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A bed of ochre

Jelsma, Johan

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2 The Maritime Archaic Indian Culture

The Maritime Archaic Indian culture was given its name by Tuck (1970, 1971, 1976) who applied this name to the Archaic societies which lived in the coastal and riverine areas in the present states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, U.S.A., and in the Canadian provinces Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, as well as Newfoundland and Labrador.

Most of what we know about these Native Americans is inferred from the study of burial sites. A remarkable characteristic of these groups of people is the affluent use of red ochre in their burials, which in our time makes them easy to discover in eroded river banks or during ploughing or digging the soil. In addition to red ochre those burials usually contain stone tools such as axes, adzes, gouges, and spearpoints, most of them made out of ground slate. Human remains and other organic materials are rarely preserved because of the acidic composition of most soils in the area. The Port au Choix-3 site is an important exception to this rule. The discovery and excavation of red ochre graves started more than a century ago in the state of Maine (e.g. Willoughby 1898). Moorehead (1922) gave these Native Americans the name Red Paint People. He was very industrious and excavated between 350 and 400 red ochre burials. Among other names that were used to indicate the mortuary component of this set of cultural assemblages were the Maine Cemetery Complex (Smith 1948), and Moorehead Cemetery Complex (Snow 1969:2).

Based on differences in food economy, Bourque (1995:231) believes that the Archaic cultures in the northeastern U.S.A. developed independently of Tuck's Maritime Archaic tradition. Bourque uses the term Moorehead Phase as a designation for a culture with its own characteristic food economy and mortuary practices (Bourque 1992:34-9, 1995:95,231). Tuck on the other hand, proposes a long *in-situ* development of the Maritime Archaic in the far northeast *i.e.* Labrador and Newfoundland (Tuck 1975a).

The Archaic cultures can be interpreted as an adaptation to new environmental circumstances after the Glacial Era, comparable to the Mesolithic cultures in Europe. These adaptations involved a change from the hunting of abundant large mammals during the Ice Age, such as mammoths, towards a more differentiated broad spectrum food economy based on hunting and fishing of a great number of game species and the gathering of nuts, fruits, berries, and plants (see Houtsma *et al.* 1996). The Maritime Archaic people chose to live, at least for a part of the year, and bury their dead close to rivers and the sea where they could hunt and gather food from at least two different ecosystems.

Evidence of Archaic burial sites in Maine dates from the beginning of the Holocene Era. Early Archaic \pm 10000 - 8000 BP [= Before Present; *i.e.* radiocarbon years before 1950 A.D.], and Middle Archaic \pm 8000 - 6000 BP burial sites were described by Robinson (1992). Tuck postulates that the Maritime Archaic development in the far northeast started approximately 8000 years ago (Tuck 1975a). The Maritime Archaic peoples apparently disappeared from central and northern Labrador between 3700 BP and 3500 BP (Fitzhugh 1978). This might be correlated with a cooling of the climate which started approximately 5000 (calendar) years ago (Jordan 1975, Dansgaard 1980).

A selection of Maritime Archaic sites is described in Paragraphs 2.1. to 2.3.

2.1 Maritime Archaic Sites in Newfoundland

Settlements

Remains of a few Maritime Archaic settlements have been discovered in Newfoundland. Most recently a Maritime Archaic settlement was discovered in Port au Choix, which was named the Gould Site (Renouf & Bell 1998). A piece of wood charcoal from a hearth feature at this locality was radiocarbon dated at 3270 ± 50 BP (Beta 108099). This date is comparable with those of Port au Choix-3 loci I and IV (see Paragraph 3.3). However, older radiocarbon dates have been made from a settlement location near the Gould Site. These dates are contemporaneous with the Port au Choix-3 locus II cemetery (Renouf, pers. comm.). This Maritime Archaic settlement was located at the 'former' mainland of Port au Choix, whereas the cemeteries, which were presumably used by the same peoples, were placed on what used to be an island directly opposite the settlement (Renouf & Bell 1998). Other Maritime Archaic sites on the Great Northern Peninsula are the Big Droke Site and the Caines Site at Bird Cove, north of Port au Choix. Excavations at these localities started in 1997 (Evans, pers. comm.).

