5 | Present environment and landscape

This chapter reviews several aspects of the present environment, focusing on elements that we consider important for thinking about past land and resource use, travel and settlement, and archaeological survey strategy. We begin with a section on physical geography and drainage patterns, and their possible implications for travel and settlement within the area. We then look at vegetation, especially forest cover, focusing on some implications for Naskapi land use and for carrying out archaeological surveys. In the next section we discuss faunal resources focusing on caribou, a species that is extremely important in Naskapi history, beliefs, and lifeways. Finally, we will look at recent changes in the environment brought about by the diversion of the Caniapiscau River in 1981, and the possible implications of these changes for archaeological survey work. It should be noted that we have not found many useful summaries of these aspects of geography, botany, or wildlife biology to draw on, nor are there detailed studies that deal specifically with the fauna or vegetation of the project area. As a result, this overview of the present environment is necessarily both selective and patchy.

5.1 Physiography, drainage, and travel

Presentations of the environment often start with the underlying geology, physiography, and topography. These aspects are especially significant in the project area and may have played a critical role in influencing how people travelled and settled. As shown in figure 5.1, the project area includes portions of three physiographic divisions as defined by Bostock (1970) within the James and Davis physiographic regions of the Canadian Shield. Much of the project area to the east of Caniapiscau River / Cambrien Lake is within the Labrador Hills unit: "part of the belt of folded Precambrian sedimentary and volcanic rocks along the east side of the Larch and Kaniapiscau Plateaux. It is a belt of sinuous ridges and valleys formed by downwarped and faulted strata" (ibid.: 16-17). This band of hills corresponds with the geological formation referred to as the New Québec Orogen—commonly called the Labrador Trough—which is composed of Paleo-

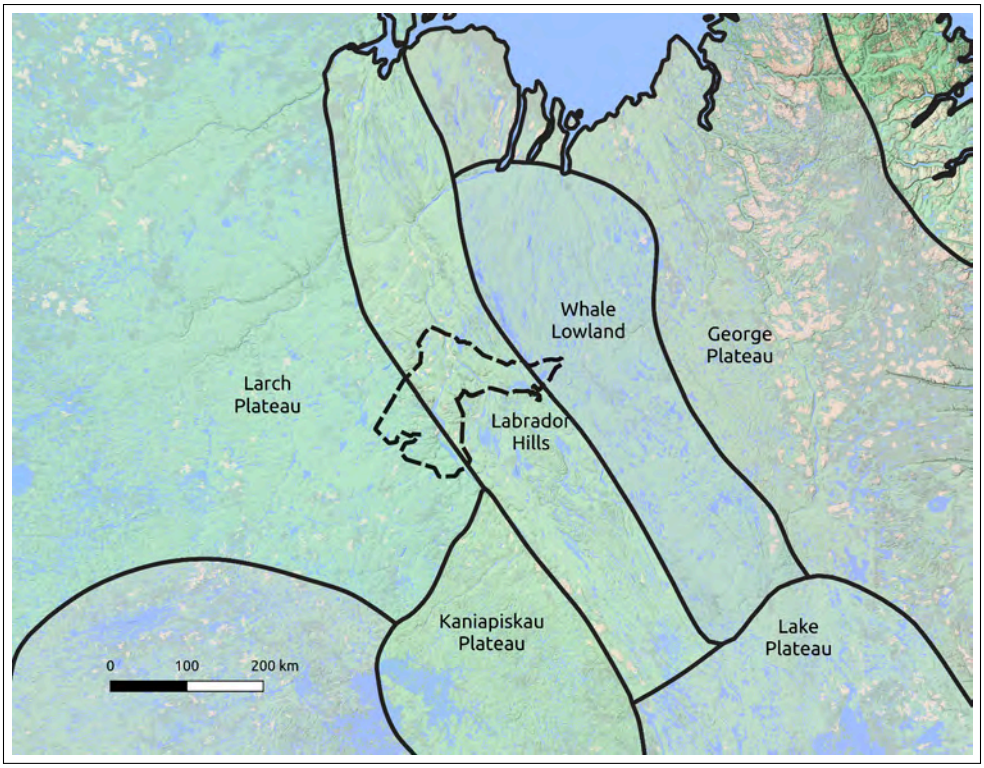

Figure 5.1: project area in relation to physiographic divisions defined by Bostock (1970).

proterozoic sedimentary and volcano-sedimentary rocks (Clark and Wares 2005). The Labrador Trough is of high archaeological interest due to the potential for stone deposits that could have been used by Indigenous inhabitants to make stone tools (discussed in more detail in chapter 6). It is oriented roughly north-northwest by south-southeast, and crosses the central, northern, and eastern portions of the project area.

The other major physiographic unit in the project area is the Larch Plateau, an undulating surface of often exposed bedrock, or bedrock covered with a thin deposit of glacial till. The rocks of the Larch Plateau are part of the Archean Superior Province composed primarily of granite and gneiss. As the Larch Plateau lies generally to the west of the Caniapiscau River, the division between these two physiographic units runs roughly along the length of Cambrien Lake. One other physiographic unit is included within the project area: the Whale Lowland, which occupies the eastern end of the eastern arm of Nachicapau Lake.

Figure 5.2 shows the topography of the project area in relation to the physiographic divisions. The topography is striking and, as already mentioned, must have been a significant factor influencing movement in and across the territory. Several general observations can be made:

1. The valley of Cambrien Lake is extremely deep, contained on either side by hills that rise as much as 500 m above the water level (77 m a.s.l.).

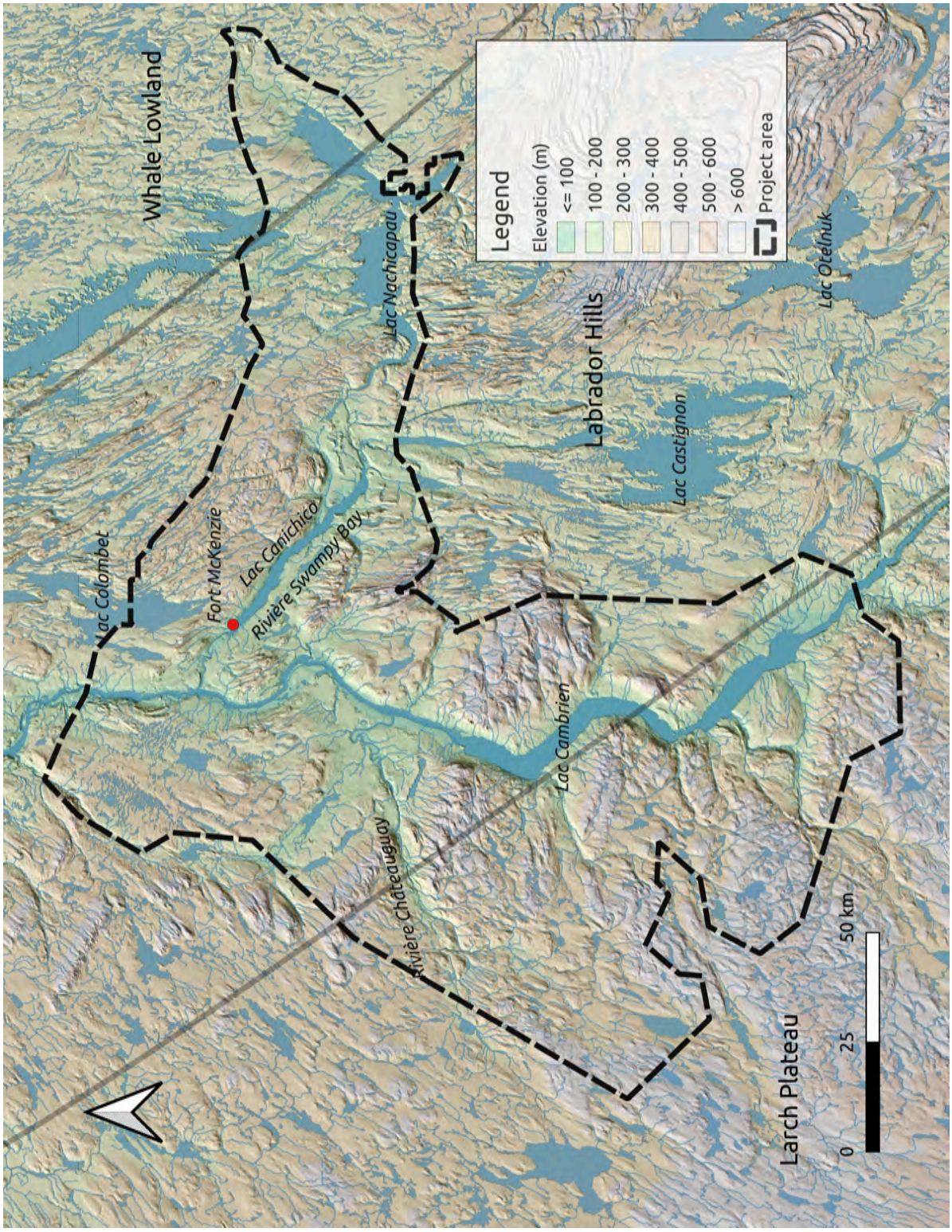

Figure 5.2: project area showing broad physiographic divisions (grey line) and elevation. Elevation from Canadian Digital Elevation Model 20m. Hillshade Z factor (vertical exaggeration) = 6.

2. At the upper (southern) end of the lake, the valley is slightly wider and the hills a bit lower and less steep-sided.
3. At the very northern end of the lake, where the Châteauguay River enters the Caniapiscau, the hills become much lower, and the valley widens and is occupied by a sand plain about 40 m above the level of the lake.
4. The water level of Cambrien Lake is maintained at its current level of approximately 77 m a.s.l. by the rock sill at Chute aux Schistes, below which the water falls about 18 m.
5. Canichico (Kaaischaakaakimaaw) Lake is also bordered by somewhat lower hills, with much of the northeastern shore forming a steep cliff. As in the case of the Châteauguay River, the outlet of the Swampy Bay River is an extensive sandy plain.

The drainage pattern resulting from this topography follows three major axes:

1. The main course of the Caniapiscau River that runs north-south. There are no obstacles to navigation from the Chute au Granite far to the south of the project area, to the Chute aux Schistes in the northern part, a distance of over 220 km.
2. The Châteauguay River (Asischiistikw Siipiiy), a major affluent that discharges into the Caniapiscau in the northern part of the project area and which flows from southwest to the northeast.
3. The course of the Swampy Bay River, which enters the Caniapiscau from the southeast. The Swampy Bay River drains a vast area of over 15,000 km^2 stretching as far as Schefferville to the southeast. In its lower section in the project area, there are two main branches: that draining Nachicapau Lake to the east, and the larger branch which flows north through lakes Otelnuk and Castignon, reaching Lake Canichico and, from there, flowing northwest into the Caniapiscau.

There are several smaller rivers within the project area. Several of these flow from the Larch Plateau in the west into the Caniapiscau River and Cambrien Lake. The most notable of these are: the de la Mort River (Waawiyuusistikw Siipiiy) and the Beurling (Asischustikusis or Piunik Siipiiy), both in the southern part of the project area. As well, several smaller rivers flowing into Cambrien Lake from the Larch Plateau should be mentioned: Amikustikus Creek, Mitusich Creek and Utapanaskwatikuch River. There are often deposits of sand (fluvial-glacial or glacial-marine) at the confluence of these streams, and terraces or strandlines showing previous lake / marine levels.

In general, the confluences of these small rivers with Cambrien Lake should be the places with the greatest archaeological potential along the lake, based on the nature of local topography and

suitability for habitation, and also because these locations likely provide greater ease of access to the plateau. Ease of travel in a north–south direction along the Cambrien Lake portion of the Caniapiscau River comes at the expense of travel onto the plateau, involving a very long climb out of the valley.

The areas to the north and at the south end of Cambrien Lake, where the hills on the sides of the valley are lower, present a contrast to the situation described above. As already mentioned, the Châteauguay River offers a major opening to the Larch Plateau to the west from the northern part of the project area. While the lower stretch of the river is relatively calm and meandering, there are multiple stretches of rapids as the land rises to the southwest.[1] Likewise, canoe travel on the route to Nachicapau Lake along the Swampy Bay River must have been difficult. From the confluence with the Caniapiscau, past Fort McKenzie to the southwestern end of Canichico (Kaaischaakaakimaaw) Lake, the route is flat. However, the stretch of the Nachicapau River to Nachicapau Lake is almost one continuous rapid over a distance of 11 km. The same is true of travel to the south along the Swampy Bay River toward Lake Castignon where there is an almost continuous stretch of rapids over a distance of about 6 km. Consequently, the confluence of these rivers—both important travel routes—might be of archaeological interest, particularly the heads of the long portages to the east (toward Nachicapau Lake) and to the south (toward Lake Castignon).

Although the long portage representing the last stage of summer travel from the Caniapiscau River to Nachicapau Lake would have been difficult, once arrived the country surrounding the lake—lacking the large hills—would have been more accessible than that surrounding Cambrien Lake. However, there is a an important difference between the west arm of the lake and the eastern one in this regard. As shown in figure 5.2, the western arm is within the Labrador Trough (Labrador Hills physiographic division), whereas the eastern arm is outside. An area of very dramatic, highly folded hills within the geosyncline is clearly visible in the digital elevation model directly to the south of the western arm of Nachicapau Lake. The shores around this arm are extremely rocky and the slopes very steep compared to the eastern arm, especially on the south shore. In general, the plateau surrounding the lake is about 50 m above the water level.

The location of lakes outside of the main axes is another aspect of the physiography and hydrology that is of interest. The area of the Larch Plateau to the west of Cambrien Lake is dominated by the hills that ring the lake and there are relatively few large lakes in this entire section of the project area. We suspect that the smaller lakes may not have been as reliable for

[1] As discussed in section 8.4.2, the members of Clouston's party, travelling by canoe up the Châteauguay River in early July 1820, realized that they could make better time walking (portaging) along the raised terraces high above the river.

fishing as the larger ones, and that this factor may have had an impact on historic Naskapi use of these lands.[2] The situation is quite different at the north end of the project area, where relatively large lakes are present and are more accessible from the Caniapiscau River given the somewhat lower hills bordering the river. We believe this to be a geographic factor with some importance for past land use and settlement in the project area.

5.2 Surficial deposits

The nature and disposition of surficial deposits left in the wake of the retreating glacier, and related processes described in chapter 4, are aspects of the physical environment that are of particular interest to archaeology. These factors relate most directly to settlement: surfaces suitable for habitation are rarely found on rock outcrops or wet areas of deep organic deposits such as peat bogs. Our experience with the Indigenous archaeology of Québec-Labrador indicates that many or most sites are found on sandy, well-drained locations.

Figure 5.3 shows the surface deposits in the project area. From an archaeological perspective the following features are worth noting:

- The large glaciofluvial deltas at the mouths of the Châteauguay and Swampy Bay rivers;
- The extensive glaciolacustrine deposits along the shores of Cambrien Lake and at the mouth of the Châteauguay River;
- The extensive areas of Rogen (or ribbed) moraines of which the largest is located in the area of lakes Carré and Moraine in the northern part of the project area, west of the Caniapiscau River. Other fields of these moraines are located east of the south-central part of Cambrien Lake, north of Nachicapau Lake, and south of the eastern arm of this lake. These very striking forms are generally oriented in an east-west direction in the project area.
- Smaller areas dominated by drumlins, drumlinoids, and fluted forms, including an area along the south shore of the eastern arm of Nachicapau Lake.

5.3 Forests and Naskapi land use

It is important to locate the project area in relation to the broad forest-cover types in the Québec-Labrador peninsula, which are closely related to latitude and altitude. As shown in figure 5.5,

[2] This remains to be confirmed through interviews with Naskapi Elders.

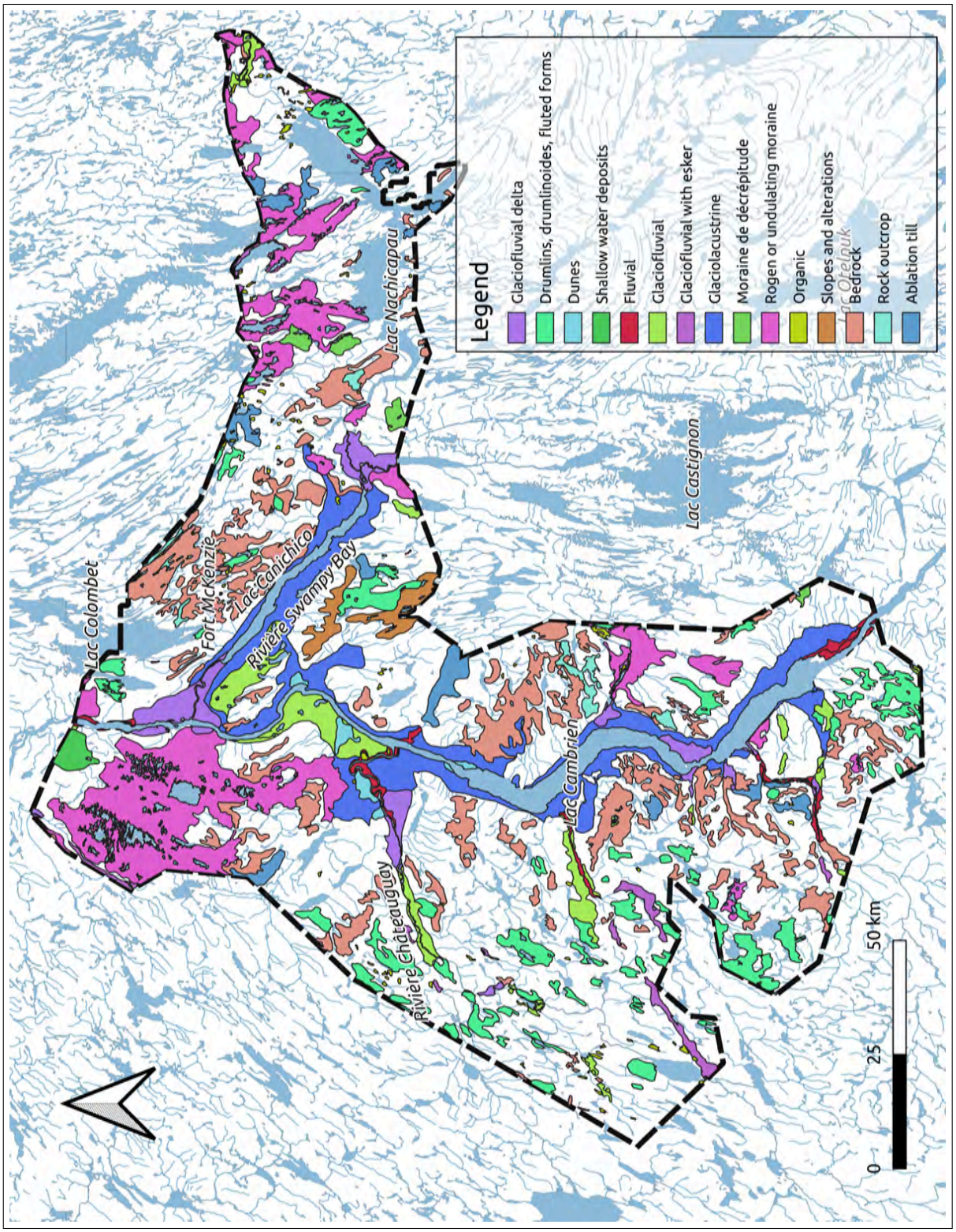

Figure 5.3: Surface deposits in the project area. Land areas not categorized on the map are undifferentiated till. Data from Données Québec (2016). Our translation of deposit names in Legend.

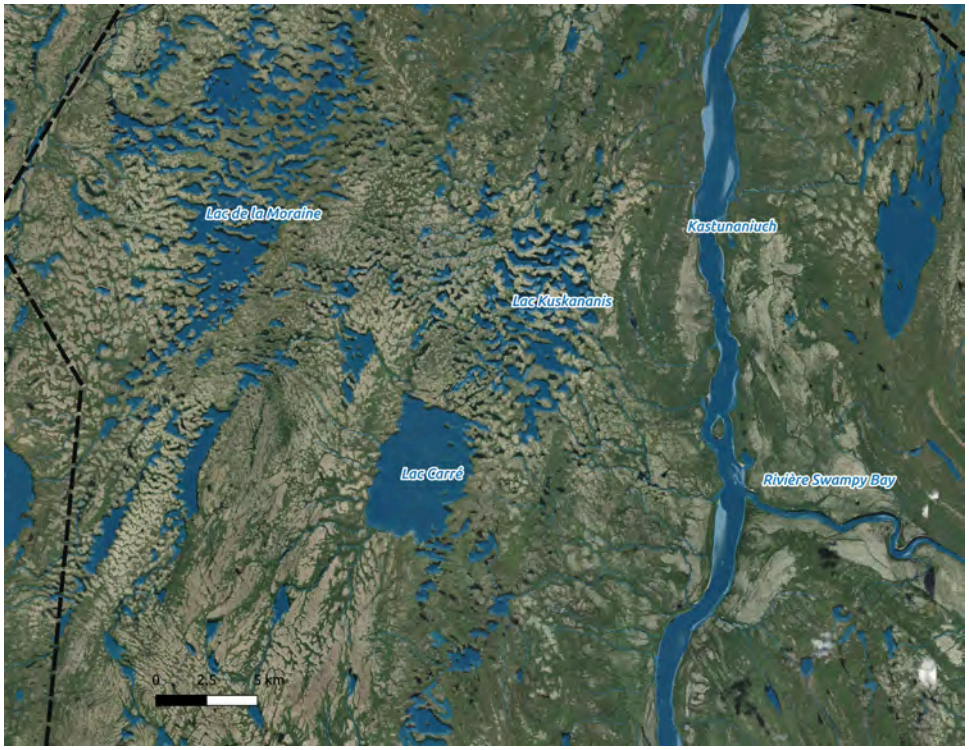

Figure 5.4: Satellite image showing Rogen (or ribbed) moraines in the area of lakes Carré, Moraine, and Kuskananis, and extensive glaciofluvial delta deposits at and below the confluence of the Caniapiscau and Swampy Bay rivers (Imagery from ESRI online servce).

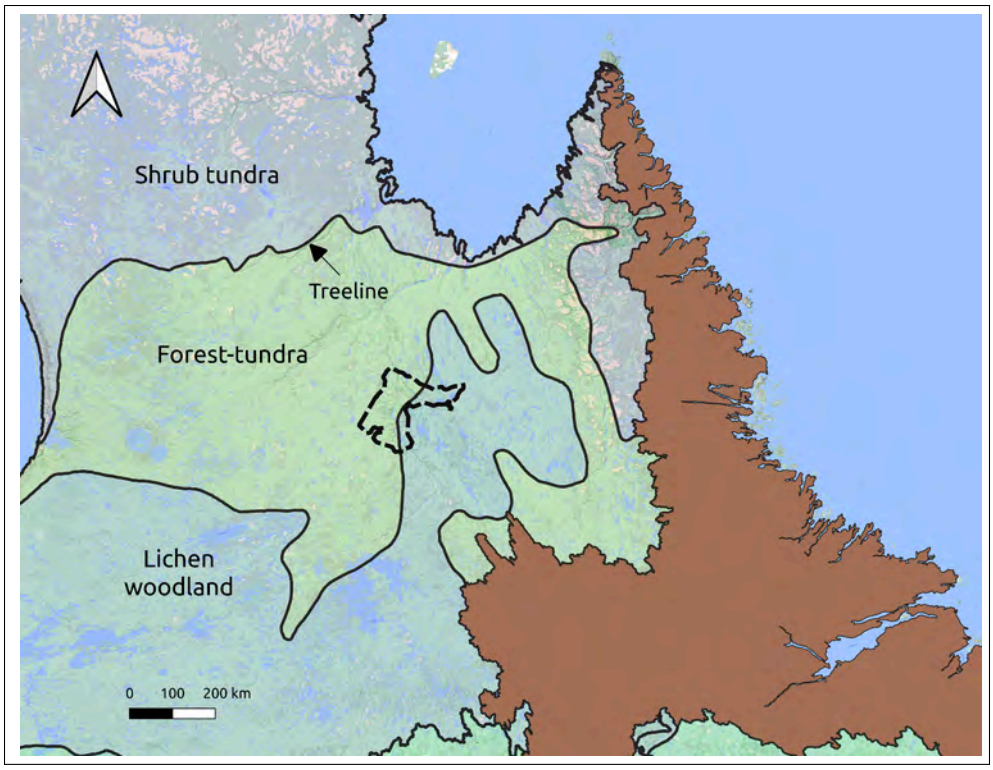

Figure 5.5: project area in relation to broad ecozones / forest cover types. Data from Données Québec (2018).

much of the Québec-Labrador peninsula to the south of Ungava Bay can be divided into a forest-tundra ecotone (transition) zone and a lichen woodland forest zone.[3] As shown in figure 5.5, the line between the two zones extends through the project area in a more or less north-south direction, with the forest-tundra essentially occupying the Larch Plateau in the west, and the lichen woodland in the east extending into the Whale Lowlands.

Figure 5.6 provides a slightly higher resolution mapping of the division between the forest-tundra and lichen woodland within and near the project area. The more forested lichen woodland occupies the valley of the Caniapiscau River, including the entire length of Cambrien Lake. The forest-tundra begins at the north end of the lake. The more forested zone also extends from near the eastern end of Canichico Lake in the north, along the Swampy Bay River far to the south. Moving towards the east, more forested lands begin again to the north of Nachicapau Lake (west and east arms) and to the south of that lake (east arm only). The more forested lands to the east correspond generally with the Whale Lowlands physiographic zone.

[3]The Ecological Framework of Canada treats both zones as part of the Taiga Shield Ecozone, while the Québec Ministère des Forêts, de la Faune et des Parcs equates the Lichen woodland with the Taîga zone and includes both within a Boréal zone.

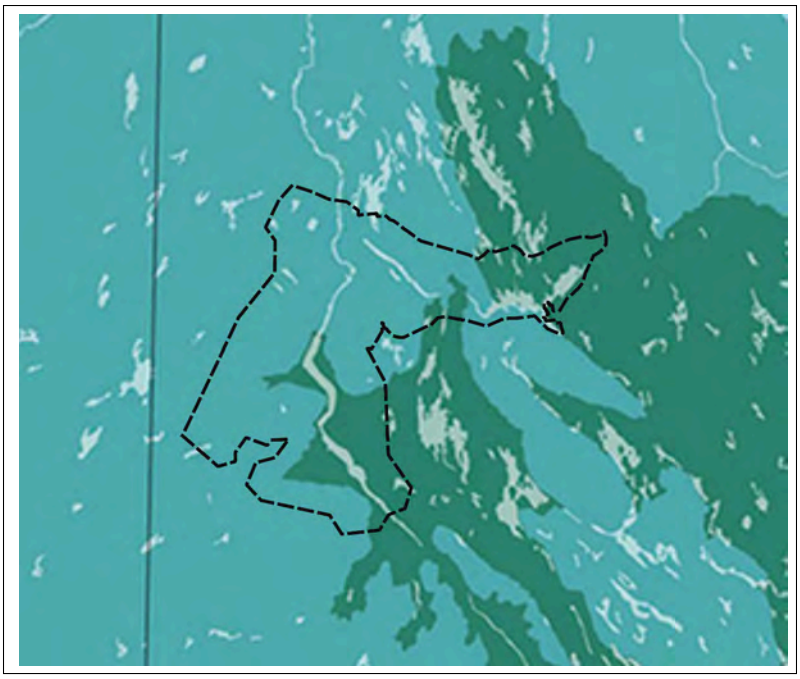

Figure 5.6: Forest tundra (teal) and lichen woodland (green) ecozones in and near the project area Modified from Moreau, Chagnon, et al. (2020: Fig. 1).

On the ground, the forest cover in the project area presents a more complex picture than suggested by the zonal divisions. Much denser spruce-moss forests are common in protected and wetter sites, especially along the Caniapiscau River valley in the Cambrien Lake area. Figure 5.7 shows a typical cross-section of the Cambrien Lake valley, prior to the 1981 diversion of the Caniapiscau River as part of the La Grande hydroelectric project. Relatively dense forests form a band along the shoreline. Open lichen woodland (spruce lichen) forests dominate on the fluvioglacial deposits that occupy slightly higher locations on the valley floor. The steep slopes of the hills are dominated by shrubs and the tops of the hills are tundra.

Figure 5.8 shows in more detail the location of the highest density spruce stands in the project area as well as the location of stands of other trees, including paper birch, white spruce, tamarack, and balsam poplar or trembling aspen. The highest density stands (61 to 80% coverage) occur only at two small locations, while slightly lower density stands (41 to 60% coverage) can be found at a number of locations in the Caniapiscau River valley, especially near Cambrien Lake, as well as along Lake Canichico (Kaaischaakaakimaaw). The 26 to 40% coverage black spruce forests are also limited to the major river valleys, while those with 10 to 25% coverage are more widely distributed, but still in low altitude locations. Naskapi trapping activities would likely have focused on the areas of black spruce forests shown in this figure.

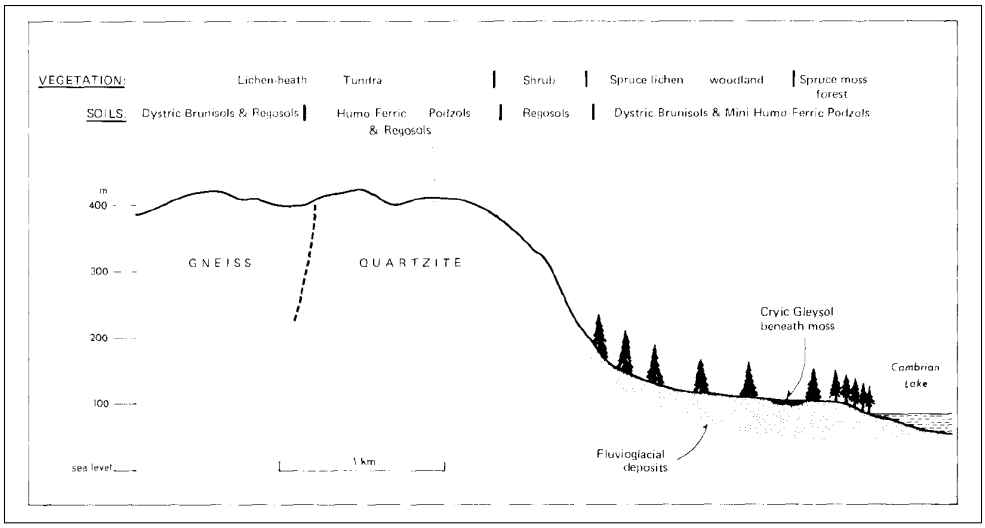

Figure 5.7: Typical cross-section of Cambrien Lake, showing the distribution of forest types and soils. From Moore (1974: Fig. 2).

White spruce is present in several locations in the territory, at or slightly beyond its range limit to the northwest (Payette 1993: Fig. 3).[4] White spruce is of interest, among other things, because its presence at certain locations is noted in Naskapi oral history, in particular, the "very tall" stands at the place known as *kâ-astuwînâniûuch* 'canoe building place,' which figures in the Encounters with Âchân story told by John Peastitute (Peastitute 2016: 73) and discussed in section 8.5 of this report. These trees were so tall—so the story goes—that "they seemed to go on up forever." The location of *kâ-astuwînâniûuch* and this stand of white spruce is shown in inset A, figure 5.8. Of equal interest is a stand of paper birch—a species only found in a handful of locations within the project area—that wraps around the white spruce stand going up the steep side of the hill to the west. Although not mentioned by the story teller, it seems hardly coincidental that this area named for canoe making is so near a prominent stand of birch.

As shown in figure 5.8, birch trees are relatively rare in the project area, occupying a select number of very protected eastern or southeastern facing slopes. Birch bark and birch wood were important resources for the Naskapi, the bark serving to make and repair canoes[5] Birth bark was also used to make containers, and birch wood was employed for a variety of tools and utensils. Archaeologically, it would be of great interest to look for evidence of Naskapi harvesting of birch bark or wood at this stand and at a sample of other ones identified here.

[4]Note that the project area is slightly north of the range limit of balsam fir (Payette 1993: Fig. 4), and well to the north of the limit of jack pine (ibid.: Fig. 6)

[5]It is not clear if birch trees in the region were of sufficient size to make canoes. The HBC used to bring in rolls of birch bark from the St. Lawrence River region to make their own canoes and as a trade item. A standard bundle of birch bark would be enough to cover a moderate-sized canoe and could have been purchased in the 1880s for the value of a black fox skin (Turner 1894: 306).

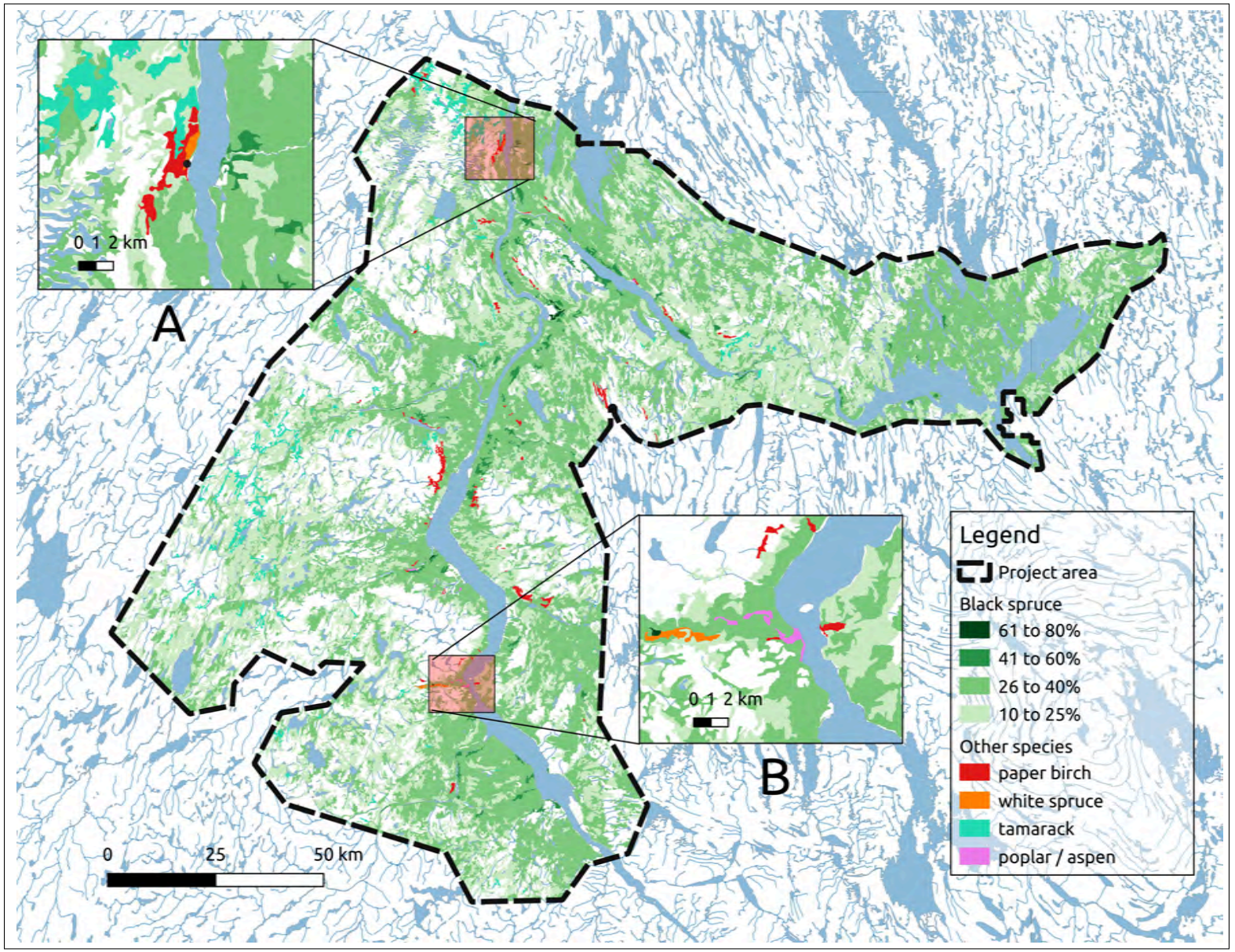

Figure 5.8: Forest cover in the project area showing black spruce stands of 10% density or greater and stands of other arboreal species. Data from Données Québec (2018). Inset A shows stands of white spruce and birch at and near the area known as *Kâ-Astuwînâniûuch* 'canoe building place' (black dot). Inset B shows stands of trees in and near Mitusich Creek 'Poplar Creek').

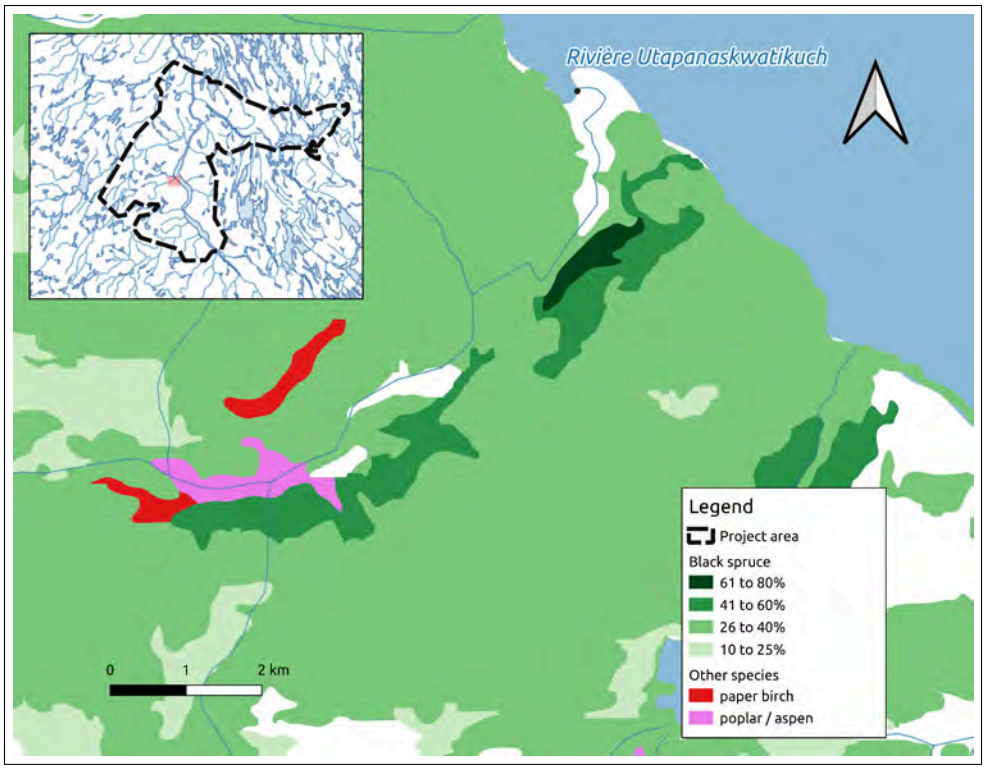

Figure 5.9: Utapanaskwatikuch River ('toboggan wood river') showing stands of dense black spruce, paper birch. and poplar / aspen.

Balsam poplar and aspen are present in a few locations, notably at Mitusich Creek (Poplar Creek) (see inset B, figure 5.8).[6] Another location relating to the use of trees in Naskapi toponymy is Utapanaskwatikuch River '[good] toboggan wood river', shown in figure 5.9. It is likely that spruce or birch was sought here to make toboggans: this would be a good subject to raise in interviews with Naskapi Elders.

5.4 Vegetation and "archaeological visibility"

Vegetation density is an important factor for archaeology. In general, the greater the density of the vegetation, the more difficult it is to find sites. We have suggested above that much of Naskapi trapping activities would have been carried out in the more forested zones shown in figure 5.8. Wherever there is continuous ground cover, it is necessary to excavate test pits—small 'windows' into the soil layers below the ground surface—to find remains associated with

[6]The range limit of balsam poplar (Populus balsamifera L.) extends beyond the project area to the north as far as the Kuujjuaq area. While aspen (Populus tremuloides) is generally associated with the boreal forest far to the south, it extends north along the Caniapiscau River valley into, and somewhat beyond, the project area (Payette 1993: Fig. 7).

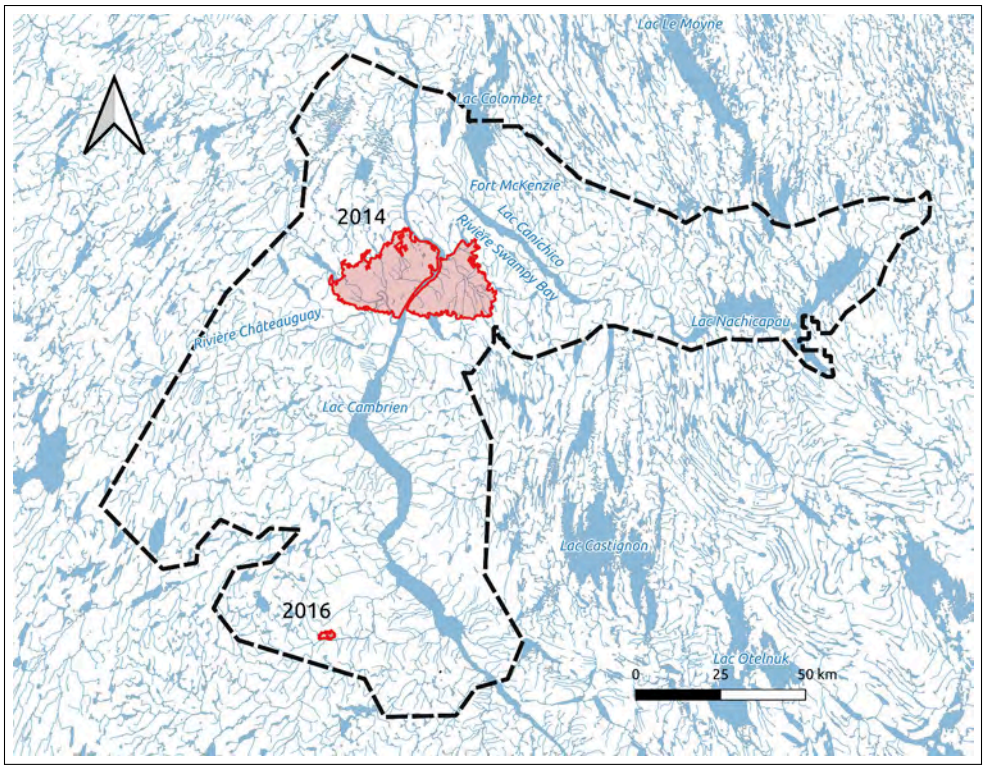

Figure 5.10: Recent forest fires within the project area.

past human occupations. In areas where test pits are particularly difficult to dig, these windows must, of necessity, be fewer and sometimes smaller, and hence archaeological sites are usually less "visible" in these situations. While dense spruce moss forests can be difficult to test, the most challenging are areas where there is a dense ground cover of ericaceous plants such as Labrador tea and kalmia, or shrubs such as dwarf birch. Dense thickets of alder and willow are also problematic for archaeological visibility.

Forest fires and erosion can remove ground cover and thus open up larger windows, sometimes exposing archaeological sites. An examination of the historic fire data for the project area suggests that there have been few fires in recent decades. A noteable exception is the large burn from a 2014 fire that straddles the Caniapiscau River in the area of the confluence of the Châteauguay River (figure 5.10). This area was briefly examined in the course of the flyover visit in September 2020 (see chapter 3). It was determined that this was not an intense fire because it did not remove much of the ground cover: many dead trees are still standing and the ground cover in many areas is more or less in place. However, there are some especially dry / well-drained locations, including a few terrace edges and strandlines, where the mineral soil was exposed by this fire.

The only other significant fire since at least 2010 is a 2016 fire in the southern part of the project area on the de la Mort River (Waawiiyuusiistikw Sipiy) approximately 25 km west of Cambrien Lake. The relatively small number of recent fires contrasts with the record of fires referred to in 19th century accounts. In 1894, Low Low (1896: 118) observed that the country on either side of the Caniapsicau River was burnt between Chute aux Schistes and the confluence with the Swampy Bay River, and in 1832, Erlandson found himself surrounded by fire in the area about 10 km below the confluence with the Swampy, with devastating effects for caribou harvesting in the region (Erlandson 1963b). We hypothesize that the areas of lichen woodland to the north of Cambrien Lake would have burned more frequently than the valley floor in the Cambrien Lake area.

Archaeological visibility includes surface structures such as Naskapi tent rings and lodge outlines. The outlines and central fireplaces associated with these lodge structures will be most visible in areas where tree and ground cover are the least dense. This fact has important implications for archaeological survey work.

Recommendations for the initial field survey in relation to forest and ground cover will be formulated in chapters 10 and 11 of this report.

5.5 Faunal resources

The current lack of relevant studies of fauna in the project area means that this section on faunal resources must remain partial. At present, the most useful information concerning species available in the project area comes from Naskapi land-use interviews (Wilkinson 1979) rather than from biological studies. Therefore, the discussion that follows relates primarily to Naskapi use of animal resources during the period when Fort McKenzie was open (1916–1948), including the short period when the Naskapi traded at Fort Chimo prior to the move to Schefferville. This was supplemented by more recent land-use information from the Schefferville region (Weiler 2009).

Fish: Fish were extremely important to the Naskapi during this period in the project area. The major species available and used were: ouananiche (landlocked salmon), lake trout, speckled (brook) trout, red sucker and white sucker, lake whitefish, round whitefish, and burbot (cf. Lalumière et al. (1985).[7] Salmon, which are unable to swim upstream from the Chute Calcaire, are not present in the region. Ouananiche were said to spawn in Cambrien Lake (Wilkinson 1979).

[7]While not mentioned in Wilkinson's report, burbot and round whitefish are also present in the project area. Cree of Whapmagoostui—close neighbours and relatives of the Naskapi—would catch burbot and use their liver as bait for night lines to catch large lake trout.

Mammals: Important small and medium mammals available in the project area and used by the Naskapi include: lynx, mink, marten, weasel, arctic fox, red fox, otter, muskrat, beaver, porcupine, and hare. Wolf and wolverine were present and were harvested. Available large mammals sought by the Naskapi include black bear and the migratory ecotype of woodland caribou. Moose have recently extended their range northward into the region. "Barren ground grizzly bear" may also have been present on occasion (Elton 1954; Loring and Spiess 2007).

Birds: Available birds harvested here by the Naskapi include (at least) five species of ducks, snow goose, and Canada goose. Although not mentioned in Wilkinson (1979), ptarmigan must have been available and an important food species as well. The presence of golden eagle in the region is also to be noted.

Unfortunately, there is almost no information available concerning specific zones within the project area where these species are present in greater numbers—for example, fish spawning sites or waterfowl harvesting locations. According the late Sylvestre André, Innu from several communities gathered at the northwest end of Meshikamau Lake in the spring to hunt *apishtiss* (brant), and feasts were held. Shefferville Innu also recall hunting *apishtiss* and *Ahaueu* (Old-squaw duck), and held feasts and danced (Andrew and Gregoire 1984; Armitage 1999). In the early 1880s, Turner recorded a myth concerning Wolverine and Brant that was told to him by Naskapi trading at Fort Chimo. In a footnote, Turner mentions:

> When the Indians perceive a flock of these brant they make a loud clamor, which frightens the birds so much that they lose their senses, fall to the ground and are thus killed. These birds are only seen in the spring migrations and then in great multitudes, while in the fall it is rare to see even a single individual, as they have a different return route than in spring (Turner 1894: footnote 1, p.327).

Formerly hunted by Naskapi and Innu, Brant flew in the spring along an eastern migration route between Sept-Îles and Ungava Bay. This migration route was abandoned in the early 1930s as a result of a drastic decline in eelgrass beds, and it would never be reestablished (Armitage 1999). This aside concerning Brant serves as a reminder that there may have been places where people traditionally gathered seasonally to hunt waterfowl, perhaps even within or near the project area.

Innu in southern Labrador identify areas that are ice free in the winter or where the ice goes out early in the spring as *ashkui* ('open water'). Ashkui are important areas for camping and harvesting, especially in the spring (Baillie et al. 2004; Howell et al. 2002; Penashue 2007).

> *Ashkui* sites are associated with the first arrival of flocks of waterfowl in the spring drawn to the open water. Later in the spring, the birds will pair off for mating and the laying of eggs in the nearby marshes, woods and islands. These wetlands, islands and wooded areas are also a significant part of the overall *ashkui* ecosystem. It is near these ashkui sites that Innu families set up camp and live for weeks and months at a time to *exploit* the rich and varied resources of the land and water. The sites are also significant for the fish that come to the newly open water and the numerous animals that come near *ashkui* to eat fish or feed off the plant material washed down by the fast spring flows of the rivers. The smaller openings at the mouths of brooks are where animals come, and are favoured places for trapping a number of small mammals; they are also favoured caribou crossing points (Penashue 2007: 117).

Whapmagoostui Cree use the related term *âhpipuniskiushich* to talk about winter open water places, and also emphasize their importance for harvesting and the care that must be taken when travelling in these areas (Denton 2007: 146). We mention these to highlight the possibility that such places in the project area could have been important spring camping areas for local Naskapi: this would be a useful line of inquiry in interviews with Naskapi Elders. Such early open water places might include the mouths of some of the smaller rivers which enter Cambrien Lake.

Similarly, there is the possibility that fish were seasonally harvested at spawning places, possibly by using weirs to channel and congregate the fish so that they could be taken in relatively large numbers. Again, this would be a useful topic to pursue with Naskapi Elders.

As discussed in chapter 9, several Naskapi place names in the project area point to traditional animal resources. Our methodology proposes an archaeological sampling of these faunal resource areas, including what appear to be very important fishing lakes referenced in Naskapi toponymy.

The following section is devoted to a consideration of caribou, historically the most important animal by far for the Naskapi.

5.6 Caribou

Caribou provided not only food for the Naskapi but raw material for tools, clothing, toys, personal ornaments, lodge coverings, utensils, and spiritual gear. Contemporary Naskapi view their relationship with this species as a critical part of their identity, history, and cultural traditions, and one that is closely associated with spirituality.

Prior to the 20th century when their numbers became reduced, caribou have probably always provided a large proportion of Naskapi food, with their hide, bones, and sinew filling important

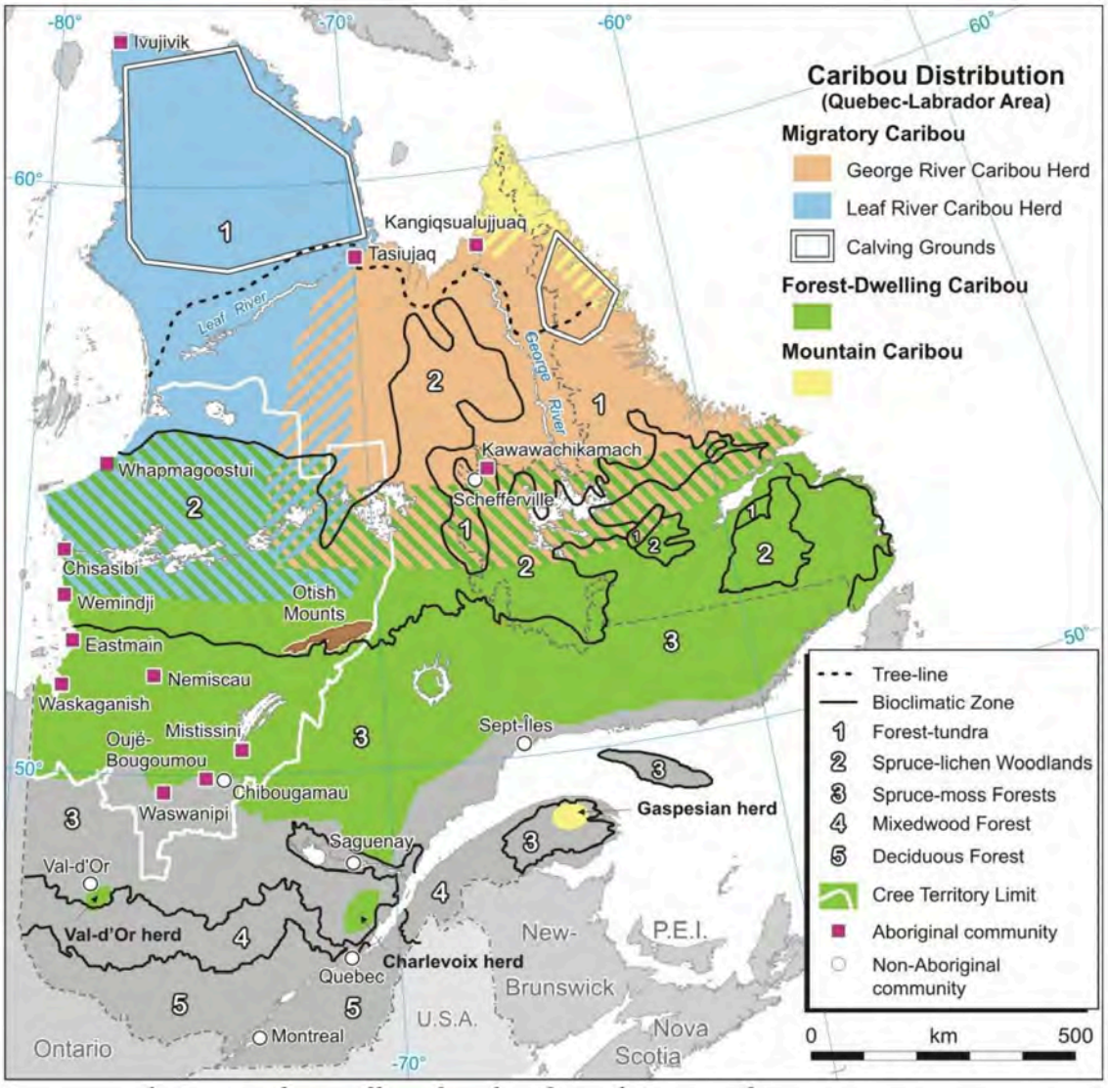

Figure 5.11: The caribou herds of northern Québec-Labrador. From Mameamskum, Hermann, et al. (2015: Fig. 1). Map represents the situation when both herds were at higher population levels than at present.

raw materials needs. With this in mind, an understanding of the movements and seasonal aggregations of caribou in and near the project area would be of great importance to predicting the location archaeological sites. If we know anything about caribou, however, it is that their migration patterns are very dynamic, changing dramatically over time depending, among other things, on the size of the herd (Bergerud et al. 2007).

