Nova Scotia: The Protohistoric Period 1500-1630

Four Micmac Sites
Oak Island: BlCu-2,3
Northport: BlCx-1
Pictou: BkCp-1
Avonport: BgDb-6

By Ruth Holmes Whitehead
February, 1993
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The Curatorial Reports of the Nova Scotia Museum Complex make technical information on Museum programs, procedures and research, accessible to specialist audiences.

This report contains the preliminary results of an ongoing research program of the Museum. It may be cited in publications, but its manuscript status should be clearly indicated.
In Memory of
Grand Chief Donald Marshall, Sr.

who asked that this report be prepared
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NOTE

As this report will show, as early as 1600 Micmac burial sites were being broken into—at first for their grave-gifts of valuable beaver furs. Later excavations were done by vandals and treasure-seekers, the curious, the collectors, or the scientifically minded. Other sites have been destroyed by development, or eroded out by processes of nature. Interference with human remains is a felony under the Criminal Code of Canada. Any accidental discovery of Micmac remains, such as the Pictou material, is now reported by the Nova Scotia Museum to the Micmac Grand Chief and Council, and the material reburied at an appropriate time and place of their choice.
THE PROTOHISTORIC OVERVIEW
Figure 2.
Map of Maritime Canada
THE PROTOHISTORIC OVERVIEW

Technically, the protohistoric period in the Maritimes could be said to have begun about 1000 A.D., with the venturing of Norse ships into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Evidence for their presence in this area, however, is as yet sparse: the recovery from the L'Anse aux Meadows Norse site in Newfoundland of several butternuts, and a butternut burl worked with metal tools. (Wallace 1986:300) The butternut tree (*Juglans cinerea*) grows no further north than northern New Brunswick and the St. Lawrence River Valley, thus these specimens could have gotten to northern Newfoundland from somewhere in the Maritimes. Grapes mentioned in the Vinland sagas were possibly the species *Vitis riparia*, whose northern limit is also northern New Brunswick, or the St. Lawrence River Valley. (Wallace 1986:300) It should be remembered that the Labrador Current flowing through the Strait of Belle Isle between Labrador and Newfoundland would tend to funnel shipping from the L'Anse aux Meadows area right down into the Gulf, where it is noticeably warmer and abundantly stocked with fish, seals, walrus and whale.

Whatever impact a Norse presence in the Gulf—over a possible three centuries—had on Native peoples of the Maritimes is not known. These earliest European explorers certainly encountered aboriginal peoples, and at least some of them were Indian rather than Inuit. Unlike the Inuit, these particular "Skraelings" wore untailored clothing, which they let fall while running away from the Norse. (Magnusson, Pálsson 1965:65-67)

Due to the paucity of historical records for this period of Norse exploration, the protohistoric in the Maritimes really can only be said to begin with the sixteenth century, after the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot had informed the Old World of the vast fisheries to be exploited on the Grand Banks. And although Chris Turnbull has written, "In some respects the sixteenth century should be labelled the 'lost century' in the Maine/Maritime region" (1984:7), knowledge of Native life takes a quantum leap with the opening of this era. For the first time since humans came into this continent, their actual words—rather than the mute speech of lithic fragments—are recoverable. With the beginning of the sixteenth century, a whole range of ephemera—thoughts, songs, stories, ways of looking at the world—can be accessed. It is a tremendous turning point. The ethnographic sources now available, combined with the archaeological information, deepen exponentially knowledge of the area. With the arrival in the New World of the written word, one can begin to put flesh on the bones of the archaeological evidence.
Figures 3-4
THE ABORIGINAL WORLD

In the 1500s, when permanent European expansion into the New World began, two related groups of people were living in what are now the Maritime Provinces. These distant cousins and language-affiliates both called themselves *lnu'k*, 'people'. Today they are more familiarly known as the Micmac and the Maliseet. The name Micmac comes from their word *nikmaq*, meaning 'my kin-friends'; this was a form of greeting in use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Maliseet derives from another Micmac term, *mali'sit*, 'they don't talk like we do'. The Maliseet referred to themselves, however, as *wulastuk kewiuk*, 'the people of the beautiful river', a reference to the St. John River which flowed through their territory. (Nicholas & Paul, personal communication, 1986)

Both Micmac and Maliseet were maritime peoples who hunted rivers and the sea as well as the land. Through voyaging, raiding and trading, they had explored the Gulf of Maine and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Their material culture was well-adapted from skin, stone, bone and wood to provide them with what they needed to survive. Long-established trade connections with other groups brought exotic materials, new ideas and innovations into and out of their home territories. Maliseet and Micmac saw themselves as kin-friends, children, of the Sun, whom they addressed as 'Grandfather'. The Sun had created the world long ago, and brought forth the People who lived in it.