Among the Maritime Archaic settlements outside the Great Northern Peninsula is the Beaches Site where numerous stone artifacts were recovered (Carignan 1975). Two cultural components were defined at this location, of which layer 2 contained exclusively Maritime Archaic material. This layer was dated at 3840 ± 100 BP (I-7509) - 3690 ± 100 BP (I-6761) (recalculated from Carignan's uncalibrated BC dates by adding 1950 years). According to Carignan, a stemmed ground slate point or bayonet found in cultural layer 2 is comparable to one from the Port au Choix-3 locus II burial B 22 which was dated to 4290 ± 110 BC (I-3788) (Tuck in Wilmeth 1978:197). Ramah chert was not found. This is a characteristic type of chert originating from Ramah Bay, Labrador, often found in former Maritime Archaic settlements. The Beaches Site contains many axes, adzes and gouges which are comparable to those found at the cemeteries Port au Choix-3 and the Curtis Site, Twillingate, Newfoundland. Overall, however, the artifact collection of the Beaches Site shows more resemblances to the assemblage of the Curtis Site, to which the Beaches Site is also geographically nearer than to Port au Choix (Carignan 1975:124-127). Tuck points to the similarities between the artifacts of the Beaches Site and those of cemeteries in Maine and New Brunswick, and suggests strong cultural relationships between them (Tuck 1975a). Also worth mentioning is the Twillingate settlement (DjAg4 and -5) where axes, adzes and gouges were discovered which find their counterparts in those from the Beaches Site and other Maritime Archaic localities. At the Twillingate settlement ground slate points were found which are identical to those from the nearby cemetery, the Curtis Site (Carignan 1975:125), which is described below. Another Maritime Archaic settlement is Cape Cove I at the northwestern end of Bonavista Bay, dated at 4540 ± 135 BP (S-1859) and 3615 ± 120 BP (S-1860), which makes it one of the earliest sites in Newfoundland (Austin 1984).

Cemeteries

In addition to the Maritime Archaic cemeteries at Port au Choix-3; locus I, locus II, and locus IV (see Paragraph 3.3), another cemetery was discovered at Twillingate, which is the, earlier mentioned, Curtis Site ($49^{\circ}.39'.30''$ N, $54^{\circ}.47'.30''$ W). The following radiocarbon dates were made of this cemetery; 3200 ± 90 BP on charcoal (GaK-1254, NMC-121), 6290 ± 160 BP, on charcoal (GaK-1266, NMC-122), 3560 ± 140 BP (GSC-758, NMC-123), and 3720 ± 130 BP (GSC-834, NMC-124) (MacLeod 1967, Wilmeth 1978:158). The site lies 15 metres above sea level and there is a view of the sea to the south and to the west. The graves are between 1.2 and 1.8 metres deep. Because of the acidic soil no human or other organic remains were preserved in this cemetery. The long axes of these graves tend to lie in an east-west direction (MacLeod 1967). The ground slate bayonets

from Twillingate have flattened diamond or biconvex cross sections and narrow contracting stems, whereas the bayonets found at the Beaches Site and at Port au Choix-3 locus II have flat hexagonal cross sections and broad stems (Carignan 1975:127). Approximately 71 % (N=24) of the ground slate points had old breaks. This was interpreted by MacLeod (1967) as ritual killing. In some Native American societies, weapons accompanying the dead in the grave were deliberately damaged in order to prevent the spirits from using those tools against the living.

2.2 Maritime Archaic Sites in Labrador and Quebec

Settlements

In the south of Newfoundland, the Canadian Maritime provinces, as well as the northeastern states of the U.S.A. many of the Maritime Archaic coastal sites are submerged by the sea (Grant 1972). This is one of the reasons why a relatively large part of the archaeological information originates from Labrador, where this effect did not occur. Another cause for that bias is that the vegetation at the sub-Arctic localities is very limited and archaeological sites are much easier to detect than in the south.