The probable influence of caribou migrations on historic patterns of movement and settlement of local Indigenous peoples is such that we could devote an entire chapter of this report to examining the dynamics of current and historic caribou herds. However, we would still not have greater certainty concerning the behaviour of caribou herds prior to the 19th century. There are some basic questions that should be discussed briefly: if we had answers to these questions we would have a much better idea of where to search for certain types of archaeological sites.

It is important to mention that most of the caribou surveys carried out in northern Québec-Labrador have paid scant attention to the traditional ecological knowledge of Indigenous peoples (Cree, Innu, Naskapi, and Inuit). This despite the fact that their ancestors hunted caribou for thousands of years, and the species continues to be so important to them today. This situation is only recently beginning to change (Dennis 2018; Herrmann et al. 2014; Mameamskum, Hermann, et al. 2015; Mameamskum, Herrmann, et al. 2016).

The general distribution of caribou in northern Québec-Labrador is shown in figure 5.11. There are presently two main herds or sub-populations of migratory caribou ecotype: the Leaf River Herd (LRH) and George River Herd (GRH). The spring calving ground of the LRH herd is on the tundra of the Western Ungava Peninsula to the north of the Leaf River, while that of the GRH herd is on the height of land to the east of the George River. The location of and area covered by the calving grounds vary in any given year depending on the size of the herd, the state of lichens for grazing, and local weather conditions. Summer grazing areas are in the tundra broadly surrounding the calving areas. The late summer / fall migration takes the animals to their winter feeding grounds. Caribou from the GRH herd move south and west, crossing the tree-line and spreading over a wide area of the forest-tundra and lichen woodlands (spruce-lichen woodlands on figure 5.11). The fall migration of the LRH takes the animals south across the tree-line into the forest-tundra and the lichen-woodlands, where they spread out over the western portion of the Québec-Labrador peninsula.

Smaller herds of non-migratory (forest-dwelling) caribou occupy the lichen woodland in a broad band across the Québec-Labrador peninsula, including the Lake Bienviille, Caniapicau, and Lake Joseph herds, to the southwest, south, and southeast of the project area respectively (Bergerud et al. 2007: 88-94).

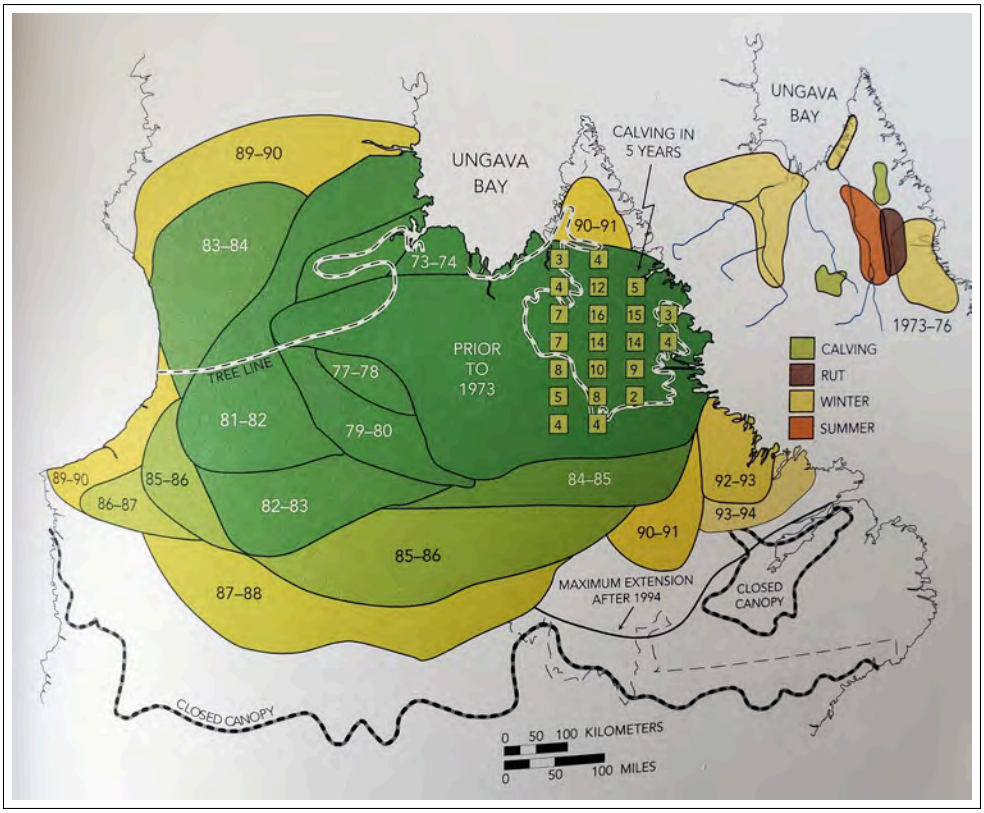

Figure 5.12: Range extension of the George River Herd, 1972–1994, based on overlying annual maps of UHF and VHF radio-collared animals. From Bergerud et al. (2007: Fig. 12.2).

In recent decades, the populations of the two migratory herds have undergone dramatic changes. The GRH was apparently at a low point of about 2,000 animals in 1950[8] and peaked at a population of over 800,000 in 1993(Bergerud et al. 2007). The subsequent drop in population has been just as dramatic, with the herd reaching about 9,000 by 2016 (Canada 2017) and as low as 5,000 in 2018. Currently, the GRH is estimated at about 8,000 head and the population is considered to be gradually recovering.[9] The LRH herd was also at a low in the 1950s. Its population increase came later than the GRH herd, peaking in 2000 at a high of about 700,000 animals. By 2016, the LRH had declined to 199,000 head (ibid.).

[8]Marc Hammond questions whether the GRH population ever fell this low, suggesting instead that the poor Naskapi hunts of 1952–53 can be attributed to a lack of rifles and other hunting implements, including canoes. When supplied with these hunting tools, the Naskapi increased their caribou hunt tenfold the following winter (Hammond in progress[c]: 316, 1981: note 7).

[9]MFFP data provided by Natalie D'Astous, pers. comm. 2021

5.6.1 Historic population levels and herd range

The GRH contracts its overall range at times when the population is lower and expands dramatically to the west when it is greater. When the GRH is at its peak, major portions of the herd cross the Caniapscau River heading west in the fall and back again towards the east in the spring. This was the case for over 20 years between 1972 and 1994, as shown on figure 5.12. When the population is lower, however, the animals winter further to the east, often not even crossing the George River in the late summer. For its part, as the LRH increased in size, it has greatly expanded its range to the south. When the two herds are at relatively high population levels, their ranges overlap and also overlap with those of the sedentary caribou to the south. Bergerud et al. (2007: 106–149) analyzed much of the available information on historic fluctuations of Ungava caribou populations, particularly with respect to the GRH. Based on data from 1958–1993, when the GRH was over 200,000 head, hunters in central Ungava (including our project area) had access to the herd. When the herd was over 400,000 head, hunters on the Hudson Bay coast had access as well (ibid.: 109). When Low (1896) descended the Caniapsicau River from Lake Caniapiscau to the Koksoak River, and from there to Ungava Bay, he observed "wide paths caused by a single passage of the deer... along the Koksoak River as far south as Cambrian Lake, and smaller paths as far as Lake Kaniapiskau, where a small number of the reindeer appear to remain throughout the summer" (ibid.: 319). Low believed that there were three distinct herds of migratory caribou in the northern part of Québec-Labrador—an eastern herd that summered in the northern Labrador highlands, a western herd that summered in the "highlands of the north-east coast of Hudson Bay", and a central herd whose migratory tracks he had observed on the Koksoak and the Caniapiscau rivers (ibid.: 319). It is now known that the "wide paths" Low observed on the Koksoak and Caniapiscau rivers were made by spring and fall migrations of the GRH. Bergerud suggests that there may actually have been three herds, however, including two with calving and summer grounds in the north west Ungava peninsula and whose southward fall migrations split in two streams, one along the west coast of Ungava Bay, and the other along Hudson Bay (ibid.: 111).[10].

For the pre-1950s period, table 5.1 summarizes information compiled by Bergerud et al. (2007: 113-122). Although sources are scant—and it is often impossible to know which herd is concerned given the overlapping winter ranges which can sometimes occur when the populations of the migratory ecotype are at a peak—these observations suggest high population numbers prior to

[10]Interestingly, movement of animals in the LRH between 2007 and 2014 involved a southward fall migration on the eastern side of the herd's range and a northward spring migration closer to the Hudson Bay coast in the west (Leblond et al. 2016: Fig. 1; Canada 2017: Fig. 5a)

Table 5.1: Historic variations in caribou populations between 1750 and 1950. Data from Bergerud et al. (2007: 113-122).

Dates	**Population**	**Remarks**
1750–1820	prob. >400,000	Large caribou kills in Nichikun and to the east of Bienville
1820–1830s	ca. 200,000	Visitors' reports
ca. 1850	ca. 25,000?	Reports of starvation at Fort Nascopie
1870–1880	400,000–600,000	Caribou reach southeastern Hudson Bay; root scar index suggests these are GRH
1880–1893	400,000–600,000 to 200,000	Sharp decline in this period
1892–1893	<200,000	Caribou fail to cross Koksoak / lower Caniapiscau leading to starvation; rapid decline after 1893
1905	>30,000	
1916	30,000	Caribou failed to cross the Koksoak / lower Caniapiscau and the George River
1910–1940s	few caribou in western Ungava	Harvest information from trading posts
1925–1939	>1000 in RAF herd	Visitors' reports
1950	ca. 2,500–3,500 in RG herd	Visitors' reports

1820 followed by a low in the mid-19th century. The population was high again in the 1870s but in decline again by 1880, leading to disastrous failures to cross the Koksoak / lower Caniapiscau in 1892–1893, and again in 1916.

In 1833, Erland Erlandson reported the following concerning caribou at South River House:

> Deer is [the Naskapi's] principal, I may say their only, object of pursuit: where deer are most numerous, and it is well known that in this part of the country they are most so near the coast, there they will resort to. When deer are scarce, which sometimes happens, then they lead a miserable life ... *This year, in consequence of the country bordering on this river being burnt last summer, deer have been numerous along the Sachees and eastward. By and by (the Indians own words) when the woods burn there, the deer will again come in the vicinity of this river, and that they have been numerous here sometime ago is evident from the great number of Indian camps along this river and the great heaps of deer bones and horns laying by them.* I have ascertained that the Indians purposely set the woods on fire last summer, because, say they, the deer wanted to leave them and go westward. Thus the country is destroyed, a country which though extremely mountainous and rugged might have abounded in martens and other small furs (Erlandson 1963b: 223) (our emphasis).

This statement suggests that even in a period of relatively high numbers—although perhaps in decline by this time—having caribou to hunt in a given area can be strongly influenced by forest fires. One of the reasons for the closing of the South River House a year after it was established would appear to be the major fires that swept through this part of the Caniapiscau River the previous summer. Local Naskapi noted that the caribou would return to the Caniapiscau when fires burned the regions to the east.

There are broad implications of the dramatic fluctuation in migratory caribou populations for understanding long-term human occupation in the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Our concerns here are with the project area—how Naskapi may have used this area in the distant past, and how the project area may fit into broader, regional patterns of Naskapi land use and settlement. For now, our questions centre on two issues that we discuss further in the following two sections.

- Location of known and potential caribou crossings on the Caniapiscau River and their relation to the project area;
- Locations favoured by migratory caribou when dispersed (most often during the winter) in the forest-tundra and lichen woodlands within the project area.

5.6.2 Caribou crossing places

The major known major caribou crossing places are downriver from the project area on the Caniapicau River. Clouston observed the remains of Indigenous lodges, a large "two-tier" meat storage facility, and heaps of broken bones and antlers about 70 km below the northern edge of the project area and about 20 km above Chute de la Pyrite. Further downriver, just above the Chute du Calcaire, Clouston observed a great many caribou paths. The area above the Chute du Calcaire is a well known crossing place where, famously, about 10,000 caribou from the GRH drowned in 1984 as a result of Hydro-Québec's releasing water from the Caniapiscau Reservoir. On their return trip upriver, Clouston's party travelled closer to the shore and observed many camps, "vast numbers of deer's horns" as well as the carcasses of many caribou from which "only the best parts of the flesh and the skin" had been taken. These deer had been killed "*in the spring since the river opened.*" (Clouston 1963: 55).

Clouston describes camps he saw as follows, "There is scarce a convenient spot on the banks of the river but where there are tent poles standing, some of old tents and some that been lately." Clouston goes on to tell the remarkable story of the spirit master of the caribou, told to him by his guide, Adsineahanou. This story, quoted in full in section 8.4 of this report, is a version of the mythical "caribou house", or home of the caribou, story told by many Innu and Cree groups (for examples, see Armitage (1992), Mameamskum, Herrmann, et al. (2016), and Tanner (1974)). In this version the caribou master sends the caribou to the barren ground "*that lies to the west of Caniapiscau*" (our emphasis) suggesting that at least some of the caribou in this area may have calved and summered on the Western Ungava Peninsula. Elsewhere Clouston notes:

> My guide tells me that the deer cross this river in great numbers *going to the west in the middle of summer*, and *in the fall of the year they again cross to the eastward*; that the Indians attend and dart the deer as they cross the river and bring them in rafts to their tents (Clouston 1963: 54) (our emphasis).

While there are unclear and contradictory elements, the accounts hint at a spring hunt of animals moving westward across the river shortly after breakup. If this is accurate, these animals would be part of the LRH heading to calving and summering grounds in western Ungava, north of the Leaf River. This possibility needs further reflection and investigation.

It remains unclear on what stretch of the river the camps were located that were viewed by Clouston on July 9, 1820.[11] It would probably be in the stretch between numbers 5 and 7 on figure 8.17, somewhat downriver from the project area.

Similarly, Erlandson's statement quoted more fully above from South River House, indicates that caribou were numerous "here some time ago" based on the "great number of Indian camps along this river and the great heaps of deer bone and horns laying by them." Again, we are unsure exactly which sections of the river Erlandson was referring to. Nicol Finlayson in his March 27, 1832 letter to Erlandson at South River House writes: "I should hope that *as the Indians generally watch for deer in the spring near your house*, they will do so this season for the sake of trading ammunition" (our emphasis) (Davies and Johnson 1963: 195). This could refer to the place described by Clouston further downriver or it could also refer to locations closer to the South River House post, within the project area. Low's statement of "wide paths" made by caribou as far south as Cambrien Lake suggests that it is not impossible that at times, herds of migratory caribou passed by the northern end of the project area.

5.6.3 Harvesting dispersed caribou

The second issue relates to "predicting" locations in the project area that might have been used hunting migratory caribou in seasons, primarily late fall and winter, when they are dispersed in smaller herds. We would expect such herds of caribou to have been common in at least parts of the project area in periods of relatively high population levels of the GRH, and perhaps the LRH as well. As described further in chapter 9, during the Fort McKenzie period (1916–1948), Naskapi would travel to the George River to the east to hunt caribou in the late summer / early fall and that in the project area they spent most of the winter trapping small fur-bearers. There were very few caribou in the project area at that time. However, in earlier periods, the project area could have been within the wintering grounds of either or both the RGH or the LRH when herd populations were high. What specific areas would have been most favoured and where would Naskapi have lived to harvest these animals most effectively?

It can be suggested that areas of continuous and relatively thick lichen cover in the forest-tundra and lichen woodland would have been most favoured. The more densely forested areas in the Cambrien Lake valley would not qualify as good winter range for this reason alone, whereas the forest tundra of the Larch Plateau, the Châteauguay River valley, the Caniapsicau River north of Cambrien Lake, and the lichen woodland of Lake Nachicapau would have been preferred. Apart

[11] Mapping the progress of Clouston's party is challenging as his distances often do not agree with known distances between clearly identified landmarks. In many cases, the estimated distances in the journal are less than the measured distances.

from the availability of lichens for forage, protection from predators would have been a major factor, influenced by snow accumulation and distribution, lake size and configuration, and, to a lesser extent, topography. The factors involved in selection of winter range have been studied in somewhat more detail for sedentary forest-dwelling caribou than for the migratory herds of Ungava (Arseneault et al. 1997; Ferguson and Elkie 2005; Fortin et al. 2008; MacNearney 2014).

At present, it is herds associated with the larger LRH that may spend part of the winter (February and March) in or near the project area. The most prominent caribou tracks visible in the area are in the forest-tundra of the Châteauguay River valley (Natalie D'Astous, pers. comm. 2021).

As mentioned by Naskapi Elders in land-use interviews, caribou were very rare in the area during the Fort McKenzie period (**wilkinson_utilisation_197misc 9**; Proulx 1985). After the Christmas period, some caribou could sometimes be found on along the shores of the Swampy Bay River.[12] In the 1980s, caribou were hunted near Lake Erlandson (now Lake Le Moyne), just northeast of the project area. One Naskapi informant mentioned that caribou could sometimes be found around the Sérigny River in the spring. Elders stressed the importance of travel by canoe to the George River area in the late summer or early fall, with hunters returning after freeze-up.

As discussed in section 9.1.2, there are two Naskapi place names in the project area that indirectly reflect caribou hunting/ The first, Katauchiwapitum Nipiy, is interpreted by the Naskapi Development Corporation (NDC) as 'where caribou come on the lake' and relates to Lac Carré to the west of the Caniapicau River vis-a-vis the outlet of the Swampy Bay River. The other is Uuspiskun Amichinanuch Nipiy 'eating caribou ribs [upper back] lake' (official name: Lac des Croup's de Caribou).

While caribou choose areas with less snow depth to feed in during the winter, this would seem to relate to escape from predators rather than ease of foraging. Caribou often forage around the margins of frozen lakes and if surprised by wolves may run onto the ice, where they are often killed. Male caribou are usually in smaller, dispersed groups while females and calves form larger herds (Bergerud et al. 2007: 404-413). Cree, Naskapi, and Innu hunters often hunt caribou on the ice with one or more hunters driving the caribou to where other hunters are waiting. Cree, Naskapi and Innu groups sometimes used a "corral"—called *maanikin* in Naskapi—technique to hunt groups of caribou in the winter. Tree tops and branches, as well as hunters placed in lines on the ice, would funnel the animals to the end of a lake where the *maanikin*, a fenced-in area prepared among the trees, was set. The caribou would become tangled in nooses within the pound and would then be killed by hunters. This technique could be employed on relatively

[12] Unfortunately, it is not clear where on the Swampy Bay River this was: could it have been in the lichen woodlands near the mouth of the river?

Figure 5.13: Model of *menikan* (caribou corral). The Rooms, III-B-119 (CHIN 2005).

small lakes that are narrow and have low-lying lands with relatively dense forests at one end.[13] The caribou corral technique was also employed along certain rivers, with caribou congregating on the ice being driven to one side into the enclosure (CHIN 2005; Leacock and Rothschild 1994: 115; McLean 1932: 224).

5.6.4 Archaeological implications and follow-up

If there is a chance that caribou crossed the Caniapiscau in herds large enough for hunters and their families to wait for them, either in the spring or fall, then this would almost certainly be limited to the very northern part of the project area. Any Naskapi families waiting for caribou to cross would have likely have been in close communication with other families further downriver. If the caribou crossed at one place and the hunt was successful, then families from other parts of the river would be informed and invited to share in the kill. We think it is possible that the northern part of the project area could have been used by a small group of families, in communication along the section of the river between *kâ-astuwînâniûuch* and Chute de la Pyrite, a distance of

[13] David Denton, fieldnotes from interview with late Mistissini Elder Williams Rabbitskin. The place the Naskapi call Manikanish Nipiy 'small caribou corral lake' (official name Lac Low)—a narrow lake in the very folded highlands about 190 km to the southeast of Lake Nachicapau—could well have been used in a similar manner. Information on Innu use of the caribou corral, called menikan in the Innu language, can be found in CHIN (2005).

about 115 km. This should be considered as a hypothesis for further investigation, especially if archaeological surveys in the Kâ-Astuwînâniûuch area produce significant sites. Part of the investigation should include consultation with Naskapi Elders and biologists familiar with caribou migrations. It would be important to look more closely at landscape associated with migrations and movements across major rivers.

The identification of sectors of archaeological interest and potential zones for future archaeological survey work (see chapter 10) includes a significant focus on the *kâ-astuwînâniûuch* area. This was based on our reading of Naskapi oral history, and accounts from HBC journals and reports, to which we have now added ecological data.

Our discussions have centred on population cycles and related range expansions and contractions that are based on a reading of historical texts or have been documented in modern caribou studies. As for the situation with caribou herds a millennium or four millenniums ago, there is much less certainty. Concerning the hunting of dispersed caribou in the fall and winter (especially when the lakes are frozen) we have even more to learn. At present, Naskapi place names point to two caribou hunting locations, both on the Larch Plateau. Our proposed archaeological survey strategy (see chapter 10) targets both of these zones.

As in the case of annual migrations (and perhaps more so) we are very much in need of additional information from Naskapi hunters and land users, as well as from caribou biologists who could assist with the identification of lakes (or other landscape features) that could have been effective hunting locations for dispersed caribou herds. In particular, a better understanding of lake attributes such as shape, orientation, presence of islands, nature of surficial deposits, snow cover, to name a few, would be of great assistance here. It would also be interesting to try to identify lakes or river sections that would have been most suitable for hunting using the *maanikin* technique.

There is the equally challenging issue of identifying camping places near any lake that might be associated with hunting dispersed caribou. The identification of winter occupations in Subarctic archaeology is already very challenging. Many or most of the known archaeological sites (likely including many referred to in section 7.1 of this report) represent fall, spring, or summer occupations. Winter sites tend to be located in protected locations with low archaeological visibility. In the case of winter caribou hunting in the forest tundra, however, factors of visibility—for example, being able to view herds on the lake while remaining downwind and out of sight—may have outweighed the need for protection. Again, these are ideas that could profitably be discussed with Naskapi land users and Elders.

5.7 Effects in the project area of the Caniapiscau River diversion

The last section of this chapter reviews an important aspect of the contemporary environment: the changes brought on by the diversion of the Caniapiscau River and the potential implications for archaeology. On October 25, 1981, the dam on the Caniapiscau River near Lake Duplanter—457 km above the point where it flows into the Koksoak—was closed, and the river was diverted into the La Grande. At the confluence with the Koksoak, the flow of the river was reduced by 48% and the flow of the Koksoak at Ungava Bay was reduced by 35% (Hayeur 2001: 38). Within the project area, the diversion reduced the flow of the river at Chute aux Schiste by 62% (Denis and Hayeur 1998: Table 2.3). The flow reduction brought about a general lowering of water levels, depending on the portion of the river and seasonal variation.

For the purposes of environmental monitoring by the Société d'énergie de la Baie James (SEBJ), the course of the river was divided into zones, as shown in figure 5.14. The project area includes zones 7 (Cambrien Lake), 6 (from the head of Cambrien Lake to the Chute aux Schistes), 5a (the lower portion of the Swampy Bay River), and 5 (portion of the river below Chute aux Schistes). Despite the dramatic reduction in flow at the Chute aux Schistes, the sill formed by this obstacle maintains the water levels at a relatively high level. Thus the diversion only lowered the average water level on the lake by .6 to 1.0 m. Lowering in the section of the river below the Chute aux Schistes was a more significant 1.7 m (Lalumière et al. 1985: 33-34).

Lowering of the Cambrien Lake level by as much as 1.0 m has had an important effect on the shorelines, more than doubling the exposed surface area in Zone 7 (see figure 5.16). These exposed shorelines are subject to strong eolian erosion. The SEBJ carried out a program of aerial seeding (alder and willow) of these locations following the diversion; however, the effects of these programs were negated by the spilling of excess water from the Caniapsicau Reservoir in 1984 and 1985. In some areas at least, the new shorelines have naturally begun to be colonized by herbaceous plants, and the former beaches, by shrubs, extending the terrestrial ecosystem and expanding the forest (Denis and Hayeur 1998: Table 2.2).

In Zone 6, exposed shoreline was extended by about 50% by the diversion, as shown in figure 5.15. In this case, it seems that the shoreline has stabilized to a greater extent, with vegetation descending into the newly emerged zone (see figures 5.17 and 5.18). Observations made during our "flyover visit" (see section 3.4) support the conclusion that former beaches have been substantially recolonized by relatively dense thickets of alder and willow in Zones 7 and 6.

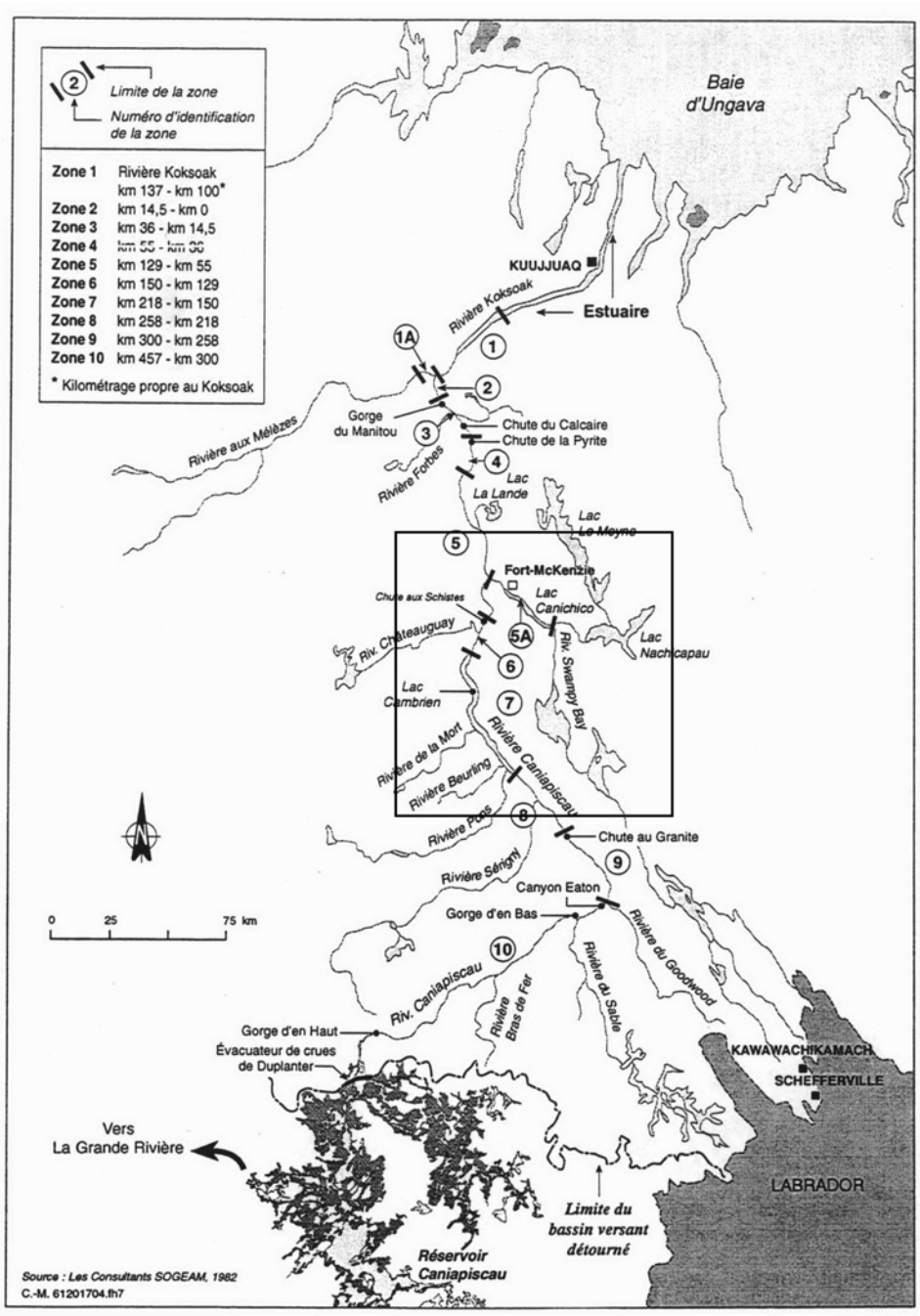

Figure 5.14: Zones of the Caniapiscau River for environmental monitoring, showing general location of the project area. From Denis and Hayeur (1998: Fig. 2).

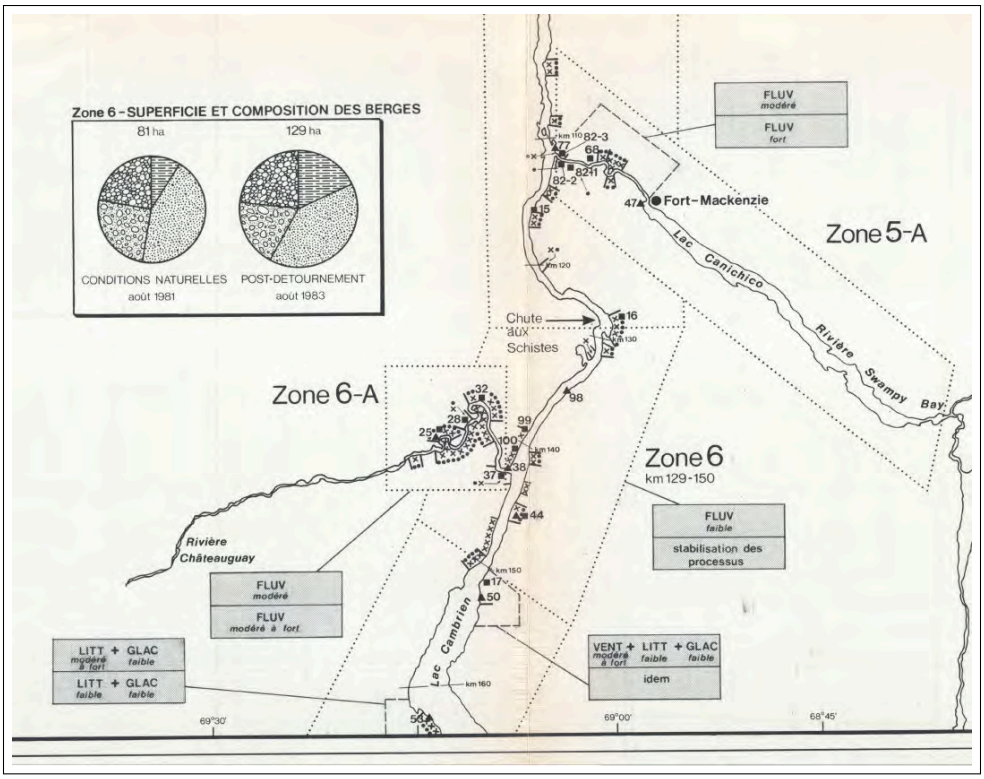

Figure 5.15: Erosion in Zones 5, 5-A, 6 and 6-A. From Lalumière et al. (1985: Appendix 1).

While the reduced flow and water levels helped stabilize banks in areas of natural fluvial erosion on the Caniapsicau, they caused increased bank erosion in the Swampy Bay (Zone 5-A) and Châteauguay (Zone 6-A) deltas (see figure 5.15). In the case of the Châteauguay, the banks had partially stabilized two years after the diversion, while for the Swampy Bay the increased fluvial erosion remained strong.

5.7.1 Archaeological implications

There are several archaeological implications of the changes brought about by the 1981 diversion. Beaches and other features where natural erosion is at work tend to increase local visibility of archaeological sites. In their natural state, the beaches on the Caniapsicau River within the project area—including those on Cambrien Lake—should have been ideal places to carry out visual surface inspections for archaeological sites, especially during natural low water periods. The permanently lower water levels created by the 1981 diversion could thus provide such an opportunity to visually inspect the former beaches, except for two factors:

- In sites where there is ongoing wind erosion, any evidence of former occupation may be covered with sand or removed completely; and

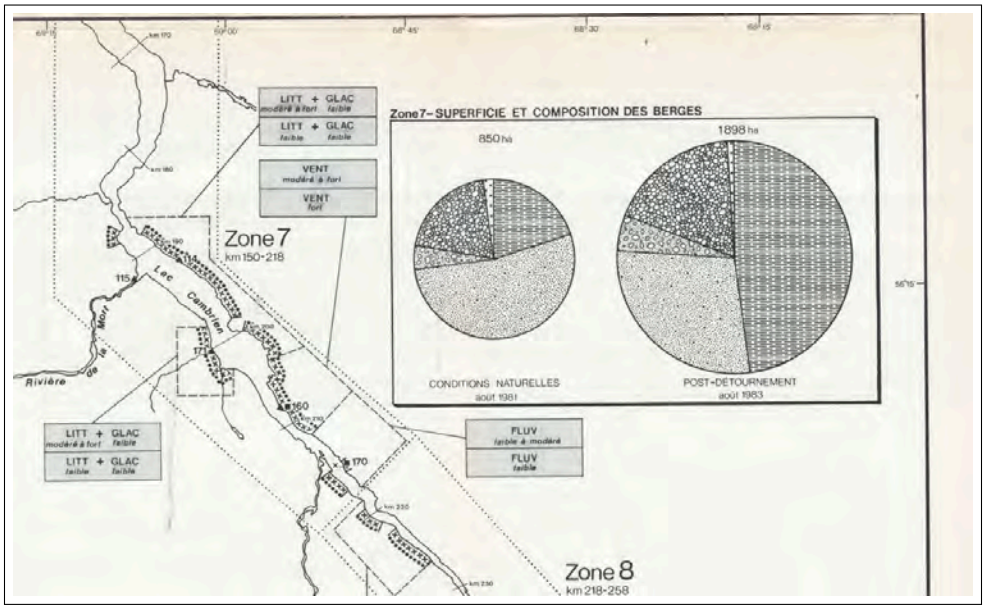

Figure 5.16: Erosion in Zone 7. From Lalumière et al. (1985: Appendix 1).

Figure 5.17: Prior to the diversion at km 135 on the Caniapiscau River, showing natural beach and exposure of flats during low water period. From Denis and Hayeur (1998: Photo 8b).

Figure 5.18: After the diversion at km 135 on the right bank of the Caniapsicau River. Shrubs invaded almost all of the former sand beaches that naturally ringed Cambrien Lake in Zones 6 and 7. From Denis and Hayeur (1998: Photo 8a).

- In areas of colonization of the beaches by shrubs such as alder and willows, archaeological visibility would also be much reduced.

In general, due to these two factors—and especially the shrubby vegetation— we suspect that these former beaches will unfortunately offer few opportunities for visual inspection.

Finally, any archaeological sites that may have been present in areas of active fluvial erosion of talus slopes along the banks of the lower Châteauguay and Swampy Bay Rivers could already be lost to erosion. This is another factor that will be considered when planning the archaeological survey work in the Project zone.

6 | Geology and lithic raw materials

By far, the most prevalent objects uncovered on precontact archaeological sites in northern Québec-Labrador are stone tools and the abundant flaking debris that results from their manufacture. This is because ancestral Indigenous peoples made and used stone tools in all aspects of life – whether preparing stone spear points and arrowheads to use in hunting, or chipping stone scrapers to process caribou hides for tents and clothing, or employing stone tools to make a range of bone and wood tools.

Not surprisingly, precontact Indigenous peoples "mapped" the lithic landscape of the eastern Subarctic from their first arrival in the region—finding, testing, using, and exchanging many varieties of siliceous stone. Moreover, archaeological and ethnohistoric research shows us that certain types of stone were preferred over others. The reasons for this are not always clear, but may relate to the superior fracture properties of specific lithics, their striking visual appearance, and perhaps even culturally-assigned beliefs associated with the origin and source locale of the stone itself.

In fact, archaeologists can sometimes track group mobility and interaction based on the identification of specific lithic materials on archaeological sites, and they can also suggest relative dates for occupation sites and features in a region based on the presence of certain lithic materials (McCaffrey 2011). Consequently, geological features and formations present in the project area have a significant role to play in our assessment of archaeological high potential zones. The following paragraphs provide an overview of our current knowledge of lithic sources in the eastern Subarctic, paying particular attention to the Labrador Trough—a zone of complex geological formations comprised mainly of sedimentary and igneous rocks, which cuts through much of the project area.

6.1 Lithic materials in the eastern Subarctic

Critical to using lithic materials to help determine the archaeological potential of a region is the ability to identify "lithic types" among the tools and flakes on archaeological sites, and attribute them either to known geological formations (whether primary or secondary sources) or general areas of geological interest on the landscape. Although this task can seem monumental, it is facilitated by the geological history of the eastern Canadian Shield—a vast region of Precambrian rocks that form the bedrock for nearly half of Canada's area. The Shield is subdivided into a number of structural provinces and subprovinces, based mainly on overall differences in internal structural trends and style of folding (Clark 1994). Within geological provinces are distinctive lithic communities of which only a small number contain stone that is highly suited to the manufacture of stone tools.

In other words, lithic materials with good fracture properties are not uniformly available nor randomly distributed across the eastern Subarctic. Consequently, although knappable quartz and coarse-grained quartzites can be found in numerous places across the Shield, high quality siliceous stones used by ancestral Indigenous peoples are concentrated in discrete geological formations. Moreover, in northern Quebec and Labrador, these lithic materials are generally distinctive both in their macroscopic and microscopic properties, thereby facilitating their identification.

As previously discussed in the archaeological overview, current research on the Precontact period in northern Québec-Labrador demonstrates that there is marked variation across time and space evident in the stone types used for tool manufacture. From the earliest occupations, which date to about 4000 BP in the north-central interior, site collections are dominated by a high percentage of widely available quartz. Nevertheless, most sites also include varying amounts of fine-grained, high-quality cherts and quartzites that come from identifiable sources widely separated in space. Often, two or more of these toolstone varieties co-occur with quartz in assemblages.

The paragraphs that follow provide an overview of the main stone types identified on Precontact archaeological sites in the interior of northern Québec-Labrador. The focus then shifts to the Labrador Trough region specifically, where a suite of high quality cherts were identified over the course of four seasons of fieldwork in the Schefferville region. This section concludes with an attempt to identify those stone formations in the project area most likely to contain cherts and fine-grained quartzites that might have been used by Precontact peoples.

6.1.1 Lithic materials from unidentified source locales

The majority of precontact archaeological sites in the eastern Subarctic, from all time periods, contain tools and flakes made from quartz and coarse-grained quartzite—lithic materials that can be found across the eastern Subarctic. Chemically speaking, quartz is silica dioxide. It is mainly white or slightly pink, yellow-brown or smoky in colour. When clear and colourless it is usually called rock crystal or crystal quartz. Quartz is iridescent, and emits a bright spark or glow if two pebbles are struck or rubbed together. Quartzite is a rock made up of fragments of quartz that by metamorphism have become welded or bound together so that the boundaries of the individual pieces are no longer visible unless examined in thin-section under polarized light (Cox et al. 1974).

Quartz and coarse-grained quartzites are recalcitrant materials. They fracture in a less predictable fashion than cherts or fine-grained quartzites. This is clearly evident in the nature of the lithic materials discarded on archaeological sites. For example, compared to debitage produced by other types of stone, quartz and coarse-grained quartzites are represented by large proportions of debris (chunks and shatter) and few flakes and finished tools. There is little evidence of biface reduction, edge reworking or resharpening (Chevrier 1986; Denton 1994). In fact, quartz often appears to have been used primarily as an expedient technology—collected locally and employed to supplement higher quality cherts and quartzites from discrete sources (Denton, Mccaffrey, et al. 1984; Denton 1994).

Ancestral Indigenous peoples in northern Québec and Labrador also made tools using a wide range of igneous, metamorphic, and sedimentary stone types. The most common varieties recovered on archaeological sites are argillite, basalt, gneiss, nephrite, sandstone, schist, and slate. Some of these stone types were flaked into bifacial forms, especially cherty argillites and silicified shales. On the other hand, the volcanics were generally pecked and ground into adzes and gouges, and the rarer ulu-like tools and pendants. Source locales for these lithic materials are currently unknown, but may lie within or close to the formations bearing cherts and fine-grained quartzites, for example in the Labrador Trough, along the coasts of the Hudson Bay and James Bay, and in the Mistassini and Albanel lakes region (Cérane Inc. 1995: 18). To-date, there have been no efforts to identify discrete source locales for specific volcanics and metamorphics found on archaeological sites.

A number of archaeologically-recovered lithic types have been grouped under the general heading of Saunders chert. They are a grey banded lava, and a range of opaque fine-grained bedded cherts and felsites varying from purple to pink, lavender, green-black and tan in colour. At times, these materials can be fairly coarse-grained, and they often contain small light-coloured inclusions. The source locale of Saunders chert remains unknown. The lack of these stone va-

rieties on sites of coastally-oriented cultures like the Maritime Archaic and Point Revenge is an important line of evidence pointing toward an interior origin for this material (McCaffrey, Loring, et al. 1989). Saunders chert is associated almost exclusively with sites of the Intermediate period (3500-2500 BP) in the Hamilton Inlet, Sheshatshit, and lower Churchill river regions of central Labrador.

6.1.2 Lithic materials from identified source locales

Through ongoing research by both archaeologists and geologists, a number of distinctive cherts and quartzites recovered on archaeological sites across northern Québec and Labrador can be attributed to discrete geological source locales.

Ramah chert outcrops in the rugged Torngat Mountains on the northern Labrador coast, in a zone of stratified sediments extending over 40 km from Saglek Fiord north to Nachvak Fiord. Ramah chert's distinctive visual appearance is due mainly to its granular texture, translucency, and lustrous sheen. The colour varies from the most common clear or translucent variety to light grey to completely black, with the clear and gray varieties often containing clouds, specks or bands of black colouration caused by graphite staining. Clear to light grey Ramah chert is translucent, and even the black variety is translucent in flakes. In hand specimens, the colourless variety has a "sugary" appearance resembling frosted glass or "sleet on a windshield". The Inuit term for the stone is *tunnuyakh* meaning "like caribou back fat", which it resembles in both colour and texture (Fitzhugh 1972: 41). Ramah was clearly a much-coveted stone as it has been found on archaeological sites across the eastern Subarctic and the broad Northeast, as well as on Paleo-Inuit and Inuit sites along the northern coasts of Québec-Labrador (Curtis and Desrosiers 2017).

Mistassini quartzite, from the Mistassini and Albanel Lakes region of the Québec boreal forest, is primarily distinguished by its snowy white colour and distinctive "slick" sheen. The colour range varies from white to grey with occasional clouds or bands of pink, orange, green, blue, brown or black. These discolorations reflect the conglomeritic nature of this stone, with rounded silica fragments of variable dimension bathing in a similar silica matrix. It is a relatively fine-grained stone (aphanitic or very fine) with high opacity and a distinctive "waxy" sheen (Denton 1998; Denton and Pintal 2002; Martijn and Rogers 1969). This quality no doubt explains why the Crees call Mistassini quartzite *wiinwaapsk*, or "stone that looks like animal fat or lard" (Denton 1998: 18). Mistassini Quartzite was widely used in precontact times by groups across northern Québec, and has been recovered from sites much farther afield in the Northeast (ibid.).

Nastapoka chert of knappable quality is present in varying thicknesses in beds, nodules, and lenses along an extensive region of the Hudson Bay coast, as well as on Long Island, Manitounuk

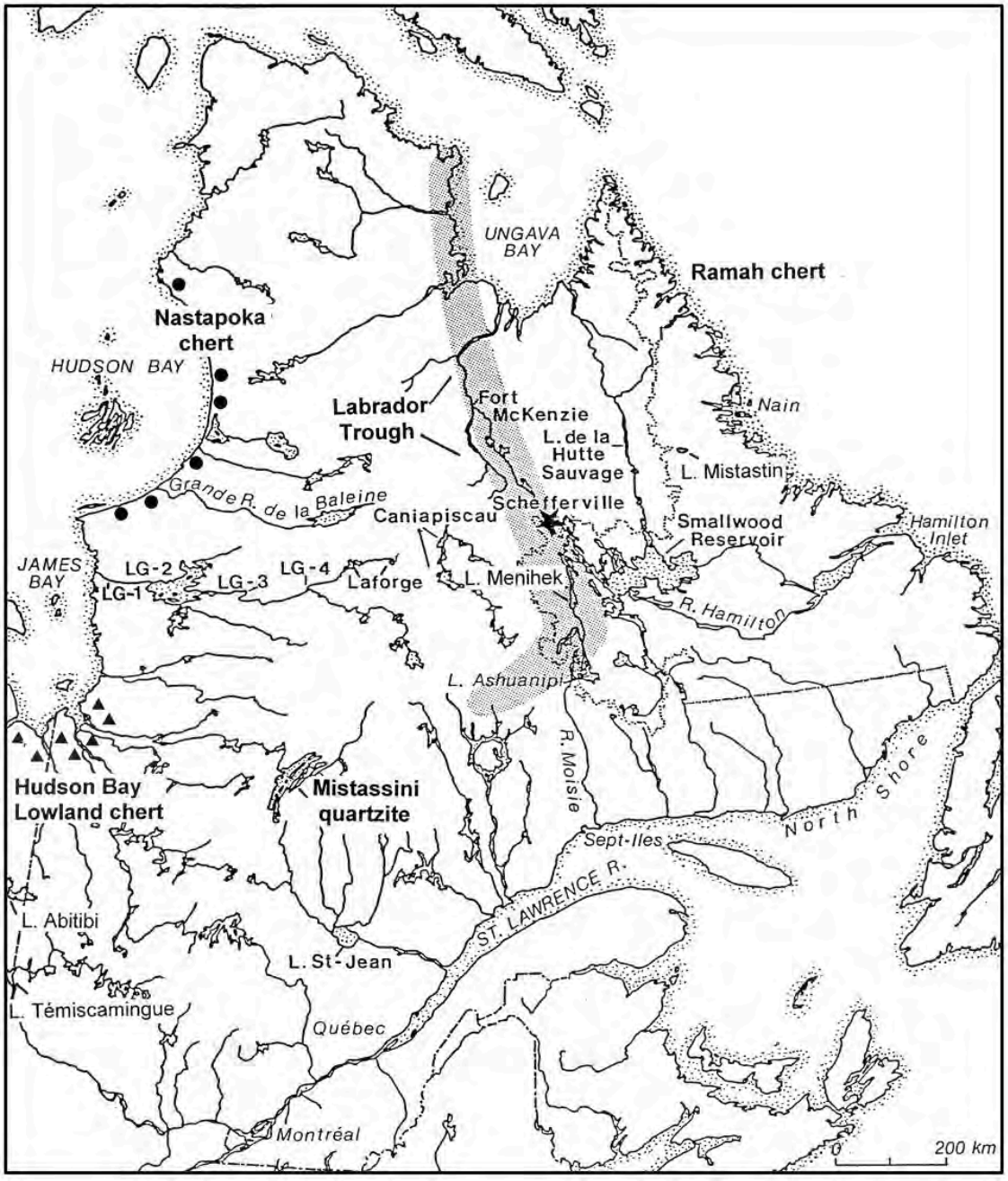

Figure 6.1: Map of Québec-Labrador showing the source locales of identified lithic types.

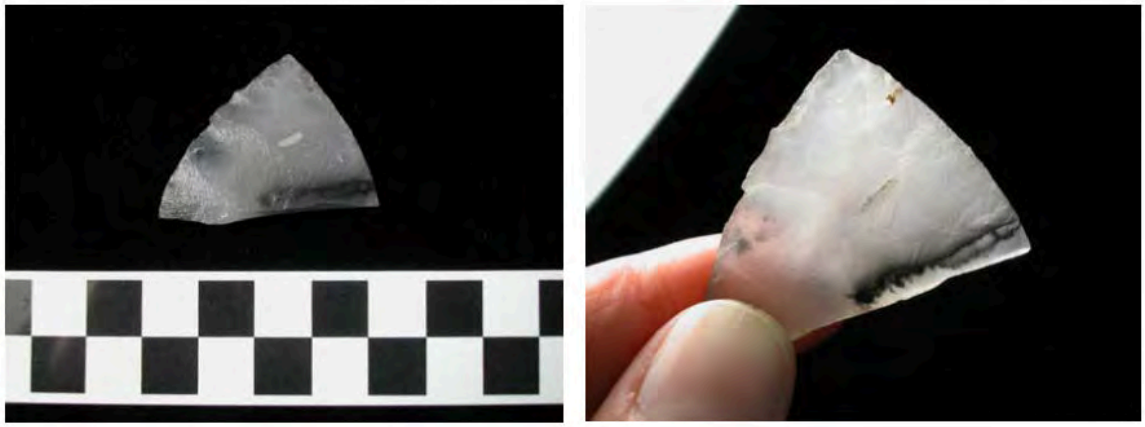

Figure 6.2: Example of Ramah chert.

Figure 6.3: Examples of Mistassini quartzite.

Figure 6.4: Examples of Nastapoka chert

Island and the Nastapoka Islands (Archéotec Inc. 1993: 76). It ranges from dark gray to mottled or striated in appearance, is generally opaque, and has a high luster (Chandler 1988; Desrosiers and Rahmanni 2007; Leclerc 2013). In general, the varieties of Nastapoka prefered by precontact knappers, no doubt due to their superior flaking properties, are dark grey to black in colour with a lustre that ranges from mat to "waxy". Nastapoka chert has been identified on archaeological sites throughout the LaGrande River area to the west of the project area, but does not appear to have travelled far beyond. Nastapoka chert was also used by Paleo-Inuit and Inuit peoples living along the northern Hudson Bay coast.

Hudson Bay Lowland chert is a fine-grained material characterized by its colour range, waxy lustre and frequent fossil inclusions. The geological source of the chert is situated in the Hudson Bay Lowlands, an area that extends from Rupert Bay in Québec, across the James Bay basin to the Churchill region in northern Manitoba. Indigenous knappers likely obtained this chert from secondary deposits – cobbles and nodules distributed by Pleistocene glacial action at the base of James Bay. The dominant colours are in the grey range, but also include shades of brown, beige, yellow, red, pink, and greyish violet (Julig et al. 1992). Samples of the stone are generally opaque, however small thin flakes may be translucent. A distinctive feature of the stone is that many of the colour varieties appear brown when backlit. The lustre is more often "waxy" than mat, and the surface is soft and aphanitic (Julig et al. 1992; Long et al. 2001). Artifacts, especially small

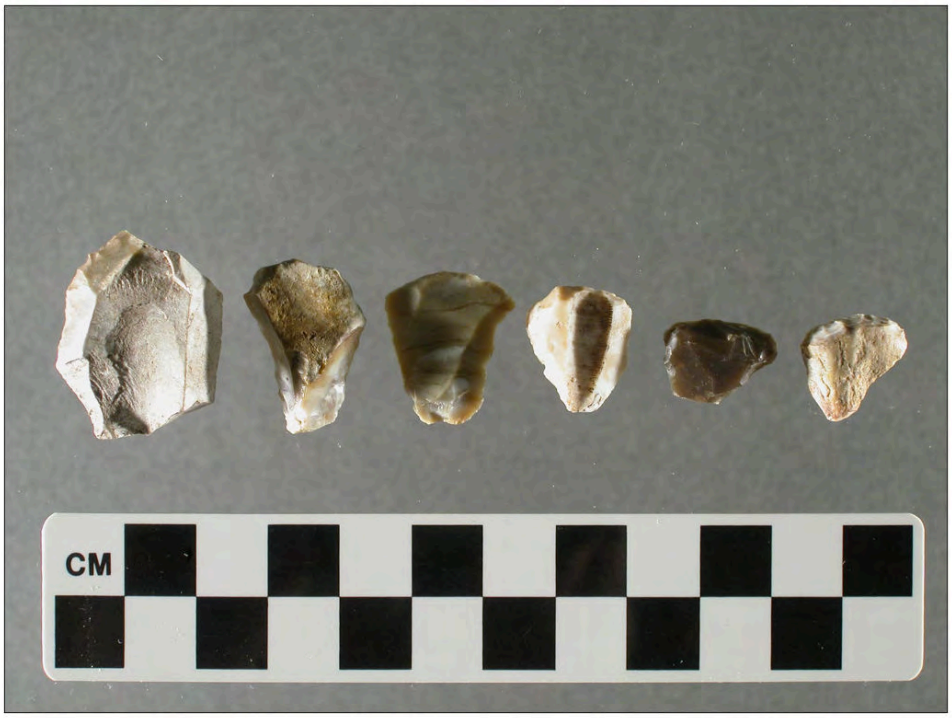

Figure 6.5: Examples of Hudson Bay Lowland chert

scrapers, and flakes of Hudson Bay Lowland chert have been found on archaeological sites in northern Québec, particularly those bordering James Bay, but occur only rarely on sites further inland.

The final lithic category presented, and the one most relevant to this potential study, refers to stone varieties originating in the Labrador Trough, including a range of cherts, cherty argillites, jaspers, and fine grained quartzites (Birkett 1991; Clark 1984, 1994; Clark and Wares 2005; Dimroth 1978; Dressler 1974; Dressler 1979). The availability of high-quality toolstone in the Labrador Trough was completely unknown prior to fieldwork in the Schefferville region undertaken by Denton and McCaffrey in 1984, and continued by McCaffrey from 1985 to 1987 (Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 1989a,b). The following sections will introduce the geology of the Labrador Trough, with a focus on the potential significance of specific geological formations in the project area that contain lithic materials well-suited to stone tool manufacture.

6.2 Labrador Trough overview

The earliest written reference to the geology of the Labrador Trough region was made by the Oblate missionary Father Louis Babel, who in the 1860s remarked on the presence of iron bear-

ing rocks as he travelled in the Québec-Labrador interior (Clark and Wares 2005). Between 1892 and 1895, geologist Albert Peter Low of the Geological Survey of Canada undertook a series of exploratory northern canoe trips, and recognized the Labrador geosyncline with its iron-formations as a major geological feature with economic potential (Low 1896).

Due to its inaccessibility, little attention was given to the region until 1929, when air travel facilitated access. Research and discovery of iron deposits led to numerous geological surveys of the Trough and progressively more refined mapping of the region (Conliffe 2020). Most of the Labrador Trough has now been mapped at 1:50,000 scale by geological services in Québec, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Canada. Of particular relevance to our research is the geological mapping compiled by Clark (1994), who also standardized the stratigraphic nomenclature of the Québec portion of the Labrador Trough. This information is accessible both as map sheets and as an online interactive map on the SIGÉOM website (SIGÉOM 2021b).

The Labrador Trough or geosyncline is a folded belt of Precambrian sedimentary, volcanic and metamorphic rocks that extends for more than 1000 km from the Hudson Strait south through northeastern Quebec and western Labrador to near Pletipi Lake in central Quebec. The iron ranges along the western and central parts of the Labrador geosyncline form one of the major sedimentary iron belts of the world, and they include formations incorporating many grades and colours of chert, as well as jasper and quartzite. The central division of the Trough is situated between Lake Bérard (formerly Finger Lake) in the north and Shabogamo Lake in the south: the rocks in this central division are less metamorphosed and deformed than those in the northern and southern divisions (Clark and Wares 2005; Dimroth 1978) a factor that helps to pinpoint those zones most likely to contain knappable chert (SIGÉOM 2021a).

6.2.1 Archaeological research near Schefferville in the Labrador Trough

As previously described in Chapter 3, archaeological fieldwork undertaken in the 1980s in the central Labrador Trough was the first attempt to locate in the field, sample, and describe geological sources for some of the unidentified cherts found on archaeological sites in Québec and interior Labrador. This survey and excavation work resulted in the discovery of numerous chert-bearing formations that were exploited in precontact times. Associated archaeological sites were discovered both north of Shefferville and south to the junction of Menihek Lake and the McPhadyren River. Diagnostic artifacts and radiocarbon dates from these sites indicate that the lithic sources were known and used from as early as 3800 B.P. to the Recent Precontact period (Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 1989a,b).

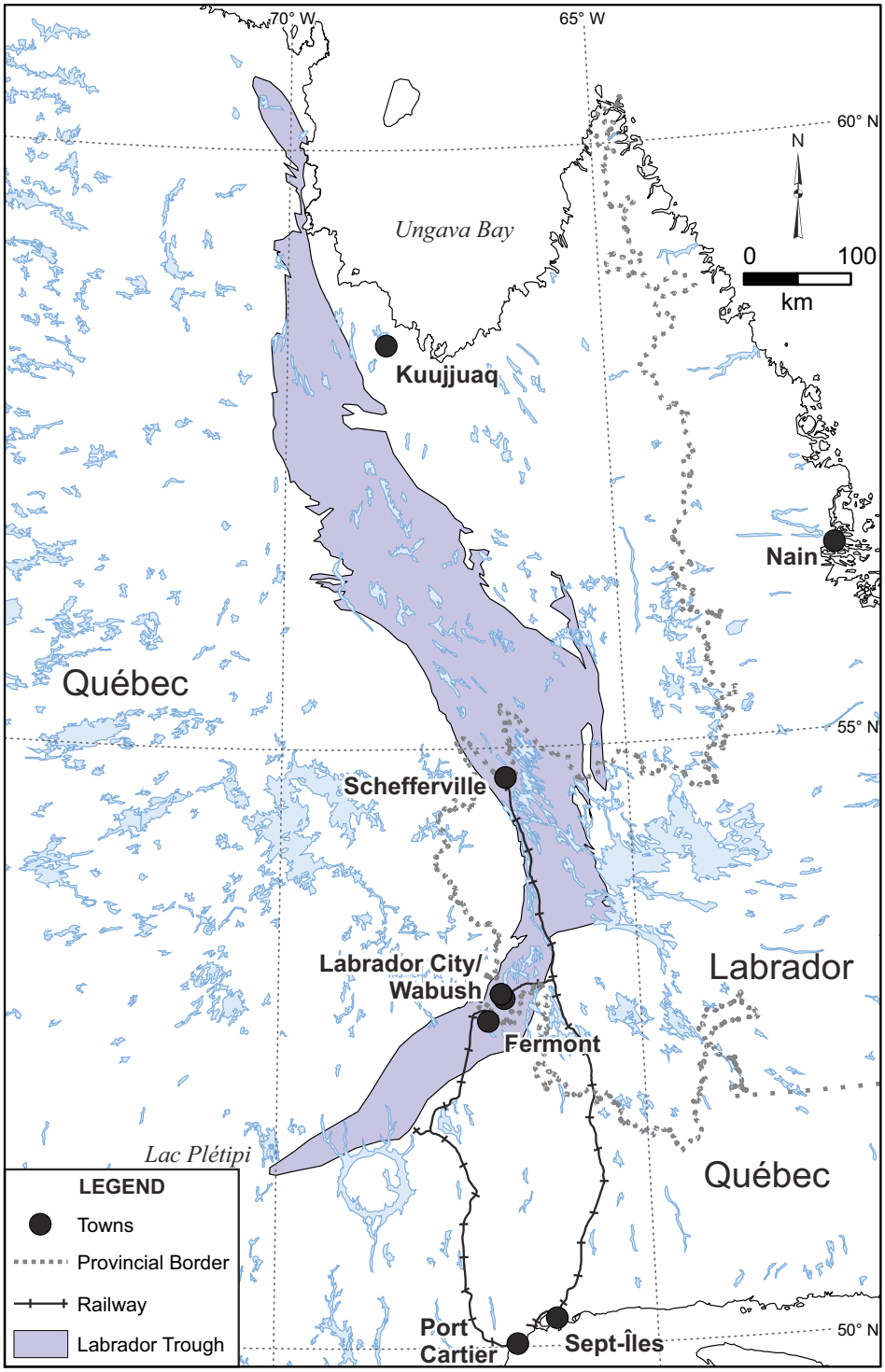

Figure 6.6: Map showing the location of the Labrador Trough (Conliffe 2020: 2).

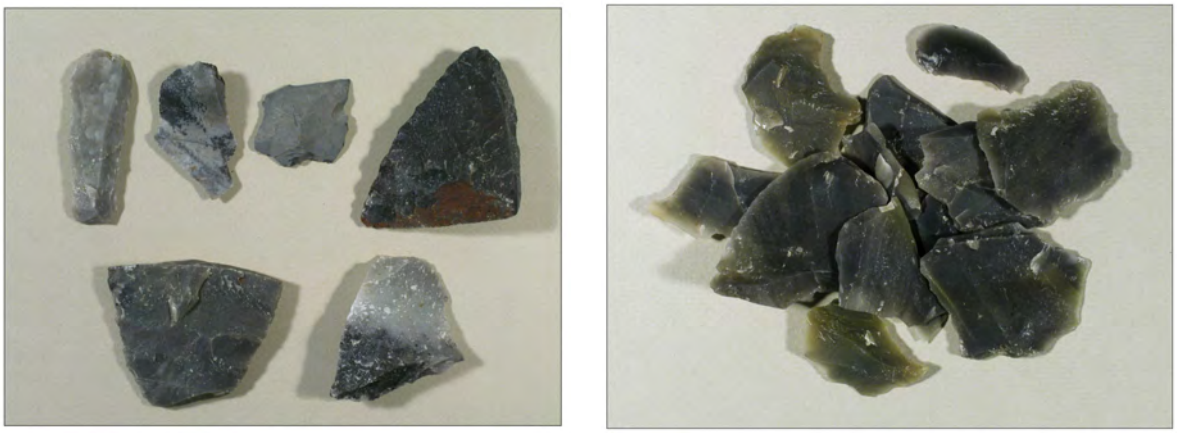

Figure 6.7: Examples of Labrador Trough cherts.

Collections recovered from the sites indicate that at least five different geological formations were used by precontact groups. Sites located north of Schefferville (GfDs-1, 2; GgDs-1, 2), and the site on Astray Lake (GcDo-1) contain chert and chert breccia from the Fleming formation. This fine-grained material has a mat to somewhat lustrous appearance, and flakes are translucent when back-lit. Fleming chert ranges in colour from light to dark grey, green, and beige. Grey colouring dominates, but some hand samples contain all of the above colours (Birkett 1991; Dimroth 1978).

Assemblages from sites along Menihek Lake in western Labrador (GcDs-1; GbDp-1, 2; GaDp-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) produced some Fleming chert, but primarily cherts and cherty argillites from the Menihek, Sokoman, Ruth, and Wishart formations (Clark 1994; Clark and Wares 2005; Dimroth 1978). The predominant material is a fine- to coarse-grained chert that ranges in colour from grey to black. It has a pelloidal texture such that thin flakes and the thin edges of artifacts, when held in front of a light, appear as a mass of black points floating in a transparent matrix. Sometimes the surface contains vugs, occasionally with sugary quartz pockets filling the voids. A light grey-green, fine-grained chert presents a similar appearance, with red pelloids clearly visible in a translucent matrix. Some light grey-green cherts are finer-grained, with swirls and clouds of grey colouration visible when flakes are back-lit. Another stone exploited by prehistoric knappers was a cherty argillite that ranges from light to very dark grey in colour. This material can be massive or laminated with alternating lighter and darker bands. Finally, small amounts of red laminated jasper, red oolitic jasper, and maroon-coloured, medium-grained quartzite were also observed on some prehistoric sites.

6.2.2 Known archaeological distribution of Labrador Trough lithic materials

Preliminary research on the distribution of toolstone from this part of the Labrador Trough suggests that for the most part these cherts were a local resource that was not regularly transported over very long distances. In the project area, small amounts of Labrador Trough cherts – bifaces, projectile points, and flakes—have been identified on a number of undated precontact sites in the Fort McKenzie region (Archéologie illimitée inc. 1984; Desrosiers and Duguay 1985). Preliminary comparisons of visual and thin-section characteristics indicate that Trough cherts are present on about 15 prehistoric sites in the Caniapiscau reservoir region to the west. Fieldwork to the south, in the Ashuanipi Lake region of western Labrador, resulted in the discovery of numerous precontact sites. Labrador Trough cherts are present in many of them (Brake 2007; Neilsen 2016). Archaeological sites on the Lower Churchill River in Labrador also contain trace amounts (Stassinu Stantec Limited Partnership 2019b). To the east and south, an examination of collections from Lake de la Hutte Sauvage and the Québec North Shore indicates that very little Labrador Trough chert made its way to these regions.

6.3 Geological formations with high potential in the project area

An important part of this potential study involves identifying high-quality lithic materials among the Labrador Trough formations in the project area in order to pinpoint stone sources that may have been used by Indigenous peoples in the Precontact, Contact, and early historic periods. We began by contacting geologist Thomas Clark, who was responsible for mapping the geology and standardizing the nomenclature in the Québec portion of the Labrador Trough (Clark and Wares 2005). He generously assisted us in identifying the main formations, and their subdivisions, that contain lithic materials suited for tool manufacture—cherts, jaspers, and fine-grained quartzites.

Based on our discussions with Tom Clark, and a review of Labrador Trough geology in the project area, the following five geological formations have been retained as those most likely to contain high quality lithic materials that would have been sought out by precontact peoples.

- Denault Formation
  - de2 grey, dark grey, or black chert
- Sokoman Formation

  - so1 jasper
  - so2 chert
  - so4 black chert

- Ruth Formation
  - ru1 black grey, brown, and red chert
  - ru2 chert

- Wishart Formation
  - wi quartzite

- Alder Formation
  - ad white quartzite

A second element comes into play in identifying geological zones of high potential, namely examining the location of faults and outcrops related to the targetted formations. The results of archaeological fieldwork in the Schefferville region had shown that precontact peoples did not physically "quarry" stone from formations or outcrops. Rather, archaeological site locations suggest that people went directly to geological fault zones where stone displacement exposes even deeply buried formations. Along fault lines, blocks of chert, jasper, and quartzite are exposed and erode out of their matrix, accumulating in talus slopes (McCaffrey 1989a,b).

Using the SIGÉOM online interactive map (SIGÉOM 2021b) we identified and examined the location of the five targeted formations within the project area. To facilitate close examination of the geological formations, including the placement of fault lines, we divided the region into 5 interest zones. The Alder Formation data is presented on a separate map at the end of this discussion as these quartzites are described as coarse-grained, and have been assigned a lesser priority.

The following set of maps presents detailed views of Zones 1-5 indicating the presence of the geological formations and subdivisions retained, as well as the placement of faults lines. Areas of interest were then selected based on locations where high quality stone appears to be exposed along waterways and travel routes: these are indicated within red ovals. The procurement of stone in the project area was a critical activity over thousands of years. Therefore, we also recognize that the location of stone sources may have played a role in determining travel routes and camping locations well into recent times.

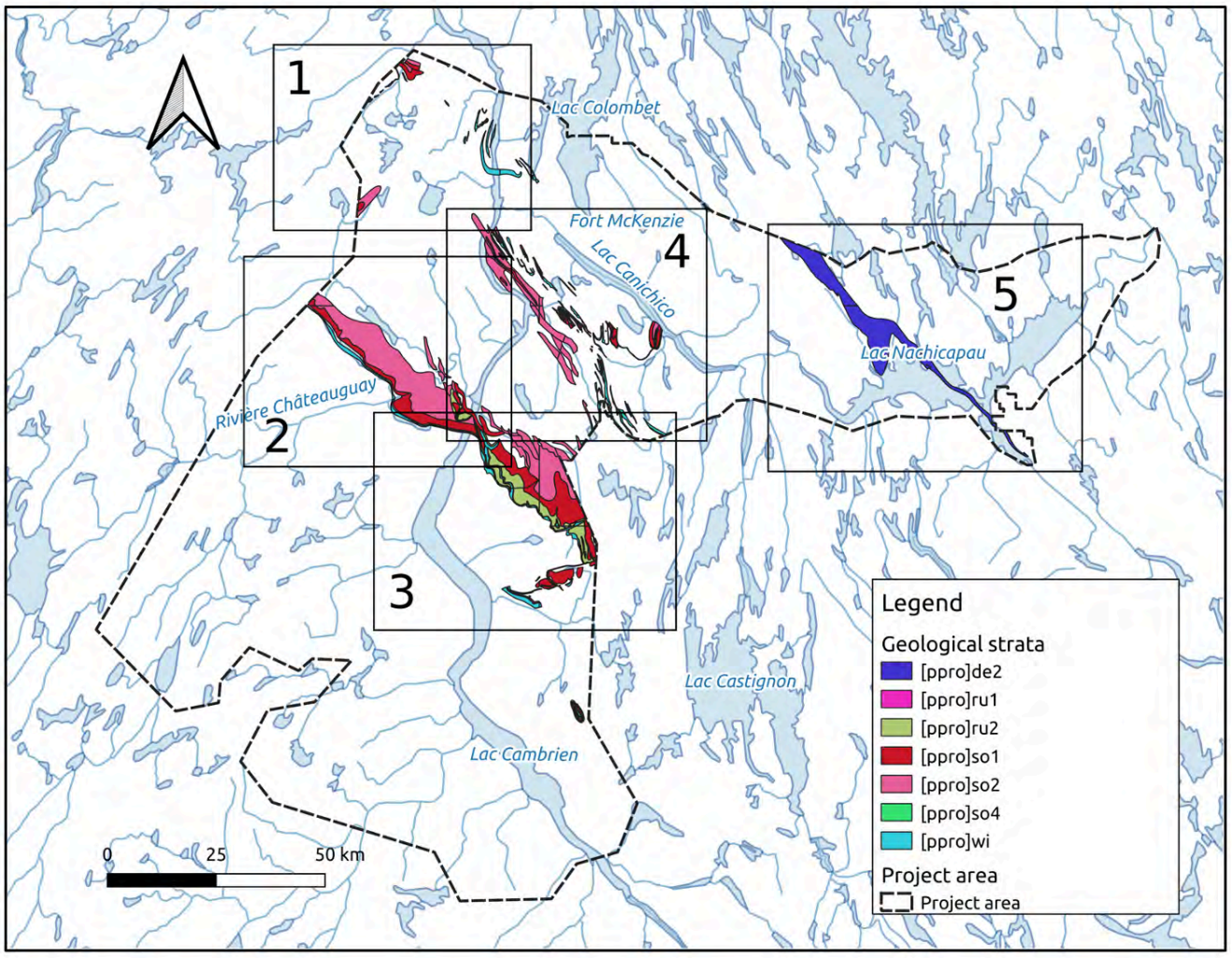

Figure 6.8: Targeted geological formations divided into five interest zones.

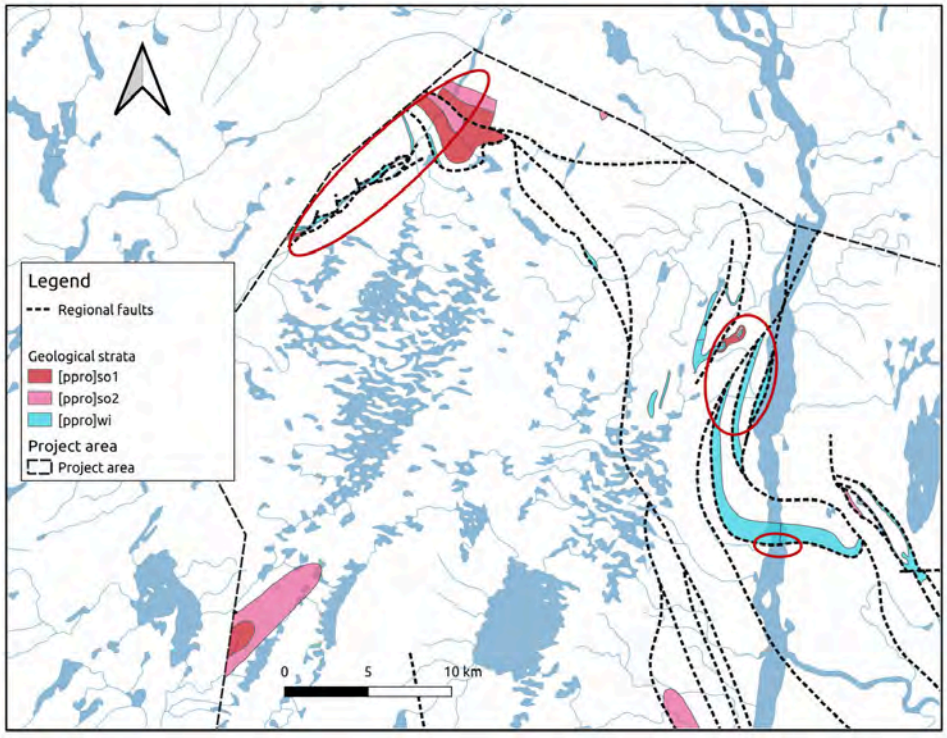

Figure 6.9: Zone 1 - areas of interest.

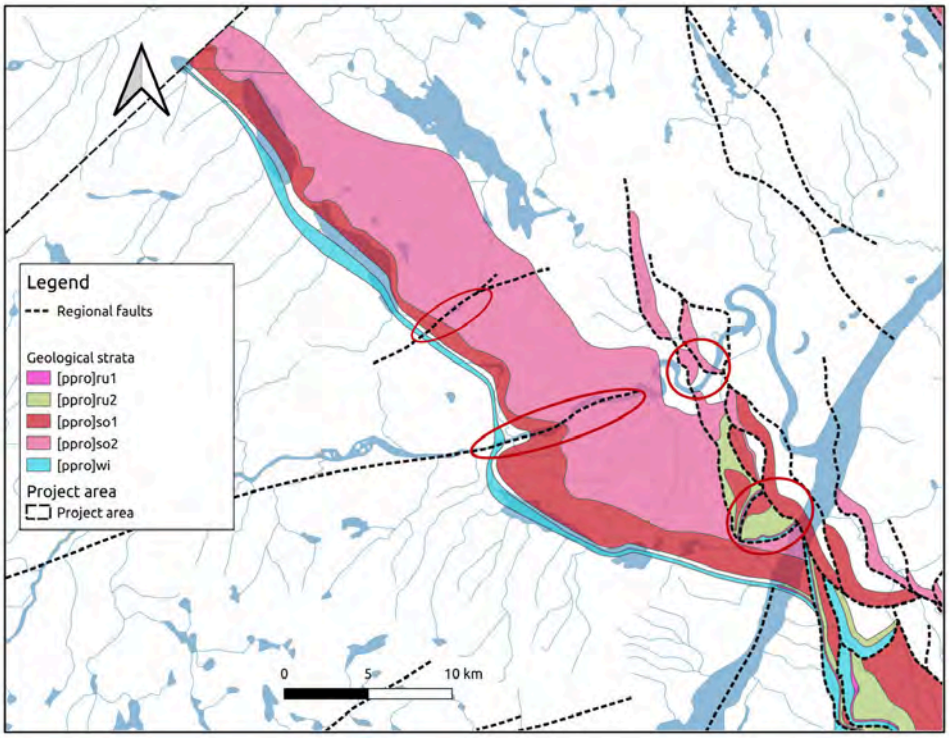

Figure 6.10: Zone 2 - areas of interest.

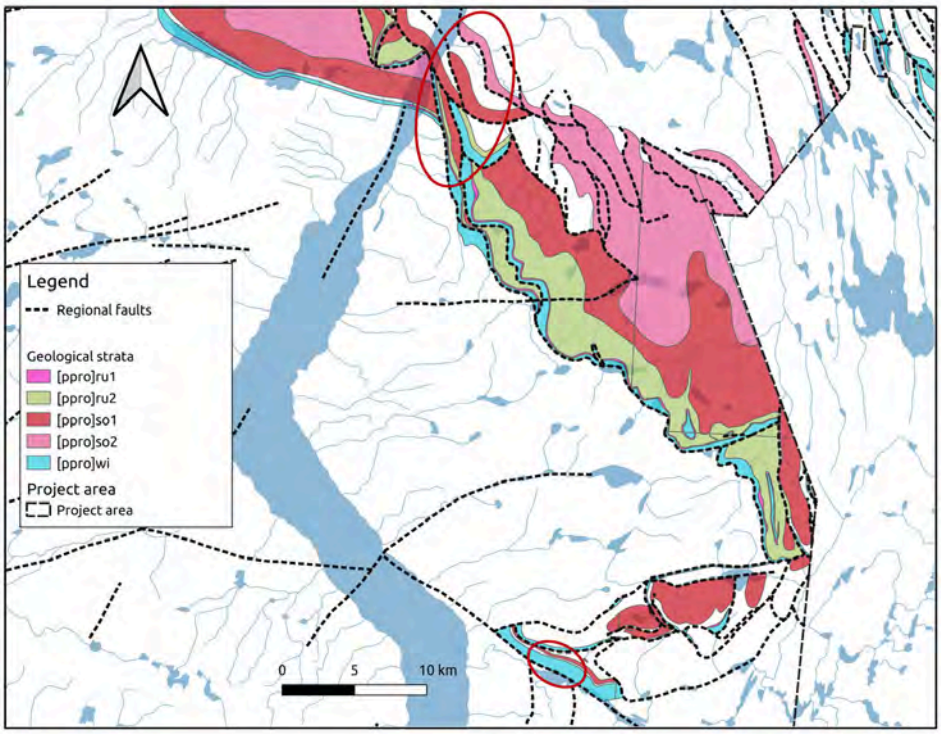

Figure 6.11: Zone 3 - areas of interest.

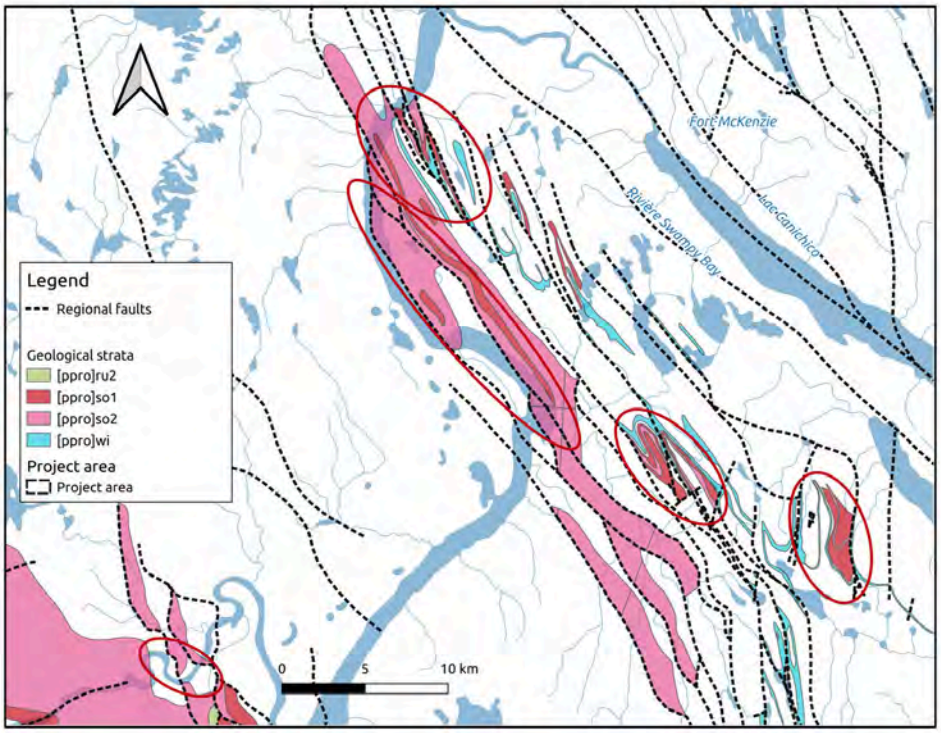

Figure 6.12: Zone 4 - areas of interest.

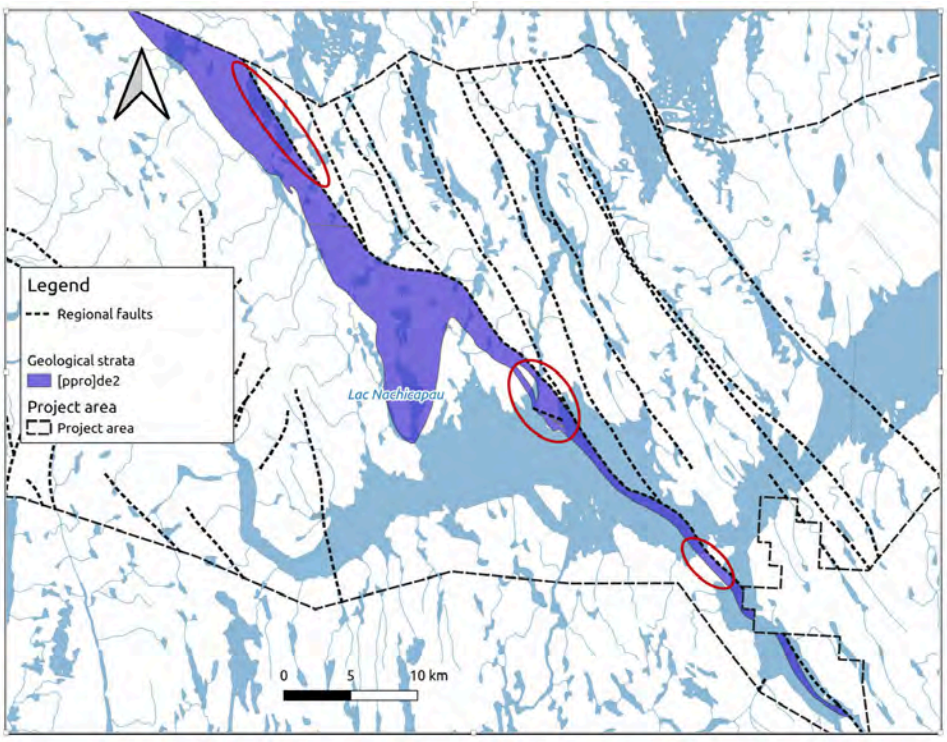

Figure 6.13: Zone 5 - areas of interest.

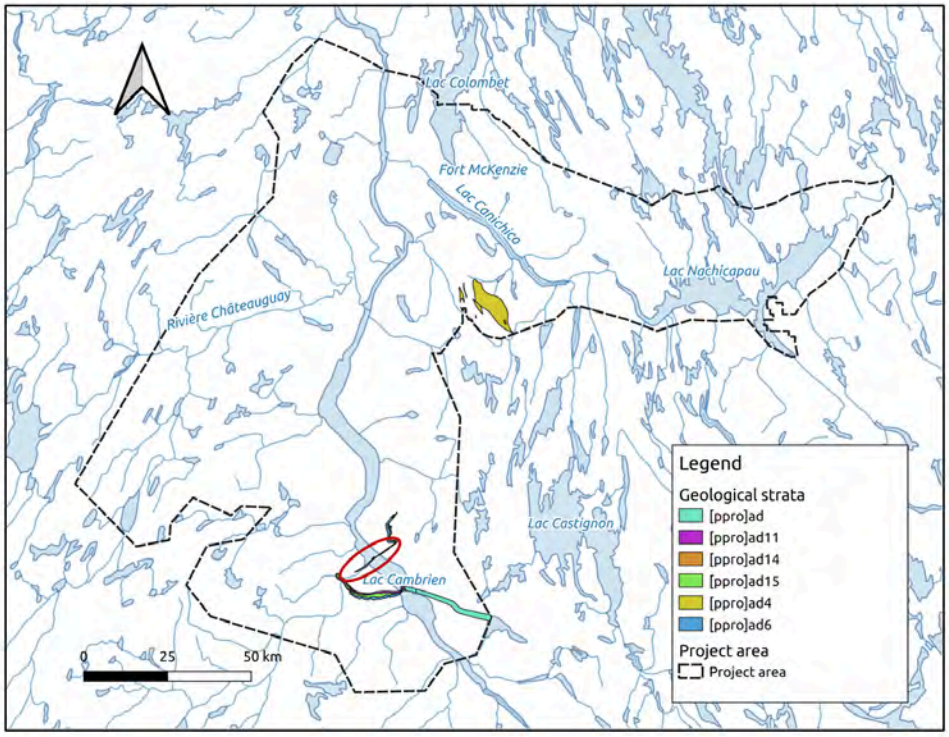

Figure 6.14: Alder formation quartzites - area of interest.

7 | Archaeology overview

The Naskapi have stories and legends that situate them in a world of ancestors—one that is filled with meaning and knowledge about the land and all it comprises, about travels and connections to distant places and people, and about spirits and the forces that shape understandings and events. Like other Algonquian-speaking groups, the Naskapi distinguish two main genres of storytelling: *tipâchimûn* is the word for true adventures or histories in which the storyteller himself or other eyewitnesses are characters in or eyewitnesses to the story, and *âtiyûhkin* is the word for stories that are from a distant "time before now", generally referred to as legends, and often include animal characters (Jancewicz 2021).

Archaeology compliments these understandings of the world by searching for and documenting physical evidence of ancestral occupation and movements on the land. In northern Québec-Labrador, a rich and complex picture has emerged from archaeological research, attesting to periods of both stability and change, as well as documenting far-reaching connections across the peninsula. As new sites are discovered and analyses of existing data take place, it sometimes seems as though the region is made up of large puzzle pieces that do not always fit together. Research in the region of Cambrian Lake and Nachicapau Lake will hopefully contribute new clarity to this picture.

7.1 Previous archaeological research

For many decades, archaeological work in northern Québec lagged behind research in southern parts of the province, mainly due to the difficulty of accessing northern regions and the high cost of logistics. This situation changed most noticeably in the central, northern interior with the onset in the 1970s of hydroelectric development projects involving major river systems flowing into Hudson Bay and James Bay. In the 1980s, exploratory work related to potential hydroelectric development led to archaeological research in the project area at and near Fort McKenzie, and

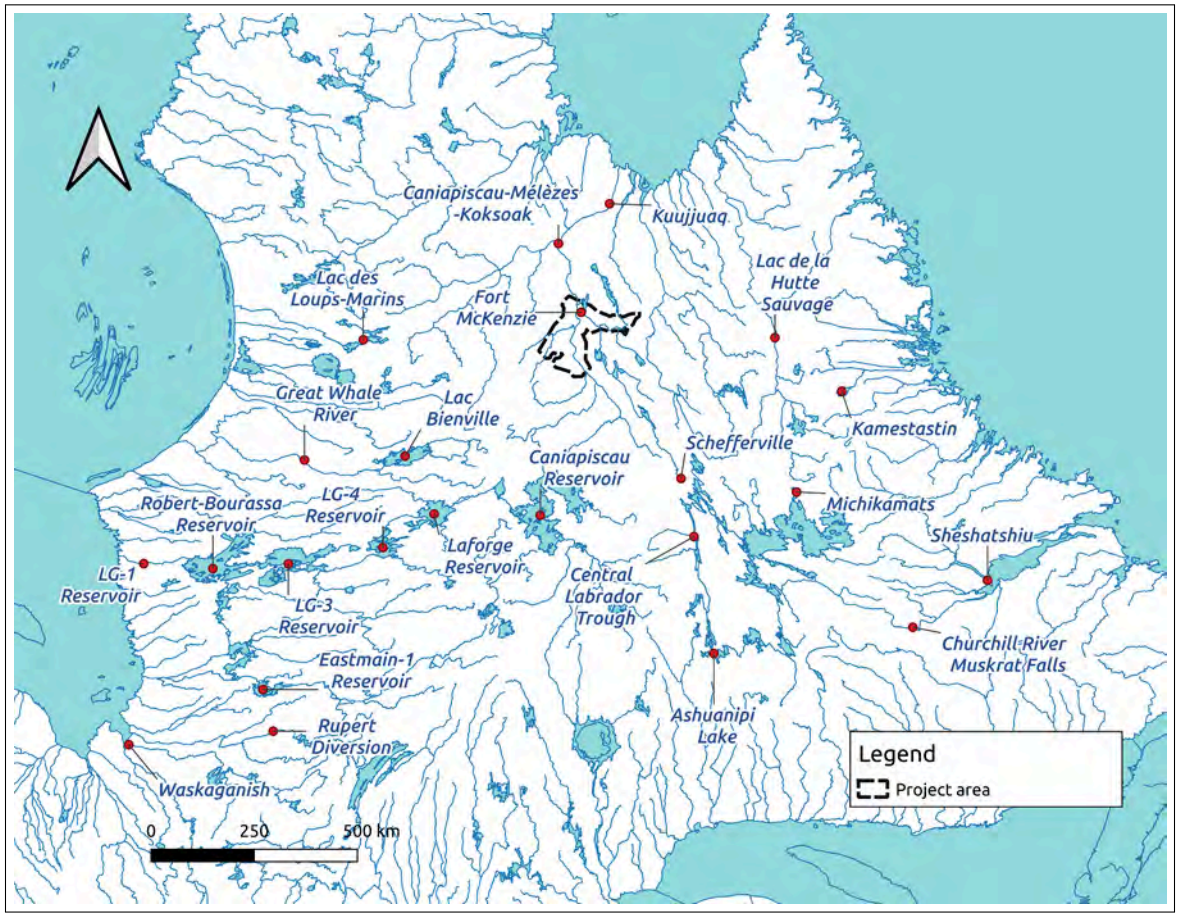

Figure 7.1: Locations mentioned in the text.

north to Ungava Bay. A number of academic and community-based research projects have also taken place in nearby regions.

Despite these advances, a wide band of territory extending west to east, and encompassing the project area, has received little or no archaeological attention. Moreover, this zone may represent a region of potential encounter between Paleo-Inuit and Inuit groups travelling inland to hunt caribou, and ancestors of Naskapi, Innu, and Cree families hunting and fishing in the northernmost reaches of their territories.

The following section provides an overview of archaeological research projects to-date in the project area, as well as in neighbouring areas of interior Québec-Labrador.

7.1.1 Project area

Fort McKenzie

In the 1980s, archaeological work linked to hydroelectric development of the La Grande River was undertaken at and around the site of Fort McKenzie (HeEf-09), in the heart of the project area (Archéologie illimitée inc. 1984, 1985; Desrosiers and Duguay 1985; Duguay 1994). This former Hudson's Bay Company trading post is situated in the northern part of Lake Canichico, just south of the confluence of the Swampy Bay and Caniapiscau rivers, approximately 150 km southwest of Kuujjuaq. The trading post was used by the Naskapi over a 40 year period from 1916 to 1956, with from 20 to 25 Naskapi families spending part of the year there. Cree and Innu hunters and families also visited, maintaining ancient social connections across the northernmost part of Québec-Labrador. In addition, Inuit individuals travelled to and stayed at the Fort, due to their involvement in transporting goods and supplies between Fort Chimo and numerous outposts. Fort McKenzie continues to be remembered and visited up to the present by groups from Kawawachikamach (Lévesque, Rains, et al. 2001).

The survey work resulted in the identification of about 20 archaeological sites, with the majority dating to the 20th century and the period when the Fort was in operation. Over 400 house features were mapped in the vicinity of the Fort, spread out over 112,500 square metres, making this one of the most important Indigenous gathering sites in Québec-Labrador (Pintal 2009: 35). Archaeological work on the house features, which was limited to surface inspection and mapping, revealed four main types of habitations: round with a hearth comprised of stones, a type used mainly during the early part of the sequence; a round form with a tin stove: and forms with four parallel sides or sub-rectangular with a stove.

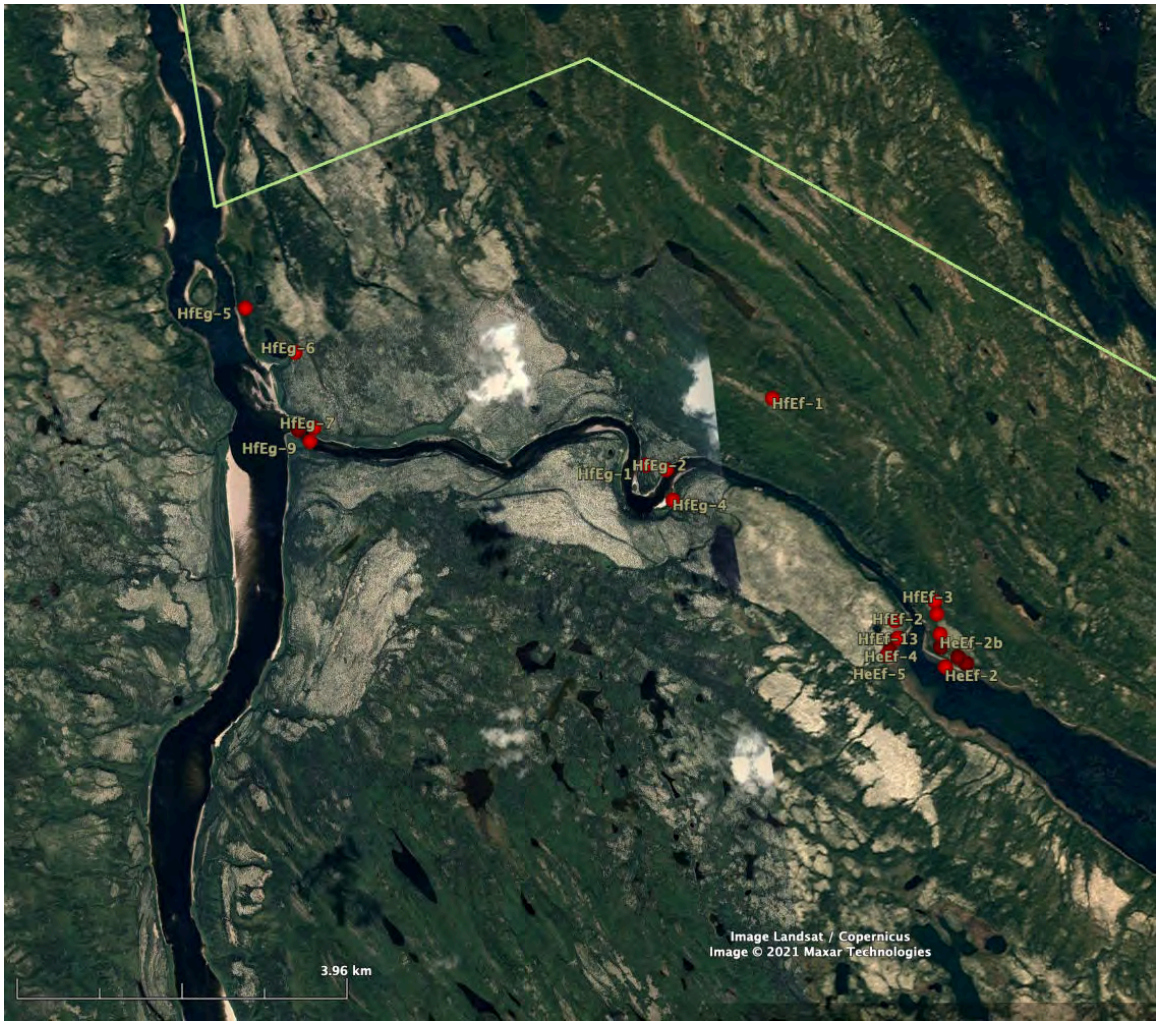

Figure 7.2: Archaeological sites in the Fort McKenzie region.

Table 7.1: Summary of archaeological sites identified at and near Fort McKenzie (Desrosiers and Duguay 1985; Duguay 1994)

Borden Code	Location	Dating	Condition	Size estimate	Description	Artifacts
HeEf-1	Fort McKenzie, Lac Canichico	Historic & recent		500 x 250 m	Remains of HBC post and close to 400 habitation features in the vicinity of the post.	Material culture associated with historic and recent occupation.
HeEf-1b	Just south of Fort McKenzie	Precontact	Disturbed by subsequent occupations	150 x 60 m	Artifacts were found in positive tests dug between the road to the dock and the current limit of the forest. Site was subsequently excavated.	Station 1: 20 tools & 1000 flakes mainly of Labrador Trough cherts, also small amount Ramah chert and Mistassini quartzite. Hearth 2 m in length with beaver bones. Station 2: 7 tools & 710 flakes, lithic materials are red chert, green chert & Ramah chert, elongated hearth. Station 3: 33 tools & 490 flakes; 3 hearths, not aligned, 1 porcupine bone in each.
HeEf-2	At Fort McKenzie	Precontact	Intact (prior to excavation)	24 x 8 m	Artifacts were found in positive tests. Fire-cracked rock was encountered in 4 tests. Site subsequently partially excavated.	Initial surface collection: flakes and debris of quartz or quartzite, and a few artifacts were surface collected on the caribou path along the edge of the terrace. Excavation of Station 1: 104 lithics in three concentrations, mainly quartz, Mistassini quartzite, black schist, also a few flakes of Ramah chert and grey chert. Excavation Station 2: 5 tools & 4027 flakes, almost all grey chert, some black chert. Concentration was around a hearth.
HeEf-2b	At Fort McKenzie	Historic or recent	Intact	20 x 30 m	3 habitation features (tent rings).	No material culture objects found.
HeEf-3	At Fort McKenzie	Precontact	On surface	30 x 2 m	Surface collection on a caribou trail.	1 tool fragment of quartzite, 2 preforms of undetermined stone, flakes and debris of quartzite.
HeEf-4	West bank, junction R. Swampy Bay & Lac Canichico	Precontact; also historic Indigenous	Very eroded	10 x 5 m	Surface collection on the beach.	1 biface base of red chert, other flakes and debris of quartzite and red chert.
HeEf-5	West bank, junction R. Swampy Bay & Lac Canichico	Historic	Intact	330 x 50 m	Cemetary on a terrace, 17 burials encircled by small wooden fences, some with crosses; at least 4 other crosses further to the west.	Site was only photographed.
HeEf-9	West bank, junction R. Swampy Bay & Lac Canichico	Historic (?)	Mainly intact, some erosion	350 x 100 m	22 habitation features with hearths.	No material culture objects found.
HfEf-1	Hilltop northeast of oxbow on R. Swampy Bay	Historic	Intact	60 x 10 m	3 stone piles, one with a piece of wood in the center on a rocky outcrop.	No material culture objects found.
HfEf-2	Just north of Fort McKenzie	Precontact	Intact	50 x 15 m	On the first terrace, 11 tests were dug and 5 were positive.	1 tool fragment of black quartzite, 115 flakes jasper and quartzite.
HfEf-3	Just north of Fort McKenzie	Precontact	Intact	1 x 1 m	On a terrace with uneven terrain to the northeast of HfEf-2; 6 tests were dug and 1 was positive.	1 block of quartzite and 25 fragments. Subsequently judged to be natural (due to frost-cracking) rather than cultural.
HfEf-13	West bank, junction R. Swampy Bay & Lac Canichico	Historic			On the second terrace, two habitation features were visible on the surface (earthen tent rings with hearths).	No material culture objects found.
HfEg-1	North bank, R. Swampy Bay, oxbow	Historic or recent	Intact	80 x 10 m	2 habitation features with collapsed wooden frames; an exterior hearth; possibly a winter occupation.	Misc. items like ear muffs, metal domestic items, 2 marten traps.
HfEg-2	North bank, R. Swampy Bay, oxbow	Historic or recent	Intact	20 x 20 m	On a high terrace with a good view, 12 habitation features (and other features); occupied when there was no snow.	1 metal box riddled with bullet holes.
HfEg-3	East bank, R. Caniapiscau, north of R. Swampy Bay outlet	Historic or recent	Intact	5 x 3 m	A pole measuring 1.3 m, cut with an ax at both ends.	A pole.
HfEg-4	South bank, R. Swampy Bay, oxbow	Historic or recent	Intact	5 x 5 m	On a terrace, 4 structural poles each measuring 1.4 m.	A plastic container for outboard motor oil.
HfEg-5	East bank, R. Caniapiscau, north of R. Swampy Bay outlet	Historic or recent	Intact	1 x 1 m	A shelter for a marten trap; may be on a trap line.	No material culture objects found.
HfEg-6	East bank, R. Caniapiscau, north of R. Swampy Bay outlet	Historic or recent	Intact	30 x 25 m	On a terrace west of a small lake; 5 habitation features, tent poles, earthen tent rings, rocks, occupied fall or winter.	A few artifacts like a jam jar, stove pipe, etc.
HfEg-7	North bank, junction R. Caniapiscau & R. Swampy Bay	Historic or recent	Intact	50 x 70 m	8 habitation features, stone tent rings, probably occupied fall to winter.	A glass bottle.
HfEg-8	South bank, junction R. Caniapiscau & R. Swampy Bay	Historic (?)	Intact	40 x 30 m	On the second terrace, 4 habitation features, earthen tent rings.	No material culture objects found.
HfEg-9	South bank, junction R. Caniapiscau & R. Swampy Bay	Historic (?)	Intact	20 x 10 m	On the first terrace, two habitation features with stone hearths, one feature had 2 hearths, probably occupied in cold period.	No material culture objects found.

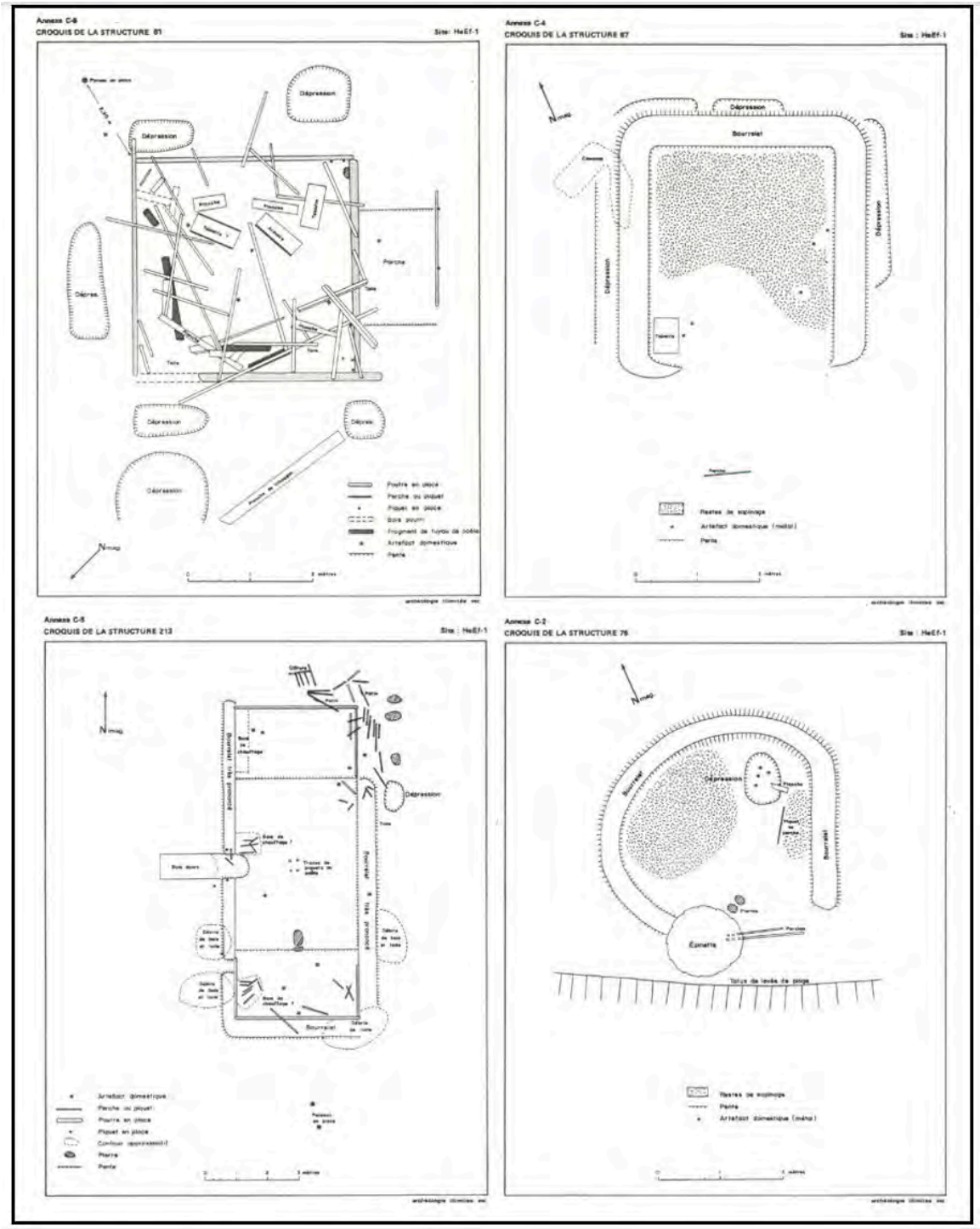

Figure 7.3: Examples of historic house forms recorded at Fort McKenzie.

Figure 7.4: Stone tools found during excavations on sites HeEf-1b (left) and HeEf-2 (right). Photo by M. McCaffrey.

About 20 of the habitations are thought to date to the 19th century, indicating that this region was already well known prior to the establishment of the Fort, perhaps in the context of seasonal caribou hunts (Duguay 1994; Pintal 2009). In addition, evidence for a precontact presence was also recovered in the vicinity of Fort McKenzie. Six precontact archaeological sites were identified, though all had been disturbed by fur trade period activities. Two of the sites, HeEf-1b and HeEf-2, were partially excavated revealing hearths, as well as a range of finely-flaked bifacial tools and flakes made of visually-striking black, red, and grey Labrador Trough cherts, confirming the use of local stone sources. Artifacts made of Ramah chert were also found, as well as flakes of Mistassini quartzite. No radiocarbon dates were obtained; however, on the basis of stone tool typology, Desrosiers and Duguay (1985) suggested that these sites may date to the Recent Precontact period.

7.1.2 Northern sector

Kuujjuaq

In 1964 and 1965, Thomas E. Lee (Lee 1966, 1967) carried out brief surveys and some excavation work near Kuujjuaq (then Fort Chimo) close to Ungava Bay and the outlet of the Koksoak River.

Figure 7.5: Archaeological sites in the Kuujjuaq region.

He documented numerous archaeological sites (now identified as IaEc-1, 2, and 3) on terraces overlooking the river, and counted over 130 surface features, primarily tent rings. Of particular interest was a series of distinctive earthen tent rings with raised walls and a "ramp-like" area near the door. Similar house features have been described by Denton (2001) to the west at the Aaskwaapisuaanuuts site south of Wemindji on the James Bay coast, and by Samson (1983) on sites at de la Hutte Sauvage River to the east. Lee (1967: 10-11) described at least one "double-family earth ring" containing two hearths, as well as a number of large "rectangular" rings among the house features.

On the basis of trade goods recovered from the earthen rings, including glass beads, clay pipes, and percussion caps, Lee suggested that most of these features relate to locations where Naskapi erected tents after the Hudson Bay Company established a trading post at Fort Chimo in 1830. Lee (ibid.: 12) also recorded Inuit house features, in particular, a series of 28 tent rings dating to the 1940s when the US Air Force Base was in operation, as well as more recent Inuit tent sites down river from the HBC buildings.

Lithic artifacts were found in numerous locations, including tools and debitage of grey and black cherts (possibly originating in Labrador Trough formations), Ramah chert, red jasper, and quartz. Although the use of lithic materials well into the 19th century has been noted by Denton

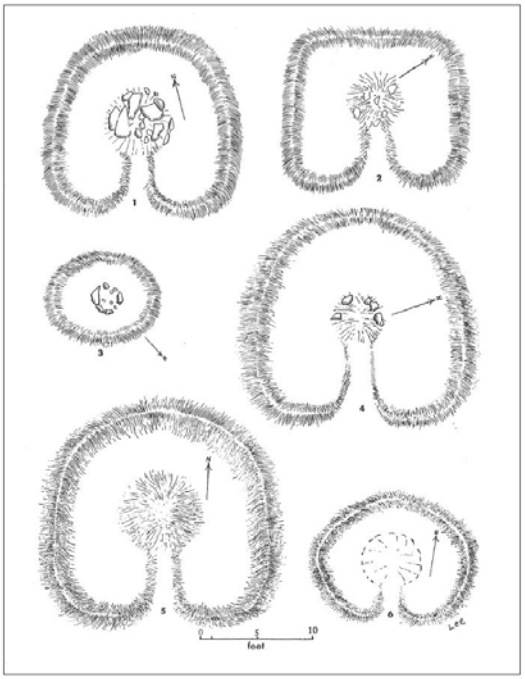

Figure 7.6: Drawings of representative earthen tent rings identified on sites near Kuujjuaq (Lee 1967: 13).