In Labrador the remains of several Maritime Archaic settlements have been discovered. At some of these localities features were found which were interpreted as the remains of house foundations. The first house foundations were recognised at Aillik, Labrador (Fitzhugh 1984). At this location a number of different structures on a sequence of raised beaches was found. Taking into account that a house was probably built on the active beach of a particular moment, one could argue that the house foundations from the highest beach (21 metres above sea level), which is the oldest, to the lowest-youngest- beach (18 metres above sea level) form a chronological sequence. House foundations were discovered at four different beach levels, probably representing four chronological phases (*ibid.*). The use of such sequencing methods is supported by Andrews *et al.* (1971) who reported statistically significant correlations between the elevations of a sample of 71 coastal sites, dating 4000 - 800 BP, and interpolated estimates of contemporaneous sea levels.

At the highest (oldest) level, which must have been an active beach approximately 7000 - 6000 years ago, the foundations of two structures were discovered. One of those (S6) appeared to have had a single room of approximately 2 by 3 metres in size. The other structure (S7) had two compartments. At a somewhat lower beach a structure (S5) consisting of four segments was located. Much lower in the beach sequence two

foundations were found (S2 & S3) which were similarly constructed to S5. One of those features measured 4 by 20 metres and consisted of four or maybe five compartments. The largest structure (S2) was found at the lowest beach, which was probably an active beach 5000 years ago. It was 4 by 28 metres in size and contained seven to ten segments. Around the external wall ten cache pits were found, possibly the remains of private storage facilities for the occupants of each room (Figure 2.1.). Apparently there was a chronological increase in the size of the dwellings. Not many artifacts were found in these houses. Notable is a typical Maritime Archaic celt found in S2 (Fitzhugh 1984).

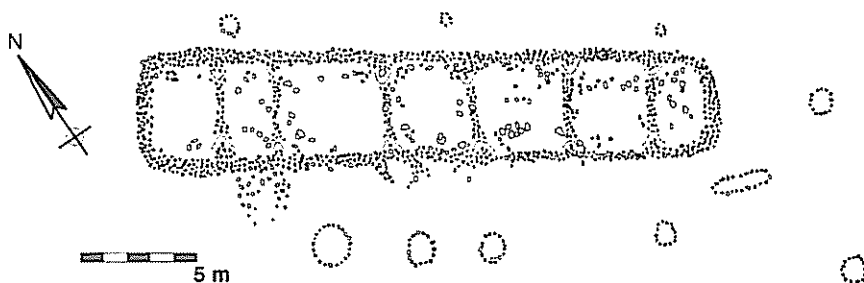


Figure 2.1. Maritime Archaic house plan. Modified after Fitzhugh (1984:33).

The foundation walls of these structures were made of rocks taken from the area that, presumably, functioned as a living floor. The rooms were separated from each other by walls of unmodified rocky beach surface. The long axes of the structures all paralleled the coastline (*ibid.*).

After the excavations at Aillik, comparable longhouses were recognised at other localities, such as Rattlers Bight and Sandy Cove in Hamilton Inlet, 'central' coastal Labrador (*ibid.*), and Big Island in Saglek Bay (Thomson 1984). At Nulliak Cove 1, between Hebron and Saglek, Labrador, 27 of such structures were found. The dimensions of these varied from 25 to 80 metres. Charcoal from hearths in one of the houses (structure 8) was dated at 3795 ± 60 BP (SI-4822), and 3710 ± 70 BP (SI-4823). The hearths, which were located approximately 3.5 metres apart, contained a great number of Maritime Archaic artifacts. Among those artifacts was a plummet comparable to the ones found at the Port au Choix-3 locus II

cemetery (Fitzhugh 1984, 1985a). According to Fitzhugh the artifact collections from individual hearths (rooms) did not show major differences in styles, frequencies or raw materials (Fitzhugh 1984, 1985b). At Nuliak Cove 1 two burial mounds, one of which was radiocarbon dated at 3565 BP (SI-4821), and a caribou trap were also excavated (*ibid.*).