(1994) on archaeological sites further west and to the south, it is also possible that these discoveries indicate the presence of precontact sites in the region. Until the Kuujuuaq sites and collections are adequately studied, these questions will remain unanswered.

Confluence Caniapiscau-Mélèzes-Koksoak rivers and Erlandson Lake

No further archaeological work has taken place directly north of the project area with the exception of a two-week project in 1981 to survey three areas south of Kuujjuaq in the context of hydro-electric development plans (Archéologie illimitée inc. 1981). Locations at the confluence of the Caniapiscau-Mélèzes-Koksoak rivers, and on the northern point of Erlandson Lake (now Le Moyne Lake), were examined and tested for the possible presence of archaeological sites prior to the construction of Hydro-Québec survey field camps.

Three Precontact period sites were discovered on a sandy terrace lying 30 m above the Caniapiscau River. Site HjEj-2 is particularly interesting in that over 70 large flakes were found. The lithic materials are mainly Ramah chert and Mugford chert (though the authors of this study wonder if the chert flakes identified as "Mugford", from a source on the Labrador coast, actually originate in a Labrador Trough formation). Two other precontact sites (HjEj-3 and HjEj-4) were found on the same terrace, both producing less than 20 small flakes of an unidentified quartzite.

Figure 7.7: Archaeological sites at confluence of Caniapiscau-Mélèzes-Koksoak rivers.

Insufficient artifacts and information were available on these sites to allow speculation on the time period(s) represented. Numerous Historic Period occupations were also noted, including a cluster of four sites that likely date to the late 19th or early 20th century. Two of these sites contain a total of 14 earthen tent rings, and appear to be related to Naskapi and possibly Innu and Cree groups coming together to hunt caribou.

One site, HhEd-3, was identified as evidence of a possible Paleo-Inuit (Dorset) presence (Archéologie illimitée inc. 1981: 30-35). The site was disturbed, making it impossible to determine the actual number and form of house features. Nevertheless, the presence of flat stones laid out in a kind of pavement, as well as cantilevered stone slabs, suggested a Dorset occupation. No artifacts were recovered to help confirm this theory. The remains of many contemporary camps were also noted, including an Inuit tent site consisting of a ring of stones (HkEj-1).

7.1.3 Eastern sector

Lake de la Hutte Sauvage (Mushuau Nipi)

During the 1970s, archaeological research took place in the Lake de la Hutte Sauvage (Mushuau Nipi) region, an enlargement of the George River in far northeastern Québec. The sites discovered confirmed the importance and long history of this rich caribou-hunting area. Samson (1975, 1978, 1983) distinguished three main periods of occupation based on a small number of radiocarbon dates combined with site features and elevations, and the presence of diagnostic stone artifacts.

The Early period, dating from 6000-3500 BP, is represented by small quartz workshops and lookout stations situated on high terraces, 16 to 35 metres above lake level. The sites produced quartz debitage along with a few tools of Ramah chert and slate, as well as some ground stone gouges and adzes. Samson (1978: 187-191) suggested that these were short-term occupations related to Maritime Archaic peoples who travelled inland from the Labrador coast to hunt during the Fall caribou migrations.

Sites attributed to the Intermediate period were found at elevations of nine to 11 metres above lake level, and are thought to date to between 3500 and 2000 BP. Lithic assemblages consisted primarily of quartz debitage accompanied by large bifaces of both Ramah chert and local quartzite. Flakes of multi-coloured Saunders chert were discovered on two sites. Once again caribou hunting appears to have been the main focus of the occupants. Samson (ibid.: 191) believes that these sites may relate to specific cultural manifestations (named the Charles and Brinex complexes by archaeologists) during the Intermediate period on the Labrador coast.

There are currently no dated sites for the period from 2000 to 1350 BP; however, beginning around 1350 BP, evidence for occupation increases, leading Samson (1993) to propose that during the Late period, the region was visited more frequently and for longer periods of time. Assemblages are characterized by an abundance of Ramah chert, which comprises close to 50 percent of all tools and debitage. Quartz continues to be prevalent; however, for the first time, flakes of black, grey and beige cherts (likely from the Labrador Trough to the west) make an appearance (Samson 1983). Bifacial and unifacial tool forms, as well as flakes, show a marked reduction in size from earlier periods. Both corner-notched and side-notched projectile point styles were recovered. Finally, 18 fragments of undecorated pottery were found on one site. Samson (ibid.: 81) proposed two hypotheses to explain the variability observed in lithic raw materials. The first postulates an increase in territorial mobility, while the second proposes that a "local band" using Ramah chert cohabited with neighbouring western bands in the George River region, resulting in an exchange of lithic materials.

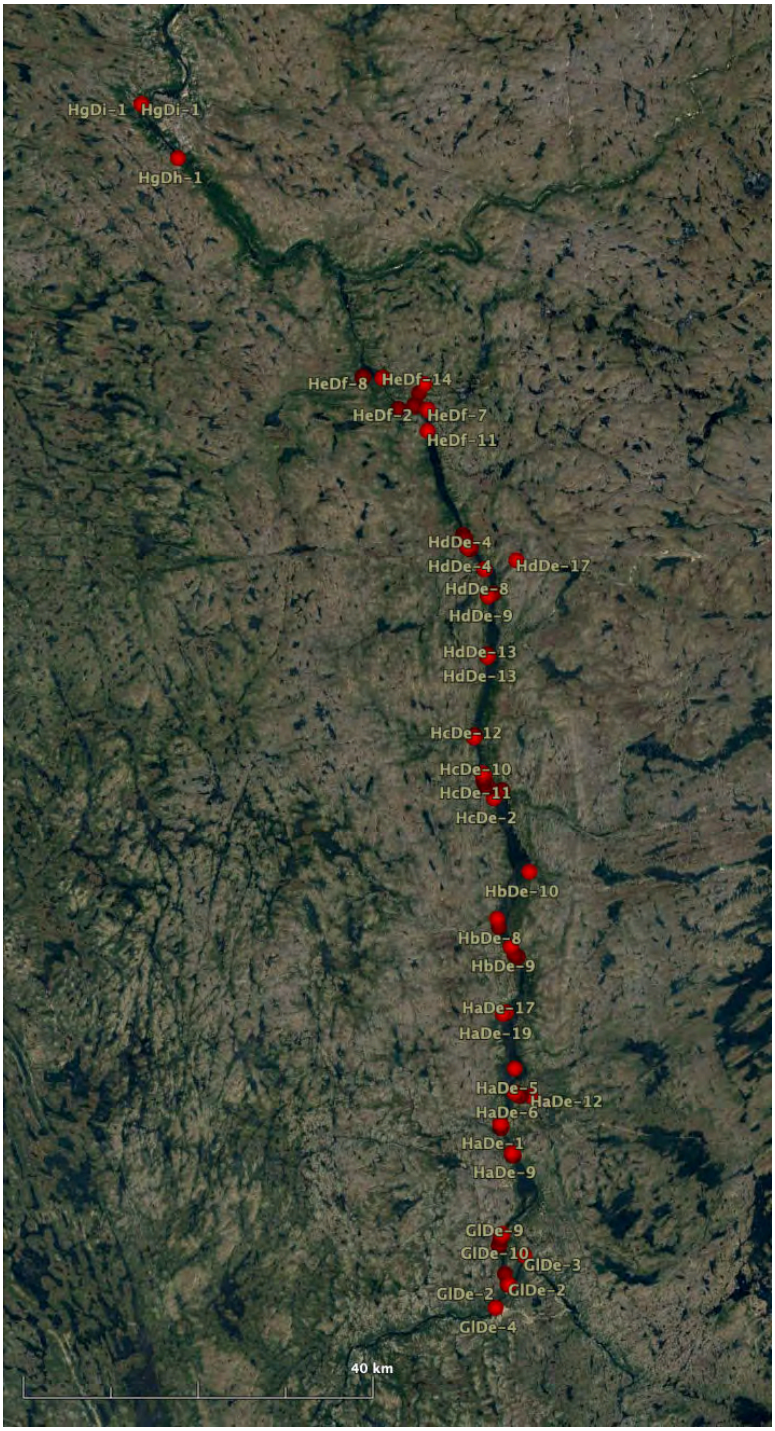

Figure 7.8: Archaeological sites in the Lake de la Hutte Sauvage (Mushuau Nipi) region.

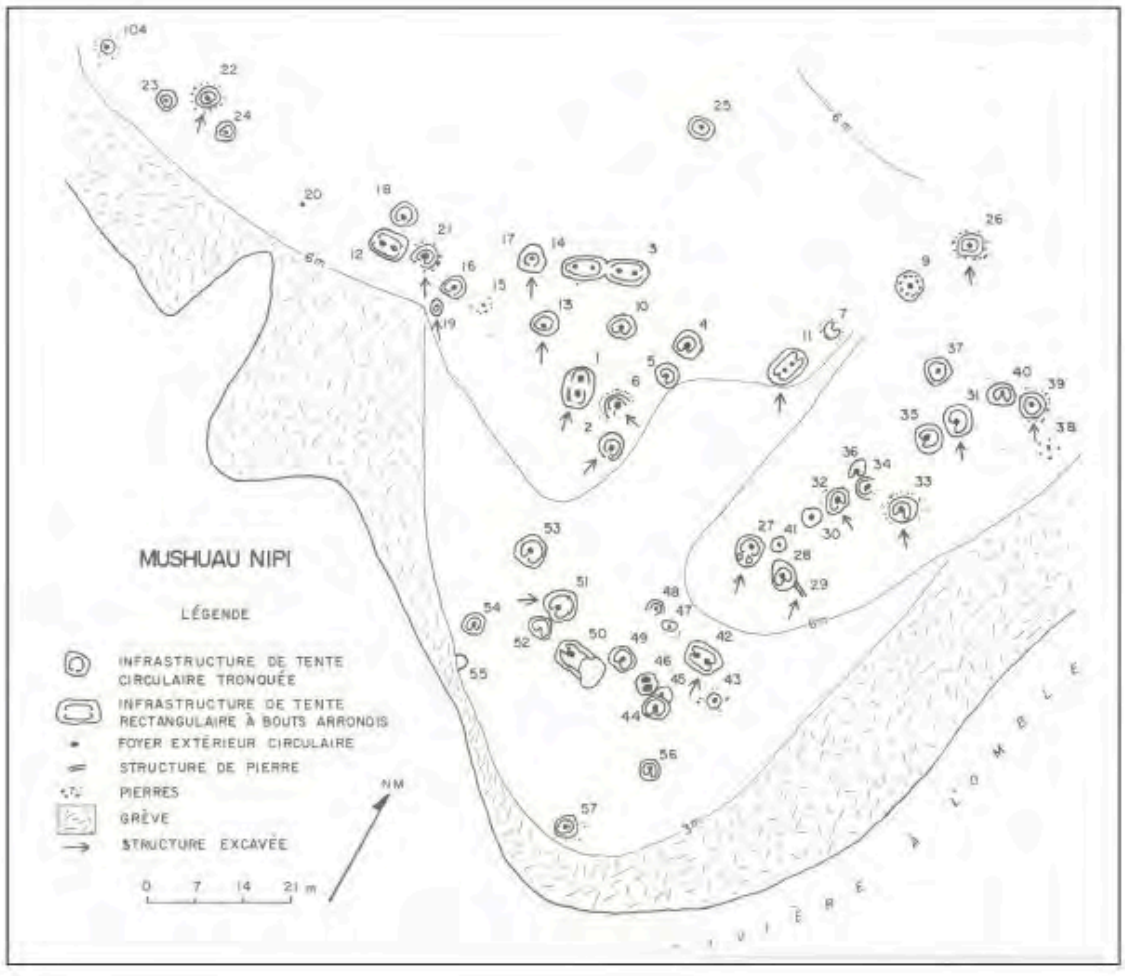

Figure 7.9: Density of historic house features on site HdDe-04, lobes 1 and 2, Lake de la Hutte Sauvage (Mushuau Nipi) (Samson 1983: 656).

Figure 7.10: Tshinuatipish on Lake de la Hutte Sauvage, 1910. Photo by William Brooks Cabot, Smithsonian Institution, 1910-73, Courtesy Stephen Loring.

No Early Historic period remains, from the 16th, 17th or 18th century, have as yet been recovered. The archaeological sequence of occupation ends with the historic Mushuau Innuts, a name used to refer to the group who occupied the Lake de la Hutte Sauvage (Mushuau Nipi) region from about the 1840s to the 1940s. During this time period, the region was also visited by groups from as far away as the North Shore and Fort Chimo. Close to 600 tent ring features have been attributed to this time period, attesting to the rich resource provided by a seasonal abundance of caribou (Pintal 2009: 36). After the 1940s, the Mushuau Innuts were subjected to several major relocations and ultimately settled in Schefferville in 1956 (with nearby Kawawachikamach built from 1980-1983) and Utshimassits (Davis Inlet) in 1967.

7.1.4 Southern sector

Central Labrador Trough

The availability of high-quality cherts in the Labrador Trough was investigated by David Denton and Moira McCaffrey in 1984, with McCaffrey continuing archaeological surveys from 1985 to 1987 (Denton and McCaffrey 1988; McCaffrey 1989a,b). Initial evidence that lithic materials from

Figure 7.11: Curated toolkit found on the surface of site GfDs-1 (Locus 8). Photo by M. McCaffrey.

this region were used in precontact times existed in the form of a large, finely chipped biface of light tan-coloured chert discovered by a geologist in the late 1960s at a chert breccia outcrop north of Schefferville. Consequently, during the summer of 1984, Denton and McCaffrey carried out a brief survey to investigate possible sources of chert in the region and to determine if some of the unidentified lithic materials recovered in the nearby Caniapiscau region came from the Labrador Trough. Using geological maps to predict locations of both chert sources and prehistoric sites, they discovered three lithic exploitation and workshop sites (GfDs-1 and 2, and GgDs-1) either directly at or near chert outcrops within the Fleming geological formation. A curated toolkit recovered from the surface of site GfDs-1 (Locus 8) suggested a surprisingly early date of 3500-2500 BP, as well as links with the Intermediate Precontact period of the Labrador coast (Denton and McCaffrey 1988).

McCaffrey continued fieldwork in 1985, returning to the above-mentioned sites to carry out further testing. She discovered and excavated a prehistoric campsite on Hameau Lake, GgDs-2, that provided evidence of lithic reduction further removed from an actual quarry zone. In 1986 and 1987, she expanded research south into western Labrador. Surveys covered some parts of Astray and Petitsikapau lakes, but were most productive at Menihek Lake, which actually com-

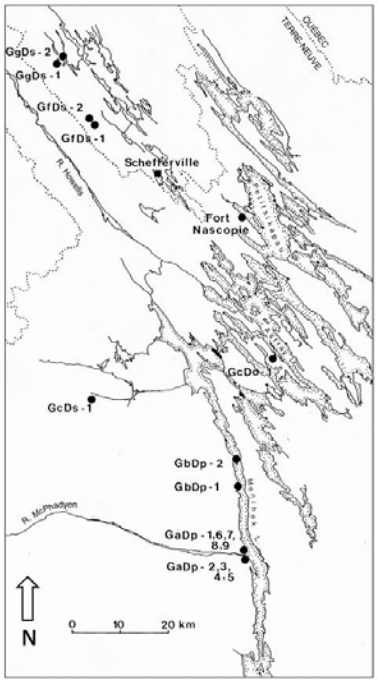

Figure 7.12: Archaeological sites discovered in the Schefferville region between 1984 and 1987.

prises three elongated, connecting lakes flowing north out of the Ashuanipi River and draining to the east, to eventually join the Hamilton River. Fourteen additional precontact sites were located, all of which demonstrated extensive use of local lithic raw materials. Many of the sites had been heavily eroded as a result of water level fluctuations since the construction, in the 1950s, of a dam to generate electricity for the town of Schefferville (McCaffrey 1989a,b).

The best preserved and most complex precontact site identified thus far in the region is the South Bank site (GaDp-2), located at the junction of the McPhadyen River and Menihek Lake, near a geological fault that exposed a number of chert-bearing formations. Lithic artifacts and flaking debris were found scattered along the shoreline from the rapids of the McPhadyen River to the junction with a small brook south of the river's outlet. The greatest concentration of archaeological material lay across the point and extended south to the brook, a distance of 250-300 metres. Parts of the site were tested in 1986 and 1987, and one feature in Zone D has been radiocarbon dated to 1040±90 BP (Beta-33568) (McCaffrey 1989a,b).

Further archaeological research was carried out in the central Labrador Trough during the 2000s when New Millenium Capital Corp. and LabMag GP proposed developing known extensive iron ore resources in northwestern Labrador. These plans, currently on hold, required numerous assessments of historic resources for parts of the Howells River Basin, Menihek Lakes, Ashuanipi, and Smallwood/Ossakmanuan reservoir areas between Churchill Falls and Esker (Mi-

Figure 7.13: Lazarus Nattawappio and Frank Scott examining a quartz outcrop west of Elross Lake (McCaffrey 2004: 21)

naskuat Limited Partnership 2006: i). In 2003, McCaffrey (2004) undertook a pre-feasibility study that involved collecting baseline information on known archaeological and historic resources in the region, as well as a nine-day preliminary field survey of certain parts of the proposed Howells River mine site. The fieldwork did not result in evidence of Precontact or Early Historic period sites—not surprising considering the region is characterized by low-lying shorelines and rocky terrain—though many campsites dating from the past 50 years were noted. Also, numerous high-quality chert outcrops were recorded, increasing our understanding of lithic resources available in the Labrador Trough.

Additional potential study and historic resources assessment work ensued (McCaffrey, Pintal, et al. 2006; Minaskuat Limited Partnership 2006) and was followed by archaeological fieldwork to investigate 95 defined high-potential zones within the project area. Testing led to the identification of 34 archaeological and ethnographic (contemporary) sites, of which 13 are Precontact period sites discovered along the slurry pipeline corridor, on the Ashuanipi River between Wightman and Menihek Lakes. The precontact sites in the southern portion, along the Ashuanipi River, appear to be small but undisturbed. Those identified in the Menihek Lake area were heavily eroded by flooding associated with the Menihek Dam, leaving lithic tools and flakes scattered across shorelines. Lithic materials at all precontact sites were dominated by Labrador Trough cherts. Additional outcrops of high-quality black and green chert were also investigated in the course of this fieldwork (Minaskuat Limited Partnership 2008).

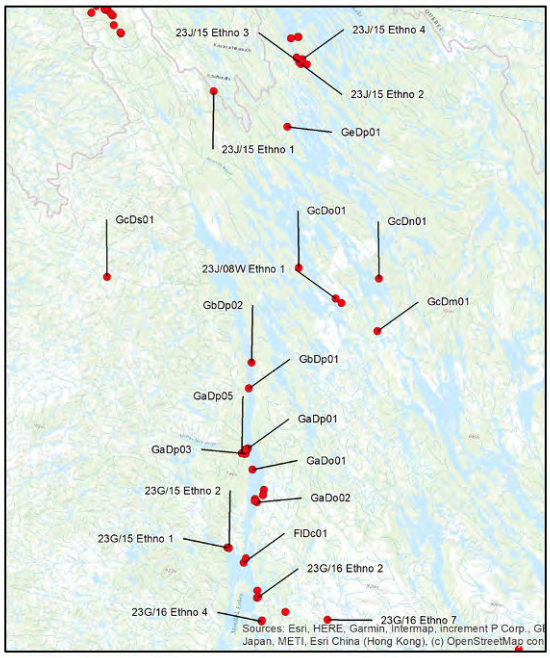

Figure 7.14: Archaeological sites found along the slurry pipeline corridor, Ashuanipi River (Minaskuat Limited Partnership 2008). Courtesy Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Figure 7.15: Precontact artifacts found during fieldwork in 2006. A, projectile point of milky-coloured chert, GaDo-02; B, C, D, biface fragments of green Labrador Trough chert, FgDn-02 and FhDn-03 (Minaskuat Limited Partnership 2008).

Figure 7.16: Carte du domaine du roy en Canada, 1731 by Father Pierre-Michel Laure, Jesuit missionary, showing Ashuanipi Lake (detail) (Laure 1731).

Ashuanipi Lake

Ashuanipi Lake is located south of Schefferville in Labrador, near the headwaters of the Moisie River. As such, the lake is well-situated along a north-south access between the interior and the Québec North Shore. Sources dating to the 18th century show that Ashuanipi was a place known to the Innu and Naskapi, traders, and priests prior to the 19th century establishment of trade across the peninsula by the Hudson Bay Company (Laure 1731). In 1991-1992, Niellon (1992) carried out documentary research and fieldwork at the request of the Labrador Heritage Society, which led to the identification of two archaeological sites.

In 2005-2006, Neilsen (2016) revisited these sites and carried out survey work on the lake resulting in the discovery of an additional 38 archaeological sites. Four of these sites – all multicomponent – were partially excavated. The project incorporated the personal knowledge of Innu and settlers who have direct experience with Ashuanipi Lake, and resulted in a synthesis of archaeological, historic, and local knowledge of the region (Brake 2009; Brake 2007; Neilsen 2016). The results show that Ashuanipi Lake was occupied multiple times over the past 1700 years. Neilsen (2016) thinks that earlier sites exist, but were not found due to a bias in the archaeological survey rather than from an absence of occupation.

Four occupation episodes were identified based on radiocarbon dates, artifact styles, and settlement patterns (ibid.). The oldest sites, dating between cal. 1700 and 1300 BP, are characterized by lithic tools and flaking debris, with Labrador Trough grey chert being the predominant tool-

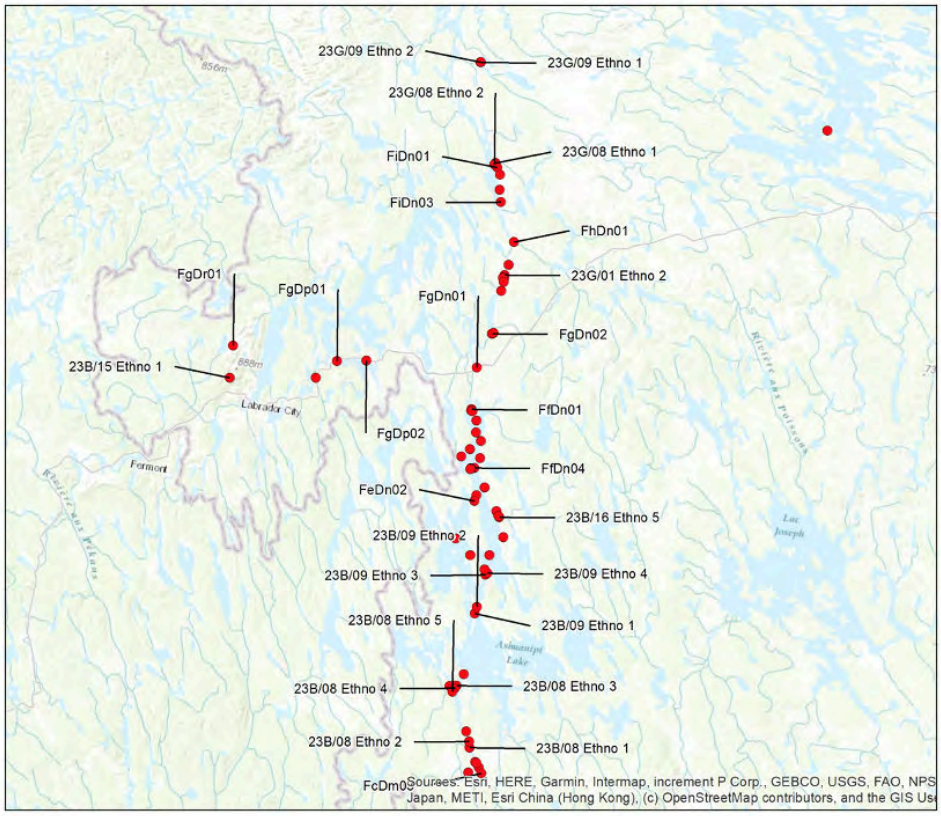

Figure 7.17: Archaeological sites in the Ashuanipi Lake region, Labrador. Courtesy Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Figure 7.18: Artifacts recovered on multi-component site FeDn-01, Ashuanipi Lake, dating from (clockwise from top left) the Precontact period, 18th century, 19th century, and 20th century (Neilsen 2016).

stone. A three hundred year period follows for which there is no evidence of occupation. During the next period, from cal. 1000 to 600 BP, occupations are smaller, show a wider range of Labrador Trough chert types, and for the first time include Ramah Chert, indicating links to a broader area. Based on historic artifacts recovered, a small number of sites date to AD 1700-1948 – a period that spans the installation of trading posts across the Québec-Labrador peninsula. The most recent period, beginning AD 1949, sees a jump in site numbers caused by the incorporation of the Iron Ore Company of Canada, and the construction of a railway between Uashat and Schefferville, opening up the region.

7.1.5 Southwestern and western sector

Caniapiscau Reservoir

The Caniapiscau Reservoir is situated in the easternmost sector of the La Grande hydroelectric complex. Before its artificial diversion towards the west, the Caniapiscau River flowed north into the Koksoak River and from there into Ungava Bay. In the regions now inundated by the Caniapiscau Reservoir, the river expanded into a series of inter-connected lakes, the largest being Caniapiscau and Delorme. Prior to flooding, these lakes were also not far from the source of principal rivers that flowed towards the south and southeast in the direction of the St. Lawrence River, and towards the west to James Bay and Hudson Bay.

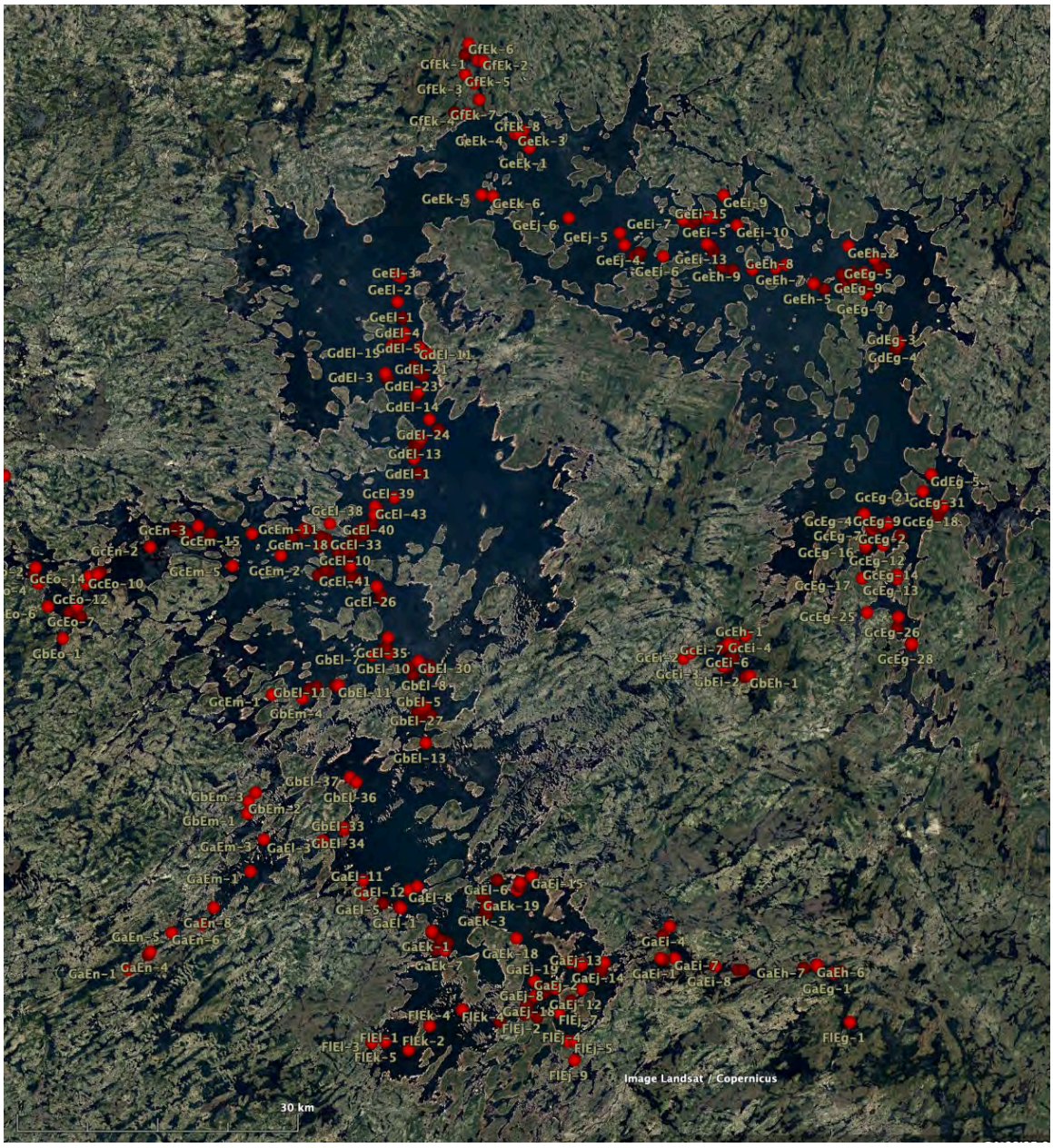

Figure 7.19: Archaeological sites in the Caniapiscau Reservoir.

Figure 7.20: Artifacts from site GeEl-1, Caniapiscau Reservoir. Photo by M. McCaffrey.

Historic period accounts emphasize the region's significance as a crossroads and meeting place on numerous important travel routes, and as a rich caribou hunting ground. During survey work directed by David Denton between 1976 and 1979, more than 315 archaeological sites were identified, of which more than one quarter (89) have precontact components or date to the early Contact period. Prior to the reservoir being flooded, which began in 1981 and was completed two years later, 36 Precontact or Contact period sites were either tested or excavated, while numerous fur trade period sites were mapped and documented. The results of this work indicate a long and complex history of precontact Indigenous occupation, which can be divided into three periods: the Early period (3500-2200 BP), the Intermediate period (2200-1300 BP), and the Recent period (1300-400 BP) (Denton, Mccaffrey, et al. 1984; Denton 1988, 1989; Denton, Pintal, et al. 1982).

The earliest radiocarbon date thus far in the Caniapiscau Reservoir, 3485±95 BP, comes from near Caniapiscau Lake, and was obtained from charcoal collected in a small pit feature on the multi-component site of GaEl-3. About 10 additional sites in the region produced radiocarbon dates situating them in this Early period between 3500 and 2200 years ago. Most of these sites are small, multi-component, and characterized by lithic and faunal remains associated with round or oval hearths. Also discovered, however, were a number of habitation sites with two associated hearths or a single extended hearth, probably signalling multi-family dwellings. Denton (1989) has suggested that the few bifaces and quartz points recovered, as well as the presence of Ramah quartzite on sites, suggest similarities to assemblages of the Intermediate period on the Labrador coast, dated to 3300-1750 BP.

Figure 7.21: Pottery fragments from site GcEl-1, Caniapiscau Reservoir. Photo by M. McCaffrey.

The Intermediate Precontact period, dating to between 2200 and 1300 BP, is represented by a small number of sites, giving the general impression that this period was one of sporadic occupation, during which the central interior was less frequented. The few known sites appear to show affiliations with the Daniel Rattle complex, a cultural manifestation identified by archaeologists working on the central Labrador coast (Cérane Inc. 1995; Denton 1988, 1989, 2012).

By 1300 years ago, dated sites in the Caniapiscau Reservoir and, in fact, from across the La Grande complex attest to a dramatic increase in the amount and intensity of occupation, suggesting a Recent Precontact period "florescence" of eastern Subarctic adaptation in northern Québec. New elongated habitations make an appearance: longhouses measuring from six to 12 metres in length. Elongated hearths or alignments of hearths are found within the habitations, with as many as four occurring in some structures. These longhouses, called *saaputuwaan*s after the historic Innu-Naskapi analogue, may indicate the presence of bands using a cooperative strategy for hunting caribou and for exploiting and sharing other resources. The occupants of these houses were the ancestors of the present-day Cree, Innu, and Naskapi peoples (Denton 1989, 2012; McCaffrey 2011).

Lake des Loups-Marin (a Paleo-Inuit site in the far interior)

Archaeological research along the Arctic coastline of Québec has led to the discovery of Paleo-Inuit and Inuit sites going back thousands of years. The earliest occupations date to about 4000 to 3500 years ago, and mark the arrival of Early Paleo-Inuit peoples (also called Pre-Dorset). The period from about 2300 to 800 BP is characterized by sites attributed to Late Paleo-Inuit groups (also called Classic Dorset and Late Dorset). Sometime around 750 BP, a new group arrived in the

region. Named Thule by archaeologists, these people are the direct ancestors of the Nunavimmiut, the Inuit of Nunavik (Avataq Cultural Institute 2015; Morantz 2016).

There are numerous historic references to Inuit groups travelling inland to hunt caribou. For example, a written account dating to 1820 by HBC trader James Clouston describes a tense encounter between Naskapi hunters and a group of "Esquimeaux" in an umiaq (large skin boat), who were described as regularly coming to the mouth of the Caniapiscau River in fall to hunt caribou (Davies and Johnson 1963: 57-58). For the period beginning in the 1830s, Morantz (2016) cites many instances of Inuit based at Fort Chimo heading inland to hunt caribou, though these forays do not appear to have taken them very far from the coast. Vézinet (1980), drawing mainly on fieldwork and unpublished sources, provides a detailed description of Inuit groups that formerly used the resources of the northern Québec interior.

In fact, the wide band of territory extending west to east between the Ungava Bay coast and the project area has received little archaeological attention. As a result, we are unsure if Paleo-Inuit or Inuit archaeological sites exist in this inland zone. Nevertheless, a possible Paleo-Inuit site has been recorded in the far interior to the west of the project area (Archéotec 1994; Archéotec Inc. 1993; Gilbert 2006). Site HdFj-1 is situated on a point of land protruding into the middle of Lake des Loups-Marins, a widening of the Nastapoka River, which flows into Hudson Bay near Umiujaq. Excavations in Zones A and B of the site revealed the presence of two unusual features best described as rectangular dwellings approximately 9 by 6 m in size. Both have prominent bulges, formed with sand and humus, around the perimeters and defining two separate interior spaces. Though not typical, these habitation forms suggest a Paleo-Inuit (Dorset) origin rather than a Cree, Innu, or Naskapi one.

Lithic artifacts and flakes recovered during excavations were inconclusive in attributing a Paleo-Inuit affiliation, though the presence of Ramah chert and Nastapoka chert, combined with local quartzites, implied a wide-ranging lithic procurement network. A small number of bones found in a hearth were identified as caribou, and in fact, the location is still on a well worn caribou path. Radiocarbon dates obtained from charcoal in one of the hearths were also inconclusive. Nevertheless, Archéotec (1994) has proposed that the date of 810 BP may accurately reflect the period when the site was created, linking it to a Late Paleo-Inuit (Late Dorset) presence. If this tentative identification is eventually confirmed, it would point to a far interior penetration of a Late Paleo-Inuit group, likely in the context of seasonal travel to hunt caribou and exploit other interior resources.

7.2 Precontact period

The region of Cambrien Lake and Nachikapau Lake has received very limited archaeological attention in the past, with the exception of previously described work in the vicinity of Fort McKenzie. Nevertheless, archaeological projects have taken place in many locations surrounding the project area, providing evidence of a long and complex history of life in the northern interior of Québec-Labrador. In order to assist with determining zones of high archaeological potential, and to situate possible discoveries within a framework of current knowledge, the following section presents a brief overview of the cultural and chronological sequence as presently understood for the vast northern interior. The text is based largely on publications by Denton (2012) and Holly and McCaffrey (2012), as well as on a few other works (Bibeau, Denton, and Burroughs 2015; McCaffrey 2006; McCaffrey 2011). Additional references are cited where appropriate.

Archaeologists divide time into arbitrary units in order to describe archaeological manifestations in regions where they have collected and analyzed site data. To facilitate this, they look for patterns of continuity or discontinuity in series of radiocarbon dates. They also track the typologies, or diagnostic shapes, of stone tools such as projectile points, and record preferences in the types of stone used to make tools. The appearance of distinctive technologies such as pottery, as well as differences in habitation features like hearth construction, can also serve as cultural and temporal indicators.

Archaeologists assign names to these artificial divisions. From the general to the specific, a "tradition" represents a broad cultural pattern evident over time and space. A "period" refers to a temporal subdivision, while a "complex" is used to describe a unique, often short-lived pattern. These labels are preceded by distinctive nomenclature, usually evoking the environment in which many of the type-sites were found (i.e., Maritime Archaic tradition) or adopting local place names (i.e., Point Revenge complex).

At present, there is no accepted sequence of occupation periods that unifies the entire Precontact period in northern Québec-Labrador. For the purposes of this discussion, we generally follow the periods defined by Denton (2012), with the addition of a Prelude. Similarly, as there are currently no Indigenous names for time periods that are in use across the region, a simple division into “periods” has been adopted here.

7.2.1 Prelude

The oldest sites in the northern interior of Québec-Labrador have been found in the Kamestastin Lake region of Labrador, situated southeast of Lake de la Hutte Sauvage. Over the last decade,

Figure 7.22: Artifacts from site GlCs-08 Area C, Mistasuapi Component, Kamestastin (Jenkinson et al. 2021: 108, 113).

archaeological investigations have produced a suite of radiocarbon dates, which combined with the discovery of distinctive projectile points, confirm that people have been using this area from the time of deglaciation to the present, a period spanning 7500 years. The artifacts recovered tend to be made from quartz and Ramah chert, but the presence of other as yet unidentified lithic materials suggests possible connections to more distant parts of the peninsula (Arbour et al. 2018; Jenkinson 2019, 2020; Jenkinson et al. 2021).

Northwest of Kamestastin Lake, in the Lake de la Hutte Sauvage region, Samson (1978: 187-191) identified sites that appear to be short-term quartz workshops and lookout stations used during fall caribou migrations. He has suggested an affiliation with Maritime Archaic occupations on the Labrador coast dating to between 7000 and 6000 BP, although no radiocarbon dates were obtained to confirm this. In the case of both Kamestastin and Lake de la Hutte Sauvage (Mushuau Nipi), these early occupations appear to result from groups coming in to the interior from the Labrador coast to hunt caribou. It remains to be seen if sites this early will be found in the central and western parts of the peninsula, along the margins of postglacial marine incursions and postglacial lakes. Certainly, the potential for such a discovery exists.

7.2.2 Period 1: 5000-3200 BP

At present, the earliest time period with evidence of numerous sites in different parts of the northern interior extends from 5500 to 3200 BP. In general, the sites are small, often with assemblages dominated by locally available quartz. Nevertheless, a number of these early sites contain lithics from distant sources, including Ramah chert and Mistassini quartzite. Some sites may represent seasonal incursions into the interior by groups established on the Labrador coast and Québec North Shore; but others suggest affinities with cultural manifestations best known from southern Québec, such as the Laurentian Archaic tradition. These latter sites, along with the growing significance of interior lithic materials such as Mistassini quartzite, imply more frequent encounters between southern, eastern, and western peoples in the interior and perhaps the ethnogenesis of interior groups.

Recent discoveries in areas further south have produced very early dates and suggest the possibility that old sites associated with post-glacial landforms might be located in the project area. In Sheshatshiu, Labrador, Jenkinson et al. (2021) has reported on a number of sites situated on the highest of a series of terraces, which have produced calibrated radiocarbon dates of about 5000 BP. To the southwest, a small number of sites in the Eastmain-1 Reservoir and Rupert Diversion have returned very early calibrated dates, including the earliest for the region at 5400 BP (Archéotec Inc. 2014; Letendre 2015). Finally, an unusual site was recently discovered about 30 km inland from the Cree community of Waskaganish on James Bay. Situated on a post-glacial shoreline of the Tyrrell Sea, the Sanders Pond site (EhGo-1) produced an extensive collection of ground stone tools, as well as diagnostic artifacts made from Ramah chert, suggesting an affiliation with the Rattlers Bight Complex in Labrador. Radiocarbon dates support this, with (Izaguirre et al. 2017) contending that the site was occupied for a short time around 4300 or 4200 years ago.

The period from about 4000 to 3200 BP, is marked by an increase in the number of sites identified, a greater diversity of site features, and an intensification in the use of Mistassini quartzite as a preferred lithic material. In fact, some of these sites may result from groups travelling north to acquire this stone at the source on Lacs Mistassini and Albanel. Sites from this time period are mainly situated on the western side of the peninsula, in zones that have undergone extensive archaeological research due to hydroelectric development: Eastmain-1 and the Rupert Diversion; Reservoirs Robert-Bourassa, LG-3, LG-4, Laforge, and Caniapiscau; and Grande Baleine River and Lake Bienville. In the east, a number of sites dating to Period I have been identified at Lake de la Hutte Sauvage, Kamestastin, and Sheshatshiu. As was the case for earlier sites, connections with the Labrador coast can be seen in artifact styles and lithic materials.

Figure 7.23: Chipped and ground stone artifacts from the Sanders Pond site (EhGo-1) near Waskaganish (right) compared with artifacts from the Rattlers Bight site in Labrador (left) (Izaguirre et al. 2017: Fig. 13).

Figure 7.24: Artifacts from site GfFo-1, Grande Baleine River. Photo by M. McCaffrey.

Figure 7.25: Artifacts from site GaFf-1, LG-4 Reservoir. Photo by M. McCaffrey

The two sites discussed below offer an indication of the complexity and unique character of occupations dating to this time period. The enigmatic site GfFo-1 was discovered on the Grande Baleine River, about 220 km from the Hudson Bay coast. Although the site was severely disturbed by construction activities, archaeologists were able to map and surface collect a vast number of stone tools that included projectile points of Nastapoka chert, ground stone adzes and gouges, and a ground stone crescent-shaped pendent. The site could not be radiocarbon dated, but is thought to date from about 4000 to 3700 BP based on typology. The gouges and distinctive pendant show similarities to artifacts found in Laurentian Archaic contexts far south and east of Grand Baleine (Archéotec Inc. 1993).

In the LG-4 Reservoir, excavations at GaFf-1, a large workshop site, uncovered dense concentrations of quartz flaking debris associated with 10 hearths. Five radiocarbon dates obtained from a single hearth were averaged to about 3200 B.P. Of particular interest was the recovery of 12 sidenotched projectile points with convex bases, as well as 18 scrapers. The majority of the artifacts appear to be made of Hudson Bay Lowland chert, suggesting that the groups who occupied GaFf-1 travelled to the site from regions far to the southwest (Archéotec Inc. 1985).

7.2.3 Period II: 3200 to 2300 BP

The period that follows the initial occupation of the northern Québec-Labrador interior is a challenging one to follow. Sites seem dispersed and somewhat amorphous, and long-distance exchange networks involving toolstone seem curtailed. The overall impression of this period is one

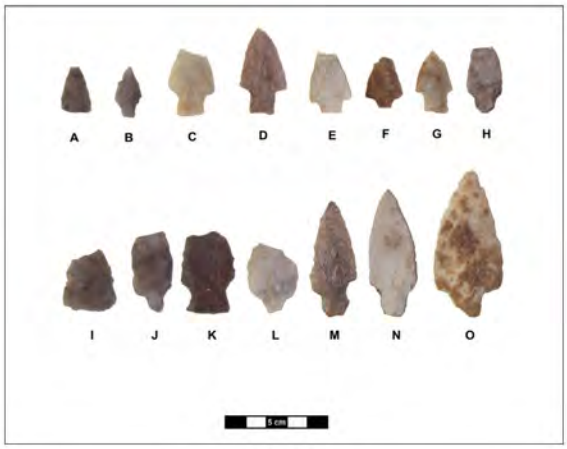

Figure 7.26: Artifacts from site FfCi-02 Locus A, Churchill River-Muskrat Falls, Labrador (Stassinu Stantec Limited Partnership 2019a: 82).

of change from the previous era. In fact, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that something important happened at the end of Period I both in the interior and on the coast, as the presence of Indigenous peoples during Period II is less easy to trace, and there are gaps in the archaeological record. Of course, low site visibility could also reflect a highly mobile lifestyle, and lack of archaeological research in many parts of the peninsula. Nevertheless, a similar trend has been documented during this time period throughout the Northeast. Fiedel (2001) has suggested that environmental change may be to blame, with two severe cooling episodes serving to undermine traditional subsistence economies. This in turn would account for a reduction in sites and artifact assemblages, smaller habitation sites, and a contraction of exchange networks.

Despite such evidence, the presence of Indigenous groups during this period has been documented in many parts of the northern interior. On the eastern side of the peninsula, numerous sites at Lake de la Hutte Sauvage (Mushuau Nipi) are thought to date to between 3500 and 2000 BP. Lithic assemblages consist primarily of quartz debitage accompanied by large bifaces of both Ramah chert and local quartzite. Once again caribou hunting appears to have been the main focus of the occupants. Samson (1978: 191) believes that these sites relate to the Intermediate period on the Labrador coast.

A stronger presence is felt further south in the Sheshatshiu region, where lithic assemblages generally reflect a local character, and connections have also been drawn to Intermediate period sites in Hamilton Inlet and on the Labrador coast (Jenkinson et al. 2021). Recent archaeological work on the lower Churchill River has revealed a small number of sites that produced distinctive stone tools and lithic materials, with radiocarbon dates linking them to early phases (3000-2500

Figure 7.27: Cache blades from site GcFb-22, Lake Vincelotte, Laforge Reservoir. Photo by M. McCaffrey.

BP) of the Intermediate period as defined in Labrador(Stassinu Stantec Limited Partnership 2019a: 125).

A number of occupations dating to this time period have been recorded for the Caniapiscau Reservoir, while others in the Laforge Reservoir date to between 3200 and 2700 BP. In the Caniapiscau Reservoir, a range of hearth styles has been noted. For example, some are characterized by a large "platform" composed of stones covered in red ochre (GcEl-19); others consist of a cobble pavement (also at site GcEl-19); while a third hearth type has a hearth surrounded by large flat stones (GcEl-3). In general, habitations are assumed to have been round or oblong. In the eastern part of the peninsula, sites in the Eastmain-1 and Rupert Diversion are similarly small and dominated by the presence of Mistassini quartzite. On sites further north, although less prevalent, this toolstone is usually present on sites, increasing in use towards the end of Period II.

The northern interior of Québec-Labrador has never been an isolated region (despite stereotypes), and this remains true during Period II, when there is evidence for the penetration of ideas and materials from far to the west and south. On an island in Lake Vincelotte in the Laforge Reservoir, archaeologists recorded a distinctive feature on site GcFb-22. Fifty-nine bifaces, primarily of Nastapoka chert from the Hudson Bay coast, had been intentionally burnt in a fire. Charcoal from the deposit produced a date of about 2700 BP. The shape of the bifaces, known as cache blades, and the apparent ceremonial context in which they were found, led (Cérane Inc. 1995: 371-378) to propose a connection with the Meadowood Interaction Sphere—an exchange network with a strong ritual component, which favoured the circulation of highly valued mate-

rials and artifacts. Meadowood features have been found across the Northeast, usually involving cache blades made from Onondaga chert originating in southern Ontario and western New York State. Nevertheless, characteristic Meadowood tools made from Mistassini quartzite have been recovered on numerous sites in southern Québec. According to (Taché 2011), the circulation of cache blades and prized materials such as marine shell, native copper, and Mistassini quartzite may be linked to long-distance trade in perishable materials, perhaps furs coming from the northern forests of Ontario and Québec. This occurrence hints at the formation of new social relations at a time of significant demographic, environmental, and social change in the region.

7.2.4 Period III: 2300-400 BP

The past 2000 years of Indigenous life in the eastern Subarctic, referred to as the Recent Precontact period, represents another era of significant social transformation. In the vast interior of Québec-Labrador there is a marked increase in the number of sites, evidence for territorial expansion, and invigoration of long-distance lithic exchange networks after 2000 BP. In fact, the wide-ranging distribution of lithic materials during this time period, such as Ramah chert and Mistassini quartzite, can be seen as evidence of an ancient pattern of movement that Mailhot (1986b) has called "structured mobility". Cultural continuity is clear between the groups who created these sites and today's Cree, Innu, and Naskapi, though there is also evidence for the arrival of new influences into the region, especially from points south and west.

Long-linear hearth features appear at this time too, becoming common throughout the region by 1300 BP and widespread by 700 BP. Usually associated with *saaputuwan*s—elongated dwellings used by the Cree, Innu, and Naskapi—linear hearths may reflect the cooperation of multifamily groups who gathered to share information, hunt together, and process meat, hides, grease, and bone. Some may also be the remains of *makushan*s, ritual feasts to honour important animals such as caribou, beaver, and geese. The appearance of elongated houses during an era of expansion, technological innovation, and social change cannot be coincidental: the act of gathering together around multiple hearths within a single habitation must have played an important role in these transformations. In that regard, it is interesting to note that in about 1600 BP, a general cooling period began with a concomitant opening of the forest, formation of forest tundra, and a proliferation of caribou.

This period is also marked by the first appearance of clay pots in the western half of northern Québec-Labrador. These early ceramics resemble styles from southern Ontario, the St. Lawrence Valley, and the Maritimes. Three sites in the Eastmain-1 Reservoir, one site in the Rupert Derivation, and a site further south in Lake au Goéland on the Waswanipi River contained pottery

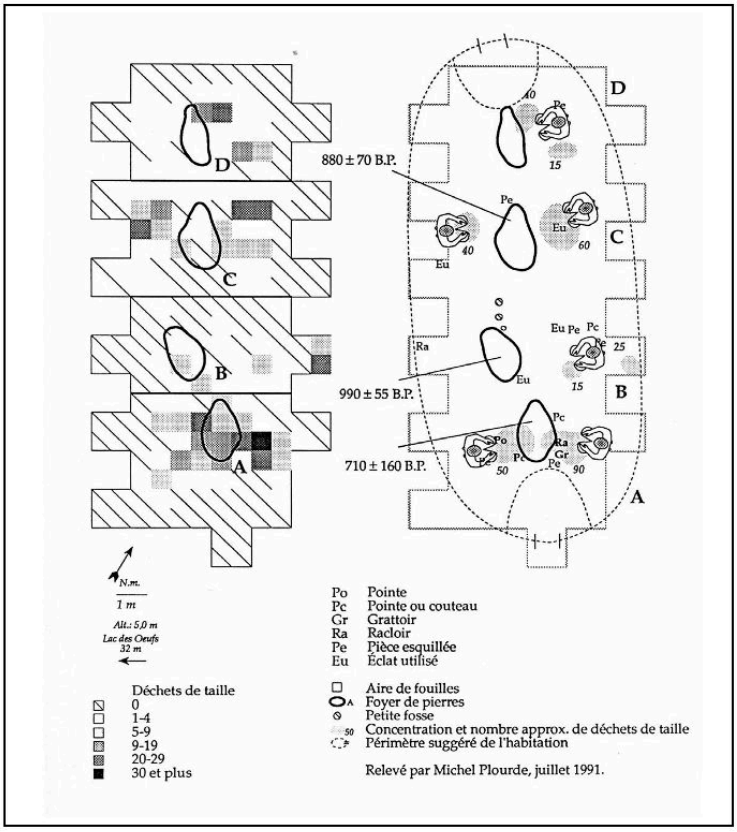

Figure 7.28: Floor plan of an extended habitation or longhouse with four aligned hearths (Cérane Inc. 1995: 356).

decorated around the rim with fine stamped and impressed designs that are associated with the Laurel complex. This pottery style was made, used, and traded across a broad area of northern Manitoba and northeastern Ontario, and from there into the Abitibi region of Québec and northward.

In contrast to the southwestern part of the peninsula, where the number of sites increases, the northwestern plateau sees less evidence of occupation during this period compared to the previous one. In Caniapiscau, for the 600 year period spanning 2200 to 1600 BP, only one radiocarbon-dated site was discovered, GeEl-1. This site displays strong affinities with the Point Revenge complex on the Labrador coast, as shown by the presence of Ramah chert and diagnostic artifacts such as a finely-worked square-based biface. This is also the first site discovered in the Caniapiscau Reservoir with an extended hearth composed of three combustion zones – characteristic of sites dating to more recently than 1600 BP. The longhouse structure at this site is thought to have measured six meters long by four meters wide.

In southern Labrador, intensive archaeological work on the lower Churchill River is providing new understandings of the Precontact period that promise to inform our views of past life across the peninsula. The Lower Churchill Project involves the development of a hydroelectric dam, reservoir, and associated infrastructure at Muskrat Falls on the largest river in Labrador. Between 2012 and 2017, archaeologists completed surface-recordings and excavations at 45 sites with Precontact components. On the basis of radiocarbon dates, the most intensive period of occupation took place between 2000 and 1400 BP. Although still under analysis, the picture emerging from these sites is a complex one suggesting that the south side of Muskrat Falls was as an important gathering place for a broad network of regional groups with far-flung connections to the north, west, and south (Stassinu Stantec Limited Partnership 2019a: 123-125)

For example, structural data from house features include evidence for linear hearths, as well as for single-family dwellings measuring five to six meters in diameter, which in some cases include low earthen perimeter walls. Most sites exhibit a unique combination of features including artifact styles resembling both Intermediate and Recent Precontact forms; the use of lithic raw materials currently associated with the Intermediate period on the Labrador coast (Saunders chert, rhyolite, and coarse-grained quartzites); and the presence of small but significant quantities of lithic material from distant sources, including Newfoundland cherts, Labrador Trough cherts, Mistassini quartzite, and other lithics of unknown origin. Unexpectedly, 10 of these sites contained ceramic sherds—three yielded sizeable collections, and two showed possible evidence for local manufacture of clay pots. Some of the precontact ceramics are shaped and decorated in styles consistent with the Middle Woodland Period further south (ibid.).

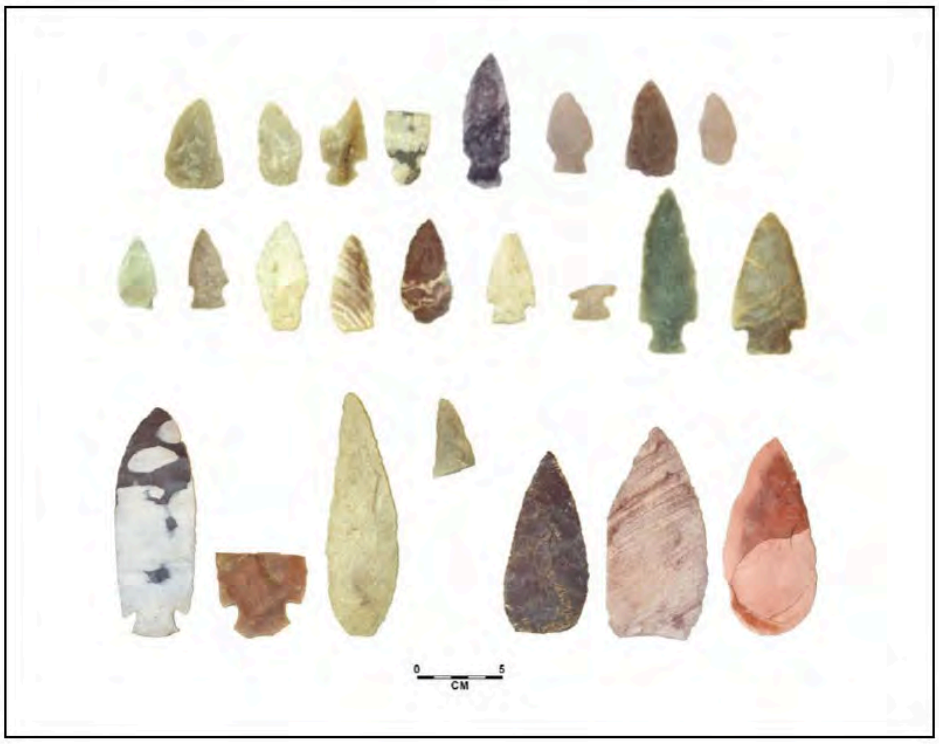

Figure 7.29: Selected projectile points and bifaces from sites on the south side of Muskrat Falls, Labrador (Stassinu Stantec Limited Partnership 2019a: 53-54).

Figure 7.30: Artist's rendition of site FlFo-1, LG-3 Reservoir (Séguin 1985: 156).

Figure 7.31: Small projectile points probably used to tip arrows, from site GaEj-1, Caniapiscau Reservoir. Photo by M. McCaffrey.

Back on the western side of the peninsula, the period from about 1000-600 BP is characterized by a continued increase in the number of sites and frequency of multiple occupations. The use of small projectile points becomes widespread, suggesting that bows and arrows were the preferred hunting weapon. A remarkable site, FlFo-1, was discovered on the Mintobakwoustikw River in the LG-3 reservoir, in a zone where surface vegetation had been destroyed by a forest fire. The site had 33 hearths varying in size, spread across different types of habitations, while the lack of overlap suggested a single occupation with as many as 100 to 150 people present. Excavations provided a radiocarbon date of about 600 BP, and revealed tools made from Mistassini quartzite and Hudson Bay Lowland chert, as well as sherds of distinctive pottery decorated with cord-wrapped stick designs. The hearths were filled with calcined bone. While all contained caribou bones, some hearths also held small quantities of beaver, muskrat, porcupine, bear or wolf, birds and fish. The scale of this site is unique, and it is sobering to realize that evidence for a gathering of this size might have gone undiscovered had it not been for a forest fire (Séguin 1985).

In the final phase of the Precontact period, from 600 to 400 years ago, the number and size of sites continues to increase. Lithic assemblages are characterized by small projectile points, in a range of materials, that were certainly used with a bow and arrow. On a number of sites, notably GaEj-01B in the Caniapiscau Reservoir, these stone points were found with European trade goods, indicating an occupation dating to the 17th century. Pottery found on sites dating to this period on the western side of the peninsula reveals the existence of links with the Huron-Wendats in southern Ontario. Interestingly, pottery dating from about 800 to 400 BP discovered

in Abitibi is exclusively Huron-Wendat in style. Côté and Inksetter (2001) defined the strong presence of Huron pottery in Abitibi as the "Mamiwinnik phase", and suggested that this event provides evidence for the participation of Algonquin people in a vast economic network exploited by the Huron-Wendats and their allies. As was the case so many times in the past, the impact of new peoples, materials, and opportunities was felt far into and across the northern interior.

7.3 Contact period

Cut scraps of copper and brass, blue and white glass beads, an iron knife—these and other harbingers of change have been found on a small number of archaeological sites identified to-date in the northern interior. They made their way north, exchanged from group to group or carried by intrepid travellers, after the arrival of Europeans on the coasts of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. The impact of these new materials, and more importantly, of the fur trade into which northern groups were drawn by Europeans, would be profound – an encounter with lasting consequences that continue to be researched and assessed. As Denton (2015: 256) has pointed out, "The major questions remain: what were the effects of European contact and how did people help shape or adapt to the new possibilities and challenges introduced by the fur trade?"

This section explores archaeological evidence for early contact between Europeans, or their trade goods, and the Naskapi, Innu, and Cree peoples in the northern interior of Québec-Labrador, specifically in regions close to the project area. The focus is on determining characteristics of these sites to assist with identifying zones of high archaeological potential in the project area, and to aid in recognizing contact period sites while carrying out surveys in the field.

7.3.1 Arrival of Europeans

Over the past few decades, archaeological fieldwork and research into European archival sources have greatly expanded our knowledge of early European explorations and interactions in the far Northeast (Denton 2015; Dufour 1996; Fitzgerald et al. 1995; Francis and Morantz 1983; Loewen and Chapdelaine 2016; Lytwyn 2002; Mailhot 1986a; Morantz 1983, 1991; Moreau 1994; Moreau 1998; Ray 1996; Turgeon 1997, 2001). The summary that follows is largely based on these publications.

Beginning on the east coast of the peninsula around 1400 AD, the social landscape of Labrador was abruptly transformed. Thule people, ancestors of the contemporary Inuit, reached the northern coast of Labrador and travelled as far south as Saglek Fiord. As they continued to push south, the late Dorset culture (people from an earlier Arctic migration) disappeared (Loring 1992: 13-14).

During the 16th century, the arrival of European fishing and whaling vessels along the Labrador and Newfoundland coasts and in the Strait of Belle Isle brought about a further period of change. Lured onward by the prospects for trading and raiding, Thule groups were eventually able to exercise control over nearly the entire coast.

Late Precontact groups (ancestors of today's Naskapi, Innu, and Cree) were forced to make social and economic adjustments. The low archaeological visibility of Late Precontact period groups on the Labrador coast and Lower North Shore of Québec during the Early Contact period suggests that they turned increasingly towards the interior. Nevertheless, sightings recorded in historic accounts indicate that groups continued to make occasional forays to the coast, and skirmishes with Europeans are still remembered in Innu oral tradition (Mailhot 1997: 7). In the late 1530s, French and Spanish Basques began fishing and hunting whales in the Strait of Belle Isle, and eventually at a number of sites along the North Shore (Loewen and Chapdelaine 2016). Their presence, combined with that of the Thule, ruptured a long-established pattern of interaction and exchange between the ancestors of the Innu on the Lower North Shore and of the Beothuk in Newfoundland (Pintal et al. 2001).

An ever increasing number of European ships sailed the waters of the St. Lawrence River from about 1550 to 1650, with Tadoussac as their main port of call (Plourde 2016). Basque whalers were followed by predominantly Norman and Breton vessels, and then by merchants of the largely Parisian-based Company of One Hundred Associates. By the turn of the 16th century, hundreds of European vessels were engaged in commercial activities with Indigenous peoples that included trading copper and brass kettles, axes and knives, glass beads and clothing, for animal pelts. A collection of glass beads from Tadoussac in the McCord Museum, Montréal, includes examples from all early glass bead periods identified in the Northeast, covering the time span from 1580 to the 1650s.

From their first arrival on the Québec North Shore, and especially in the Tadoussac region, news and evidence of Europeans was no doubt carried northward along the many river routes leading far into the interior. By 1671 French merchants from Tadoussac had penetrated up the Saguenay to establish two posts—one at Lake Saint-Jean and the other at Chicoutimi. By 1694 Louis Jolliet had built fur trading and fishing establishments at Sept-Îles, Mingan and Île d'Anticosti. Complicating the Contact period picture along the St. Lawrence is an increasingly well-documented Iroquois presence. Although we have long known that St. Lawrence Iroquoians were making seasonal use of coastal resources along the North Shore until their disappearance in the late 16th century, archaeological evidence now suggests that this pattern, or possibly one involving trade and interaction between Late Woodland Iroquois groups and Innu ancestors on the North Shore,

Figure 7.32: Glass beads discovered in the Tadoussac region, (clockwise from bottom left: Period I 1580-1600; Period II 1600-1630; Period III 1630-1650s). McCord Museum.

may have been well-established long before the arrival of Europeans (Pintal 2005; Plourde 2001, 2016).

On the eastern side of the Québec-Labrador peninsula, the earliest recorded contact between Indigenous peoples and Europeans took place in 1611, when a (presumably Cree) man boarded Henry Hudson's ice-bound ship near the mouth of the Rupert River and exchanged furs and hides for trade goods consisting of a knife, a looking-glass, a handful of buttons, and an axe. Historic accounts indicate that by 1661, Indigenous people from the James Bay region were travelling to Québec in search of a missionary, and in 1671 the Oblate Father Charles Albanel departed from Tadoussac and crossed the height-of-land to the Rupert River and finally James Bay, presumably following an ancient travel and trade route described by Champlain in 1603. There he encountered groups of Indigenous people who had been terrorized by Iroquois raids. In the interim, the British established Charles Fort at the mouth of the Rupert River in 1668, solidifying their presence in the region and presaging the birth two years later of the Hudson's Bay Company (Francis and Morantz 1983; Moreau, Guindon, et al. 2016).

7.3.2 European trade goods in the far interior

In contrast with the many identified sites dating from the 19th and 20th century fur trade period, a surprisingly small number of archaeological sites with early European trade goods have been found to-date by archaeologists. For example, following the results of survey and excavation work on the Churchill River, archaeologists confirmed that Indigenous archaeological sites dating from the mid-17th to the mid-19th centuries have rarely been identified in interior Labrador (Minaskuat Limited Partnership 2008: 12). Similarly, Denton (2015: 256) has recently discussed the dearth of archaeological sites dating to the early fur trade period on the northwestern side of the peninsula. He (and a host of other archaeologists) argue that this is due to a sampling problem in certain instances, lack of survey work in others, and the challenges of identifying sites through subsurface testing without the benefit of lithic debris so prevalent on precontact sites. See also, (Archéotec Inc. 1985; Cérane Inc. 1992; Denton 1994, 2015; Séguin 1985).

Despite the aforementioned challenges, a number of Contact period sites have been discovered, which are both large and complex, suggesting the presence and interaction of many individuals and groups. They are primarily situated in the central to western interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. A brief summary of this evidence is presented below.

In the Caniapiscau Reservoir to the west of the project area, excavations at a remarkable site (GaEj-1) revealed the remains of an enormous elongated *saaputuwaan* (or elongated lodge), measuring 32 metres in length and six metres in width (Denton 1989: 62). Six hearths were uncovered during excavations, including one that was eight metres long, and contained caribou, fish, and aquatic bird bones. Lithic tools and debris, two small fragments of Indigenous pottery, and European trade goods were recovered. The lithic assemblage was dominated by locally-available quartz but other stone materials were also present including Mistassini quartzite, Ramah chert, and small amounts of Hudson Bay Lowland chert. Over 100 stone tools were recovered, including a series of tiny projectile points—an artifact type that is characteristic of the Late Precontact period in the far interior.

The European materials consist of a projectile point made from sheet copper, a double-sided iron awl, numerous fragments cut from a copper kettle, and scraps of iron and lead, all supporting a 17th century date. This site clearly housed a large number of families or hunting parties at a time when discussion surely focused on news of the strangers who had taken up residence in distant coastal regions. Perhaps some of those present were returning from a trip where they had met Europeans directly. Denton (2015: 284) suggested that the presence of this, the longest *saaputuwaan* found to date in the far interior, "may relate to new economic possibilities of the middlemen trade between the Europeans on the Saint Lawrence and groups living at the heart of

Figure 7.33: Trade artifacts from site GaEj-1, Caniapiscau Reservoir, (Clockwise from top left: blue glass bead, projectile point made from cut metal, knife blades, glass, tinkle cones made from cut metal). Photos by M. McCaffrey.

the peninsula". A number of additional sites in the Caniapiscau Reservoir have produced scraps of brass and copper, glass beads, and possible knife blade fragments (Denton 1989).

The Laforge Reservoir to the west has provided evidence of over 20 occupations dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries (Cérane Inc. 1995: 156). Unfortunately, many of the sites have mixed components making it difficult to characterize them and to interpret excavation data. Of particular interest was a 16th or 17th century multi-component site (GcFb-04) at Lake Vincelotte, which contained the remains of two habitations (ibid.: 189-192). Associated with four hearths that are probably non-contemporaneous was lithic debitage of quartz, Mistassini quartzite, and Nastapoka chert. Iroquois pottery was also present, as well as European trade goods such as scraps of copper, a metal tinkling cone, and glass beads. Unfortunately, only a very small portion of this important site could be excavated before the sector was flooded.

Figure 7.34: Huron pottery from site FjFp-4 01, LG-3 Reservoir. Photo by M. McCaffrey.

A multicomponent site (FjFp-4 01) in the LG-3 Reservoir contained the remains of a large *saaputuwaan* dated to about 1450-1640 AD (Administration régionale crie 1985: 139-148). An eight metre long hearth extended down the centre of the habitation and produced evidence for a broad range of fauna. The lithic debitage was comprised predominantly of quartz but also included Mistassini quartzite, Ramah chert, and Hudson Bay Lowland chert. Of particular interest was the discovery of Huron pottery fragments, as well as a scrap of European brass.

Finally, recent archaeological excavations carried out in the Eastmain-1 Reservoir in the context of the Nadoshtin Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Program revealed five occupations dating to the post-European Contact period. Foremost among them is the FaFw-5 site, which produced three aligned hearths situated in a *saaputuwaan* (longhouse), and appears to date to the 18th century (Denton 2015: 255). The artifact assemblage included lithic tools and debris, as well as glass beads, gunflints, a brass rivet, and scraps of sheet brass, perhaps the by-product of making tinkle cones. Analysis of calcined bone fragments from the hearths showed a dominance of beaver along with a range of other fauna, including moose bones—suggesting a new early date for the northern range of this species (ibid.: 281-283, 260-262).

7.3.3 Observations from research on Contact period sites

A number of observations, possibly patterns, can be noted based on Contact period archaeological sites identified to date in the northern interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. The first involves the use of chipped stone tools well into the period post-dating contact with Europeans

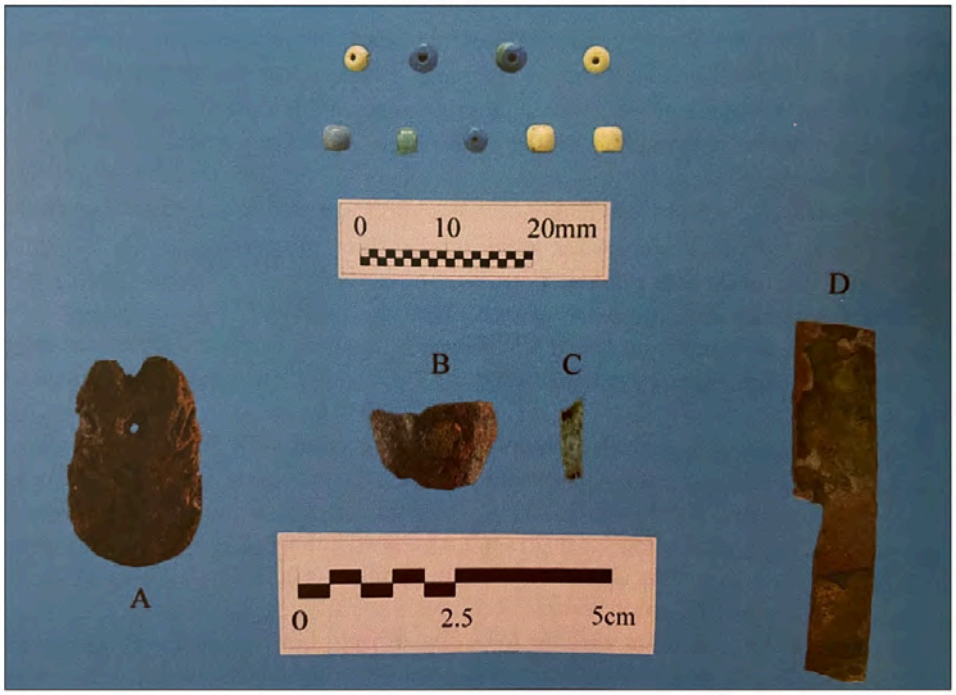

Figure 7.35: Trade artifacts from site FaFw-5, 18th century, Eastmain-1 Reservoir (Denton 2015).

and engagement with an early fur trade system, though the use of lithics is seen to attenuate over time (ibid.: 277-280). There is, however, evidence to suggest that the social networks that resulted in lithics from widely divergent stone sources appearing together on sites has broken down, or possibly been replaced by one that traffics in European goods (Denton 2015, n.d.; McCaffrey 2005, 2011).

Denton (2015: 280) has also commented on changes in house features on the Eastmain-1 Reservoir sites at this time. Hearths comprised of a dense pavement of fire-cracked rock, filled with ash and soil, are missing, and calcined bone deposits are present in variable quantities. He tentatively attributes this to changes in cooking habits – especially the use of kettles placed directly over the fire, and the abandonment of heated stones for pot-boiling. Finally, during the Contact period, the use of *saaputuwan*s or longhouses is very evident, continuing a practice that emerged across the northern Québec-Labrador peninsula in the Late Precontact period. This practice is documented for the early 19th century, as evidenced by Clouston's 1820 description (Davies and Johnson 1963: 49-50) of a feast he attended situated in the northern sector of the project area.

The above observations will help guide strategies used to detect and test possible Contact period archaeological sites during survey work in the project area.

8 | Historical overview

Historic period events and accounts have a significant role to play in this archaeological potential study. They provide critical context, a chronological framework, and cultural referents for features and artifacts that may be encountered during fieldwork, as well as for observations on land use through time. This chapter provides a broad outline of Naskapi history focusing on the project area during the early historic period (17th and 18th centuries), the fur trade period (19th century), and the recent period (20th century to the present), where chapter 9 on Land-use and cultural information continues the story.

Where relevant, reference is also made to collections of historic objects and images held in museums and archives, which illuminate Naskapi history and offer tangible connections across generations.

The second part of this chapter presents a detailed review of a remarkable written account by James Clouston, a fur trader who travelled through the project area in the early 19th century. Clouston's writings, while recording observations of lifeways and cultural practices, also offer a rare opportunity to identify locations of interest that can be examined during upcoming survey work.

8.1 Early period (17th and 18th centuries)

Naskapi history is a shared one, interwoven with the histories of the Innu in both Labrador and Québec, and the Cree. Archaeological, historic, linguistic, and oral history evidence show us that going back thousands of years, groups in northern Québec-Labrador spoke the same language (or a mutually intelligible one), and shared common understandings of the world including beliefs and ceremonies, cultural practices, and material culture. From the earliest arrival of people in the region, the presence on archaeological sites of toolstone from widely divergent sources attests to far-ranging journeys and a vast web of connections that continue to characterize Naskapi, Innu, and Cree life today.

Figure 8.1: Group from the Jimmy Sandy Memorial School, Kawawachikamach, viewing objects collected by anthropologist Frank G. Speck among the Barren-Ground Naskapi in the early 1930's, Penn Museum, Philadelphia, 2020 (from left: Rachel Nattawappio-Pien, Seth Nabinacaboo, Deleah Vachon, Laura-Louise Mameanskum, Joseph Whelan, Shannon Uniam, Jill Goldberg) (Shepard 2020: 39).

Figure 8.2: Coat made for a boy, caribou hide with painted designs (front and back), early 1700s. Loan from the library of the City of Versailles, musée du quai Branly, Paris, 71.1934.33.10 D.

We must keep these interconnections and movements in mind when evaluating information from historic sources. Mailhot (1986a) explored this issue in a seminal paper where she reviewed European sources to document the changing attributions of the term "Naskapi" through time. What she discovered was an array of Indigenous names assigned to small, highly-mobile groups spread out across the Québec-Labrador peninsula, with Naskapi eventually being used most often to identify those groups furthest removed from European influence.

Mailhot's (ibid.: 390) meticulous research revealed that the original term for Naskapi appeared for the first time in written records in 1643 as *Ounachkapiouek*. The Jesuit Father André Richard used this attribution for one of many regional groups, or "Little Nations", living north of Tadoussac. He explained that this group had no direct contact with Europeans but traded with Indigenous people connected to Tadoussac and Sillery by meeting up with them inland.

Almost one hundred years later, the term Naskapi appears again, this time on maps drawn by Jesuit Father Pierre-Michel Laure, who was in charge of the Saguenay missions (ibid.: 391-392). The five overlapping maps date to between 1731 and 1733, and show the *Domaine du Roy* (the King's Posts)—a vast area that extended inland to the height of land dividing the watershed of the St. Lawrence from the watersheds of the Hudson Bay and Hamilton Inlet. The earliest trading posts were established along these coasts, first by the French and later operated by the British and various private entrepreneurs.

Four of the maps include versions of Naskapi—*Cuneskapi* ("C" being an error made in copying), *Ouneskapiouetz*, and *les Ouneskapiouet*—among a great many terms used to locate the various Indigenous groups living within the *Domaine du Roy*. The "Naskapi" group is generally located

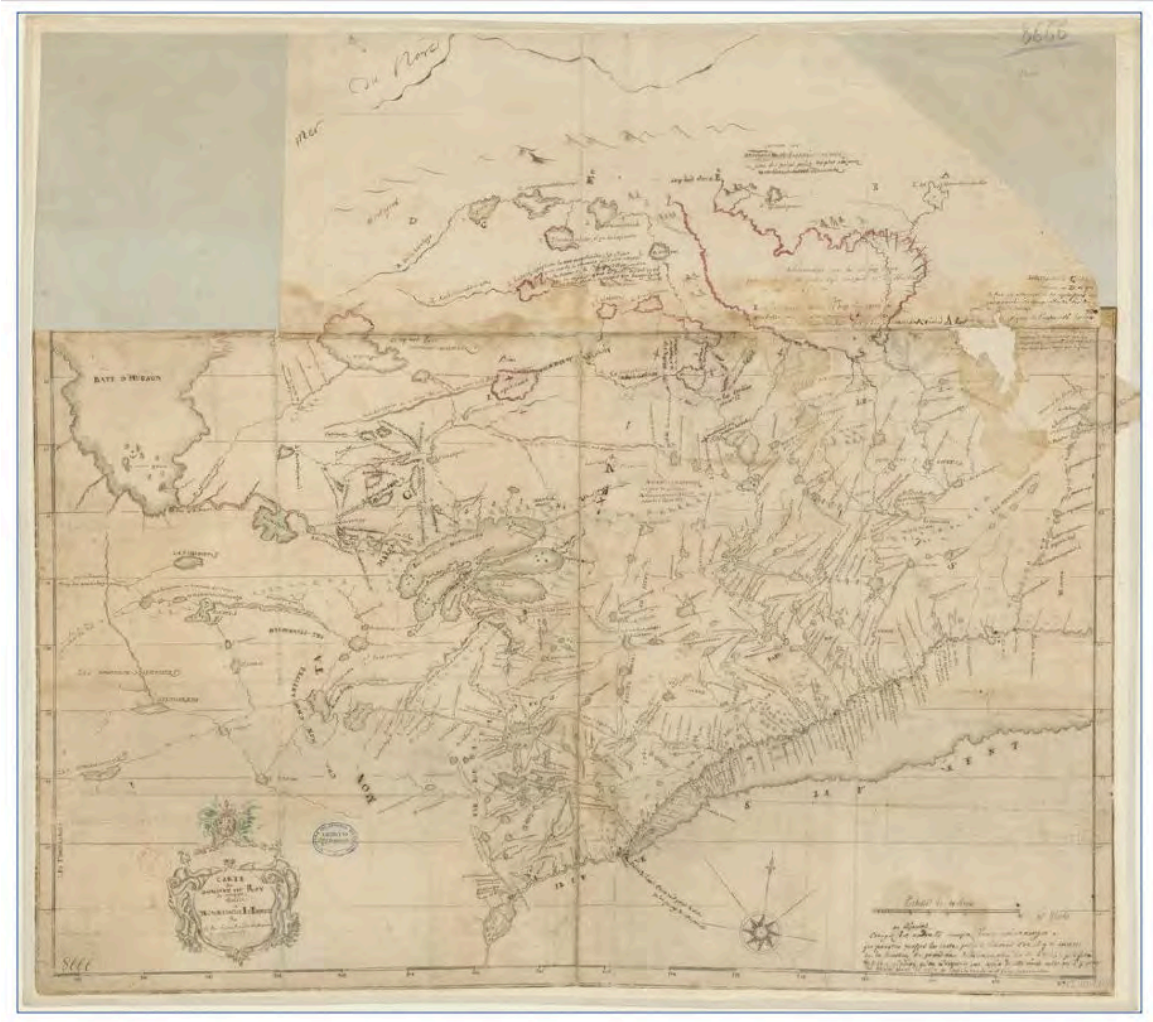

Figure 8.3: Carte du domaine du roy en Canada, 1731 by Father Pierre-Michel Laure, Jesuit missionary. Bibliothèque nationale de France (Laure 1731).

Figure 8.4: Early style moccasins with seams up the front, caribou hide with painted designs, about 1740. Speyer Collection, Canadian Museum of History, III-B-592 a-b.

inland north of Sept-Îles, but on different versions of the map, the term sometimes appears far to the north of Ashuanipi Lake in Labrador, other times to the south.

During the same period, the term Naskapi appears for the first time with modern spelling. An ordinance describing the limits of the *Domaine du Roy*, signed by Intendant Hocquart in May of 1733, includes the place name "lake of the Naskapis". A few months later, a document from the same Intendant, dealing with the trade at Tadoussac, mentions both "lake of the Naskapis" as well as the "Naskapis" themselves, with whom the French were hoping to establish trade on a more regular basis. There were apparently some forty families in this group, a population comparable to that of nearby groups named in the same document (Mailhot 1986a: 391-392).

The oldest mention of Naskapis found thus far in the English records dates to 1740 and occurs in the journal of the Eastmain post, Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) archives. Post manager Joseph Isbister reported that people "from the East" had visited the post on the James Bay coast, and he had asked them whether there were Indigenous people situated north and east of Richmond Gulf. They replied that there were some, and that they knew of others too called "Annes=carps" who did not trade directly with Europeans but with other Indigenous people who carried on trade with the French. In an extract from the Richmond Fort journal, dated 1753, post manager Potts clarified that "Annes=carps" is actually the term Naskapi, which Potts spelled "Nashcopy" (ibid.: 393).

Additional references to "Nashcopy" or "Nashcoppe" appear in the Richmond Fort journals and correspondence books from 1753 to 1759. Morantz (1983), as well as Francis and Morantz

(1983: 69), explored the identity of these groups; however, all that could be determined is that they came from a northerly direction, were caribou hunters, and traded with Europeans indirectly via other Indigenous groups (Mailhot 1986a: 395). Over the coming decades, the HBC would invest considerable effort, unsuccessfully as it turns out, trying to entice these northern groups to trade at posts on the coast.

Meanwhile, across the peninsula at Charles Harbour in southern Labrador, the term Naskapi appeared in journal entries written in 1774 by the entrepreneur George Cartwright. The "Nescaupick" described by Cartwright were quite different from those groups encountered in Eastmain. They had long been in contact with the Europeans, were good suppliers of furs, spoke some French, and had been converted to Christianity. In fact, it appears that for Cartwright, Naskapi and Montagnais (Innu) were interchangeable terms (ibid.: 395-396).

8.2 Fur trade period (19th century)

Mailhot (ibid.: 397-398) contends that the start of the 19th century saw a definite turning point in the use of the term Naskapi in written records. From this point onwards, it was applied to many different groups across the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Furthermore, a distinction can be noted between groups identified as “Naskapi” and those called “Montagners” (Montagnais, eventually Innu). In an 1808 document, James McKenzie of the North West Company described the Naskapi as an inland people, living on the tundra at the height of land, who retained a traditional lifestyle wearing caribou-hide clothing and interacting rarely with Europeans. He described the Montagners as living along the coasts close to missions and trading posts where they obtained food and European clothing. Throughout the first half of the 19th century, both church and post records regularly distinguish between what they perceive to be two different groups.

The 1820s marked the beginning of a strong push by the HBC to contact Indigenous groups in the northern interior of Québec-Labrador, and determine the potential of this vast area for fur trapping and trading. This was a period marked by intense struggles with the North West Company (soon to amalgamate with the HBC), and concerns that Moravians established on the Labrador coast were planning to expand into the interior to exploit trading opportunities. James Clouston’s travels in 1819 and 1820—described in the second part of this chapter—represent the initial stage of this HBC project.

The “Ungava venture”, as it came to be called, became a reality in the late 1820s when George Simpson, Governor of the HBC, put in motion the process of building fur trading posts in the northern interior. The first was Fort Chimo on the Koksoak River near present-day Kuujjuaq,

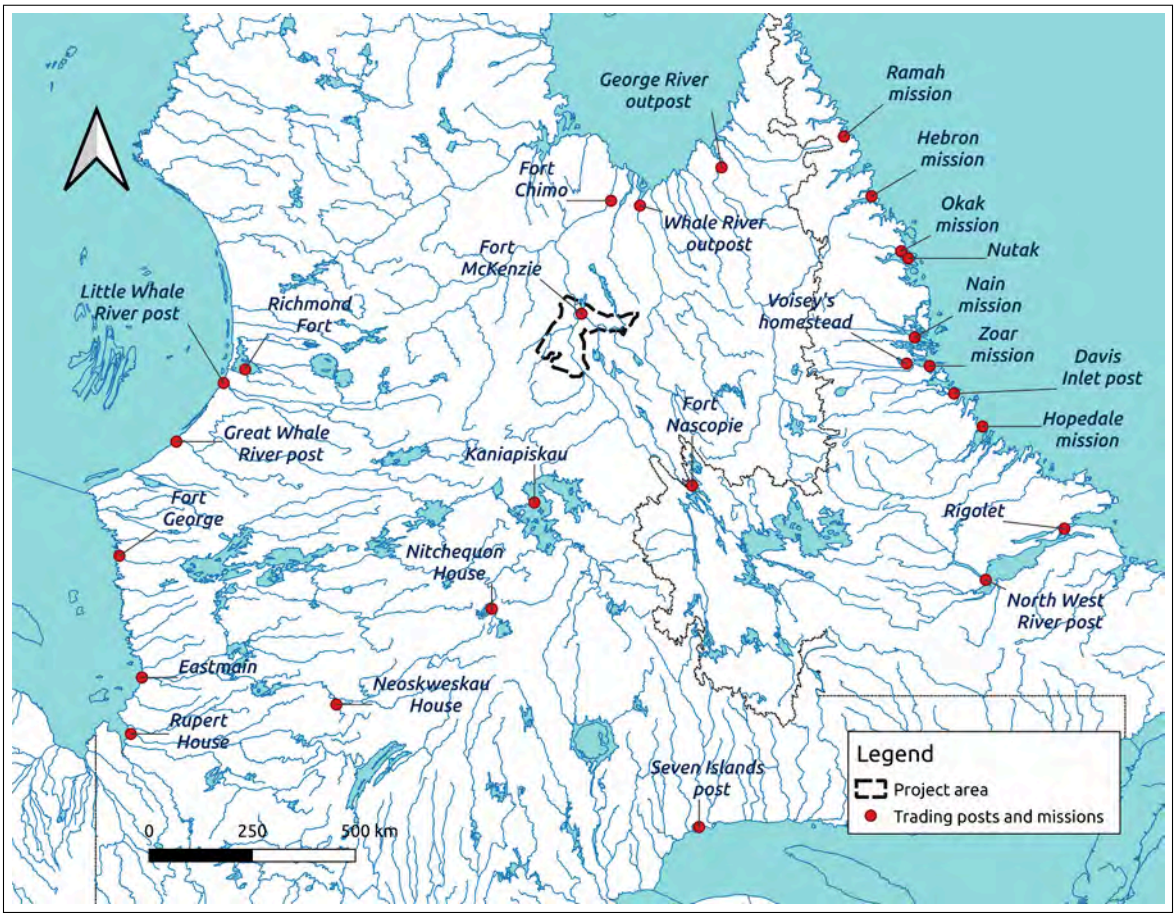

Figure 8.5: Trading posts and missions in northern Québec-Labrador. Data from Hammond (n.d.).

Figure 8.6: *The third rapid on the Moisie*, 1863, watercolour by William G. R. Hind. William George Richardson Hind Collection, Library and Archives Canada, e003894683.

Figure 8.7: Ruins of Fort Nascopie on Petitsicapau Lake, Labrador, 1894. Photo by A. P. Low. Library and Archives Canada, PA-038188.

which opened in 1830 and operated until 1843, then reopened in 1866. Next came South River House on the Caniapiscau River near the mouth of the Swampy Bay River, which operated from 1832 to 1833. Fort Nascopie on Petitsikapau Lake southwest of present-day Schefferville, opened in 1838 and operated until about 1870. A number of additional outposts were built along supply routes or near resources such as fishing sites. The history of the Ungava venture has been described in detail by numerous researchers (Cooke 1976; Duguay 1994; Hammond 2010, in progress[c]; Lévesque, Rains, et al. 2001; Morantz 2016).

When the HBC opened the Fort Chimo post in 1830, they set in motion a series of starts and stops that greatly impacted Inuit groups on the Ungava Bay coast and beyond, and Naskapi groups in the northern interior. Inuit and Naskapi families—on occasion joined by Cree and Innu groups from farther afield—frequented the Fort Chimo post from 1831 to 1842. After the post closed in 1843, the Naskapi shifted their trade south to Fort Nascopie. Then when the HBC closed Fort Nascopie in about 1870, they returned to Fort Chimo, which had reopened in 1866. Throughout this time, Naskapi groups continued to gather together in the fall at Lake de la Hutte Sauvage (Mushuau Nipi) on the George River during the annual caribou migration. They were sometimes joined there by families from distant reaches of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Inuit hunters from Fort Chimo also visited the George River region to hunt caribou, though they likely camped in the northern reaches of the river (Cooke 1976; Morantz 2016).

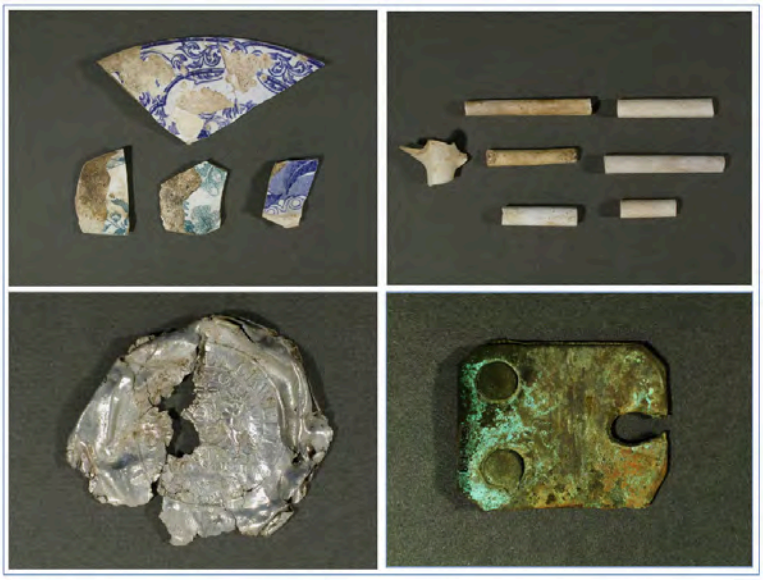

Figure 8.8: Fort Nascopie artifacts recovered in 1986 from the lake shore fronting the site. Clockwise from top left, transfer ware ceramics, kaolin pipe bowl fragment and pipe stems, tin condiment jar lid, and a copper or brass kettle lug (McCaffrey 1989a).

Ultimately, for the HBC, the Ungava venture failed to meet the commercial goals it set out to achieve. The northern posts were difficult to maintain and supply. Hunting and fishing efforts near the posts often came up empty, and on many occasions, starvation loomed for hired servants and local people alike. Moreover, catching influenza was an ongoing risk for those at the post. Overland supply routes were arduous and unreliable, meaning that it was difficult to maintain a sufficient quantity and quality of store goods to offer in trade to discerning Indigenous hunters. Most importantly, the groups the HBC hoped to attract to these trading posts—the ancestors of today's Naskapi and Inuit, as well as Innu and Cree ancestors—continued to exert their own will, sometimes choosing to travel instead to far off coastal posts (Cooke 1976; Hammond in progress[d]; Morantz 2016).

The operation of interior posts provided new opportunities for missionaries, who were keen to harvest souls by baptizing those Indigenous people who had remained outside their purview. In 1844, Oblate missionaries took control of missions along the Québec North Shore. Ten years later, tired of waiting for Naskapi groups to emerge on the coast, they resolved to voyage inland to advance their goals. Archival research conducted by Mailhot (1986a: 399-400) has shown that use of the term "Naskapi" in historic documents and maps expanded along with the Oblates' ambitions to contact and Christianize northern groups. In fact, the name Naskapi came to be used for Indigenous groups across the Québec-Labrador peninsula, whether their language was

Figure 8.9: *Oblate Father Louis Babel with Indigenous guides*, date unknown. Collection La Mémoire de Veyrier (*La Mémoire de Veyrier ~ 2021*).

Cree, Attikamek, or Montagnais. The main criteria in use appears to have been whether or not a group remained isolated from direct European influence.

In 1867 and 1868, the Oblate Father Louis Babel travelled to Petitsikapau Lake, the location of Fort Nascopie, where he met and baptized a small group of Naskapi. Babel penned a valuable journal describing his travels and experiences, and providing information on the different Indigenous peoples he encountered (Babel 1977). Based mainly on this account, the Oblates began to make an important distinction in their writings between the *Naskapis des terres boisées* (Woodland Naskapis) and the *Naskapis des terres arides ou pelées* (Barren Ground Naskapis), with the demarcation between the two being at the height of Ashuanipi Lake. Mailhot (1986a: 402) explains that this distinction is the same one still made by Innu speakers today, between *nu:cimi:winnut* "inland people" and *mu:sawa:winnut* "tundra people". (A third group, *wi:nipe:kwinnut* "coast people", completes the picture).

Hammond's (in progress[d]) ongoing archival and genealogical research revealed that following the closure of Fort Nascopie in 1870, about half the hunters headed north and were later attached to Fort Chimo (and eventually to Fort McKenzie). Presumably, these were Babel's *Naskapis des terres arides*, most of whom were not christianized. The Oblates continued their efforts to convert this group, but with little success, finally dropping the project in 1894. The other group that

Figure 8.10: *Montagnais and Nasquapee Lodges at Seven Islands* [Sept-Îles], 1863, watercolour by William G. R. Hind. William George Richardson Hind Collection, Library and Archives Canada, e004923370.

had traded at Fort Nascopie, the *Naskapis des terres boisées*, can be tracked through Oblates' correspondance and baptism records to the posts at North West River, Sept-Îles, and Mingan, where in the last decades of the 19th century, they were all converted and came to be identified as Montagnais (Innu) (Mailhot 1986a: 402-403).

Post journals show that the 1880s and 1890s were harsh years for Indigenous groups in the northern interior and Inuit on the coast. The specter of famine was commonplace, and diseases were widespread. From 1880 to 1881, then again from 1892 to 1893, game was scarce and people arrived at the Fort Chimo post starving. In addition, influenza and other unidentified illnesses were common. Reports suggest that over 150 adults and children perished following the 1893 famine. The Canadian government's decision to begin extending relief to Indigenous peoples is said to have been sparked by this devastating loss of life (Morantz 2016: 402). Although the situation improved somewhat in the decade that followed, a shortage of game and the unreliability of the caribou migration continued to plague the region.

8.3 Recent period (20th century to the present)

During the late 19th and early 20th century, a number of southern scientists and adventurers travelled through and spent time in far northern Québec-Labrador. Each produced a trove of information, including written descriptions, paintings, photographs, and collections of material

Figure 8.11: *Fort Chimo (Kuujjuaq) on the western shore of the Koksoak River, Ungava Bay, 1909.* Photo by Hugh A. Peck. McCord Museum, M2000.113.6.227.

Figure 8.12: *Indigenous encampment at Fort Chimo (Kuujjuaq), Ungava Bay, 1909.* Photo by Hugh A. Peck. McCord Museum, M2000.113.6.263.

Figure 8.13: Robe, caribou hide with painted designs (in detail), collected by Lucien Turner between 1882 and 1884 in the Kuujjuaq region, Québec. National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, E90175-0.

culture. Although their accounts reflect Eurocentric views of Indigenous life, these remain significant sources of historical information for the Naskapi today.

In 1861, Henry Youle Hind, a journalist and explorer, led a small party up the Moisie River into the Labrador interior. His brother, the accomplished artist William G. R. Hind, joined the expedition and produced sketches and watercolours illustrating Indigenous peoples and landscapes encountered on the route (Hind 1863). Lucien Turner, a scientist and naturalist connected to the Smithsonian Institution, was stationed in Fort Chimo from 1881 to 1884 to record meteorological observations. While there, he assembled a large collection of Naskapi and Inuit material culture, took photographs, and wrote a detailed ethnographic account (Heyes and Helgen 2014; Turner 1894).

Geologist A. P. Low travelled through the Ungava region in 1892 and 1893 as part of far-reaching geological surveys. He wrote an extensive travel narrative, created detailed maps, and took photographs (Low 1896). Low also reported on a devastating famine that hit the Naskapis during this time, with many perishing (Morantz 2016: 304). William Brooks Cabot, a Boston engineer and adventurer, returned to northern Québec-Labrador numerous times between 1899 and 1910, writing books on his observations and producing an invaluable archive of photographs (Cabot 1912, 1920). Finally, in 1905 the indefatigable Mina Hubbard canoed to the George River

Figure 8.14: Objects collected by anthropologist Frank G. Speck in 1929 among the Mushuaunnuat (Barren Ground People). National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (left: young child's sleeping or travel sack 19/9094; right: snowshoes 16/6634).

from Northwest River, completing the doomed voyage her husband had attempted in 1903. Her account and photographs mention two groups—"Montagnais" in which women were wearing cloth garments, and further north, "Barren Grounds People" or "Nascaupee" wearing caribou-hide garments (Hubbard 1908; Mailhot 1986b).

In 1903, Revillon Frères, a French fur retailer, opened a series of posts in northern Québec and Labrador hoping to take control of a lucrative fur trade in foxes and martens, and setting off a fierce rivalry with the HBC in the process. At their post on the Koksoak River upstream from Fort Chimo, they offered better prices for furs and other goods, attracting hunters from as far away as Sept-Îles to trade (Morantz 2016: 161, 310). In response, the HBC opened Fort McKenzie in 1916 at the outlet of Canichico Lake, 150 km southwest of present-day Kuujjuaq. The location was favorable to gatherings, with large sandy beaches and flat terraces that could accommodate many buildings and tents. An escarpment on the north side of the point offered shelter from the wind. Good fishing was possible even in early spring. Finally, Fort McKenzie was situated on a traditional travel route with access to rivers leading across the Québec-Labrador peninsula in all directions (Duguay 1994: 87).

About the time that Fort McKenzie opened, a split occurred among northern groups. Cooke (1976: 126) explains that at the turn of the century, caribou herds in the Québec-Labrador peninsula began to decrease in numbers for reasons still not fully understood. In the autumn of 1916, the George River herd failed to appear at Lake de la Hutte Sauvage. Facing starvation, a majority of Indigenous hunters and families sought assistance at Fort McKenzie, while the remaining group made their way east to trading stations on the north coast of Labrador, ultimately becoming attached to Utshimassits (Davis Inlet) (Morantz 2016: 160-161).

Figure 8.15: Fort McKenzie, 1951. Photo by Paul-Émile Imbault. BAnQ Québec, Fonds Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, 03Q,E6,S7,SS1,P88324.

The Fort McKenzie post operated during two periods. The main one spanned 1916 to 1948, at which point the post was closed due to the challenges of transporting in supplies and/or diminishing profits (ibid.: 160). The second period involved use of the post during three consecutive winters between 1953 and 1956. Duguay (1994: 88-89), combining archaeological results, interviews, accounts from the 1930-1939 post journals, HBC archives, and Cooke's (1976) research, has reconstructed the seasonal cycle at Fort McKenzie. In general, from 1916 to 1948, the pattern involved Indigenous groups visiting the post in the fall, where families acquired the goods they needed before heading out to their winter camps. About 10 individuals remained at Fort McKenzie throughout the winter season, essentially elderly or ill individuals.

In early spring, families returned and gathered at the post. They might trade furs (marten, muskrat, mink, fox, and otter) acquired during the winter, as well as caribou meat. In exchange, they received tobacco, arms, ammunition, flour, fat, and cloth. They provided the HBC with much-needed snowshoes and moccasins, and also carried out a range of tasks as paid labourers (Morantz 2016: 166-167). The arduous task of keeping Fort McKenzie supplied required two canoe voyages to the confluence of the Caniapiscau and Koksoak rivers, where Inuit parties delivered supplies by boat from the Fort Chimo post. These trips took 22 days, and most of the able-bodied population participated. Some families left for their winter hunting territory after the first trip, most after the second.

Figure 8.16: Unloading supplies, assumed to be Fort McKenzie, 1941. Photo by Paul Provencher. Naskapi Development Corporation Photo Archive.

This routine continued every year until the post closed in 1948. The group was then attached once again to Fort Chimo, where they lived in tents while continuing to hunt and trap in the vicinity of the town. In 1953, the federal government decided, in partnership with the HBC, to reopen Fort McKenzie as a supply post in the winter. A new seasonal cycle ensued with the Naskapi continuing to trade at the Fort Chimo post during the summer months. They spent the winter season gathered at Fort McKenzie, with the hunters leaving camp for short periods while their families stayed put. Women contributed to food harvesting by fishing at nearby lakes (Duguay 1994: 88-89).

The HBC closed Fort McKenzie for good in 1956, subjecting the Naskapi to a series of forced relocations. Induced by Federal Government promises of employment opportunities in the recently opened iron ore mines, Naskapi attached to Fort Chimo journeyed south to the mining town of Schefferville where educational and medical facilities were also becoming available (Cooke 2012). A year later they were moved three kilometres from the town to Lake John, where they remained until 1972, joined by some Innu who had moved to Schefferville from the Sept-Îles area (Jancewicz 2021). Finally, between 1978 and 1983, the Naskapi moved to a new village at Kawawachikamach, 12 kilometres northeast of Schefferville (Morantz 2016: 173). For linguists who study the connection between languages, "Naskapi" remains the dialect spoken by members of the Kawawachikamach and Natuashish (formerly Utshimassits or Davis Inlet) communities. This usage sets them

apart from those to the west, where Cree is spoken, and those farther south and southeast, who speak Innu (Mailhot 1986a: 407).

8.4 Clouston's second journal (1819–1820)

8.4.1 Background

James Clouston's second journal, recounting his travels in the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula between 1819 and 1820, is certainly one of the most extraordinary historical documents in existence for this entire area (Clouston 1963). Clouston was the first European or Euro-Canadian to set foot in this vast region and his journey took place at a time prior to the establishment of inland trading posts, except in the more southerly part of the territory. Clouston's mission for the Hudson's Bay Company was above all commercial: to assess the prospects for increasing the trade in furs from Indigenous people in this vast area that was quite unknown to the Company, during a period of intense competition with the North West Company. From his base at the HBC's Neoskweskau post on the Eastmain River, Clouston supervised the establishment of trading posts at Mistassini Lake (1812) and at Nitchequon Lake[1] (1816). While the HBC was interested in extending its network of trading posts to the north and east from Nitchequon, it had very little information about the geography of the country and the Indigenous peoples who lived there. There was an urgent interest to find out the degree to which they were already trading with HBC's fierce rivals the North West Company, with Moravians missionaries on the Labrador coast, or at other of the HBC's trading posts on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence. Clouston had heard reports of a large river which flowed to the sea (which he presumed to be the Atlantic), said to be rich with caribou and beaver. He felt that the HBC's trade could be improved by expanding the network of trading posts into this unknown area, and with the encouragement of his supervisors, he developed a plan to begin explorations (Davies and Johnson 1963: xl-lxiv).

As a fur trader, Clouston was keenly interested in the way of life of Indigenous peoples—some of whom were beginning to trade at the new post of Nichicun—in this vast northern region, whether they would make good trappers, and whether their lands supported acceptable populations of fur-bearing animals. However, he was also a very keen observer of many aspects of local customs, ceremonial practices, and beliefs, which he recorded in his journal in remarkable detail.

[1]The official name of the lake. The HBC used the spelling Nichikun or Nichicun; here we use the latter spelling when referring to the trading post and the official name when referring to the lake.

8.4.2 The journey

Clouston left Nitchiquon in mid-April of 1820 with two HBC employees and four guides and carriers—Uschemau, Adsineahanou, Mistacoosh and Cheshawan—walking to Lake Caniapiscau, northeast of Nichiquon. They were soon joined by women and children bringing their numbers to 29. They reached Lake Caniapiscau at the end of the first week of May and decided to spend breakup there, making canoes with birch bark they had carried with them for this purpose. After breakup in the second week of June, the party split and Clouston continued down the Caniapiscau River with Adsineahanou as his main guide, to be joined by Cheshawan and members of their families.

Although Clouston's objective was to descend the river to the sea,[2] he was convinced to part from the Caniapiscau not far below the present location of the Caniapiscau dam, where the course of the river turns to the northeast. Instead, the party headed northwest on a series of lakes and rivers to a place Clouston called Waschayamiscaw, a small lake located to the east of Lake Bienville. Here the party met up with a number of other families, including close relatives of Clouston's guides. A long tent (*saaputuwaan*) with five fireplaces was built and a feast took place in which marrow fat was shared from 200 caribou killed at one time during the winter. Clouston was interested to discover that some of the party had recently traded with "Canadian Indians" to the east who, in turn, traded with "Canadian" traders at posts on the North Shore of the Saint Lawrence. Different members of the party intended on trading that summer at Nichicun post while others were considering Big River (Chisasibi) or Eastmain. From Waschayamiscaw the party travelled north-northeast to Lake Keenoogamisee (various spellings; modern Lake Chanikamisu).

The segment of the party's route that most interests us roughly describes a triangle, as shown in the section of Clouston's 1820 map and the modern map reconstruction of this route (see figure 8.17 for the map, and the locations cited below). Table 8.1 provides information concerning places along this triangular circuit. From Keenoogamisee (Chanikamisu) the party travelled to the northeast (locations 1, 2, 3, 4), eventually reaching the Caniapiscau River at location 5. From there, the group travelled downriver to location 5a, where Clouston observed signs of caribou hunting, including a large wooden cache erected to store meat, meat drying racks and many caribou antlers. They continued downriver to location 6, thought to be Chute du Calcaire, but

[2] Clouston initially believed that the Caniapiscau flowed to the Atlantic Ocean and that they would eventually arrive at its mouth on the Labrador coast.

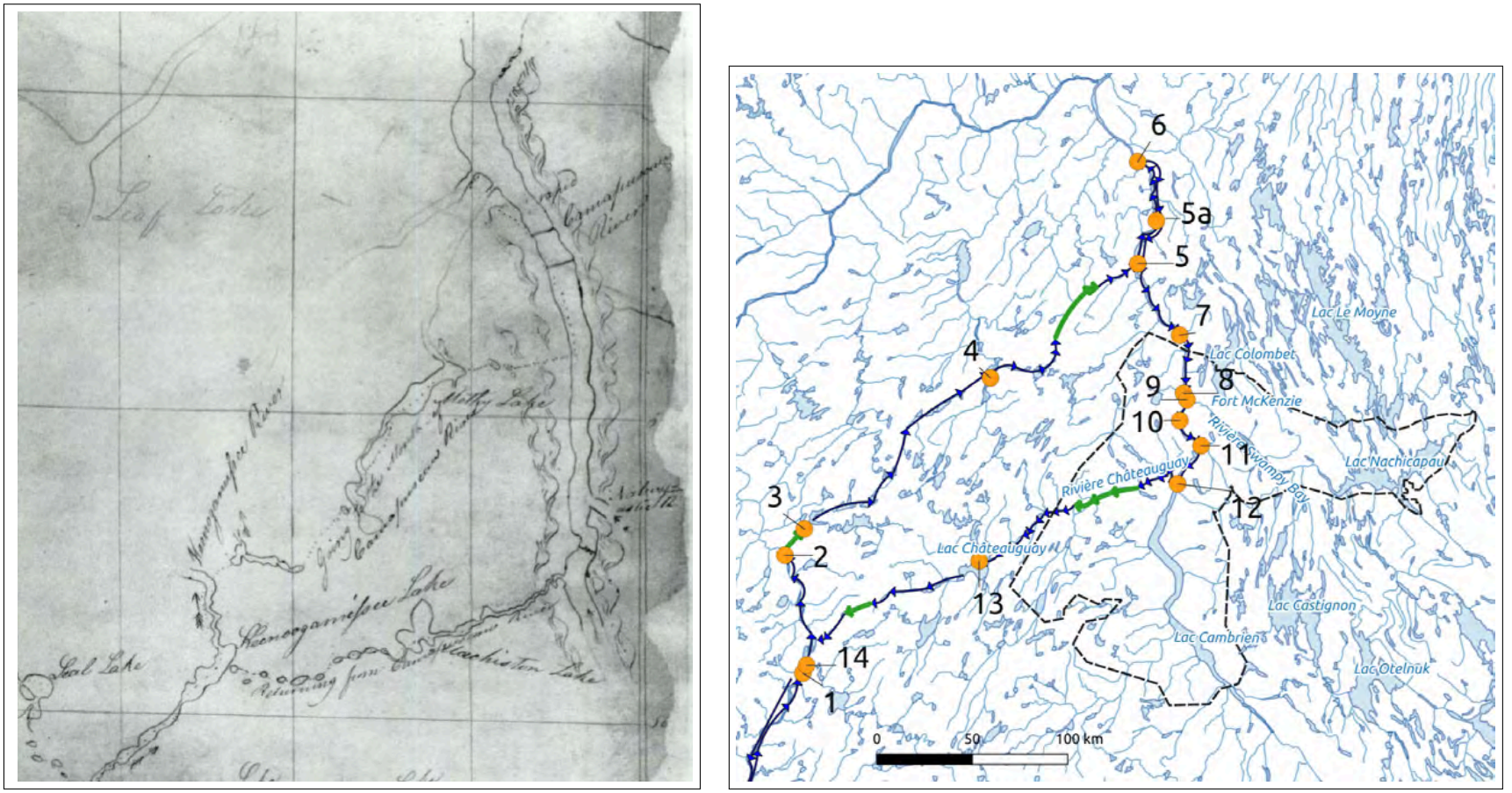

Figure 8.17: Left: Section of Clouston's 1820 map showing his party's travels through the project area. From Williams (1966: 12). Right: Reconstruction of Clouston's route to the west of and through the project area. Based on notes by Davies and Johnson (1963: Introduction), and additional analysis of Clouston (1963). Canoe travel shown in blue lines with direction of movement indicated by arrows and portages / walking shown in green.