Sandy Cove and Rattlers Bight in Hamilton Inlet, were among the first discovered Maritime Archaic settlements. These were excavated by Fitzhugh (1975a). At Sandy Cove a number of hearth pits was found which were centrally located within scatters of quartz and quartzite flakes. These scatters measured approximately 3 to 4 metres across. Stains of red ochre were frequently present in the soil containing these scatters. Some chipped stemmed points were excavated and a few celts of ground slate were recovered as well. This site seems to represent a number of short term occupations connected to coastal hunting and fishing activities during the period 5500 - 4600 BP (Fitzhugh 1975a,b:349). At the Rattlers Bight site slab-lined hearths were encountered. Chipped stone (Ramah chert) tools were also found, the majority being stemmed points, which suggests the use of bow and arrow. Also ground slate tools, fish spear fragments, and soapstone plummets, known from the red ochre burials, were excavated. A great quantity of fauna (food) remains was present. Among these was a number of bird species, and terrestrial and marine mammals. Most notably are the migrants Old squaw (*Clangula hyemalis*), King Eider (*Somateria spectabilis*) and Harp Seal (*Phoca groenlandica*), which suggest a May-June, and/or December occupation. The Rattlers Bight complex is dated at 4000 - 3700 BP (Fitzhugh 1975b:349). In the southern Labrador area a number of settlements containing material similar to that of Rattlers Bight was discovered. Among these are Loup-1 and Forteau Bay-1 (Harp 1964).

Most of the Maritime Archaic sites known from 'central' coastal Labrador were found near mouths of bays and on the islands located nearby. In northern Labrador many sites were found in the outer coast areas (Fitzhugh 1978). According to Fitzhugh a great number of sites were located in the vicinity of sandy beaches and coves which are protected from too much current and wind. Marine hunters with bark and skin boats would not necessarily have been limited to settlements on sandy beaches. Bark and skin vessels are much lighter than their wooden counterparts and can easily be launched and taken out of the water, even from rocky coasts. Fitzhugh suggests that wooden boats were used by these peoples (Fitzhugh 1978, see Bourque 1975). This assumption is based on the great numbers of wood working materials, such as axes, adzes and gouges, found at Maritime Archaic settlements.

Several Maritime Archaic settlements were found on the north bank of the St. Lawrence River in Quebec (Archambault 1987). Maritime Archaic settlements in the interior were found at Indian House Lake, Nouveau Québec, 175 kilometres from the Labrador coast. At two of these sites, Lac de

la Hutte 1 & 2, artifacts and raw material (Ramah chert) comparable in style to those of Rattlers Bight were excavated. These locations have been interpreted as autumn/winter caribou hunting stations utilised by the people who inhabited the coast during spring time (Conrad 1972, Samson 1978).

Cemeteries

A Maritime Archaic burial mound lying at 28 metres above sea level, was discovered and excavated at L'Anse Amour in southern Labrador. This construction consisted of a circular concentration of piled boulders, 8 metres in diameter and approximately 1 metre high. In the centre of the mound was a second layer of boulders, 4 metres across. Below this was a cist-like structure made of slab-like stones which contained the skeleton of a 12 year old child accompanied by a number of grave goods. The child was buried at a depth of 1.6 metres. The body was placed in an extended position, face down, the head oriented towards the west, and covered with red ochre. On its back a large rock was placed. Remains of two fires were found on either side of the skeleton. Among the grave goods were a toggling harpoon, bone points, stone knives, projectile points, an antler paint pestle plus red ochre, graphite paint-stones, a bone flute, a decorated ivory toggle, bird bone fragments, and a walrus tusk. The burial was radiocarbon dated at 7530 ± 140 BP (I-8099) (McGhee & Tuck 1975:85-92; McGhee 1976; Tuck & McGhee 1976).

In 1969 two other Maritime Archaic burial mounds were excavated in the Brador region, southern Labrador. One of those mounds, approximately 1.5 metres in height and 10 metres across, contained a stone lined burial chamber, in which a gouge, some triangular points and quantities of red ochre and charcoal were discovered. The charcoal was radiocarbon dated 3230 ± 80 BP (SI-1326) and 3450 ± 115 BP (SI-1327). The other mound was similar in size but contained a shallow pit instead of a burial chamber, in which no artifacts were found. This structure was dated at 1745 ± 130 BP (SI-1325) (Levesque cited in Fitzhugh 1975a).