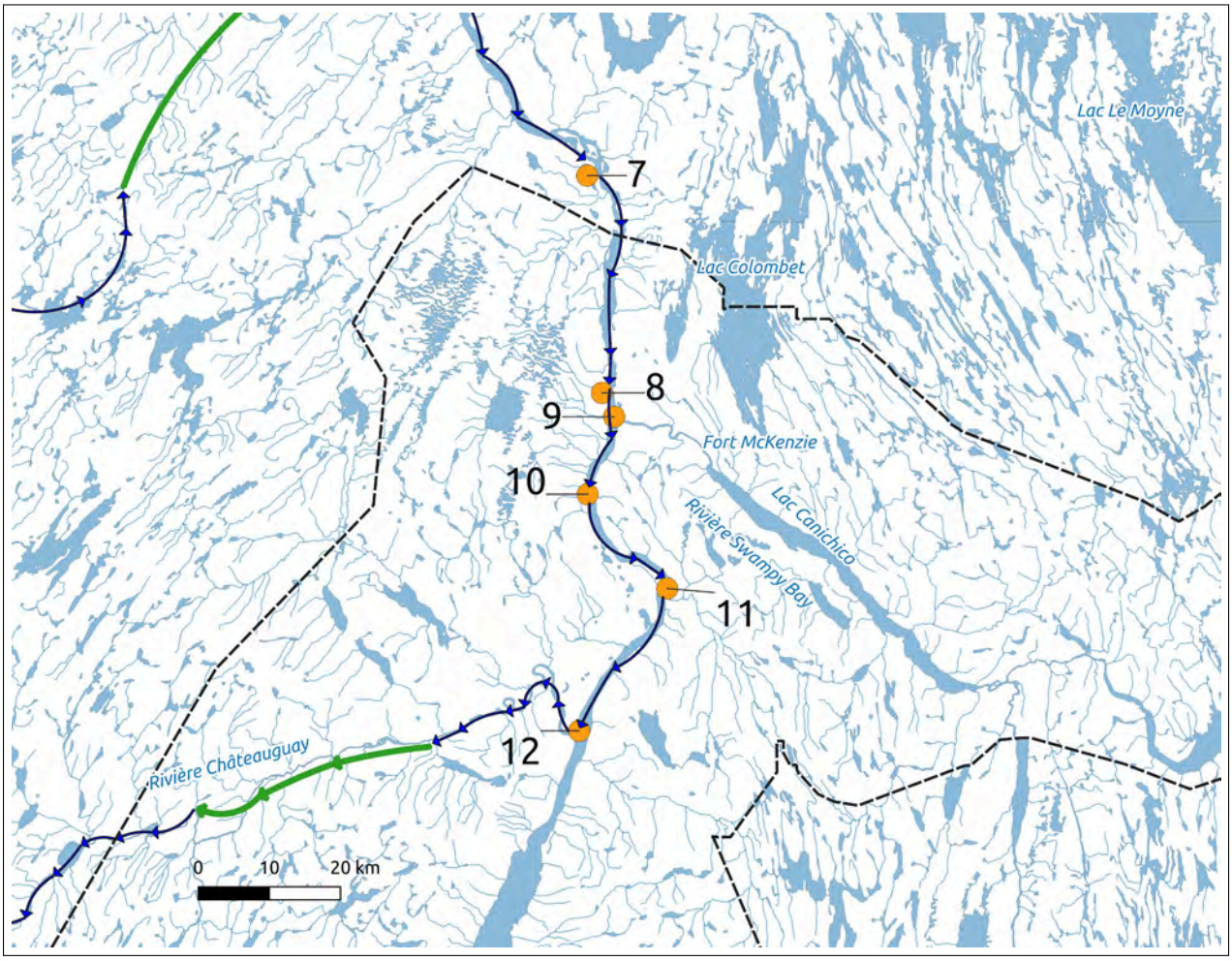

Figure 8.18: Detail view of the northern section of the project area showing Clouston's route and stopping places. Based on notes by Davies and Johnson (1963: Introduction) and our analysis of Clouston (1963). Canoe travel shown in blue lines with direction of movement indicated by arrows and portages / walking shown in green.

Table 8.1: Notes on locations visited by Clouston near the project area in June and July 1820. See figures 8.17 and 8.18 for map locations. Place names are those provided by Clouston (1963).

Map no.	Date	Place name	Notes
1	June 30	Keenoogamissee Lake	
2	July 2		Probable place where Clouston's party left the Kenogamissee River. They carried ENE 5 miles to a lake
3	July 2		Probable lake to which the party portaged
4	July 5		Possible location of lake according to Davies and Johnson (1963: 53, note 1)
5	July 7	Caniapuscaw River	Approx. location where Clouston's party reach the river
5a	July 7		Approx. location (17 mi downriver from where the party came to the river) where Clouston observed many signs of the hunting of caribou along the shore, as well as drying racks and a large wooden "house" where meat was cached. Likely these dated from the previous fall.
6	July 8		Chute du Calcaire where Clouston stopped and walked 7 mi. to high hill to the northwest, from where he thought he could see the sea.
7	July 9		Approximate location of Clouston camp - 10 +1 mi below Swampy Bay River
8	July 10		Approximate location of Ca-Mitchesticquan's camp
9	July 10	Natwyastic	
10	July 11		Approximate location of Clouston camp, 4 mi above Natwyastic (Swampy Bay River)
11	July 11		Clouston arrives at Chute aux Schistes
12	July 11	Mitcheston River	Clouston party leaves Caniapiscau to go up the Châteauguay River
13	July 13	Mitcheston Lake	
14	July 16	Keenogamissee	

did not proceed further due to fear of Inuit in the area to the north. Instead, Clouston climbed a mountain to the northwest from which he believed he could see the sea.[3]

On the return trip upriver Clouston notes seeing along the shore "vast numbers of deer's horns," some having been killed that spring, and many camps, including some that had been recently occupied. It is worth quoting this part of Clouston's journal in full because of what it reveals not just of Naskapi settlement in relation to caribou migrations, but also of their beliefs concerning this animal that was such an essential element of their welfare and cultural traditions.

> There is scarce a convenient spot on the banks of the river but what there are tent poles standing, some of old tents and some that had been lately. Generally five round tents or else one or two long tents at the same place. My guide told me the opinion of the Indians concerning the deer which cross this river regularly every year. They are, said he, the property of a spirit, who is like a man and about the size of a boy. This spirit sends them every year to the barren ground that lies west of Caniaspuscaw, to feed in the summer, and in the fall he drives them back to the east, to put them in a mountain which is so high that no Indian can go to the top of it, where they remain all winter, sheltered from the weather. This mountain is guarded by ants as large as common frogs, by frogs as large as common foxes, by foxes as large as ordinary wolves, by wolves, bears etc. in proportion, and if any Indian was to approach the mountain they would inevitably be devoured by those things, who are only in the likeness of animals. In the spring the deer are let out and driven again to the barren ground. In the fall the owner of the deer does not find all the deer, hence some remain all winter through the country. When this spirit finds all the deer, he drives them to the mountain, but he has never yet been able to find the whole of them. Should this spirit find the pelt of a deer, just as it had been taken off, left to rot, he would be so angry that he would search the whole country and not leave one deer for the Indian who left the skin in such a manner, consequently the Indian would starve to death. I have many times heard the Indians at Naosquiscaw say in the winter that all the deer were gone above in the east, but did not understand their notion of it till now. This spirit is considered a benign spirit.

The group camped upstream from this section of the river (location not marked) and then continued paddling upriver the next day towards the project area. They camped that night in the vicinity of location 7, and the next day travelled to location 8, where they found a camp

[3] As noted by Davies and Johnson (1963) it is likely that what Clouston saw from that mountain was the widening of the Koksoak below where the Mélèzes River enters.

occupied by a man named Ca-Mitchesticquan. Clouston learned many interesting things from Ca-Mitchesticquan, including:

- About 10 days before, 20 "Indians with their families parted from him going to the east to a river called Wapameg where the deer cross sooner than they do at this river. Those Indians would be back again in the fall."
- Clouston learned that "beaver were few this low in the river but there were some up the river at Quietashue [Kuetaasuu; the confluence of the Goodwood and the Caniapiscau rivers]; there were otters, martens, foxes and wolves...".
- Ca-Mitchesticquan had traded at Eastmain three years before, but as he was now an old man he traded mostly with "other Indians, mostly with Aquasta when the latter was alive, at other times he traded with Canadian Indians." When he was younger he usually traded at posts on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence.
- "The furthest he had either heard or seen to the east was high mountains over which none of the Indians ever went. They went to the south when they went to the Canadian settlements."
- Concerning Ca-Mitchesticquan's material possessions, we learn that he "... had two Canadian nets; a gun, hatchet, knives, beads and his wife's cap were all Canadian goods which he had traded from the Canadian Indians. A kettle which he had he said was from Aquasta. He had a wooden roggin [birch-bark container] which would hold about five gallons. In this, with hot stones, he boiled most of their victuals and said he only occasionally used the copper kettle."
- Ca-Mitchesticquan mentioned that Inuit sometimes came to the mouth of the [Koksoak] river to hunt caribou and he recounted an incident a few years before in which a group of "Indians" shot at an Inuit umiaq, causing it to sink and killing all the occupants.
- It turned out that Ca-Mitchesticquan was closely related to Clouston's guides, being Uschemau's father and Adsineahanou's uncle.

For our purposes, location 8 is probably the most interesting location described in Clouston's journal. As we will see, it corresponds, in general terms at least with Naskapi oral tradition as being a place where people lived.

After leaving Ca-Mitchesticquan's camp, the travellers continued up the river, passing the mouth of a river flowing in to the Caniapiscau from the southeast, which Clouston called Natwystic. This river corresponds with the Swampy Bay River. The party camped that night at location 10, and the next day passed the Chute aux Schistes and arrived at the confluence with the Châteauguay River, which Clouston refers to as Mitcheston River (named after the large lake

near the headwaters of the river). The group paddled the first part of the Châteauguay River and then walked (portaged) along the glacial lake / marine terraces, with their forest-tundra vegetation and flat sandy surfaces. To quote from the journal: "Walked 6 miles W S W on a ledge of hills, whereon we had fine walking with higher hills on one hand and Mitcheston River in a bed running as it were under us." Although Clouston's guides told him that the river was navigable going upstream and down, they could make faster progress by walking in these areas where the walking was easy.

The party reached Mitcheston Lake (no. 12, Lake Châteauguay) on July 13 and Keenogamissee (Chanikamisu) on July 16. From there they headed to the "Upper Seal Lake" (Lake Iberville), and from there to the southeastern Hudson Bay coast via Wiyâshâkimî (formerly Lake à l'Eau Claire) and Lake Guillaume-Delisle (Richmond Gulf).

8.4.3 Summary and conclusions

In concluding this journal summary, it is worth mentioning that we have barely touched on Clouston's most interesting observations from an anthropological perspective, concerning belief and ritual. Our purpose was to extract historical information that could assist in identifying places of potential archaeological interest within the project area. From Clouston's account, we are left with the general area of Ca-Mitchesticquan's camp as the most interesting zone for archaeological survey work. However, it is also important to look at the broader significance of Clouston's encounters and observations as they provide insights concerning the people in this area, their lifestyle, kinship links, and trading connections in the early 19th century. Although Clouston was the first trader to set foot in this vast area, people already had access to trade goods, often by travelling great distances to a trading post located in the more southern part of the territory (Nitchequon), on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, on James Bay / Hudson Bay, or on the Atlantic coast (Moravian missionaries). It is clear from Ca-Mitchesticquan's account that not everyone travelled to the trading posts: some preferred to let others go and then traded with them.

While people had access to European goods, they do not seem to have been heavily involved in the fur trade at this time nor overly dependent on these goods. As an older man, Ca-Mitchesticquan was likely not typical, but it is noteworthy that he boiled his meat in his "wooden roggin" using heated rocks, seemingly in preference to using his copper kettle over a fire. The prime economic focus of these people was toward caribou hunting rather than trapping. Ca-Mitchesticquan speaks of the large group that left from his camp (presumably) and headed east to the Wapameg River (Whale River) to wait for the caribou there. Clouston's observations

of camps, caches, and piles of antlers located along the river to the north of the project area tell a similar story.

Perhaps most importantly, Clouston's journal describes people on the land with genealogical connections across much of the Québec-Labrador peninsula (Hammond 1994). While there were certainly different groups that frequented different parts of the interior, it would be difficult to discern ethnic or political divisions at this time between groups that later came to be known as Cree (Eeyou / Eenou), Innu or Montagnais, and Naskapi. People had options in terms of their economic contacts, trading one year on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, another on Hudson Bay, at Nitchequon or even at the Moravian missions on the Atlantic coast. They could also choose between trading companies. They shared a similar view of the world and body of mythology, and seem to have had a shared knowledge of the names of major places (large bodies of water and important rivers) across the peninsula. The extended genealogical ties in this social network facilitated movement of people according to the availability of food resources. Later, when trading posts were established in the northern interior and people began to be tied to commercial exchanges in one direction or another, this would gradually begin to change (Hammond 1981).

8.5 South River House

The presence of historic Euro-Canadian trading posts had a great impact on the Naskapi and their history. While this is especially true in the case of Fort McKenzie, a much earlier trading post existed within the project area: South River House. Archaeologists in the early 1980s searched unsuccessfully for the remains of this trading post at the confluence of the Swampy Bay River and the Caniapiscau (Archéologie illimitée inc. 1983).

As mentioned above, after Fort Chimo was established, the HBC wished to create an overland chain of trading posts that would connect it to Esquimaux Bay (Hamilton Inlet) on the Atlantic coast, and with posts on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence. This project was strongly promoted by HBC Governor Simpson. Nicol Finlayson, the post manager at Fort Chimo wrote in a letter to Governor Simpson in December 1832:

> On the 23 rd June, I dispatched Mr Erlandson and six men with sixty pieces goods up this river with instructions to proceed up the Wasquash, a river which discharges itself into South River fifty miles above the falls to the eastward and which I supposed the river Mr Clouston described as abounding in beaver; for this purpose I procured a guide out of a band of Indians who hunt up this river to the eastward, and form an outpost in the most eligible situation he could pitch upon or his guide point out;

> but after he piloted them about forty miles above the falls, absolutely refused to go farther with them, saying as his reasons that it was our own good he had in view, and that that was a better situation than any up the other river, as abounding in fish, deer and martens. It was useless for Mr Erlandson to resent his treachery, he therefore encamped there... (Davies and Johnson 1963: 193).

In Erlandson's own words:

> June 28, Thursday. Pursued our route up the river, until 6 p.m. when arriving at a place that afforded plenty of timber for building. Beyond this place the Indian absolutely refuses to go, affirming that he knows no better place to take us to, or where we could even have a chance of subsisting. He says that about five miles to the eastward is a lake, where abundance of fish can be caught at all seasons; that at a short distance from the opposite shore is a lake where we will get fish by the hook in the winter time; and that the river will afford us a present supply. Although I do not implicitly believe all that he says, yet as the case now stands, I must make a virtue of necessity and remain where I am, at least till such time I obtain more correct information of the interior; or return with the goods to the fort, for that is the only alternative I have. I strongly suspect that this Indian induced us to leave the fort under the idea of establishing a trading post up the Wausquash, but having reached a spot most convenient for himself and his friends, he refuses to go farther. Notwithstanding I am afraid to resent such treachery as it deserves, lest at a future period I may stand in need of his assistance.

As it turned out, Erlandson and his men would have a difficult winter at this location and only limited fur returns. The post was abandoned in June of 1833 after only a year of operation.[4] While the South River House is of limited historical significance, this locale, preferred by the Naskapi for the location of the trading post, may well be of broader archaeological interest.

8.5.1 Location of the post

In his report, Erlandson describes the location and the establishment built there:

> The place I chose for an establishment is a point projecting into, and point elevated upwards of 30 feet above, the level of the river: the situation being dry, airy, and

[4] In part, this was due to the fires that burned the land surrounding the post in the summer of 1832 so that the caribou did not return here.

> healthy, the soil a fine sand, well adapted, with proper manure, to raising potatoes and the hardier garden plants, and which in favourable seasons would probably come to maturity; convenient to good timber; and central to the fisheries. I erected three houses, each 15 feet long by 10 feet broad: one a store, another a men's house, and the third one I occupied. They were constructed in the usual manner, without iron (Erlandson 1963a: 221).

There are several hints in Erlandson's journal concerning the location of South River House:

- The post was on the right (east) bank of the Caniapiscau River as it is shown in this location on a map by Erlandson (map not seen by us but referenced in Davies and Johnson (1963: 199, note 2);
- The location on the right bank of the river is confirmed by Erlandson's account of a forest fire: "Today the fire across the river burned the woods to the water edge, and the wind being Wly [westerly]...." (Erlandson 1963b: 202);
- The post was at a narrow section of the river: "...the river here is not above a furlong wide..." (ibid.: 204);
- The post was on a sandy point (as described by Erlandson in the quote above);
- The post was not far downriver from the confluence with the Natchaicagamy (modern Swampy Bay River) : "The river (Natchaicagamy) which comes from this lake empties itself into this river a couple miles above this [this place] (ibid.: 204) (p. 204); elsewhere it is noted that the post was five miles below the confluence (Davies and Johnson 1963: 204, note 1);
- An important fishing lake used in all seasons was located "five miles distance across the woods" to the east. Referred to many times in Erlandson's journal, Lake Wippinicoscaw (various spellings) can be associated with Lake Colombet, or as it is known in Naskapi, wapanikuskan, meaning 'morning hook fishing place' (NDC n.d.).[5];
- Another winter fishing lake is located "a short distance from the opposite shore ... where we will get fish by the hook in the winter time..." (Erlandson 1963b: 200). This lake can possibly be associated with Lake Kuskananis, glossed as 'where we fish under the ice in the winter' (Paré 1990: 51). (NDC n.d.).

It seems likely that memory of this short-lived trading post has been retained in Naskapi oral history. John Peastitute tells a story that references a *wâskâhîkin* 'house' at the place known as *Ka-astuwinanuch* 'the canoe making place':

[5]A possible explanation of this name is a place where one leaves a night line to be checked in the morning, as in the waapini-kuschaaw's/he puts her/his fishing line in and leaves it overnight (until dawn). This name has also

Figure 8.19: Naskapi Elders: Late John and Susie Annie Peastitute. From Hammond (2010: 34).

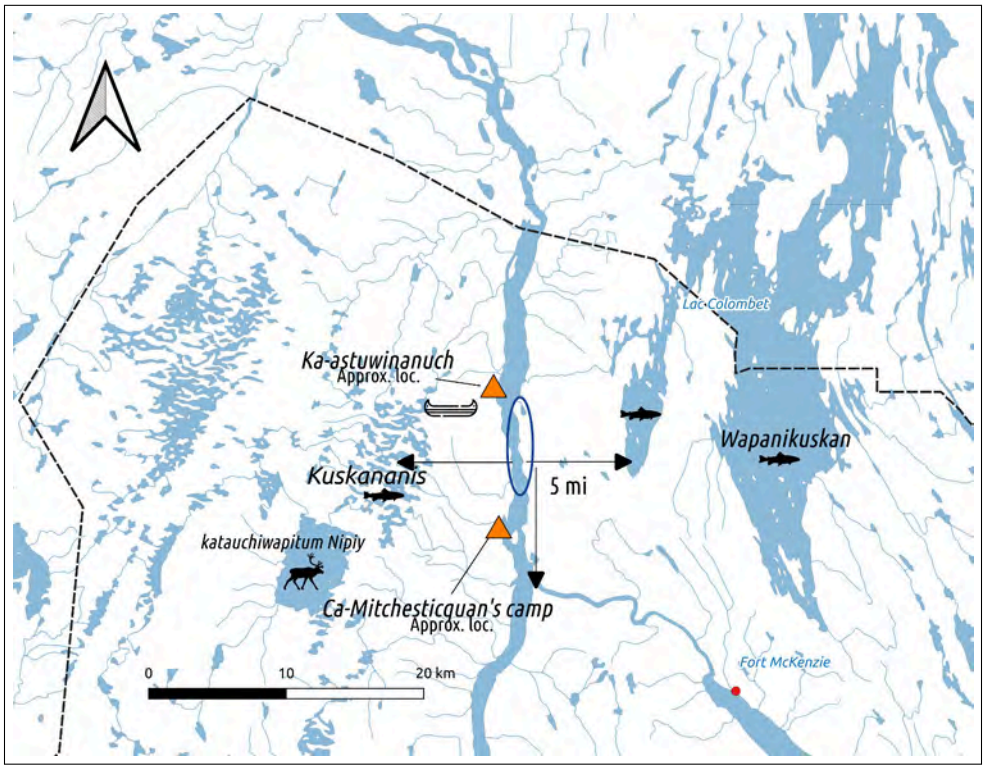

Figure 8.20: Area of historic / archaeological interest at the north end of the project area (blue ellipse), including possible location of South River House and historic Naskapi sites. Note that both Ka-astuwinanuch 'canoe making place' and Ca-Mitchesticquan's camp could be within this area as well.

The story, entitled "Encounters with Achan" begins with three Naskapi travellers who were taking the mail from Petitsikapau to Fort Chimo stopping at the site of an abandonned trading post along the way with the intention of spending the night there. "At the time, people say, the building was not yet a ruin." They had considered spending the night in the abandonned building but the leader of the group decided against this, and so they slept by the shore:

> There was a nice little spit of land with pebbles beyond it, and there they built a good campfire. Now then, just where they were camped there were some very tall white spruce trees that seemed to go on up forever, just like the ones over there that are so wide around their trunk.

They probably slept on boughs under their canoes. One of them stayed awake and began hearing sounds of "crashing through the trees, breaking all the branches in its path." The men were afraid and decided to paddle away quietly in their canoe. They paddled downstream, stopping first at a place called *Uchiniskuwisis* (probable gloss: 'strong swirling current') where they again heard noise of crashing in the bush. By then, the men had realized that they were dealing with the cannibal giant Achan. They continued downstream to Sihtuwis ('small, narrow gorge place') where there was an island, and then to Kâwâsâchûun ('bay with a stream flowing out into it') "where they saw some geese on a small sandy point." One of the men wanted to get the geese and so he disembarked, went into the forest, and was gone for a long time before he finally reappeared and recounted the strange experience he had. The story continues with the men resuming their journey to Fort Chimo (Peastitute 2016: 71-79).

John Peastitute clarifies that the "house" where the men first heard the Achan during the night was at *Ka-astuwinanuch* ('canoe building place') in the northern section of the project area:

> People have told this story in recent times. You can still see the house I am talking about. At Fort McKenzie, there's a house that looks like this one. It's a little downriver there, at *Ka-astuwinanuch*. That's where there was a small building, but it must have been torn down long ago. People must have torn it down – the logs are no longer there. All you can see now is the ground, a place where the ground seems to have been dug out, where the gravel has been excavated. They must have reached this area where there was good gravel under the earth. It must have looked like this house, with logs stacked up one on top of the other. I don't know the non-native who lived there, my father never told me about him, but there was a house, people say, there was a house (ibid.: 79).

been glossed as 'lancer la ligne de pêche de la river' (throw fishing line from the shore) (Paré 1990: 68) from the verb waapinim 's/he throws something.'

8.5.2 The end of South River House

In his report at the close of the 1832–1833 season, Erlandson strongly recommended closing South River House. In the course of the year, nearly two dozen hunters traded a total of 297 marten as well as 130 caribou skins. As mentioned above, this short-lived post was the first, abortive move on the part of the HBC to establish a commercial presence in the vast interior between Ungava Bay, the Atlantic coast and the North Shore of the St. Lawrence. It would be followed in five years by the establishment of the more enduring Fort Nascopie, far inland up the Swampy Bay River, across the height of land on Petitsikapau Lake.

As reported by Erlandson:

> The returns amount to 250 skins BR. and 130 deerskins. This is a mere trifle considering the expenses incurred, and I regret that I cannot hold out prospects of better success next year, supposing the post would be kept up and that the same Indians would again trade here. It was by great persuasion and extraordinary encouragement I induced them to look after martens in the early part of winter. Subsequently some of them were starving, which they blamed me for, saying that I enticed them to hunt / furs when they could have killed abundance of deer; they then came to me not only expecting, but demanding, food which I was unable to supply them with. Now, said they, we hunted skins for you, we are hungry and you have nothing to give us, do you expect that we will again hunt for you? (Erlandson 1963b: 221)

Erlandson continues in shockingly racist terms to describe the character of the local hunters as follows: "I shall simply say they are the most deceitful, lying, thievish race of Indians I ever dealt with, proud, independent." He continues to describe the situation for them when caribou are unavailable.

> When deer are scarce, which sometimes happens, then they lead a miserable life: their only resource then is fishing with the hook, I say with the hook because few of them have nets, and trout is the fish this mountainous country most abound in: they then wander among these small lakes, or rather ponds, pent up among the hills, boring the ice. It is incredible almost what labour they will undergo to get a few fish, perhaps not sufficient for a day's consumption. Under such circumstances they cannot hunt furs; and when they have plenty they are too lazy to do so...
>
> ... while they can in exchange for deerskins obtain ammunition, tobacco, axes, etc. and thus supply their most essential wants, they will not much exert themselves to

> kill fur animals; unless, indeed, they want a gun or some such article which can only be purchased for furs (ibid.: 223-224).

In sum, South River House is a brief but poignant moment in the history of our project area. Erlandson's report encapsulates the many contradictions, racist views, and brutality associated with the expansion of the fur trade in an area where Naskapi-Cree-Innu hunters and their families ranged widely in search of caribou. Erlandson's perspectives on the Naskapi reflect his supremely Eurocentric and colonialist views and his total lack of understanding or acceptance of the Naskapi way of life. For the Naskapi, to be tied down to trapping marten in forested areas could and often did lead to starvation.

9 | Land-use and cultural information

This chapter is focused on information from Naskapi land-use—or land-use and occupancy—mapping and related projects. Additionally, we have presented place names and oral traditions that are relevant to the project area. Although we did search for Inuit place names relating to the area, we did not have the opportunity to examine Inuit land-use reports, nor were we able to directly access Innu land-use reports that may contain some information relating to the project area (Laforest 1983).[1]

9.1 Toponymy

Indigenous place names can help orient archaeological studies by providing contextual and historical information about a geographic feature or other named place. They may signal ecological information of great practical significance for local travel or land-use activities, including pointing to areas of harvesting potential for a variety of animal, plant, and mineral resources. Naskapi place names, like those of their Eeyou / Eenou (Cree) and Innu neighbours, often describe features of the environment—the shape of a lake or nature of a shoreline—that would readily be recognized by travellers and so could be used to communicate information about these places. Place names may also recall events that took place at these locations or remember people associated with them. Some place names may reflect encounters with non-human persons or indicate the presence of spiritual beings at a particular place.[2]

As part of this phase of the Naskapi Archaeology Project, we compiled and examined Indigenous place names from within the project area for possible archaeological significance. Most were originally collected and compiled by the linguist Marguerite MacKenzie in 1979 from Naskapi living in Schefferville or Lake John (MacKenzie 1979). The names resulting from the MacKenzie inventory were later included in a publication by the Commission typonymique du Québec

[1] Innu place names from the Laforest report are referenced in (Hammond n.d.).

[2] For a discussion of place names among Whapmagoostui Cree, the closely related neighbours of the Naskapi to the west, see Denton (2007).

(Paré 1990). Additional place name data were provided by the NNK for the purpose of the present study, including lists apparently compiled in the course of place name work carried out by the Naskapi Development Corporation (NDC n.d.). While these names closely follow those from the Commission de toponymie publication, there are some differences. In some cases, changes have been made in the spellings of names, and English language "glosses"(English translations of the names) have been added, sometimes diverging from the French language glosses in Paré (1990). There are a number of additional names included in the NDC (n.d.) lists that are not in Paré (1990).

Other sources for local place names include written accounts by Euro-Canadian visitors to the area, in particular, those of HBC fur trader James Clouston (1963) and of geologist / surveyor A. P. Low (1896). A compilation of place names was made by Marc Hammond as part of his Project area work carried out for the Naskapi in the late 1970s.[3] Apart from the Paré (1990) names, Hammond includes names collected as part of a broader Innu land-use study (Laforest 1983), and we have included the Innu names in our compilation. The Québec Commission de toponymie online database of place names (CTQ 2021) was also consulted concerning Indigenous place names in the area, including Inuit names.[4] There are several place names from this source that are not found in other sources.

The compiled place name data for the project area includes at total of 68 named places, of which 65 are from within the project area boundaries.[5] For these places or geographic features, 94 place names were recorded, indicating that some places are represented by more than one name.

Table 9.1 shows the Naskapi and other Indigenous place names associated with the most prominent lakes and rivers in the project area. Apart from the Naskapi names, the table also includes some Innu names, a single Inuit place name, as well as historically recorded place names. The fact that there is a degree of diversity of names for places is extremely interesting, yet difficult to interpret. It could suggest a lack of close, ongoing contact on the land between the different groups—Cree, Innu, and Naskapi—visiting and using traditional Naskapi territory, a separation that can be attributed to events during the fur trade period, as presented in section 8.2 of this report.

While few names of major lakes and rivers in the area have any direct archaeological significance, all assist in orienting us within the territory, and some are useful in making connections with historical accounts by Euro-Canadian visitors as presented in chapter 8. Awareness of place

[3]Place names were included in the Google Earth (kmz) data file containing land-use information shared with us by Marc Hammond.

[4]There is a single Inuit name in the project area, that relating to Lake Colombet, which is the most southerly Inuit named place in the Ungava region CTQ (2021) and *Nunatop - Inuit Place Names Maps. Quebec.* (2021).

[5]Three places just outside the boundaries of the project area were also included.

name variants will be essential for any future interviews with Naskapi Elders concerning places within the project area.

Table 9.1: Indigenous names of major lakes and rivers in the project area (modern Naskapi names emphasized)

Official name	Indigenous name	Gloss	Source	Notes
Châteauguay River				
	piachikiastook	ice-dam river	Low (1896: 117); Map Labrador Peninsula North West Sheet	
	asischistikw / aschistuk sipiy	muddy river	(CTQ 2021) / NDC (n.d.)	
	Mitcheston River	river flowing from Micheston lake	Clouston (1963: 58, note 1)	
Lake Châteauguay				
	Mitcheston Lake	high waves lake? (see below)	Clouston (ibid.: 58, note 1)	
	maatisistin	high waves lake	NDC (n.d.)	
Cambrien Lake				
	mistisipu nipiy	big-river lake area.	NDC (ibid.)	
Caniapiscau River				
	mistisipu	big-river		Whapmagoostui Cree also referred to the Caniapiscau (and Koksoak) as Mistisipi ('big river')
	kaniapiskau sipiy	river flowing from Caniapiscau Lake	NDC (ibid.)	
Fort McKenzie				
	washkekinish	little house	Hammond (in progress[a]: A-27)	Naskapi name

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Table 9.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Official name	Indigenous name	Gloss	Source	Notes
	Kantshekakamau / Kamshekakemao / Kamsehkakemats / Kaachishekaakamau (Cree)	cliff face waters	Hammond (in progress[a]: A-27), Hammond (n.d.)	Innu (and Cree) name variants
Swampy Bay River (lower section)				
	kawawachisakau	winding cliff face waters	??	
Swampy Bay River				
	Wausquash River	named after bay of lake Wakuach	CTQ (2021)	Lake Wakuach variant: Uskwas, ou Uskwàs (‘small birch’)
	natwyastic	river flowing from notable riverine lake	Clouston (1963: 58)	It is possible that Wakuach is the notable riverine lake near the headwaters.
Lake Canichico (formerly Lake Le Moyne)				
	Canichico	meaning unknown	CTQ (2021)	
	kanachakagamau		(Low 1896: Labrador Peninsula, North West Map Sheet)	
	kaichisakakamau	lac de l’escarpement		
	kaichisakakamau nipiy	one side cliff lake	NDC (n.d.)	
	Nattasaicagamo / Natchaicagamy Lake	related to cliff face	Erlandson (1963b: 204, 205, 207, 209, 215, 221, 256)	
Lake Nachicapau				

Continued on next page

Table 9.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Official name	Indigenous name	Gloss	Source	Notes
	nachikupau	name said to relate to 'willows', to 'making a stop' or to the 'two arms' of the lake	Paré (1990: 58); CTQ (2021); NDC (n.d.)	Innu name according to CTQ (2021)
	naachikupaaw nipiiy	standing together lake	NDC (n.d.: Feb. 2021 version)	dense-willows-standing-in-water; Describes the shape of the land around the lake. Name referred to in John Peastitute story. Note: same as Innu name.
	musawakuskan	hook fishing under the ice	Paré (1990: 57)	Better gloss may be 'away from shore line fishing'. Paré says that this name refers to part of lake, while CTQ says that this is Naskapi name for the lake, which may be incorrect or misleading.
Chute aux Schistes				
	aputamuschun	steep fall	NDC (n.d.)	
de la Mort River				
	wayustikw / waawiiyuusiistikw sipiy	fat / grease river	Paré (1990: 69); NDC (n.d.)	
Beurling River				
	asischustikusis	little muddy river	CTQ (2021)	
	piunik sipiy		NDC (n.d.)	Naskapi loan word from official name
Lake Colombet				

Continued on next page

Table 9.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Official name	Indigenous name	Gloss	Source	Notes
	kasakaupuyau	narrow bushy lake	Paré (1990: 34)	
	wapanikuskan / wapanikuskan nipiy / wapanikskan	throw fishing line	Paré (ibid.: 68); CTQ (2021); NDC (n.d.)	
	wippinicoscaw	same name as above	Erlandson (1963b: 201-203, 205, 209, 210, 2015, 216)	
	Irqasarvik	line fishing lake	CTQ (2021)	Inuit name for lake with similar meaning as Naskapi name relating to line fishing.

Indigenous names can be categorized in different ways. In the following sections, we present the place names in the project area in terms of whether they are 'descriptive,' refer to faunal or other resources, or refer to events or to people (Denton 2007). Table 9.2 provides a summary of this categorization for the Indigenous place names that have been compiled for the project area.

9.1.1 Descriptive names

As shown in table 9.2, the largest category (roughly 40%) of place names can be referred to as "descriptive," that is they describe an element of local geography. While these names can provide insight into how the environment is perceived and what elements of it may be culturally significant, they do not necessarily provide direct or obvious clues concerning historical land use. One example of an exception to this would be geographical terms indicating winter open water places that attract fish and a variety of game animals in the winter, and where special care is required in travelling.[6] While there are no 'winter open water' place names in our sample, or similar terms used as place names, the possibility that such 'resource rich' places exist in the project area should be considered.

[6]The Labrador Innu use the term *ashkui* to refer to these special places (Baillie et al. 2004; Howell et al. 2002; Penashue 2007).

Table 9.2: Types of Indigenous (mostly Naskapi) place names in the project area

Type	Number	Percent
descriptive	39	40.5
faunal resource	25	27.6
other resource	3	3.2
event	9	9.6
person	3	3.2
trading post	1	1.1
indeterm.	14	14.9
Total	**94**	100.0

While there are likely place names in our database that similarly encode essential ecological knowledge of significance for travel, animal harvesting, or settlement, their practical significance remains unclear as we lack a contextual framework for understanding them. For example, the name *kapikwatimi nipiy* (or simply *kapikwatimi*) means 'half shallow lake,' and may well relate to the potential of this lake, or parts of it, for net or line fishing.

The following are a few examples of descriptive names: *asini kanuwastach* ('tilted rock') referring to a mountain, *kaupiyakau* ('sandy narrows'), *asischistikw* ('muddy river'), *kaychisakamau* ('one side cliff lake'), and *katakutawachitich* ('summit lake').

9.1.2 Names referring to faunal resources

The 25 names relating to faunal resources make up close to 30% of the sample. Of these, all but six relate to fishing. Examples of the fishing names include: *chinusaukuskap nipiy* ('pike line fishing lake'), *atiihkimaakw saakaikin* ('whitefish lake'), *wapanikuskan* ('thrown line fishing place'), pikwayipanan nipiy ('winter net fishing lake'), *kamikuyakwayaw nipiy* ('red fish bladder lake'), etc. While all of the names related to fish or fishing indicate past fish harvesting activities, or at least a potential for such activities, they do not tell us much more that would be useful in identifying specific areas of archaeological potential. Many of the names relate to winter line or net fishing, but they do not indicate precise fishing places. There are no names in the sample obviously referring to spring or fall spawning places that are likely to be spatially localized and could well be associated with nearby settlement(s) occupied during the spawning period.

While fishing names mainly refer to small or medium lakes, occasionally very large bodies of water are named for this resource. An important example of the latter is *wapanikuskan* ('throw fishing line' or 'dawn fishing lake') for the large lake with the official name, Lake Colombet, located to the east of the Caniapiscau River in the far northern part of the project area. Here both the Naskapi and Innu names point to the importance of this lake for line fishing (*kuskan*), and both connect with the historical name, *wippinicoscaw*, recorded in the journals of Erland Erlandson at the short-lived trading post of South River House (Erlandson 1963b: passim, 201-216).[7]

The few names associated with faunal resources other than fish include those referring to caribou (N=1), beaver (N=3), and lynx (N=2). It is noteworthy that a single name in the sample relates to caribou (*katauchiwapitum nipiy*, 'where caribou come on the ice',[8]), a species that in earlier historical periods was so important to the Naskapi.

All of these names suggest lines of possible inquiry for interviews with Naskapi Elders to identify major fishing locations more precisely. Later in this report we will examine whether there is an overlap between the names and locations identified as fishing spots in the land-use data.

9.1.3 Names referring to other resources

The three names relating to other resources include two variants of a name for a stream that indicates that people acquired wood to make toboggans in this area (*uutapanaskwatikuch* or *uutapanaskwatikuch kamiyusich sipiy*, 'good toboggan wood river'). Finally, the name *uspwakanashinich kamiyusich* ('good pipestone creek') suggests that people historically acquired stone to make smoking pipes near this creek or, at the very least, identified it as a source location for this material. Both of these names suggest lines of further inquiry for future interviews with Naskapi Elders. In the case of the pipe stone, it would also be useful to examine geological maps to determine whether there are mineral deposits that correspond with this raw material source.

9.1.4 Names referring to people or events

There are a small number of names in our database that relate to persons. One is a Naskapi loan word from the official name, Beurling (Beurling River). One is a small lake named *patsi saakaikin*

[7] While, the Innu name presents some problems, perhaps due to a transcription error, it clearly contains the same prefix of wapan- or, in this case, wepen- and the same -skan—as in *kuskan*—ending).

[8] While the name does not specifically reference caribou, the NDC (n.d.) rendering indicates that what is seen is caribou.

('Betsy's lake') after the woman who found this lake that has lots of pike in it. Another location appears to be named after someone called *muskanish*.[9]

Nine names seem to refer to events, for example, *tikwachuwapis* ('little autumn house'), *ka-muskuchinanuch* ('they cried because they were cold'), *asuy kayaikwapautakinuch nipiy* ('ice chisel lake'), *wapus kamuskusut* ('rabbit cries because of boiling'), and *atikus kakutapukusit* ('a young caribou drowned'). It would be fascinating to hear the stories that must be connected with these names. Two of these 'event names' may reflect past feasts: *waawiiyuusiistikw sipiy* ('fat / grease river') and *uuspiskun amichinanuch nipiy* ('eating upper back [of caribou] lake').

9.1.5 Place names and archaeological potential

Place names provide insight on the territory from a Naskapi perspective, and clues concerning past travel and resource use. Therefore, indirectly, they may provide guidance for archaeological surveys or inventories. As already mentioned, place names tend to designate general areas such as a lake or a river rather than specific localities. For example, all of the names relating to fishing point to lakes associated with fish rather than specific fishing or spawning locations. The same is true for the few names that relate to other faunal resources (beaver, caribou, and lynx).

A single name in the sample points to a precise locality, as opposed to a broader geographic feature. The name *kastunaniuch*, or to use the NDC's corrected spelling *Kâ-astuwînânûuch*, relates to canoe building and thus this place could be associated with spring camps where canoes were built.[10] Interestingly, *Kâ-astuwînânûuch* is located on the Caniapiscau River directly adjacent to the fishing lake known as *wapanikuskan* (Lake Colombet). This location, indeed this section of the river, is thus of great archaeological interest.

In general, the place name information should be read in conjunction with the land-use, historical, and other information. It is hoped that additional archaeological clues will arise when these different data sets are considered together.

[9] To be confirmed through interviews.

[10] Thanks to John Bishop for pointing out this possibility, later confirmed in a more recent version of the NDC toponymy database. Note that the Naskapi term for canoe building is Kaastuwinaanuuch ('people make canoes'), while the Cree term for this activity is *kaa ashtuyinaaniwich* (MacKenzie and Jancewicz 2015, John Bishop: pers. comm. 2021).

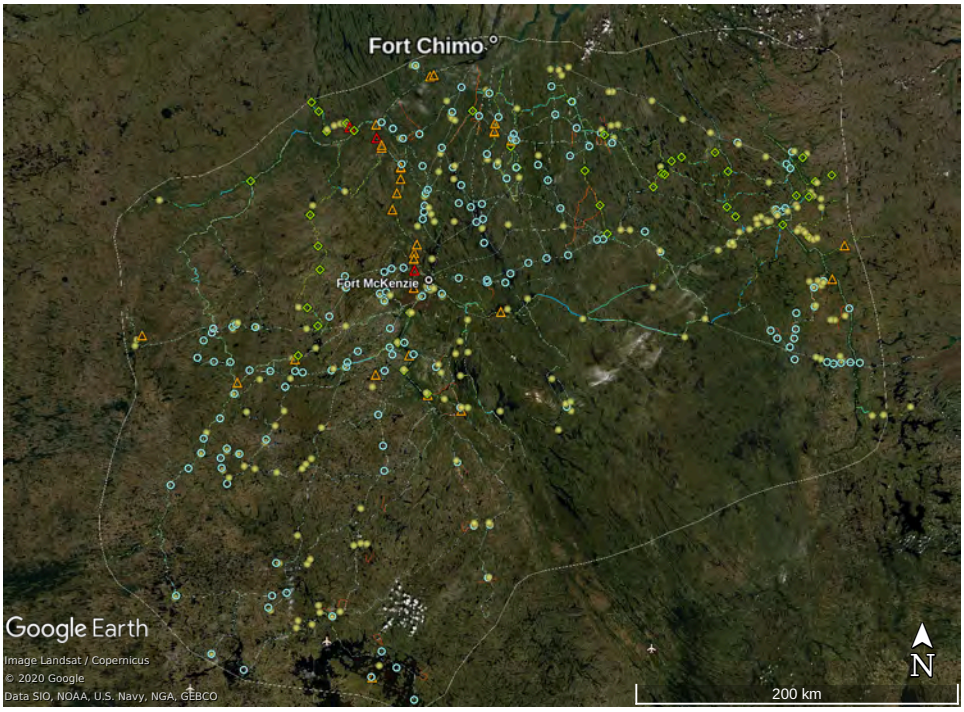

Figure 9.1: Google Earth version of Naskapi land-use and occupancy information from Hammond (n.d.).

9.2 Land-use mapping

9.2.1 Naskapi land-use and occupancy maps (1976)

The most detailed source of land-use information for the project area comes from a Google Earth database prepared by Marc Hammond based on work carried out in Schefferville in the late 1970s (Hammond n.d.). While the territorial interests of the Cree and Inuit had already been established through the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, signed into law in November 1975, little notice had been taken of the Naskapis territorial interests. Hammond's fieldwork in Schefferville was undertaken in January and February of 1976 as a means of rapidly providing information to negotiators concerning traditional Naskapi land-use and occupancy (Hammond in progress[a]). In January 1978, the Northeastern Quebec Agreement, which deals with Naskapi territorial interests, was signed into law.

The objective of the mapping carried out by Hammond "was to show where Inuit and Cree were making claims that conflicted with Naskapi interests." A decision was made to focus the research on the period between 1940 and 1956 in order to ensure the largest possible number of participants. Note that these dates include the latter part of the period when Fort McKenzie was

open (up until 1948), and the following period when the Naskapi again traded and summered at Fort Chimo, up until the move to Schefferville. Geographically, the western and northern areas were emphasized as a means of providing information from these parts of Naskapi traditional lands that appeared most compromised by Cree and Inuit claims (ibid.: A-6). The mapping involved just over 20 Naskapi men between 40 and 81 years of age (i.e., individuals born between 1895 and 1935). Hammond asked participants "to locate summer and winter campsites, burial grounds, trap lines, travel routes, portages and worthy fishing places" on 1:250,000 National Topographic System map sheets. An assemblage of eight 1:500,000 NTS map sheets was used to assist informants in orienting themselves (ibid.: A-9). One limitation of this land-use study was the severe time constraint for carrying out the work, which made individual map biographies impossible. Another limitation relates to the lack of ongoing Naskapi use of these territories as a result of the forced move to Schefferville in 1956. In contrast to land-use mapping exercises carried out by the Inuit in northern Quebec, who were still actively using the territory being mapped, the Naskapi were "defining lands that they had hardly visited over two decades" (ibid.: 6). Clearly this affected the level of detail possible.

The overview map of all the Hammond land-use and occupancy data shown in figure 9.2 reveals another limitation of the data for our purposes. The overall pattern of data points forms a horseshoe shape facing toward the northwest, with relatively more points in the west, north, and northeast and fewer or no points in the "hollow" of the horseshoe to the southeast. This pattern is largely explained by the geographic focus of the research in relation to Cree and Inuit claims (ibid.: A-9).[11] The project area borders on the southwestern zone for which there is no data and, as we will see below, this appears to affect the relative number of data points in its eastern portion, especially the area surrounding Lake Nachicapau.

The Google Earth database consists of points, lines, and a small number of polygons presented in Google Earth (.kmz) format Hammond (ibid.: A-10–16) as shown in figure 9.1. In the following sections, we present these land-use data, focusing on the project area.[12] We follow Hammond (ibid.) in presenting the information from the database broken down into the following categories:

1. Summer camps and travel routes;
2. Winter camps and travel routes;
3. Fishing spots and trap lines; and

[11] A contributing factor is that the relatively sparse data from the 1:250,000 map sheets in that southeast area (corresponding to the Dyke Lake 1:500,000 map) were not included in the database. These map sheets were left in Matimekosh following the research and have since been lost or misplaced.

[12] To facilitate the presentation of maps, we transferred the database to three layers (point, line, and polygon) within a Geopackage file, and employed QGIS to style the various elements within the data layers.

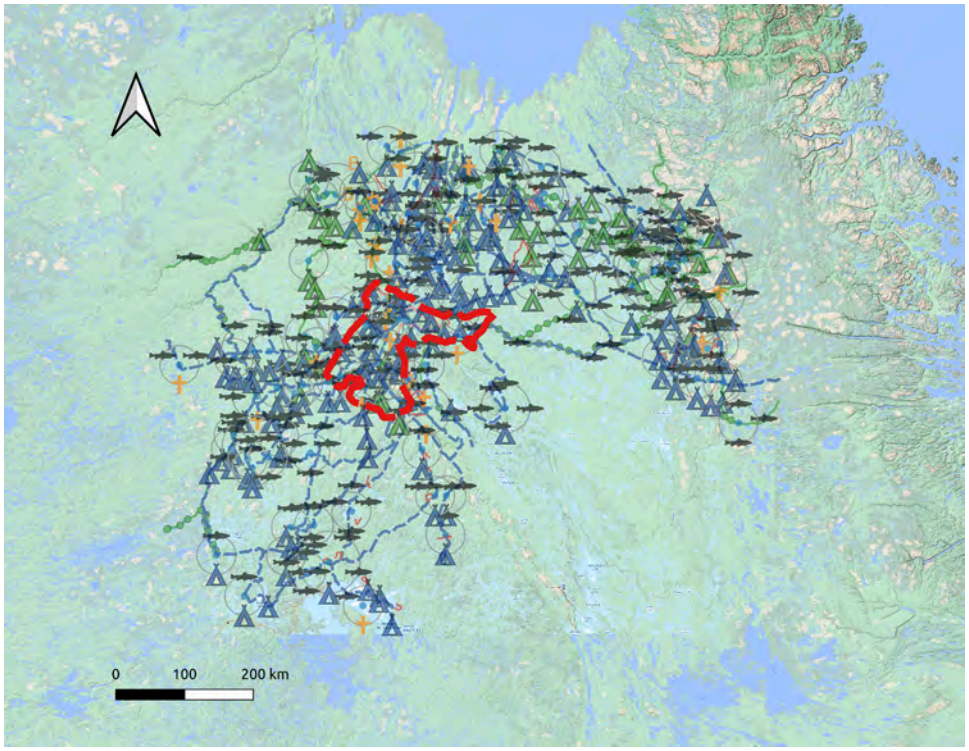

Figure 9.2: Overview of QGIS version of the Hammond land-use and occupancy data in relation to the project area (shown in red dashed line).

4. Birthplaces and burial sites.

Summer camps and travel routes

Figure 9.3 shows the location of camps and travel routes during the May through September period when snow and ice were gone or melting. It is unclear how long any of these camps were used or whether they were used recurrently. The much lower number of summer versus winter camps likely reflects Naskapi summer gathering near the trading posts of Fort McKenzie or Fort Chimo (Hammond in progress[a]: A-10, 11), or summer work for the HBC transporting supplies to the trading post.

Several observations can be made concerning the travel routes indicated. As expected, the following travel routes are included:

1. Caniapiscau River / Cambrien Lake to Koksoak River;
2. Swampy Bay River to Lake Nachicapau, and from there to George River;
3. Swampy Bay River to lakes Castignon and Otelnuk and further southeast toward Wakuach Lake.

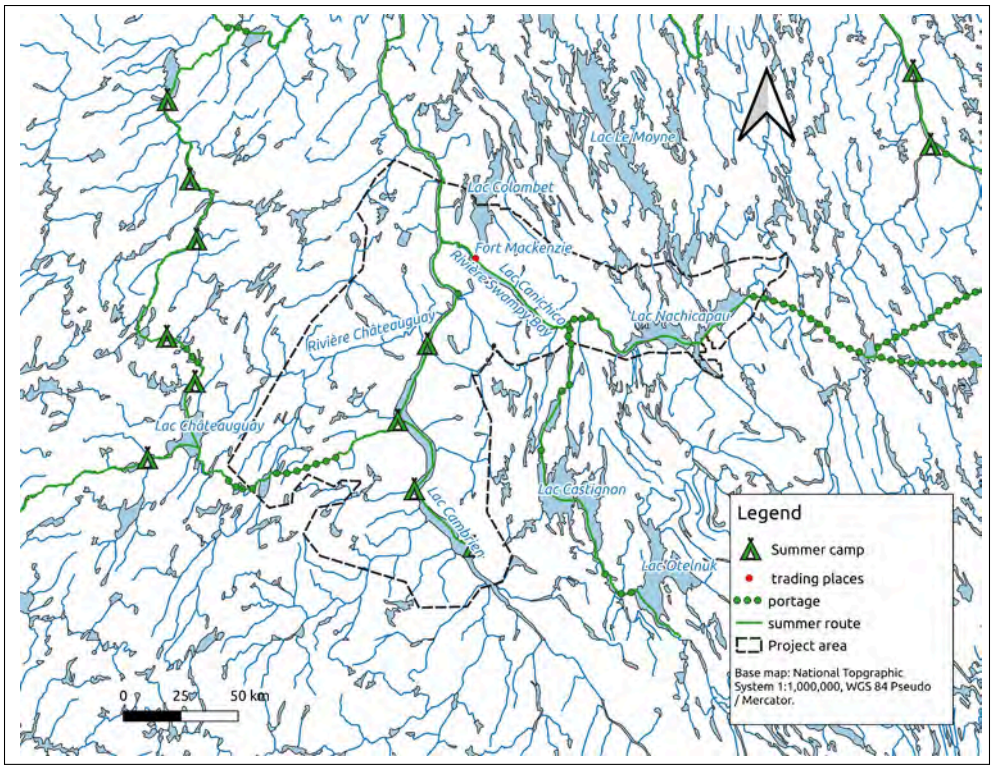

Figure 9.3: Summer camps and travel routes, including portages, within and near the project area. Data from Hammond (n.d.).

One potential summer travel route which is absent is the Châteauguay River. It is not clear whether this route was inadvertently left out or whether this was actually not a route used by the Naskapi during the 1940–1956 period. On the other hand, a route is indicated following the Utapanaskwatikuch River to Lake Natwayasu (*mistiinaatwaayaasuw nipiy*), which involves a 27 km portage. From there, Naskapi travelled to Lake Châteauguay.

Only four summer camps are located within the project area, all on Cambrien Lake. The three most northerly camps are located on the western shore while the southernmost camp is on the eastern shore. The three most northerly camps are near the mouths of rivers or major streams entering the lake from the west. While there are only small streams entering the lake in the area of the most southerly camp, there is possible access to a chain of lakes to the east and from there to the very large Lake Castignon.

Winter camps and routes

Winter camps and travel routes relate to the period from October through April. While, as with the summer camps, the length of occupation is unknown, Hammond suggests that the camps marked are not likely to represent temporary camps used by men and boys when out on the

trapline, implying that these would be family base-camps. Again, it is not known whether the camps or the travel routes were used recurrently. The larger number of winter compared to summer camps reflects the dispersal of Naskapi camps during the winter trapping season. This also reflects the dispersal of food resources during the winter months: the fact that caribou herds were spread out over a large area and that fishing under the ice could not support large numbers of people (Hammond in progress[a]: A-11, 12).

Winter camps and travel routes in the general project area are shown in figure 9.4. As already mentioned, camps associated with the winter season are much more common than summer camps (23 winter vs four summer). As expected, the winter camps are located along travel routes, and most of the travel routes begin or end at Fort McKenzie. There are five camps spread out along a travel route that follows the length of Cambrien Lake. Additional camps are located along travel routes that branch off from this, following rivers or streams that flow into the lake. A number of camps and associated travel routes are focused on small lakes accessible from the north branch of the Châteauguay River, which flows into the main branch of the river less than 10 km from its mouth. Several of the routes accessing small lakes to the west of the northern end of Cambrien Lake involve overland "short-cuts" that avoid the lower Swampy Bay and Châteauguay rivers. Within the project area, travel routes heading to upland lakes to the west of Cambrien also follow several of the smaller rivers, including Utapanaskwatikuch River, de la Mort River, and Beurling River. While there are routes and winter camps associated with lakes to the east of Cambrien Lake, these are much fewer than those to the west.

Near Fort McKenzie, a major travel route follows Lake Canichico, with three very short routes branching off heading to small lakes to the southwest where camps are located. Seemingly important travel routes follow the major waterways to the south (Swampy Bay River system), and to the east to Lake Nachicapau, and beyond. It is interesting to note that the Hammond database records no winter camps on Lake Nachicapau, and only two camps on lakes to the north of Nachicapau near the northern boundary of the project area. In general, there are very few camps included in the Lake Nachicapau area. This may well be accounted for by the petering out of the data in the hollow of the horseshoe shape—or southeastern portion—of the Hammond data, as shown in figure 9.2.

Fishing spots, camps, and trap lines

Fishing spots include places where Naskapi set nets or set lines to catch fish species, especially lake trout, ounaniche (land-locked salmon), speckled trout, whitefish, pike, and burbot. Although most of these are likely winter fishing spots, the database does not distinguish between winter

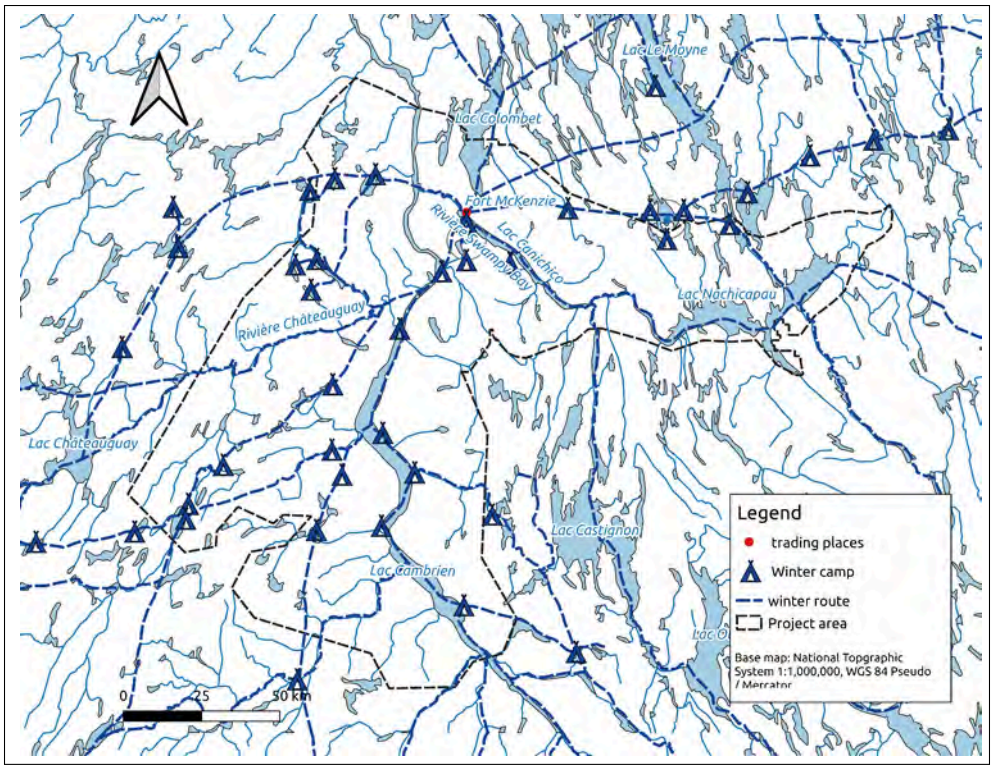

Figure 9.4: Winter camps and travel routes near the project area. Data from Hammond (n.d.).

and summer with respect to fishing. They are included in both the winter and summer maps in order to better examine the relationship between camp locations and fishing spots.

Also included are traverses or lines along which Naskapi set traps for fur-bearers such as marten, mink, weasels, foxes, beaver, muskrat, lynx, and otter. The fact that caribou are not included in the database indicates the rarity of caribou during the 1940–1956 period, and the generally inconsistent movements of this species especially during the winter (ibid.: A-12, 13).

The location of fishing spots and trap lines within (N=21) and near the project area is shown in figure 9.5. Noteworthy here are the six fishing places on Cambrien Lake, most located at the mouths of tributary rivers or streams, the small lakes to the southwest of Lake Canichico, a number of lakes on tributary streams within the Châteauguay River drainage basin, Lake Colombet, and both arms of Lake Nachicapau.

Figure 9.6 shows the correspondence between fishing places and winter camps. We would expect a relationship between the most important winter camps and good fishing places as fish would provide a regular source of food to get the family or families through times when other animals were unavailable.[13] Out of eight locations that show where fishing places overlap spatially

[13] Although most camps will be located in places where fish are available, the fishing places and camps marked on the Hammond land-use maps are likely to be those that were most prominent in the memory of the Naskapi hunters

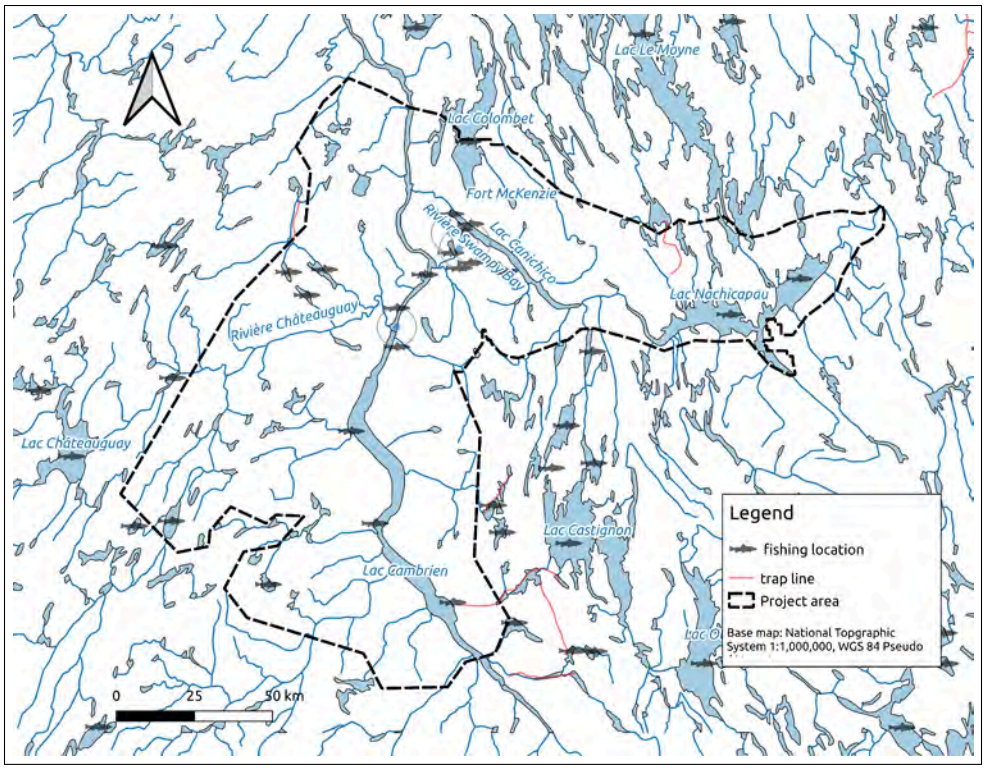

Figure 9.5: Fishing spots and trap lines within and near the project area.

with winter camps (red circles in figure 9.6), four are located on Cambrien Lake and an additional place is situated to the north of the lake on the Caniapiscau River near Chute aux Schistes. Two are associated with relatively small lakes in the western section of the project area, and a final grouping of two fishing lakes with winter camps is located inland to the southwest of the north end of Lake Canichico, not far from Fort McKenzie.

A similar exercise of associated summer camps with fishing spots is shown in figure 9.7. The four places where there is a spatial correspondence between fishing spots and summer camps are all on Cambrien Lake.

Concerning trap lines, there are only two recorded that fall within, or partially within the project area: one to the east of the southern end of Cambrien Lake and the other to the north of Lake Nachicapau (figures 9.5 and 9.6). The small number is surprising and likely does not reflect the reality of Naskapi land use for the 1940–1956 period. In fact, it seems likely that the Naskapi trapped along many of the winter travel routes showing in figure 9.4, and may well have trapped near all of the small lakes noted as fishing places located along these routes. One wonders whether the "trap lines" in the database represent only the most regularly used trapping circuits,

who participated in the gathering of map data, and so would be more likely to be family base camps rather than short-term hunting camps.

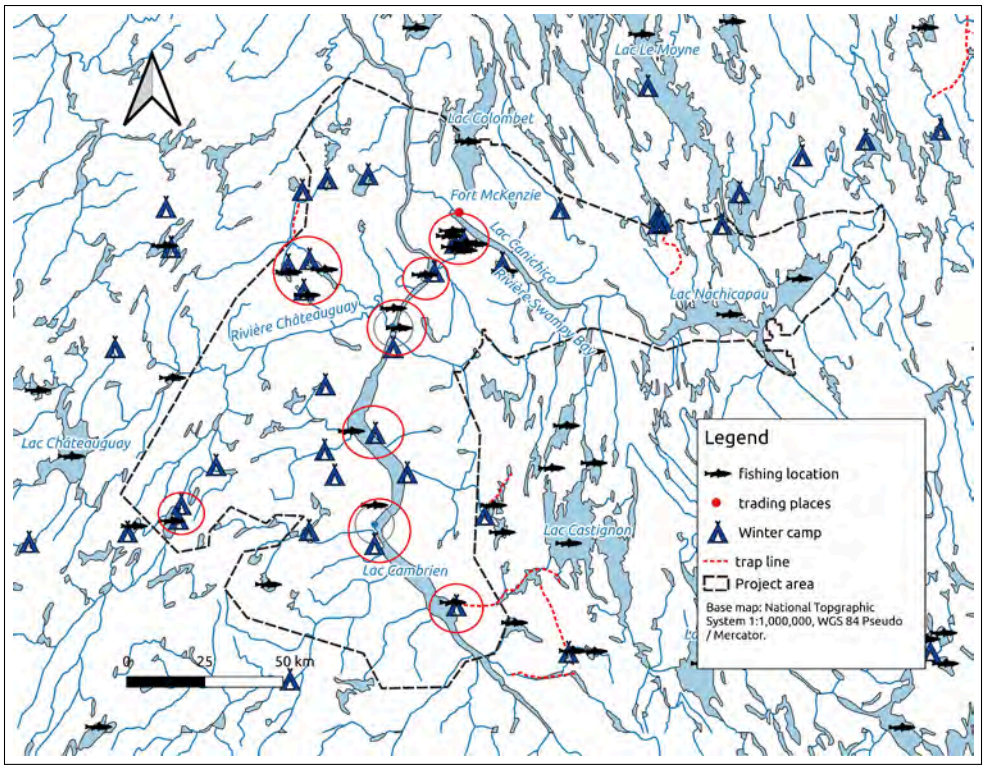

Figure 9.6: Fishing spots, winter camps, and trap lines within and near the project area. Red circles indicate correspondence between camp sites and fishing spots.

or whether there is some other explanation for the small number. One of these trap lines extends east along a series of lakes from the southern end of Cambrien Lake to a large lake (Castignon). The only other trap line indicated in the Hammond database is located north of Lake Nachicapau.

Birthplaces and burial sites

The database includes a small number of Naskapi birthplaces and a larger number of burial sites (Hammond in progress[a]: A-14, 15). Birthplaces and burial sites within and near the project area are shown in figure 9.8. There are six burial sites indicated within the project area (and a seventh just to the west of the western boundary). Of these, it seems noteworthy that five are located along the Caniapiscau River, including Cambrien Lake. This pattern continues to the north of the project area as another nine burials are noted along the Caniapiscau River between the northern limit of the project area and the confluence of the Larch River. A single burial site is noted on the southern shore of the western arm of Lake Nachicapau.

A sole birthplace is noted in the project area, also on the Caniapiscau River, just below the confluence with the Swampy Bay River.

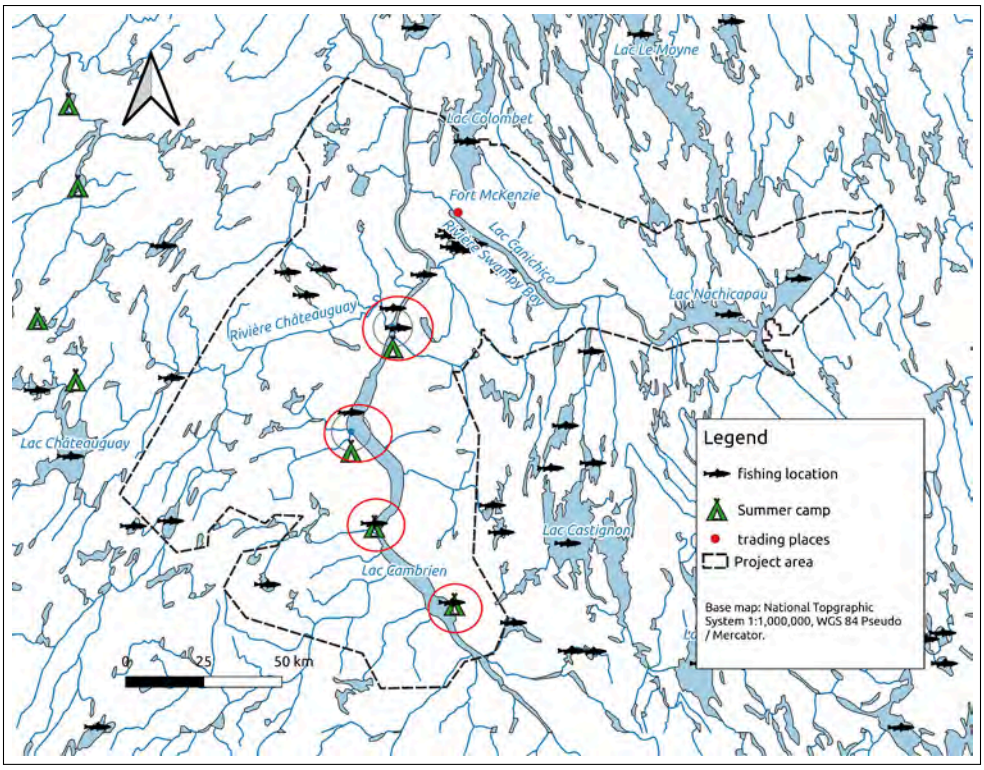

Figure 9.7: Fishing spots and summer camps within and near the project area. Red circles indicate correspondence between camp sites and fishing spots.

The concentration of burial sites along the Caniapiscau River at the north end of the project area, and along the section of the river further north up to the confluence of the Larch River, raises several questions. Surely this distribution reflects the great importance of this stretch of the river as a travel route—the main water transport route between Fort McKenzie and Fort Chimo. It also suggests that people were often living in these areas along the river. However, it is important to note the relative lack of winter or summer camping places dating to 1940–1956 anywhere near the burial sites. Could this suggest that the burial sites are older, and perhaps reflect an older pattern of land use? Are there other reasons for this distribution, for example, Elders being left in camps located along the river, or increased deaths in this area relating to travel hazards? These, and similar questions, need to be posed to Naskapi Elders.

As shown on figure 9.8, the valleys of two tributary rivers just outside of the project area to the south were also indicated to Hammond during the 1976 interviews as being the location of "numerous burials."

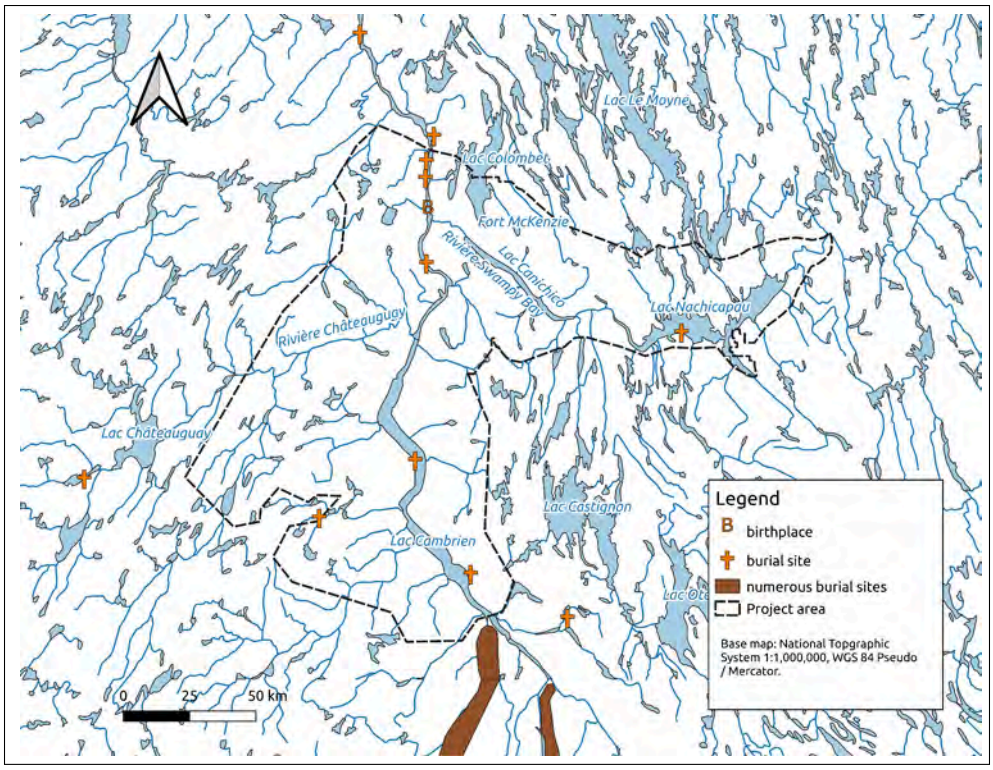

Figure 9.8: Birthplaces and burial sites within and near the project area. Data from Hammond (n.d.).

9.2.2 Wilkinson interviews (1979)

Interviews were carried out in 1978 or 1979—approximately two years before the diversion of the Caniapiscau River—with nine Schefferville Naskapi men aged between 43 and 78[14] concerning use of the Caniapiscau and Swampy Bay rivers (Wilkinson 1979). The interviews focused on land use between about 1916 and 1956, with most observations relating to the latter part of the Fort McKenzie period ending when the post closed in 1948 and the subsequent eight years just prior to the move to Schefferville. While the interviews dealt with a broader territory including the whole of the Caniapiscau drainage basin below the diversion point, there are several observations relevant to our project area.

The interviews include observations concerning wildlife in different locations and how these were used seasonally. Naskapi land use during this period was focused on winter trapping for fur-bearing animals. Fish were extremely important to people's survival, especially lake trout, ounaniche, speckled trout, whitefish, red and white sucker and pike. Each family spent much of the summer transporting materials for the HBC. As caribou were almost completely absent

[14]John Peastitute, Phillip Peastitute, John Einish, Gumshoe Einish, Pete Guanish, Robert Pien, Willie Einish, Uniam, and Joseph Nabinacaboo.)

from the area during this period, several families would travel in the late summer to the George River to hunt in order to obtain quantities of meat, as well as raw materials essential for making moccasins, mittens, and snowshoes. Travel to the George River area by canoe took about a month and involved a route that passed through Nachicapau Lake. The return trip was made after freeze-up on snowshoes pulling toboggans, bringing their canoes with them.[15]

Several places in or very near our project area were referred to in the interviews:

- Several hunters mentioned Pisiuchis 'lynx hill' (a large hill approximately 20 km south and southeast of Fort McKenzie, between the Caniapiscau River and Lake Canichico) being an important place for hunting lynx and hare and for trapping;
- Several locations were indicated as important fishing places:
  - Lake Colombet (Waapinikuskin Nipiiy), good for most species of fish;
  - Lake Nachicapau, good for fishing in all seasons;
  - Chute aux Schistes (Shale Falls), good for most species;
  - Pons River;
  - Cambrien Lake, a spawning place for ounaniche.

In general, the importance of porcupine, fish, ptarmigan, and hare for winter sustenance was emphasized. Bear could be hunted in their dens in winter along the Caniapiscau River. The usual trapping and hunting areas of several hunters and their families included at least portions of the project area, in particular Joseph Nabinacaboo (Otelnuk Nachicapau area), Pete Guanish (Fort McKenzie area), Robert Pien (west of Caniapiscau River from Cambrien Lake as far as Lake Sérigny), and Johnny Uniam (east of the project area in the Whale River drainage basin but including Lake Nachicapau). Long distance travel and connections with other areas include regular hunting trips to the George River (most hunters), visiting with Great Whale people at Lake Bienville (Robert Pien), and travel to Davis Inlet (Johnny Einish).

9.2.3 Fort McKenzie project (1980s)

Interviews with Naskapi Elders were carried out in Kawawachikamach during the summer of 1985 in what came to be called "the Fort McKenzie project." These focused on various aspects of Naskapi life at and around Fort McKenzie during the period of operation of the trading post.[16]

[15] Most certainly using a sled made for pulling canoes.

[16] The interviews and related work were jointly funded by Hydro-Québec and the Naskapi Band. A total of 14 interviews and three life histories were recorded, and then translated and transcribed in English (Groupe Helianthe, inc. 1987: 19-20). A total of 24 Naskapi men and women were involved in the interviews (ibid.: 37), which were carried out by three different anthropologists in the course of three visits to the Kawawachikamach.

English language transcriptions of 11 interviews (involving 8 Naskapi Elders), prepared by one of the anthropologists, were compiled as a report submitted to Hydro-Québec (Proulx 1985).[17] While the interviews were not primarily map-based, there are occasional references to places on the land, sometimes using Naskapi place names.

The limited land-use information indicates the importance of Lake Nachicapau, at least for one of the families trading at Fort McKenzie. One Naskapi Elder, a man born in 1923, mentioned that this is where they used to fish, hunt, and set their traps, pointing at Lake Nachicapau (ibid.: 7-2.6). "Only when it's winter we would go back 'there' [after hunting caribou in the George River area to the east], and that's where we used to hunt. Lac Nachicapau you understand" (ibid.: 7-2.11). The same man talks about winter resupply trips he made from the family camp at Nachicapau to Fort McKenzie. After he got married (at Fort McKenzie), he brought his wife back and they lived around Lake Nachicapau. His daughter was born there (ibid.: 7-2.17).

9.2.4 Naskapi Development Corporation land-use data (1990s)

A map created under the auspices of the Naskapi Development Corporation (NDC) provides some additional land-use information.[18] The Naskapi language version of the entire map is presented in figure 9.9, while figure 9.10 shows the information on hunting routes within and near the project area from the same source.[19]

While some of the hunting routes shown on this map are clearly winter routes (those that do not follow waterways), neither the printed map nor the shapefile distinguish between winter or summer travel. Another issue is knowing the time period of land use: do the lines represent current or historic routes, or both?

Like the winter routes in the Hammond database, the hunting routes compiled in 1999–2000 in the general project area begin (or end) at Fort McKenzie. Many of the routes generally follow streams and rivers, including the tributaries flowing into Cambrien Lake from the west. As in the Hammond winter route information, there are "short-cuts" where the route is overland.

9.2.5 KRG interviews (2020)

A final source of land-use information comes from interviews with two Naskapi Elders carried out by Kativik Regional Government (KRG) Park Planning Officers in August 2020. Figure 9.11

[17] Document made available to us by the NNK.

[18] The map was created in 1999–2000 by Francis Dorion, with research by geographer André Poulin, at l'Université de Sherbrooke. Naskapi advisors credited on the map are Joseph Guanish, Philip Einish, Noah Einish, John Shecanapish, Willie Einish, and Johnny Uniam (Hammond in progress[a]: figure A-11).

[19] From ESRI shapefile provided by the NNK.

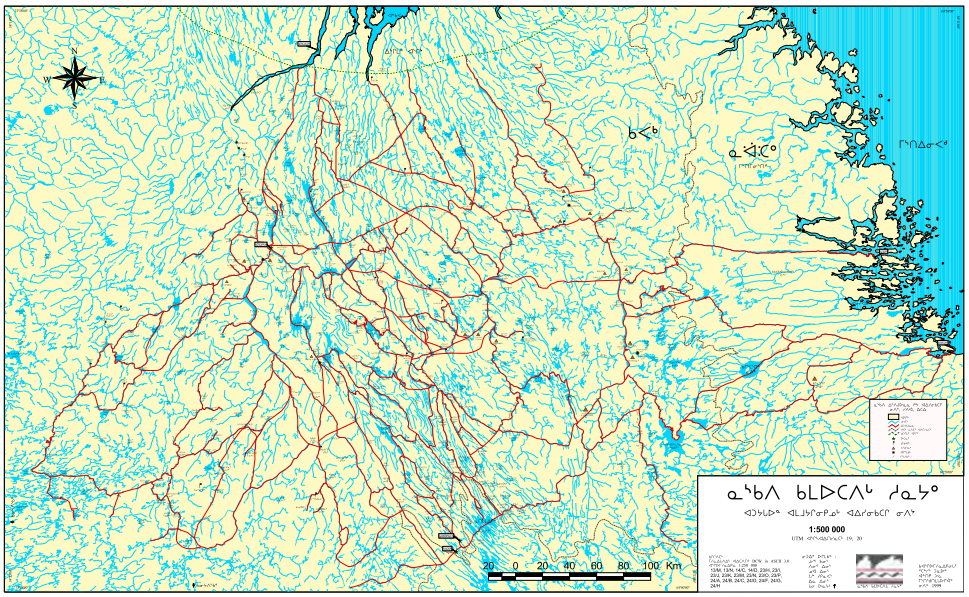

Figure 9.9: Naskapi Development Corporation map showing hunting routes and toponymy (*Naskapi Hunting Routes and Toponymy of Lakes, Rivers and Landmarks* 1999).

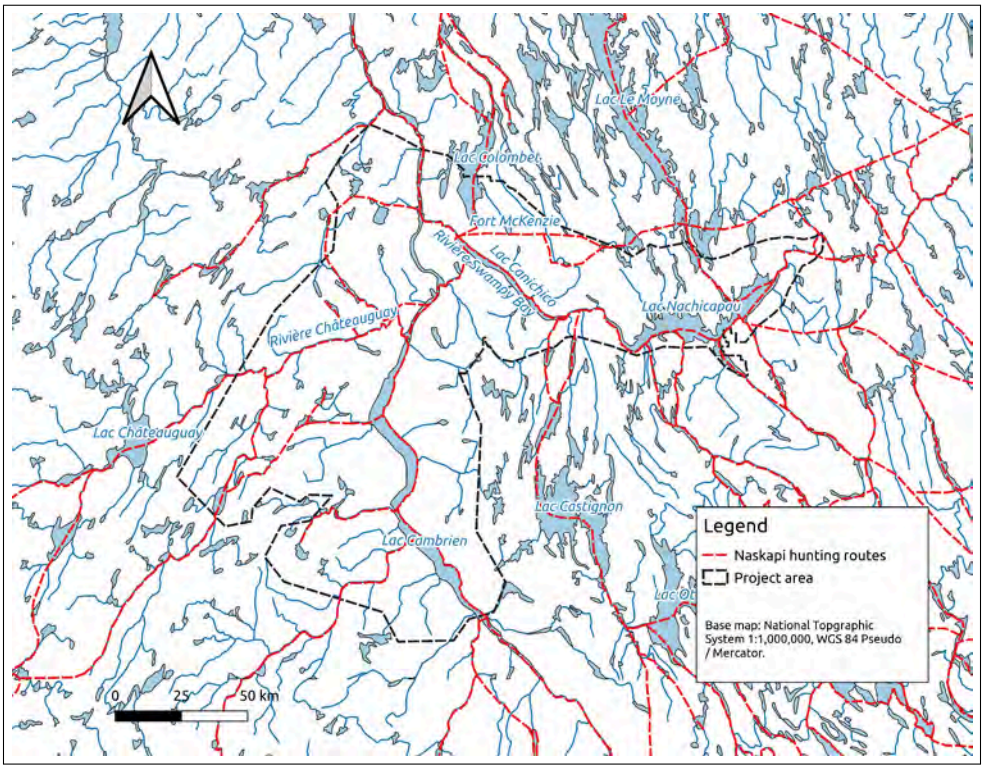

Figure 9.10: Hunting routes within and near the project area. Data from *Naskapi Hunting Routes and Toponymy of Lakes, Rivers and Landmarks* (1999).

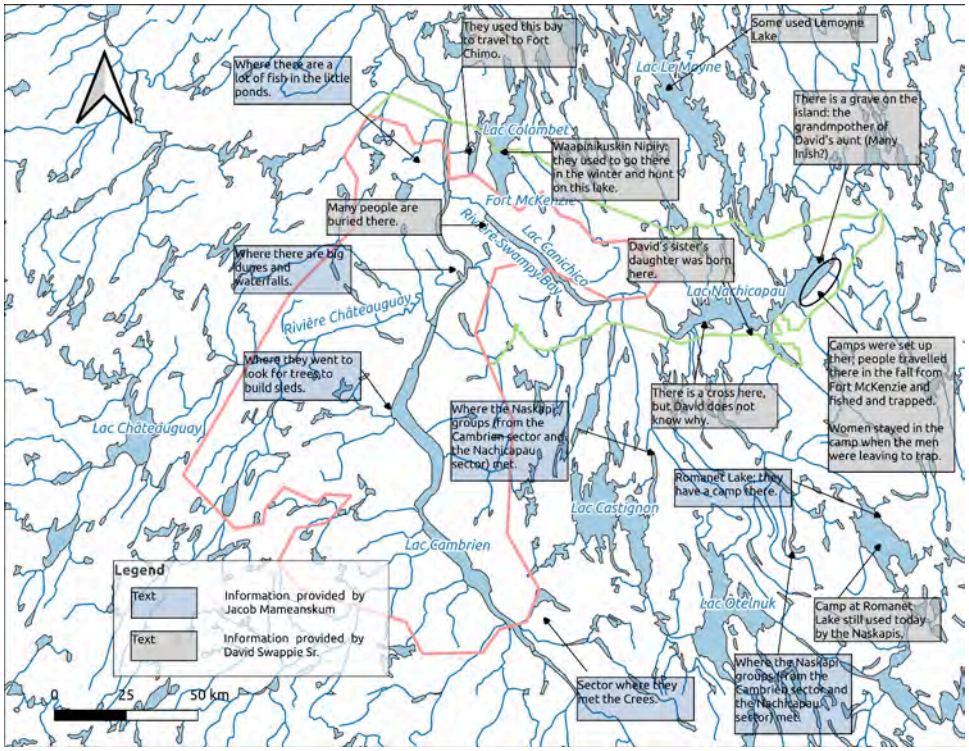

Figure 9.11: Land-use information from KRG / NNK interviews (2020). Adapted from Le Gall-Payne and Ricard (2021: 19-24).

shows map information provided by David Swappie Sr. and Jacob Mameamscum concerning the project area.

David Swappie was born in 1935. His father died when he was three years old and is buried at Fort Chimo. After his father's death, his sister married a man from the Fort McKenzie area, and so the family moved there. They were part of a group who mainly lived, hunted, and fished around Lake Nachicapau. Another group was based along the Caniapiscau River. After Fort McKenzie closed, they continued to live in the Nachicapau area (Le Gall-Payne and Ricard 2021: 19).[20]

> David said that they had a camp in the eastern sector of Nachicapau Lake. Nachikapau Lake was the natural place to be in winter. The women stayed at the camp while the men were out hunting and trapping, the men would hunt in groups of 2 or 3. The women were fishing in Nachicapau Lake. He mentions fish weighed up to 30 pounds in Nachicapau Lake (ibid.: 19).

[20]David would have been 13 when the post closed.

People would travel to Mushuau Nipi on the George River to hunt caribou so that they would have meat for the winter and hides to make clothing.[21] During the winter, men would sometimes travel to Fort Chimo to obtain supplies. Three to five men would walk via an overland route (not by the Caniapiscau River) and return with supplies. As shown on figure 9.11, the route passed by a bay of Lake Wapanikuskan. David indicated that Naskapi still fish in Nachicapau Lake, but only in the winter.

As shown on figure 9.11, the camps in the Nachicapau area are said to have been along the south shore of the eastern arm of the lake. A birthplace, the location where David's daughter was born, is also located on the south shore of the lake, but in the general area of the narrows between the two arms.

There is one known grave site on Nachicapau Lake, where David's aunt (Many Einish?) is buried, located on the large island near the eastern end of Nachicapau Lake. At another location on the southern shore of the western arm of the lake, a wooden cross marks a spot near where a Naskapi hunter was found dead on the ice. The name of this hunter is not known, nor is it clear if the cross marks a grave or is a commemorative marker.

David Swappie mentioned Lake Colombet, known in Naskapi as Waapinikuskin Nipiiy, in the northern sector of the project area,[22] as a place where people would go in the winter to hunt, and certainly to fish as well. This important fishing place has already been mentioned: the Naskapi place name indicates that this is a hook fishing (*-kuskin*) place.[23]

In his interview, Jacob Mameamscum mentioned that he was born near Châteauguay Lake, and that in the past he mainly used the area along the Wayustikw River and Châteauguay Lake. He and his family "were everywhere along the Caniapiscau River fishing and trapping, and even further inland ... Their winter camp might change location, but they were always along the river" (Le Gall-Payne and Ricard 2021: 22). Jacob's grandfather also used to hunt in this area.

Jacob noted that people mainly lived on fish, hare, bear, and porcupine. There were a few caribou in the area of the Caniapiscau River, but mostly people travelled to the George River to hunt this species. Jacob also notes "that many people are buried along the Caniapiscau River, including his mother, as they were travelling there."[24]

[21] The KRG / NNK report indicates that people would leave for the George River to hunt caribou in the spring. This needs to be confirmed as a Naskapi informant in 1985 suggested that people would leave in late July (Proulx 1985: 7-3.14),

[22] Note that the northern portion of this lake is outside the proposed boundary of the protected area.

[23] This lake was previously mentioned and will be referred to again in several other sections of this report as an important fishing place.

[24] This information agrees with the Hammond map in figure 9.8 showing numerous burial sites on the Caniapiscau River at the northern end of the project area, and further downriver as discussed above.

Jacob mentioned two areas where Naskapi sometime met with Crees from the west, including Châteauguay Lake and, as noted in figure 9.11, an area on or near the Caniapiscau River to the south of the project area. He noted two other locations (to the west of the project area) as zones where Naskapi from the Caniapiscau River group would meet up with those from the Nachicapau group. Finally, Jacob mentions two resource use locations, one related to fishing (an area in the northern part of the project area to the west of the Caniapiscau River where there are many fish in small ponds), and the other related to harvesting wood to make sleds (toboggans), very likely associated with the river with the official name Utapanaskwatikuch, referring to toboggan wood.

9.3 Stories by John Peastitute

There are doubtless a great many Naskapi stories relating different parts of the project area. The greatest body of published stories is represented by the John Peastitute books published by the Naskapi Development Corporation. While most of the 10 or so books published are of the *âtiyûhkin* form (myths or legends), there are several books containing stories of the *tipâchimûn* (historical accounts) form. A few of the latter type of story relate to places in the project area that can be identified by place name.

John Peastitute was born at the confluence of the Mélèzes and Caniapiscau rivers in 1896. He spent most of his life hunting, fishing, and trapping in a large region north and west of Fort McKenzie, including the northern portion of the project area. He travelled in virtually all of the Naskapi traditional lands during his life and well beyond, occasionally visiting trading posts at Great Whale River (Whapmagoostui), Sept-îles (Uashat), North West River (Sheshatshit), and Davis Inlet (Utshimassits). He was married to Susie Annie. John died in Matimekosh in 1981 (Peastitute 2016: Appendices). The stories in these books were recorded in 1967 by Serge Melançon for the Laboratoire d'anthropologie amérindienne.

Kinuwapinuw's story of the sitting Âchân

One of the stories that references places in the project area is "Kinuwapinuw's story of the sitting Âchân" concerning a shaking tent ceremony conducted by a man named Kinuwapinuw to rid the area of Âchân, the cannibal giant. The story was told to John by his father. It begins:

> I hadn't yet been born when these things happened. It was my father who told the story. My parents were living with another person at the time, whose name was Kinuwapinuw. Right here at *Kâischâkâkamâw*, is where they were staying and where they spent the spring. They paddled out to the outlet. It was at *Kâischâkâkamâw* that

Figure 9.12: John Peastitute with his wife Susie Annie, near Fort McKenzie, about 1942. Photo by P. Provencher. From http://billjancewicz.com/tag/languages/.

> they got into their canoes to paddle to *Wâskâhîkin*, to Chimo. But they ended up at a place called *Ka-astuwinanuch*—that's where they got out of the canoes. And so here, according to my father, is what Kinuwapinuw did.

Kinuwapinuw performs a shaking tent ceremony and his Mistâpâw[25] came into the tent.

> Now, according to my father, Kinuwapinuw said, "I see the Âchân, it's already very close!" And as for my father, he said that he saw, as in a vision, the Âchân come right into the tent and settle itself down, just like a person would.

Kinuwapinuw asked John's father to bring a finished caribou hide. "Now, caribou hide in those days was beautifully prepared. It was tanned and had designs drawn on it in red. That would be how a hide looks when it is someone's own personal hide." John's father brought out his personal decorated hide and lays it down near the shaking tent where Kinuwapinuw's own hide was already in place. Kinuwapinuw invited John's father to sing and he began to sing two songs. Then John's father asked his wife, Chiuschaskwaw, to sing and she sang two of her songs. Then they heard a noise as if something was flying by and the tent began to move. Kinuwapinuw later reported to John's father that he had a vision of the Âchan sitting not far away—"then suddenly the Mistâpâw lifted it up and it was gone. Then the tent began to vibrate.... Âchân had already been spirited to a place far away. Kinuwapinuw told my father that it had been carried away in the direction of the George River."

The following day, Kinuwapinuw showed them the place at Ka-astuwinanuch where the impressions of the giant's knees could be seen on the ground where he had been kneeling, sitting on his heels.

As we have mentioned, the place known as Ka-astuwinanuch, located in the northern part of the project area along the Caniapiscau River is the scene of these events. We wonder if the impressions of the giant's knees are still visible there on the ground today.

This is not John Peastitute's only story concerning this Ka-astuwinanuch. Another is summarized below in section 8.5 in discussing the location of the short-lived trading post known as South River House.

9.3.1 Drownings

This story is part of a series John Peastitute performed about drownings (Peastitute 2019: 72-79), with this incident taking place on the Caniapiscau River within the project area.

[25] Literally, 'big man', this terms refers to a person's spirit helper.

Figure 9.13: Central part of a Naskapi-style painted caribou hide (detail), about 1740. Photo by M. McCaffrey taken at Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute. Speyer Collection, Canadian Museum of History, III-B-588.

Fort McKenzie is here, upstream from the Caniapiscau River. And here, at the place known as Âpitâmischûn [‘middle falls,’ Chute aux Schistes] there’s also a steep waterfall. Also here at Kutwâstinuw, here on this side, right where there are some small lakes, the area is called Wâwâkus [‘little enclosed lake’]. That’s where these Iyuw would have set up their nets. Over there, upstream there, is where they were living. The two of them, the men who died, probably went there in their canoes to check their nets.

I have seen those men who died. One of them was called Natawayanus. And the other was called Siyakutaw. Two of them were there. They paddled out to get their nets, they went to check them. And that is where something happened, but no one knows what—whether they capsized and drowned—what happened is a mystery. People think a net may have caused them to capsize, but no one really knows. People wonder about them too. They were seeing to their nets. Maybe they tipped their canoes over where they perished. They weren’t found that summer nor the following winter.

But one year later, the next summer, while the Iyuw were going inland, passing that way, one of them was found, on an island at the place called Uchîniskuwîsîs, over this way. That’s where one of them was found, so people say. He was washed

> up on the shore. People thought he was the Iyuw called Siyakutaw. And the other was never found at all, so people say. And if he every could be found, no one could say. Only one of them was ever found. But people never stopped looking for the other man, for his bones to be washed up by the current. What happened to him, no one knew. Only one of the drowned men was ever found.

It seems clear from the story that the men were fishing below Âpitâmischûn falls (Chutes aux Schistes) at the place known as Wâwâkus, and that their camp would have been located not far upstream from where they were fishing.[26]

9.4 Summary

Unfortunately, the information described above, culled from the limited land-use and occupancy mapping projects and interviews with Naskapis on related subjects, does not provide a detailed portrait of land-use patterns at any give time nor how this changed over time. Instead, we have snippets that are often not tied to specific places on the land, or map locations that do not contain contextual information. On the other hand, several articles that describe the Naskapi's seasonal cycle of activities during the 1916–1948 Fort McKenzie period are helpful in providing general context (Desmarais et al. 1994; Lévesque, Geoffroy, et al. 2016; Lévesque, Rains, et al. 2001). An understanding of the Fort McKenzie period provides us with points of reference for trying to understand land use in the periods preceding 1916 and those after the closing of the post in 1948.

At least some Naskapi hunters trading at Fort McKenzie and their families travelled to hunt caribou at Mushuau Nipi before going to the areas where they intended on spending the fall / winter trapping season (Desmarais et al. 1994; Wilkinson 1979: 37). If the hunt was successful, they returned with a supply of dried meat and pemmican that could see them through difficult times over the winter, as well as caribou hides to make mitts and moccasins, and babiche for snowshoes and fishing lines. Statements about caribou hunting along the George River (Proulx 1985) correspond with summer travel routes passing from Nachicapau Lake to the east and heading towards the George River. Routes from Fort Chimo to Mushuau Nipi are also delineated in

[26]The Commission de toponymie places Coude Wâwâkus ['where little lakes are close to the river'] (Wâwâkus elbow) on a small lake well below the falls, while the NDC database places the point in the general area of the sharp curve or elbow in the river, where there are many small lakes. A fishing spot is also noted in the Hammond land-use data on the embayment on the left bank of the river, not far above the falls as shown in figure 9.7.

the Hammond land-use maps representing the 1940 to 1956 period, suggesting that some hunters may have departed to Mushuau Nipi from Fort Chimo.[27]

During the prime trapping periods (fall, winter, and spring), Naskapi families lived in small camps at variable distances from the trading post. Hunting groups were composed of three or four—often closely related—nuclear families. They lived in the spring / early summer period at Fort McKenzie. It was a time to get together with other families they had not seen for much of the winter, and to reunite with some Elders who were too frail to be out on the land and had spent the winter living at the post. There was often feasting at this time.

The summer period is associated with the transport of furs to Fort Chimo and the resupply of Fort McKenzie. This was a major annual event that was well remembered by the Elders interviewed in 1985, who spoke of the involvement of men, women, and even children in this activity, which included carrying material at three long portages on the Caniapiscau River (Proulx 1985).

The available land-use data refers to the Fort McKenzie period, as well as the fairly short period following the closing of that post in 1948, when Naskapi again gathered during the summer in Fort Chimo, and prior to their move to Schefferville in 1956. While we have little direct information, the closing of this post could have resulted in a somewhat reduced intensity of winter trapping in this area, assuming that people may have shifted their main area of winter use to the north in order to be closer to the trading post for winter re-supply.[28] On the other hand, in the area around Fort McKenzie there were more productive harvesting areas for small fur-bearing animals. Also, the fact that the George River herd was gradually beginning to expand in size may have meant that caribou were again available, providing food to support trapping activities.

From the KRG / NNK report we learn that Cambrien and Nachicapau lakes corresponded with the general wintering areas of two groups of families, some of whom met up from time to time in the lands east of Cambrien lake and south of Nachicapau Lake (see our figure 9.11). It is also clear that there were main winter camps where women and children stayed. The men were often in temporary hunting camps or shelters while they were out on their traplines. The camps occupied for longer periods of time would certainly have been located near good fishing spots. Some locations for the main winter camps of Cambrien Lake could thus be included in the map representing the spatial overlap between fishing places and winter camps (figure 9.6). Based on this overlap, there could also have been significant winter camps on certain lakes in "the hinterland" to the west of Cambrien Lake.

[27] During the Fort McKenzie period, the number of animals in the George River herd was at its lowest, and relatively few migratory caribou would have wintered west of the George River. However, by the 1950s, the George River herd was gradually beginning to increase (Bergerud et al. 2007).

[28] The early part of this period in particular, when Naskapi hunters lacked necessary hunting equipment, was one of great poverty and hardship for families (Hammond in progress[b]).

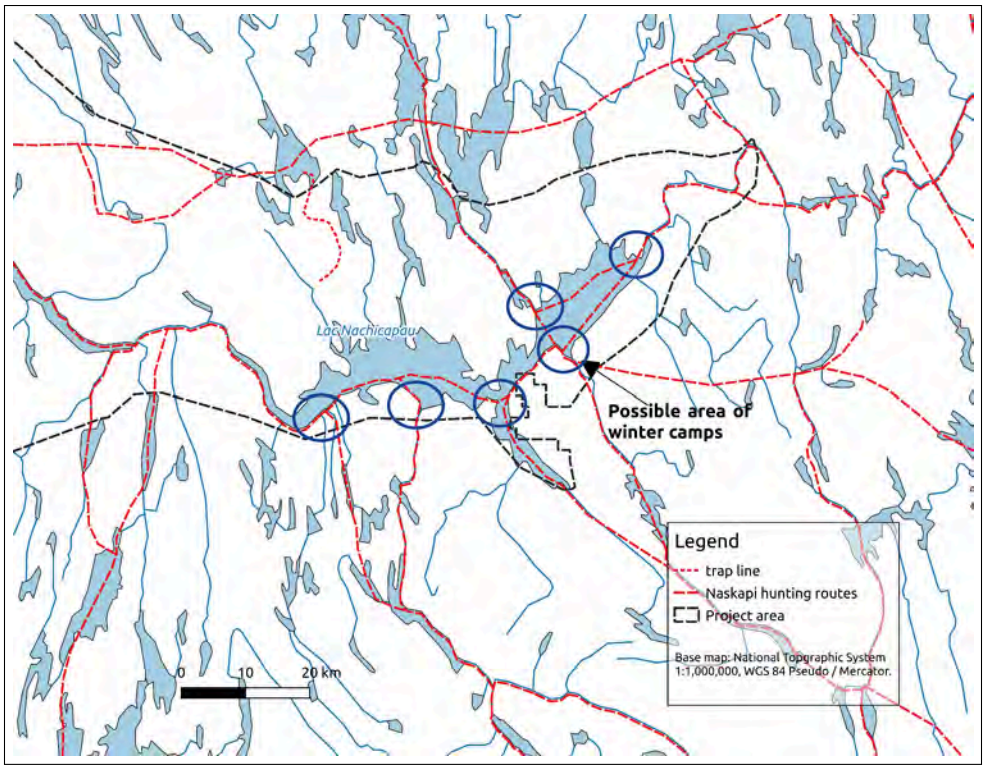

Figure 9.14: Hunting routes connecting with Nachicapau Lake and the possible location of camping areas.

While we do not have correspondingly detailed information relating to the Nachicapau group, it is suggested that the major winter camps here would have been on the southern shore of the east arm of the lake, as shown in figure 9.11. Additionally, it can be suggested that the most likely locations for these camps would have been where the travel routes (or "hunting routes") meet the south shore of the lake. Figure 9.14 shows several locations where Naskapi hunting routes meet the lake, but there is only one such zone on the south shore of the east arm.[29]

As for the winter camps associated with fishing lakes southwest of the north end of Lake Canichico, we would expect these to have been used by Naskapi who wintered close to the trading post, perhaps including people who were involved in supplying the post with fish, or who were unable to winter far from the post for health or other reasons.

We expect that significant summer camps would also have been associated with good fishing places and, as shown in figure 9.7, several of these are located on Cambrien Lake and correspond generally with Cambrien Lake winter camps, suggesting that the same areas were used in different seasons. Here "summer" would likely include the early fall and spring breakup periods,

[29]Our experience with Cree winter camps on southern shores of bodies of water suggests that these could have been located well back from the shoreline in the forest to ensure adequate protection from north and northwest winds.

rather than mid-summer, when people would have been at Fort McKenzie or Fort Chimo, or participating in the transport of supplies between these posts on the Koksoak and Caniapiscau rivers.

Of course, in trying to evaluate the possible archaeological importance of places in the project area, we cannot focus just on one, relatively brief period such as that when the Naskapi traded at Fort McKenzie, and the short period in Fort Chimo prior to the 1956 move to Schefferville. For earlier periods, we must rely on other types of historical information for hints.

In this chapter, we also presented two stories from John Peastitute. The first of the these concerning encounters with Âchân relates to the place known as Ka-astuwinanuch, and is another indication of the historical, and quite possibly archaeological, interest of this location.[30] The second story concerns a tragic drowning of two hunters and suggests nearby camping and fishing areas.

[30] An additional story by John Peastitute referenced above in section 8.5 points to this general area as the location of the HBC's South River House.

10 | Archaeological potential and survey prioritization

This chapter presents an overview of places selected for examination and testing in the field in the course of future archaeological survey work. The authors acknowledge that because the area is so vast and archaeologically unexplored, there is a certain amount of informed guesswork involved in this exercise. Nevertheless, it does represent an initial prioritization to guide future survey work based on an appreciation and analysis of all background information collected in the course of this study. The factors considered and resultant sectors of archaeological interest are presented below.

10.1 Sectors of archaeological interest

At present, we have identified 46 sectors of archaeological interest as shown in figure 10.1, which is an index map divided into six detail map zones. Additionally, there are 15 sectors of geo-archaeological interest, shown in the same figure, based on locations identified in chapter 6. Both archaeological and geo-archaeological sectors are also presented in a series of six detailed maps numbered according to zones 1-6 (see figures 10.2 to 10.6).

For the purposes of this study, sectors of archaeological interest include the following:

1. *Areas identified on the basis of historical references or oral history.* The clearest example of this in our study is the general area encompassing *Ka-astuwinanuch* 'the canoe making place' and South River House (sector no. 1, figure 10.2). Here, as presented above in sections 8.4 and 8.5 Naskapi oral tradition and documentary evidence converge, pointing to this zone as being of historical and archaeological interest. We hypothesize that the area includes the South River House trading post, a location chosen by a local Naskapi man as being "most convenient for himself and his friends," to quote post master Erland Erlandson. It is very likely that the camp of Ca-Mitchesticquan referred to by Clouston (see section 8.4) is also

within this area. All of which suggests that this sector was an important camping place in the early fur trade period and perhaps before European contact as well.

2. *Areas sampled based on Naskapi place names.* We have selected sectors based on several Naskapi place names that relate to land use. Examples are sectors 18, 19, and 20 (see figure 10.2 representing the lakes Kuskinaanis Nipiiy (or simply Kuskananis), Kaataauchii-waapitim Nipiiy (Lac Carré), and Kaasaakuupuyaaw Nipiiy ('narrow paddle lake'), a section of the larger lake known as Waapinikuskin Nipiiy 'morning fishing lake' (Lac Colombet).
3. *Areas sampled based on Naskapi land-use information.* A number of sectors were selected based on the presence of travel routes, summer or winter camping places, fishing spots—or some combination of these—in the Mark Hammond land-use database (Hammond n.d.). We do not assume that the presence of a modern Naskapi camp or travel route necessarily signals that people travelled the same routes or camped in the same locations in the distant past. Nevertheless, this is a good indicator and worth verifying. Additionally, some of the campsites identified in the land-use information, dating to the 1940–1956 period, could actually be of archaeological interest in and of themselves, or could indicate camping in the area in the decades prior to 1940. At the very least, this information suggests a potential for habitation in these areas.
4. *Areas selected based on consideration of archaeological visibility.* This includes areas selected for possible investigation because they have been burned, show features of archaeological interest (portages) visible in online satellite imagery (Google and ESRI), and suitably located strandlines or terraces where erosion has been at work.
5. *Areas selected to provide geographic representation across the project area.* These are sectors that were chosen provide representation of areas that would otherwise be under-represented, in particular, Lake Nachicapau and the entire plateau to the west of Cambrien Lake. In both cases, the small amount of available land-use information was helpful in targeting specific locations.

Table 10.1 lists the 46 sectors of archaeological interest selected and presents a brief explanation for the selection in the "Comment" column. This table also shows the archaeological potential zones (described below) included in each of these sectors.

Table 10.1: Listing of sectors of archaeological interest, archaeological potential zones and selected strandlines or terraces.