Two smaller burial mounds 4 to 5 metres across were excavated at Ballybrack in 1977. These mounds consisted of boulders and sand on top of a single individual who was buried in a shallow pit in a flexed or bundled position. A number of other potential burial mounds have been discovered on the Quebec and Labrador coasts (Tuck 1978).

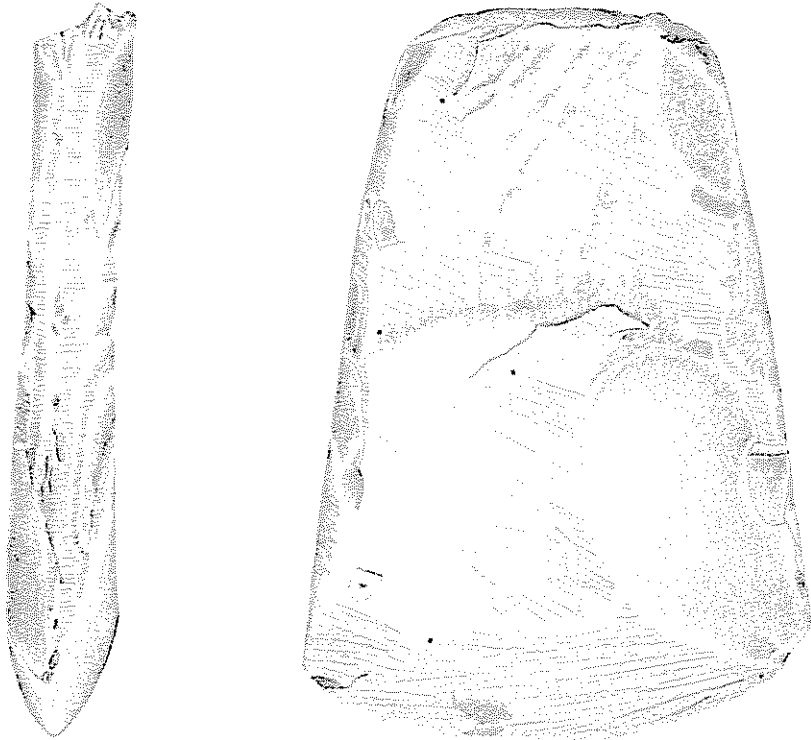


Figure 2.2. Adze (attribute 99) from burial C 50A. Length of the object is approximately 10 cm. Drawing by Katherine Scott. (EeBi-2:1447).

At the Rattlers Bight settlement some burials were discovered as well. Seven of these were located in one cluster beneath a pile of rocks. Two other clusters of burials were found. The individuals were buried in bundled or flexed positions (Fitzhugh 1978). The tools in the burials are comparable to the artifacts found at the settlement, but are generally larger and more elaborate. Apart from tools, artifacts such as Ramah chert cores, worked pieces of copper, cords, and birch bark linings were encountered. Interesting is the fact that most of the tools seem to have been broken purposefully before the interment, an observation also made by MacLeod at the Curtis Site. There was considerable differentiation between the quantities of grave goods which were found in each burial. Two 'rich' burials were found in connection with a dog burial (*ibid.*).