Sector Id	Potential zones Zone Id(area)	Strandlines Id(area)	Total area (ha)[1] potential zones	Comment
1	12(4.6 ha), 13(1.7 ha), 14(5.1 ha), 15(14.2 ha), 16(11.8 ha), 17(1.5 ha), 18(3.6 ha), 19(1.8 ha), 20(1.1 ha), 21(0.6 ha), 22(1.6 ha), 23(0.7 ha), 24(2.1 ha), 28(0.7 ha), 29(0.9 ha), 31(3.9 ha)		55.9	Naskapi place names, historic references and oral history suggest this sector may be important for spring / early summer camping. Also likely location of South River House.
2	34(1.1 ha), 35(1 ha), 36(0.9 ha), 37(1.7 ha), 41(0.5 ha), 42(0.5 ha), 43(0.9 ha)		6.6	Possible strategic location on small river-lake on Châteauguay River. Potential for high archaeological visibility.
3	1(0.3 ha), 2(0.8 ha), 3(1.5 ha), 4(5.1 ha)		7.7	At confluence of travel routes. Sampling of smaller lake on plateau in the far southwestern part of project area.
4	63(0.5 ha), 64(0.6 ha), 65(0.8 ha), 66(0.5 ha), 67(0.3 ha), 68(0.8 ha), 69(2.1 ha)		5.6	Possible camping areas along south shore of Nachicapau Lake (eastern arm), several near mouth of stream draining lakes to the south.
5	53(1.6 ha), 54(1.1 ha), 55(2 ha), 56(0.9 ha), 57(3.8 ha), 58(0.7 ha), 59(0.7 ha), 60(0.4 ha), 61(1.2 ha)		12.4	Series of zones along river which drains several lakes to the south of Nachicapau Lake. Possible camping locations for people settled on or near the south shore of the eastern arm of this lake, which is an important fishing place.
6	70(0.5 ha), 71(0.5 ha), 72(0.8 ha), 73(1 ha), 74(1.1 ha), 75(0.2 ha)		4.1	Strategic location where the river flows in from the east into Nachicapau Lake. Includes zones on the south shore where travel routes on land-use map meet the lake. Also includes three zones in the lower part of this river (eastern extension of the lake).

Continued on next page

[1] Areas in this column represent the sum of areas in the potential zones column but exclude areas in the strandlines column.

Table 10.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Sector Id	Potential zones Zone Id(area)	Strandlines Id(area)	Total area (ha) potential zones	Comment
7	48(1.2 ha), 49(0.3 ha), 50(1.9 ha), 51(0.4 ha), 52(0.9 ha)		4.7	Series of zones near the outlet of Nachicapau Lake. Zones are points with likely good archaeological visibility.
8	76(1.2 ha), 77(0.4 ha), 78(0.3 ha), 79(0.4 ha)		2.3	Strategic location at the narrows where three parts of the lake meet. Note that there are relatively few suitable camping areas due to the steep and rocky shorelines in this section of the lake.
9	86(2.1 ha)	9(1.3 ha), 10(1.7 ha), 24(2.3 ha), 25(3.7 ha)	2.1	Naskapi resource area based on place name for river related to toboggan wood. Fishing place at mouth of river. Travel routes and location of summer camp also noted on land-use map. Strandlines between 90 and 100 m on either side of river.
12	95(0.4 ha)	21(4.5 ha), 22(1 ha), 23(1.4 ha)	0.4	Strategic location at mouth of river. Naskapi place name relating to fat / grease. Zone near the mouth of the river at low elevation and higher strandlines. Winter travel route.
13	96(0.8 ha), 97(0.6 ha), 98(0.3 ha), 99(0.5 ha)		2.2	Naskapi place name suggests feasting on caribou here. Opportunity to sample small lake on plateau with possible cultural / historical significance.
14	25(3.8 ha), 30(1.7 ha), 100(1.4 ha)		6.9	Strategic location at the mouth of the Châteauguay River. Presence of modern and possibly historic habitations recorded. Area surveyed by Archéologie Illimitée in 1980s.
15	82(1.8 ha), 83(1.8 ha), 84(1.1 ha)		4.7	Strategic location at mouth of Châteauguay River. Summer and winter camping, as well as fishing, on land-use map.
16	88(0.8 ha), 89(1.5 ha)		2.3	Zones are low terraces (90 m elevation) on left bank of river facing expanse of Cambrien Lake.

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Table 10.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Sector Id	Potential zones Zone Id(area)	Strandlines Id(area)	Total area (ha) potential zones	Comment
17	103(2.8 ha), 104(4 ha)		6.8	Mouth of the Beurling River. Low terraces are of interest. On winter travel route according to land-use maps.
18	109(4.9 ha), 110(1.9 ha), 111(1.3 ha), 112(2.2 ha), 113(3 ha), 114(1.5 ha)		14.8	Place name associated with fishing which is mentioned historically. Location near Sector 1 on Caniapiscau River.
19	115(2.5 ha), 116(1.7 ha), 117(0.8 ha), 118(7.3 ha), 119(1.9 ha)		14.2	Place name associated with caribou. Not far to the west of the Sector 1 on Caniapiscau River.
20	9(4.5 ha), 11(1.8 ha), 130(0.9 ha)		7.2	Place name of large lake related to fishing. Name referred to in historical accounts related to South River House. Closest part of lake to Sector 1 on Caniapiscau River.
21	90(0.5 ha), 91(1.7 ha), 93(1.1 ha), 94(0.7 ha)	11(1.1 ha), 12(1.6 ha), 13(1.4 ha), 14(0.7 ha), 15(0.6 ha), 16(0.5 ha), 17(0.4 ha), 18(0.7 ha)	4	Large sector in strategic area of the narrows in Cambrien Lake. Outlet of Mitusich Stream. Interesting terraces and strandlines on both left and right bank of the river at elevations of 100 m to 120 m. Summer camp and fishing place in the northern part of sector on left bank.
22	87(0.9 ha)	33(4.9 ha), 34(28.3 ha)	0.9	Sampling of higher terraces near stream outlet on right bank of Cambrien lake. Winter camp and winter route toward Castignon Lake on land-use map.
23	38(0.8 ha), 39(0.7 ha), 40(0.8 ha)		2.3	Strategic location at the confluence of two branches of Châteauguay River.
24	101(2.8 ha), 102(1 ha)		3.8	Strategic location. Low, southeast facing terrace at the head of Cambrien Lake. Near dune field.
25	85(1 ha)	6(0.2 ha), 7(1.1 ha), 8(0.6 ha)	1	Sample of terrace edge between 90 and 100 m elevation. Includes zone (85) at former outfitting camp where erosion suggests high archaeological visibility.

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Table 10.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Sector Id	Potential zones Zone Id(area)	Strandlines Id(area)	Total area (ha) potential zones	Comment
26		5(0.9 ha), 32(14.7 ha)		Sample of terrace edge at 100 m elevation.
27		26(8.6 ha), 35(4.2 ha)		Terrace at 110 m in strategic location opposite mouth of Châteauguay River.
28	105(0.4 ha), 106(0.6 ha), 107(0.6 ha), 108(0.6 ha)		2.2	Sample of lake on high plateau in the northwest part of the study area. Presence of winter camp and intersection of several winter travel routes.
29	26(8.1 ha)	31(4.2 ha)	8.1	Possible camping area on point on right bank in curve of river below falls. Interesting low strandline on left bank opposite. John Peastitute story concerning two people who drowned.
30	81(0.4 ha)	3(13.6 ha), 4(78.8 ha), 27(3.8 ha), 28(1.2 ha), 29(1 ha), 30(1.6 ha)	0.4	Single zone near small oxbow lake which is a fishing place on land-use map. Relatively low strandline / terraces (100 m) in Châteauguay River delta area near former channel. Forest fire in this area has cause erosion and probably high archaeological visibility along strandlines.
31	32(2.2 ha)		2.2	Low, southeastern facing terrace, outlets of several streams.
32	33(1.8 ha)		1.8	Location at slight narrowing of river. Camp of Clouston party may be near here.

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Table 10.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Sector Id	Potential zones Zone Id(area)	Strandlines Id(area)	Total area (ha) potential zones	Comment
33				No potential zones defined as area looks relatively densely forested and quite low-lying (low archaeological visibility, hard to test). However, the land-use maps show the presence of winter and summer camps, fishing and the fact that this sector is on winter and summer travel routes. There is also a burial here, suggesting possible long-term use. Area should be examined more closely from the air and on foot.
34	44(4.1 ha)		4.1	Location on Châteauguay River at the junction of former river channel. Possible portage to avoid meander on river.
35		2(3.5 ha)		Beginning of excellent walking along terraces above Châteauguay River.
38	80(0.3 ha), 120(1 ha), 121(0.5 ha), 122(0.2 ha), 123(0.3 ha)		2.3	Strategic location at confluence of branches of Swampy bay River. Head of portage leading to the south.
39	47(0.6 ha), 124(0.7 ha)		1.3	Strategic location above the rapids on this branch of Swampy Bay River. Open area at relatively low elevation.
40	125(0.1 ha)		0.1	Head of portage visible in satellite inages.
41	92(1.1 ha)	19(1.3 ha)	1.1	Major point on right bank of river (Cambrien Lake). Zone is lower terrace (just above 90 m). Sector also includes slightly higher terrace (100-110 m).
42		1(3.1 ha)		Sample terrace in lower Châteauguay valley at elevation of approximately 100 m.

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Table 10.1 – *Continued from previous page*

Sector Id	Potential zones Zone Id(area)	Strandlines Id(area)	Total area (ha) potential zones	Comment
43	126(0.6 ha), 127(0.7 ha)		1.3	Sample of one of several fishing lakes located in the 'Lynx Mountain' area to the south of Fort McKenzie. The place name suggests white sucker fishing.
44	128(0.6 ha)		0.6	Strategic location on travel route opposite small chain of lakes. Possibly on or near portage trail.
45	129(0.3 ha)		0.3	Sample of are at far end of small lake to the north of travel route on the Nachicapau branch of the Swampy Bay River.
46	46(0.3 ha)		0.3	Strategic location at the end of Canichico Lake. Note that there are few possible camping areas on this lake.

10.2 Areas of geo-archaeological interest

Areas of geo-archaeological interest are those defined in chapter 6. The 15 sectors defined represent the intersection of geological formations known to contain cherts—a stone type that was used for tool making by Naskapi and other Indigenous ancestors in pre-European times—with geological fault lines and with lakes and rivers, many of which were important travel routes. The areas of geo-archaeological interest are different from the areas of archaeological interest, and for that reason we have treated them separately. Also, the manner of conducting archaeological survey work in these areas will be quite different from those in other sectors. It will generally involve looking for outcrops and exposures of quality chert (or sometimes quartzite) and then seeking evidence of stone working at or near that location. Conversely, if we find evidence of what appears to be "local" cherts in archaeological sites, the sectors of geo-archaeological interest can help in identifying possible sources for this material.

The sectors of geo-archaeological interest are shown on the general map (see figure 10.1) and on the detail maps (figures 10.2 through 10.6). They are numbered separately from the sectors of archaeological interest with the letter "G" preceding the number.

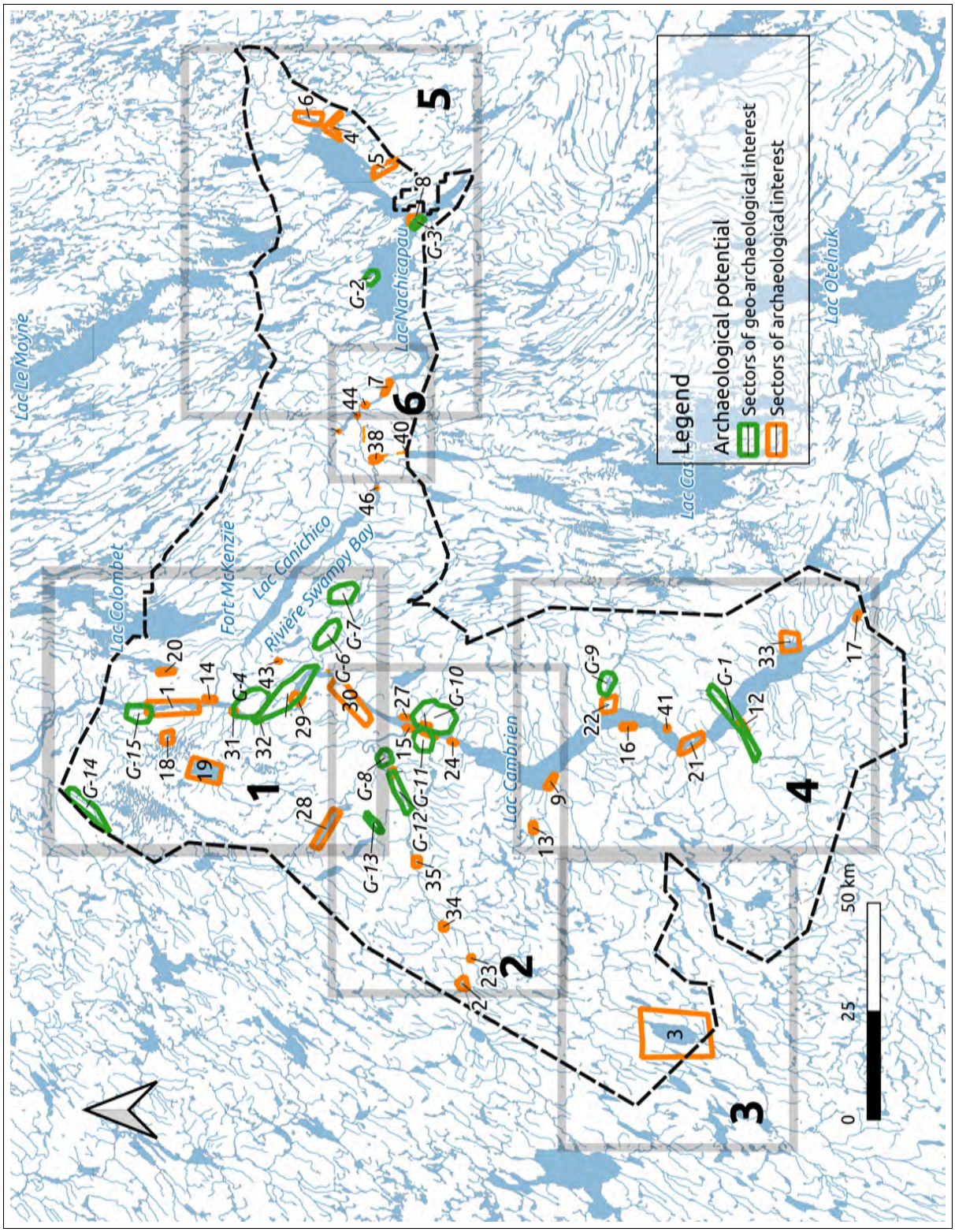

Figure 10.1: Sectors of archaeological and geo-archaeological interest (index map).

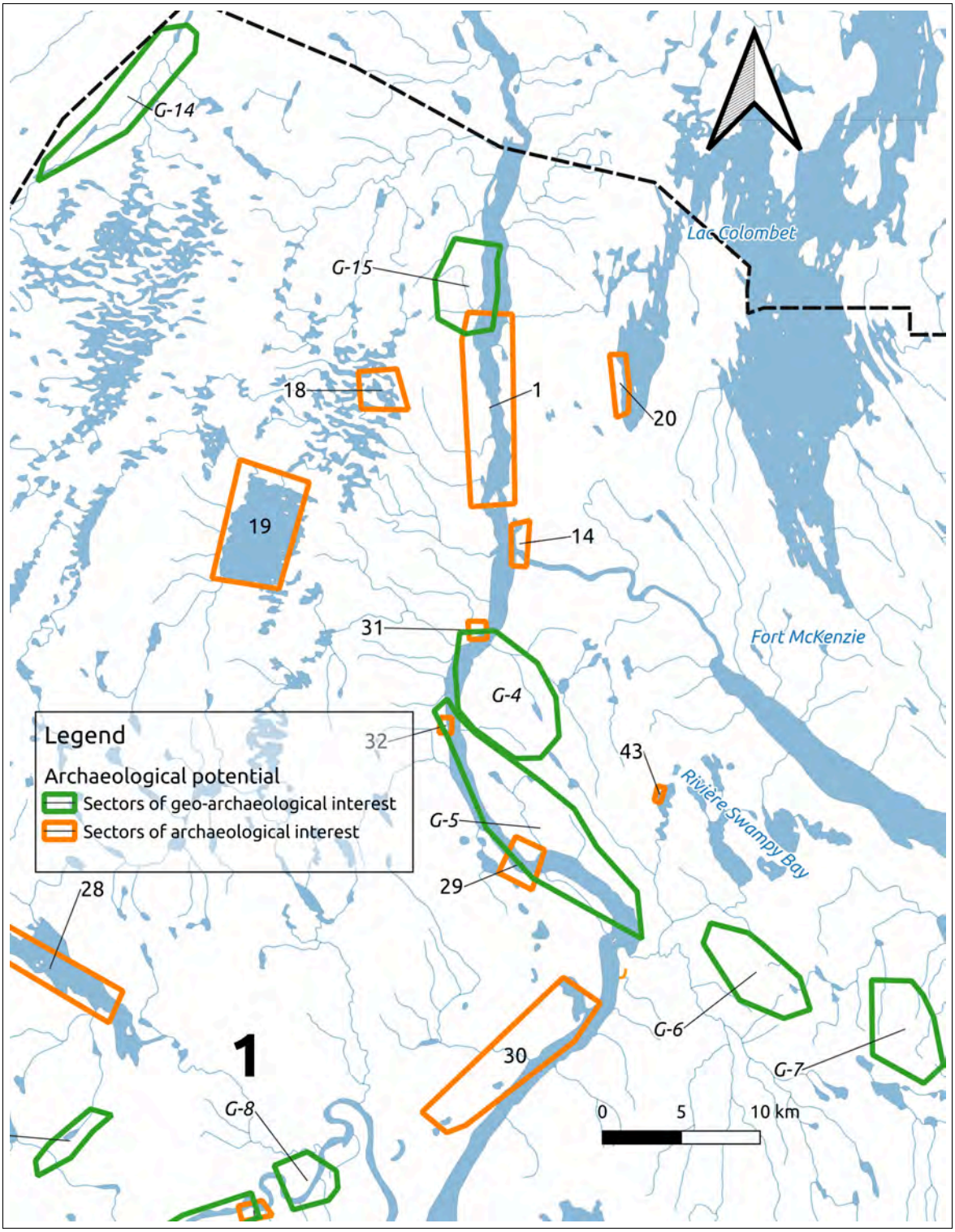

Figure 10.2: Sectors of archaeological and geo-archaeological interest (detail map no. 1).

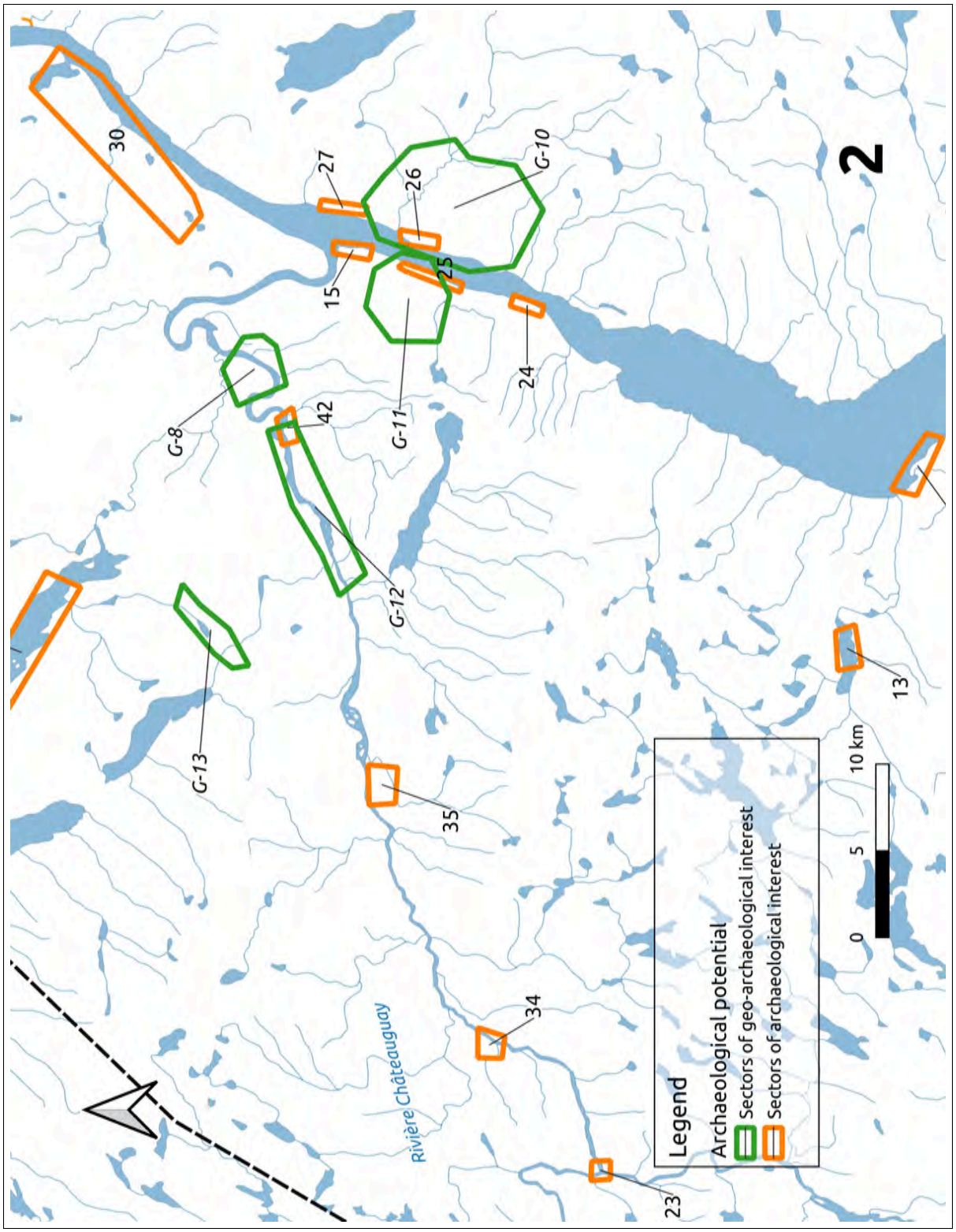

Figure 10.3: Sectors of archaeological and geo-archaeological interest (detail map no. 2).

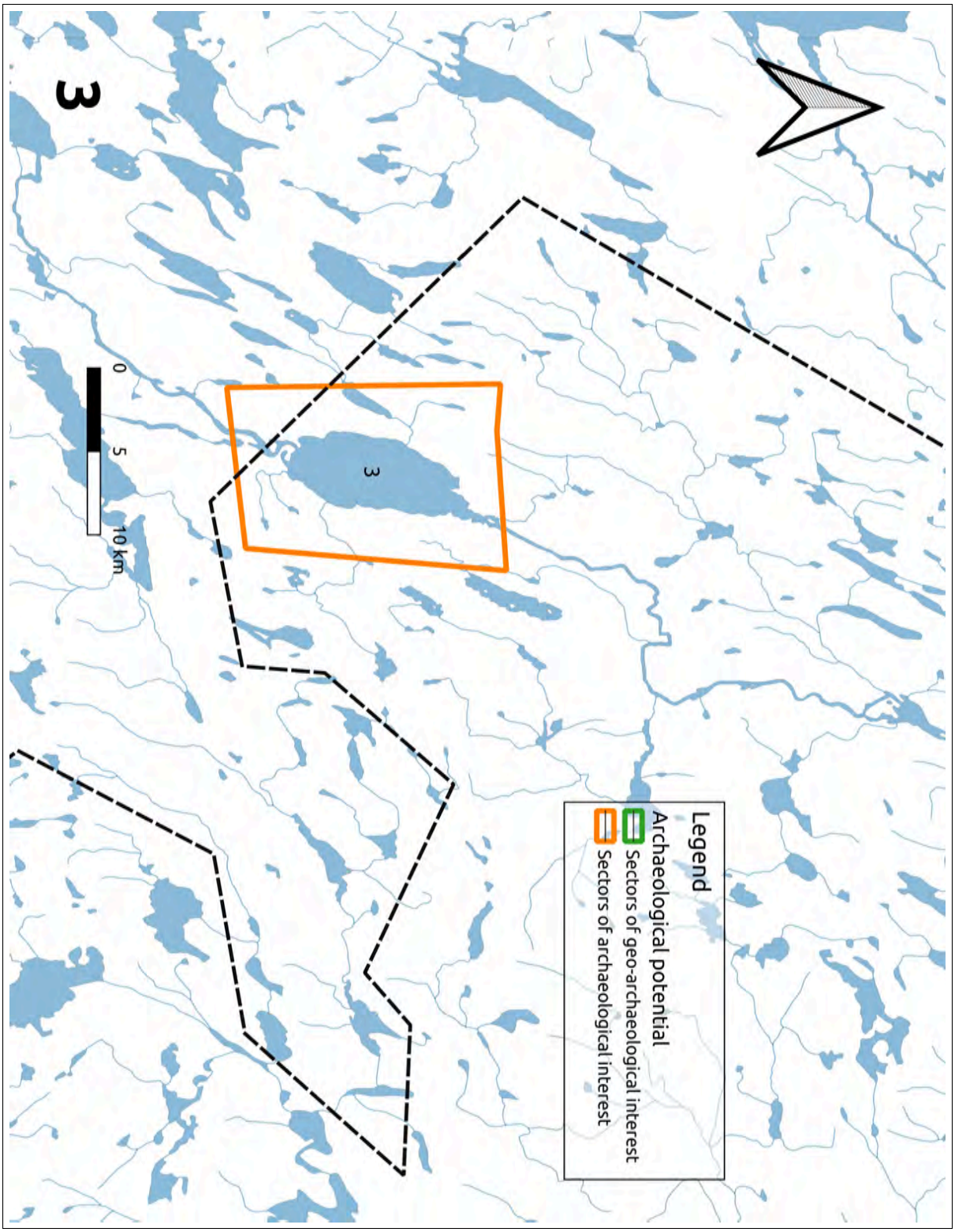

Figure 10.4: Sectors of archaeological and geo-archaeological interest (detail map no. 3).

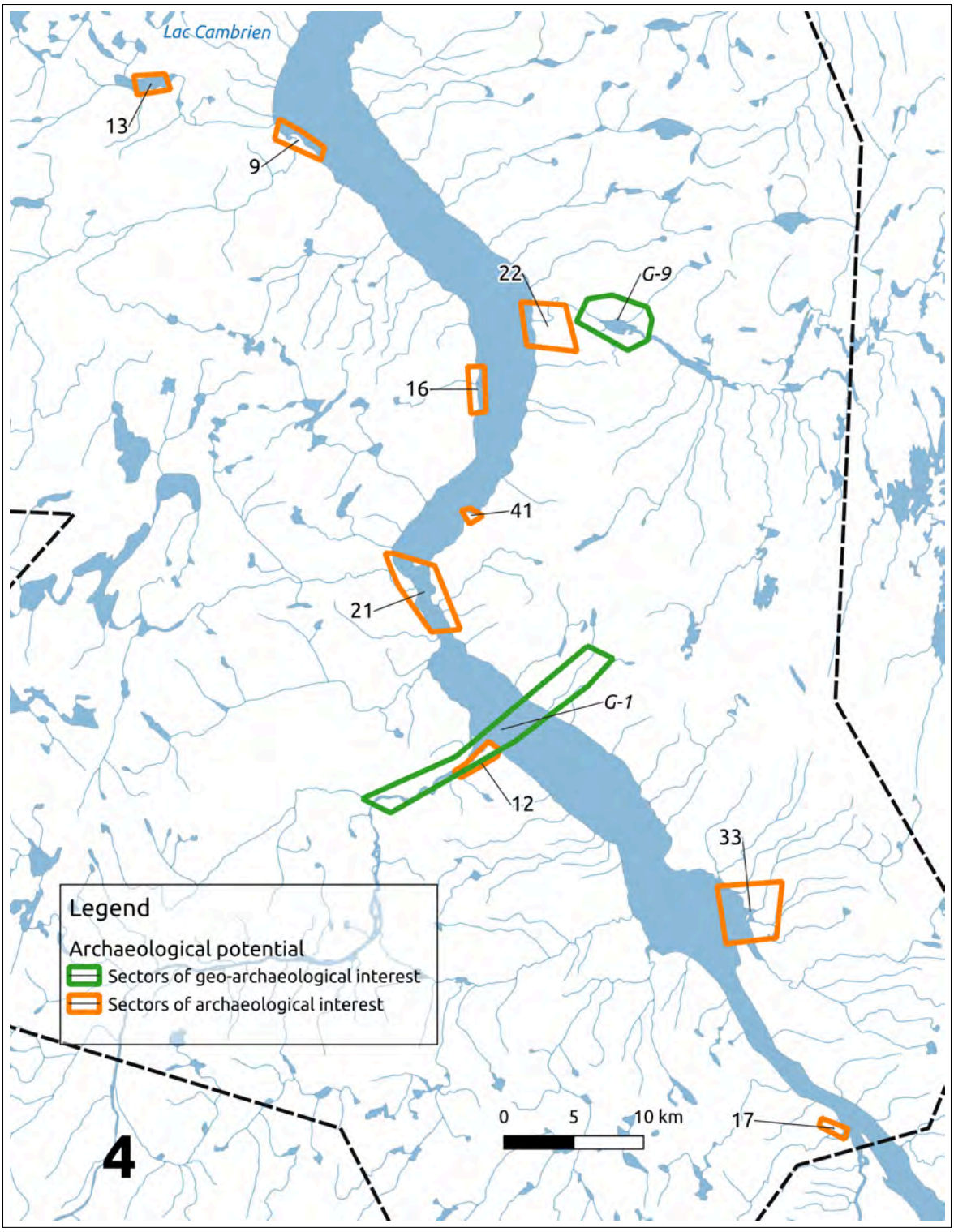

Figure 10.5: Sectors of archaeological and geo-archaeological interest (detail map no. 4).

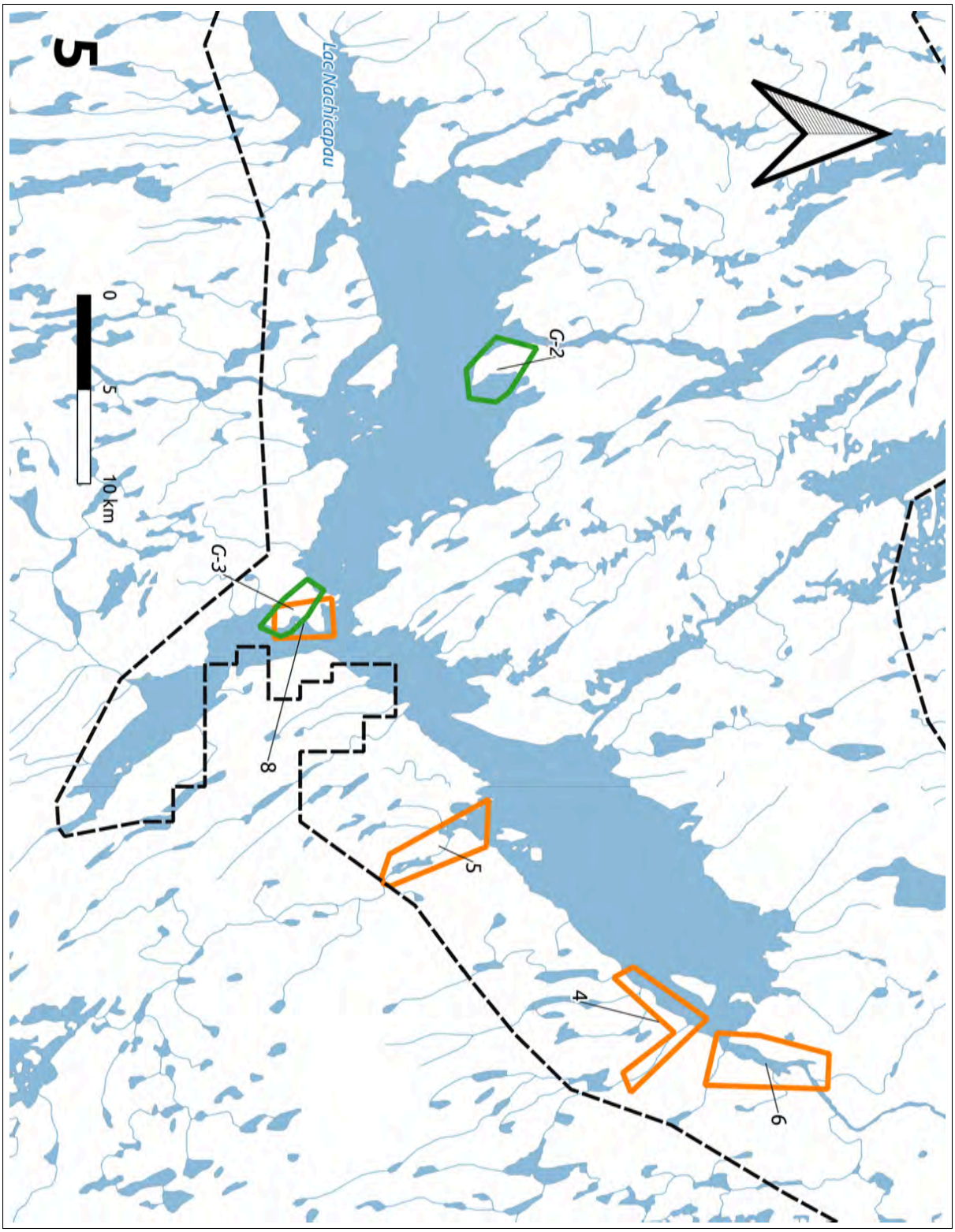

Figure 10.6: Sectors of archaeological and geo-archaeological interest (detail map no. 5).

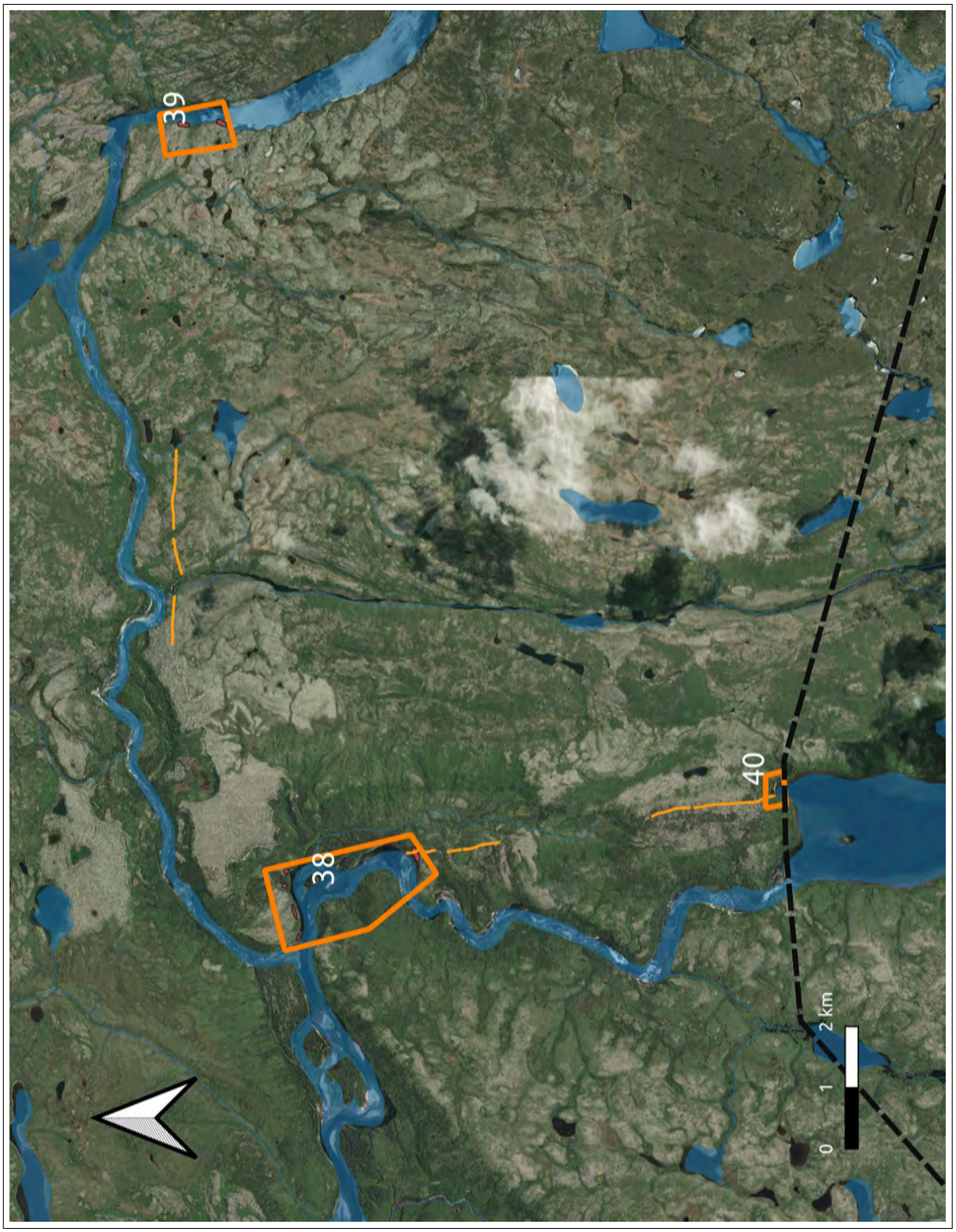

Figure 10.7: Sectors of archaeological interest showing segments of portages (orange lines) visible in ESRI satellite imagery (detail map no. 6).

10.3 Archaeological potential zones

Archaeological potential zone is the term we are using for smaller areas defined through examination of ESRI online satellite images.[2] In all, we defined 126 potential zones distributed in the 46 sectors of archaeological interest. In general terms, we sought areas that appear well-drained (sand, or sand and gravel), were relatively close to the water, and at a fairly low elevation. While the ESRI images are quite good, they are not of high enough resolution for detailed mapping. Even more limiting is the elevation information. While the 10 m contours are somewhat useful, they are far too coarse an instrument to define relatively flat spaces that could be suitable for camping. Nor do these tools permit us to identify steep banks that might have made access to these spaces difficult.

Table 10.1 shows the distribution of the archaeological potential zones within each of the sectors of archaeological interest and indicates the area of each zone in hectares.

With these strong limitations in mind, the archaeological potential zones defined will hopefully provide a useful starting point for initial field survey work.

10.4 Examination of terraces and strandlines

As discussed in chapter 4.1, it is within the realm of possibility that Naskapi ancestors or other Indigenous people were present many thousands of years ago, at a time before the landscape had fully assumed its present form. In the final stages of deglaciation, there were one or more glacial lakes in the area. After melting of the residual ice, the depressed lands formerly occupied by the glacier were invaded by the Iberville Sea. With the post-glacial uplift of the land, the sea gradually receded.

Many of the strandlines and terraces in the region may be attributable to the period of marine invasion. This would also include clay deposits identified by Drummond (1965). It is possible that the lowest such features in the Cambrien Lake area were occupied by hunters and their families at a time when this was a tidal, estuary environment, part of a very long arm of the Iberville Sea.

As part of our mapping exercise, we have identified a small number of such terraces and strandlines to be examined in the field. An example of these is shown in figure 10.9 at the narrows in Cambrien Lake. Such strandlines and raised terraces are found within the project area, in many places within the Caniapiscau and Chautauqua river valleys. Many of the terraces and strandlines we have selected are from sectors of archaeological interest that will, in any case, be examined

[2] Of the available online imagery services including Google Earth, Bing, etc. the ESRI service provides images with the highest resolution and quality for this project area.

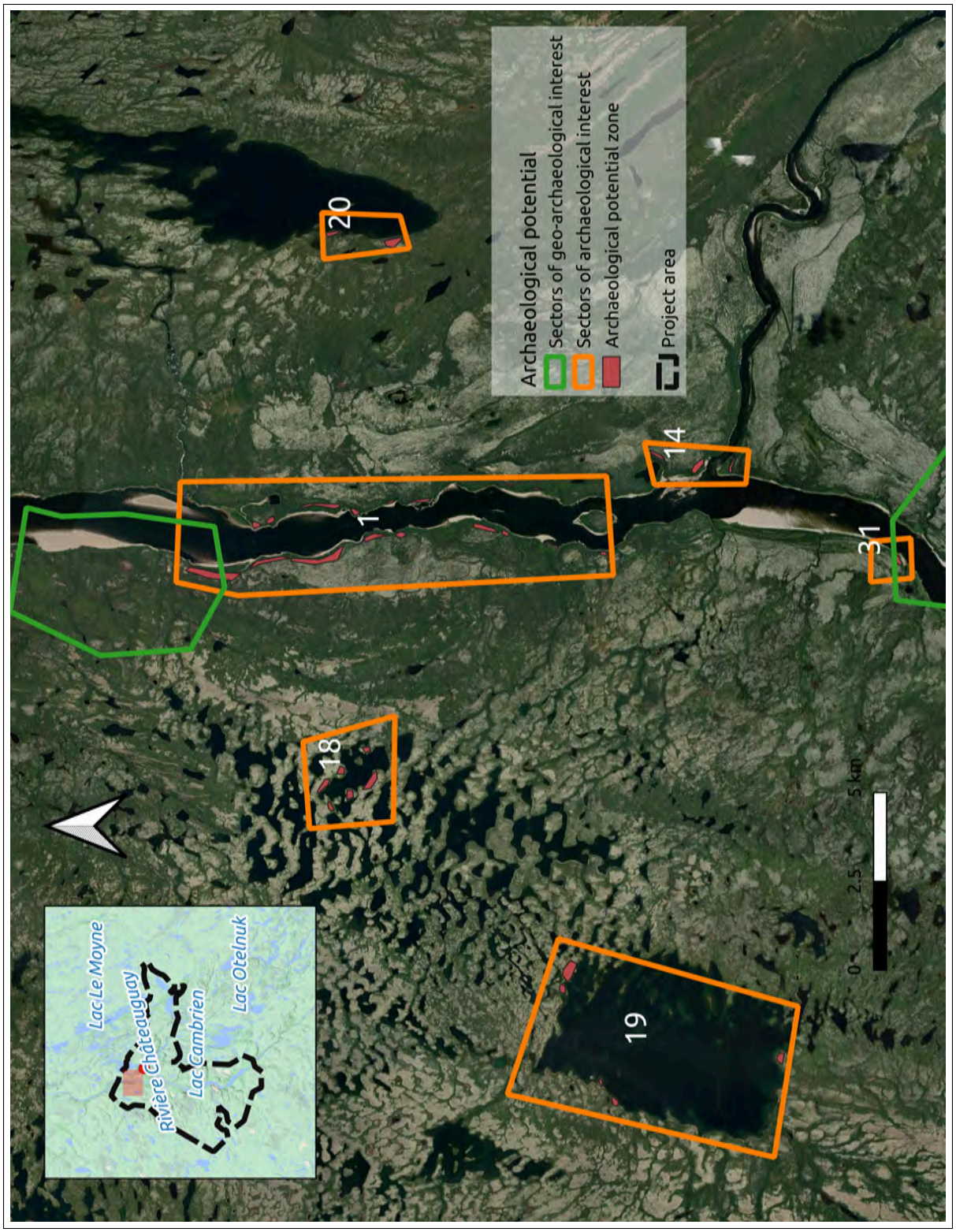

Figure 10.8: Examples of zones of archaeological potential from the northern part of the project area.

archaeologically. For now, a total of 35 such features, or more often segments of them, have been identified for archaeological examination (see table 10.1.

10.5 Prioritization for archaeological survey

The maps presented in this chapter are a preliminary perspective on archaeological potential based on existing background information alone without any on-the-ground information. Based on our current knowledge, they represent our priorities for archaeological survey / inventory work selected from the vast lands of the proposed protected area. However, it must be stressed that a full archaeological survey or inventory of the 126 archaeological potential zones contained within the 46 sectors of archaeological interest—not to mention the selected segments of terrace and strandlines, or the 15 sectors of geo-archaeological interest—presented in this chapter would take years to complete. For this reason, additional prioritization to select from among the sectors and zones of potential defined in this report will be required prior to carrying out survey work, such as that currently being planned for the summer of 2021. It will be necessary to prioritize based on time available for the survey, size of the team, logistical constraints and overall objectives for the protect area and for the archaeological component. While not part of the present report, this prioritization should be facilitated by the information contained herein.

While the sectors of archaeological interest and potential zones represent our initial selection of lands for archaeological attention, they emphatically should not be seen as the only areas of significant archaeological potential within the project area. Additionally, it is clear that when actual field data is available, such from the survey being planned for the summer of 2021, this may well lead to a rethinking of the archaeological potential mapping and a reshuffling of priorities.

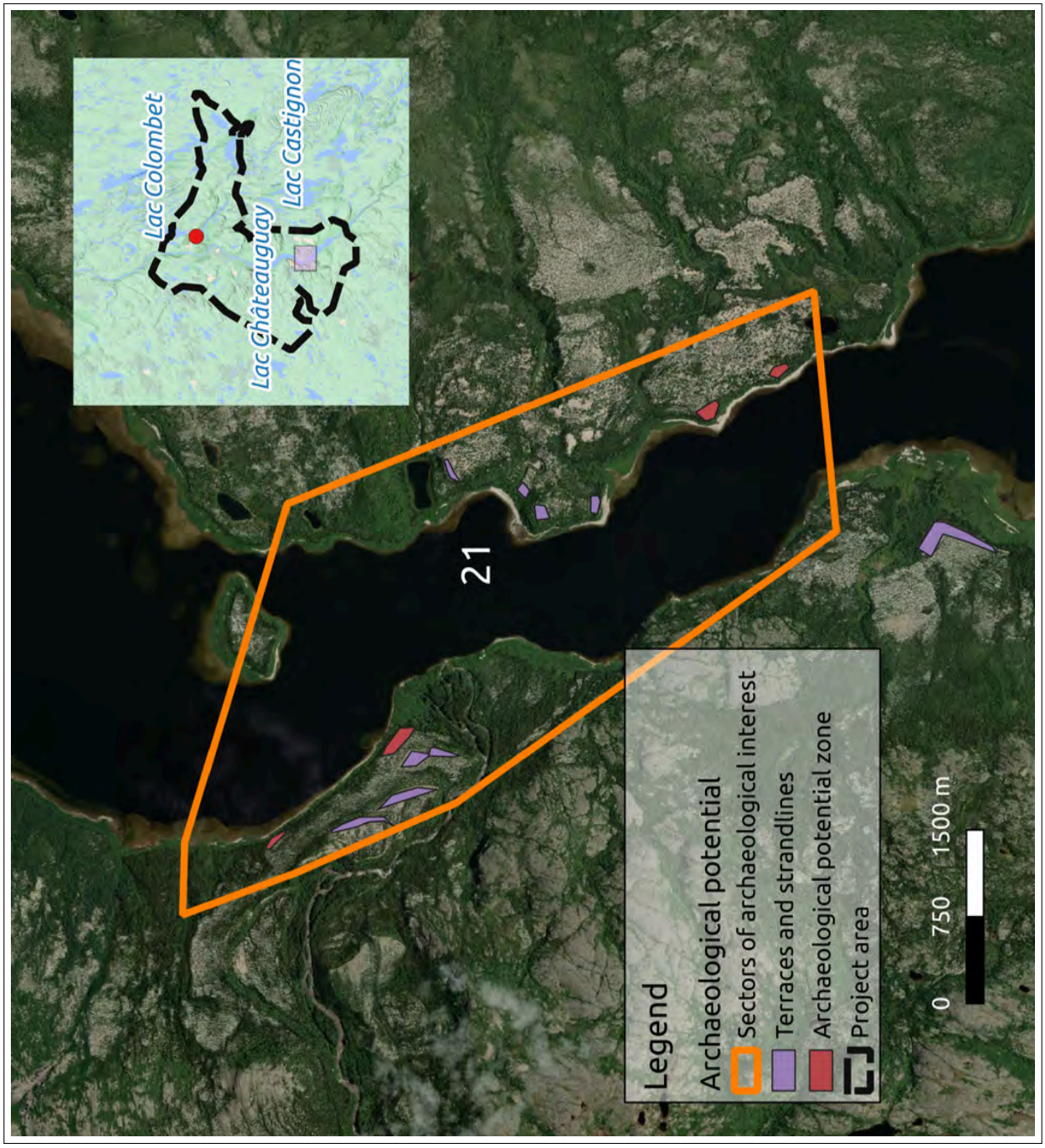

Figure 10.9: Archaeological potential zones, terraces and strandlines, to be examined in the area of the "narrows" on Cambrien Lake.

11 | Conclusions and recommendations

This study seeks to provide interpretive context and to define priorities for future archaeological field surveys in the project area. While the general concept of archaeological potential is a useful one, for several reasons we do not believe it is either possible or desirable to map all archaeological potential zones in the project area. Rather, our "contextual" approach has been to absorb as much relevant background information as possible—with a focus on Naskapi land use and occupancy, historic information (including Inuit hunting practices in the interior), toponymy and oral history, as well as environmental analysis—in the hopes that patterns would emerge to assist us in identifying sectors of archaeological interest. Drawing on the different sources of information, resultant patterns, and current knowledge as presented in this report, we have developed maps and lists of priority areas for future surveys.

The main conclusions of this study are included in the preceding chapter on archaeological potential. Perhaps most significant is our conclusion—based on several converging sources of information—that the general area of *Ka-astuwinanuch* 'the canoe making place' (see figure 10.2) is important historically and possibly archaeologically as well. Apart from being a canoe-making place, we suggest that this area corresponds with Ca-Mitchesticquan's camp, as recounted by Clouston in 1820, and is also the probable location of the short-lived South River House. The presence of nearby lakes, indicated by Naskapi place names and historic information as important fishing places, as well as a probable caribou hunting location, suggest further sectors of archaeological interest in this general area. While the documentary and oral history evidence pointing to 19th and early 20th century sites is clearest and most direct, there are reasons to believe that this area could play host to earlier sites as well.

Other sectors of interest were defined based on Naskapi place names and land use and occupancy data, together with a consideration of archaeological visibility and representivity of different geographic or ecological zones within the project area. Furthermore, a recognition that Paleo-Inuit and Inuit sites could be encountered in the far interior was integrated into the identification of sectors of archaeological interest. Our analysis of archaeological potential also in-

cludes sectors of geo-archaeological interest, mainly chert-bearing strata that are accessible via significant waterways.

Finally, we have included a sample of raised strandlines and terraces, in what we think are strategic locations, for examination during the initial survey. Our study suggests the possibility of Indigenous occupations as early as 5,000 years ago, and perhaps earlier. At 5,000 BP, the depression that is now occupied by Cambrien Lake would have been connected to the Iberville Sea, with water levels as much as 30 m above those today. Any Indigenous groups living in the project area then would have been oriented to the shore and the marine resources associated with the tidal, estuary environment. They may well have camped on these raised strandlines, and for this reason the archaeological examination of a sample of these could lead to the discovery of early occupation sites.

11.1 Limitations

There are some limiting factors concerning our study that should be mentioned:

- The project area is vast and—with the exception of a cluster of sites in the Fort McKenzie area—completely unknown archaeologically. This means that we are doing a certain amount of guesswork in trying to identify areas of archaeological potential, though we have endeavoured to make that guesswork as "educated" as possible.
- Naskapi have had relatively little opportunity to harvest wildlife or carry out other traditional activities within the project area since 1956, due to the distance from Kawawachikamach. While the exact number is not known, there are very few Elders alive today who have any direct knowledge of the area. We have relatively little information on Naskapi life from the period before they were attached to the trading post, with much reduced access to caribou herds that formerly provided a great portion of their sustenance. Also, we have limited access to TEK that could help us identify important areas for wildlife harvesting. Similarly, this holds true for information on areas important for harvesting medicinal plants or berries.
- Due to COVID-19 restrictions, we have had to rely on land use and occupancy information assembled long after the Naskapi's connection to these lands changed dramatically. These data were collected for a much different purpose and have their own limitations, including a lack of information for the Nachicapau Lake area.
- We have not had access to high resolution remote sensing data (satellite imagery, stereo aerial photographs, or Lidar data) to carry out this study. The selection of archaeological

potential zones relied on an examination of available imagery provided by Google and ESRI. While these images are sometimes of surprisingly good quality—for example, allowing us to occasionally discern portage trails—they are not necessarily adequate for identifying surfaces suitable for habitation.

- The fact that we were unable to carry out a preliminary field reconnaissance in the summer of 2020 means that we have very little on-the-ground information to guide ideas of where archaeological sites might be found, and the relative difficulty of archaeologically-testing these areas.
- As mentioned in the preceding chapter, a full field survey of the archaeological potential zones mapped in this report would take years. Additional prioritization (selection from among the sectors and zones defined here) will be required prior to an initial field survey. This exercise should consider the scope of the survey (time available for fieldwork, number of archaeologists, size of team), logistical constraints and broader project objectives, for example, those relating to geographic coverage of different sections of the project area.

11.2 Recommendations

The following are our recommendations for follow-up work related to this study.

1. Funding and COVID-19 restrictions permitting, carry out an initial archaeological survey in the summer of 2021. As already discussed in planning documents and budgets, this would be a three-week survey in August, ending with several days in Kawawachikamach to meet with community members and carry out interviews. The fieldwork will ideally involve two Naskapi field technicians.
2. Structure the field survey around the various sectors of archaeological interest and areas of potential defined in this report—including areas of geo-archaeological interest and a sampling of strandlines and terraces—making necessary adjustments when required based on new information. Prior to the fieldwork, additional prioritization will be required to select the sectors that can be examined in the available time.
3. Funding permitting, a second community visit should take place in February 2022 in order to present the results of the summer's work in more detail to the Council and the community, and to carry out additional interviews that may help answer questions related to findings in the field, as well as assist in planning work for the summer of 2022.
4. If funding and logistical arrangements allow, accommodate a short field visit by Quaternary geologists Hugo Dubé-Loubert and Martin Roy in order to help solve the issue of marine

versus glacial lake terraces, to begin to date late glacial events—including the formation of the most recent raised strandlines or terraces—and to investigate marine clays. If a such a field visit proves impossible for 2021, it should be reconsidered for 2022.

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