2.3 Maritime Archaic Sites in the South

Settlements

Although most of the Maritime Archaic sites excavated in the southern culture area are cemeteries, a few settlements have been discovered as well. The Maritime Archaic southern culture area comprises the Canadian Maritime provinces and the northeastern states of the U.S.A. The most intensively investigated settlement in this area is Turner Farm, which lies on Fish Pond at North Haven Island, Penobscot Bay, Maine. The fifteen radiocarbon dates from occupation layer 2 (Bourque's Moorehead phase) of this midden range from 4555 ± 95 BP (SI-1923) to 2705 ± 60 BP (SI-1926a) (Bourque 1995:43). At this level a large assemblage of artifacts was excavated. Among these are objects such as bifacial blades, plummets, pecking stones, adzes, gouges, modified beaver incisors, foreshafts, goose ulna tubes, barbed harpoons, fish hooks, a needle and a bird effigy (Bourque 1995). Also notable is the presence of swordfish rostra 'bayonets' which could have been a precursor of the ground slate bayonets, of which the types with a hexagonal cross section resemble the organic variety very closely. No ground slate bayonets were found at Turner Farm (*ibid.*:7,52). Four clusters of artifacts were located. One of these had a high frequency of adzes and gouges, which led Bourque (1975) to suggest that it represented a former woodworking area, possibly for canoe construction or repair. Generally gouges, which are woodworking tools, are more often found in the southern part of the Maritime Archaic culture area. This might have been correlated with the greater availability of trees in the south, as a raw material for boats and other wooden objects which could be manufactured with gouges (Tuck 1975b).

In addition to those artifacts a large deposit of fauna remains was discovered. Among the species identified were White-tailed Deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), Harbour Seal (*Phoca vitulina*), Grey Seal (*Halichoerus grypus*), Atlantic Cod (*Gadus morrhua*), Swordfish (*Xiphia gladius*) and several other species of marine and terrestrial mammals as well as birds. Molluscs were possibly eaten also for hearths and pits filled with shells were found. Based on these food remains Bourque (1995:93) suggests a "more or less year-round (or at least multiseasonal) habitation" for the Turner Farm site. Seasonal growth rings on deer teeth and shells indicate that at least part of those resources were harvested during the winter months (*ibid.* 1995:90). The marine protein resources such as cod and swordfish are considered to be more important than terrestrial resources such as cervids (*ibid.*:86 *f.f.*). This

is also supported by the stable isotope ratios of skeletons of the nearby cemetery at the Nevin Site (*ibid.*:140).

At the Goddard Site, another settlement in Maine, a void in the horizontal distribution of artifacts was encountered (Bourque & Cox 1981). The void was circular or sub-rectangular in shape, and had a diameter of 11 metres. Bourque and Cox (1981) interpreted this feature as the floor plan of a house.

Cemeteries

One of the few Maritime Archaic cemeteries with preserved human skeletons is that of the Nevin Site, on Mill Island, Blue Hill Bay, Maine. Nineteen skeletons were found at this locality. The site consists of a heap of discarded shellfish food remains mixed with other organic refuse under which the skeletons were found. The presence of the shells caused the alkaline character of the soil, which helped to preserve the skeletons. Four radiocarbon dates have been published from this site, these are : 3895 ± 60 BP (SI-1553), and 4195 ± 60 BP (SI-1551A-2) both on oyster shell, 4055 ± 90 BP (SI-1550B) on animal bone, and 4245 ± 115 BP (SI-1551C) on a swordfish sword (Byers 1979). These dates are comparable those of the Port au Choix-3 locus II cemetery, to which the discovered grave goods show a great resemblance. A detailed description of these similarities was given by Tuck (1991:36). A physical anthropological study of the skeletons indicated that they represented a healthy population without population-wide chronic stress, such as food deficiencies (Shaw 1988).

Below another shell mound, at Taft's Point, Maine, a burial was found as well. The skeleton was completely covered with ochre. Above those remains was a layer of humus on which a stone platform was placed. This platform made a very smooth surface. No grave goods were found in this burial (Hadlock 1939).

Also an important burial ground, without organic preservation however, is the Hathaway cemetery in Passadumkeag, Maine, where three excavations were conducted. Moorehead (1922), Hadlock and Stern (1948), and Snow (1969, 1975) worked at this location. Snow (1975) discriminates two groups of burials from this cemetery based on the mutual exclusiveness of green metamorphosed volcanic rock and diabase related rock, as raw material for celts, adzes and gouges. Ground slate points have not been found here. The two groups of burials were interpreted as representing two chronological phases, in which the greenstone was used during the first and the diabase during the second burial phase (*ibid.*). Only one radiocarbon date is known from the site; phase 1 is dated at 5165 ± 185 BP

(SI-878). Snow (*ibid.*) argues that the burials of phase 2 are comparable to those of cluster 2 at Cow Point, New Brunswick which are dated at 3630 ± 135 BP (SI-988) and 3835 ± 115 BP (SI-989) (Sanger 1973:90).

Numerous other burials have been excavated in Maine and in Vermont (Moorehead 1913, Loring 1985). Already mentioned were the activities of Moorehead, who reported the opening of great numbers of graves. His activities and observations were not published in great detail but in none of those burials were human remains discovered. The small size of the graves, as indicated by the ochre stains, made some researchers doubt that those features had contained deceased people at all. After the observations at the Nevin Site and Port au Choix-3 we now know the adults were usually buried in flexed positions.

As mentioned above, many of the Maritime Archaic coastal sites of the areas between Maine and the south of Newfoundland were submerged by rising sea levels. Suggestions for the existence of such sites come from artifacts found in the nets of fishermen. In the seas around Nova Scotia half moon shaped slate knives, or ulus have been recovered during fishing activities. Also Maritime Archaic finds on mud flats of the Bay of Fundy at low tide have been reported (S. Davis, pers. comm. 1997). A few Maritime Archaic burial grounds were discovered in the Canadian province of New Brunswick (*e.g.* Harper 1956). The most important burial site is Cow Point (Sanger 1973), which was found in the interior of that province. At that cemetery 58 burials were excavated. Unfortunately human remains were not preserved. Because of its size and the presence of spatial sub-groups of burials, this site was selected for a comparison with the results of the Port au Choix-3 locus II analysis.

2.4 The Maritime Archaic; A Homogeneous Set of Archaeological Cultural Assemblages

There are undeniable similarities between Maritime Archaic cemeteries and settlements in the northeastern U.S.A., the Canadian Maritime provinces, as well as Newfoundland and Labrador, with regards to the affluent use of red ochre, the typology of ground slate tools (Tuck 1991:36), and the presence of Ramah chert originating from northern Labrador in sites in Maine (Fitzhugh 1978). Particularly the cemeteries of Port au Choix-3 locus II, and the Curtis Site in Newfoundland, Rattlers Bight in Labrador, Cow Point in New Brunswick, the Nevin Site and Hathaway Site in Maine, show great resemblances. They all date within the range 4200-3600 BP. Therefore it is concluded here that we are dealing with a set of homogeneous archaeological cultural assemblages. Such a set is:

"... not identical in space or time distribution with a tribal group, a language, or a subrace, and these sets themselves share different boundaries, nevertheless archaeological culture is most likely to have been the product of a group of people with a largely homogeneous tribal organization, language system and breeding population - whether the people themselves recognized the set or not."

(Clarke 1978:369).

In the historical period the eastern part of Canada was occupied by Native American cultural groups of the Algonquian language family (Driver 1961:15). Included herein are, among others, the Algonkin-proper, after which the language family was named, the Cree, the Ottawa, the Ojibwa or Chippewa, the Montagnais and the Naskapi. Among Algonquian speaking groups in the northeast coast region of North America were the Abenaki, the Maliseet, the Micmac, the Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot (Tooker 1979:8, Hickerson 1980:152). A number of those Algonquian speaking groups have lived in the Maritime Archaic culture area (Tuck 1970,1971,1976) for a very long time, and the language of the historic Beothuk of Newfoundland is considered to have been Algonquian as well (Marshall 1996:435). The presence of Native American groups belonging to the Iroquois language family in the former Maritime Archaic culture area, such as the Huron, is only of recent date. As the physical anthropological evidence published by Anderson (1976) indicates that the people buried at the Port au Choix-3 locus II cemetery were of Indian and not Eskimo/Inuit origin, it is reasonable to suggest that the Maritime Archaic were members of the Algonquian language family. Thus it can be expected that a number of general cultural characteristics of the Algonquian speaking groups were present in the Maritime Archaic societies. Therefore the Maritime Archaic archaeological cultural assemblage is best interpreted using ethnographic reports on Algonquian speaking societies.

In Chapter 3 the Port au Choix-3 locus II cemetery and its physical and natural environment are discussed in detail.