The father of the day can never fail us, he who makes every thing vegetate, and without whom cold, darkness, and horror would every where prevail...it is plain that we are thy children; for we can know no origin but that which thy rays have given us, when first marrying efficaciously with the earth we inhabit, they impregnated its womb, and caused us to grow out of it like the herbs of the field, and the trees of the forest, of which thou art equally the common father. (Maillard 1758:23-24)

The Micmac and Maliseet lived in a world where all were "equally the common children" of the Sun, rather than in a world where man had been given dominion over all the earth. Their language and their stories show that this world was composed of animate and inanimate creation. Animate beings included humans, animals, trees; they also included such things as canoes, stars, mountains, lakes, decorative hair-strings, wind, or distinctive features of the landscape. All of these, denoted in language by the use of the animate ending, were seen as Persons, conscious entities, with whom one could have a relationship. Persons could become spirit-helpers, kin-friends, allies. Animate beings had *mn’tu*, Power.
In order to understand this world, it is necessary to know about Power....Power underlay the whole world; everything which had a form was a manifestation of Power....Power could take on conscious patterns as Persons. These Persons, whether human or otherwise, were then capable of using Power, as an act of will. Some human Persons did this exceptionally well; they became the Shamans, using Power for the benefit of their families, their bands. They could will their form to change, and it did; they willed animals to come to them to be eaten, or to travel in the world within the earth, and it was done. (Whitehead 1988:6-7)

This was the life of the People, both Micmac and Maliseet, before the arrival of European fishermen and explorers, fur-traders and missionaries. It was a way of life which changed drastically under the impact of that European arrival, but an understanding of it is vital to the interpretation of the more significant archaeological sites of the sixteenth century, discussed below.
Figures 6-7.
Micmac rock drawings of European vessels.
1888 tracings by George Creed, Nova Scotia Museum collection.
THE EUROPEAN PRESENCE

When did the first European ship's crew sight land in the Maritimes? David Quinn postulates that it was on the 1497 voyage of John Cabot. "Cape Breton, or an approximation to it, seems the least unlikely landfall, in spite of many other attempts to track down Cabot's course in detail to other parts of North America." (Quinn 1977:116)

The fish at sea off the land were so numerous that they were the most noteworthy specific discovery (if they were not already known to Bristol fishermen). The coniferous forests were impressive. Fleeting forms seen on land suggested the presence of inhabitants, and the sailors discovered snares, a netting needle (a stick painted red or in a red wood), and a fire site, which appeared to confirm human occupation. (Quinn 1977:119)

Whether the human occupation was of Micmac on Cape Breton Island, or Beothuk in Newfoundland is still being argued. In 1501, the Portuguese made their first move into the region with the voyage of Gaspar Corte Real. This captain did not return, but one of his ships brought back to Lisbon fifty captured Natives who were sold as slaves.

There is no doubt they coasted a part of Labrador, Newfoundland, and some considerable part of the mainland. They found no remarkable products except the massive conifers from which masts could be made. They landed at least once and on one such occasion were met by a large number of Indians; this is likely to have taken place south of Cape Breton, where the Indians would have come to the shore for the summer fishing and gathering. [In Nova Scotia, the Indians lived on the shore most of the time anyway.] Probably they were Micmac, though just possibly from a more southerly Algonkian tribe. (Quinn 1977:123)

English records indicate that expeditions to fish and explore were sent out from Bristol in 1501 and 1502. The 1502 voyagers brought home three Natives to the court of Henry VII. "The captives appear to have been Indians rather than Eskimo," says Quinn (1977:126), "and they are likely to have been Micmac or other mainland Algonkians...." The French now entered the new-world fisheries. "The year 1504 sees the first datable voyage from Normandy. Probably the Bretons began their activity within a short time afterwards, though how long it was before they were followed by the French Basques is not yet known." (Quinn 1977:131) Captain Thomas Aubert of Rouen in 1509 brought back to France seven Natives whom he had captured at sea in their canoe.
They speak with their lips, have no religion, and their canoes are made of the bark of a tree. With one hand a man can place it on his shoulders. Their arms are large bows with strings of gut or sinews of animals, their arrows are of reeds pointed with a stone, or fish-bone. (Eusebius, in Howley 1915:8)

Who were these canoeists, six men and a boy? Their bark canoes and "fish-bone" arrow points are a clue. Champlain's accounts of his voyages down the New England coast between 1604-1607 report that south of Cape Ann the "Armouchiquois" Natives made boats of dugout logs, rather than birchbark. "We had heretofore not seen any of this kind." (1936, I:338) Perhaps one can infer from this that Aubert's captives were picked up no further south than Maine or New Hampshire.

A northern limit can also be postulated: Champlain and others report that the people of Maine pointed both their arrows and spears with a certain "fish bone". (Lescarbot 1968, II:244; Josselyn 1833:303) Such bones, according to Lescarbot, were actually the "tails of a certain fish...like to a crayfish lodged within a very hard shell, which shell is of the greatness of a dish, a long tail, likewise hard (for it is shell and sharp)." (Lescarbot 1968, II:244) This 'fish' is the Horseshoe Crab (Limulus polyphemus), an identification confirmed by Champlain's description (1922, I:358), and drawings of the creature on his maps of 1612 and 1632. These crab tails are incredibly strong and would have made excellent arrow or spear points. The Horseshoe Crab's most northern range is the Gulf of Maine, on the U.S. side, restricted from further advance by the cold water at the entrance to the Bay of Fundy. Derek Davis, of the Nova Scotia Museum, says that at least one [dead] Horseshoe Crab has been found washed up on Cape Sable Island, and that others, also dead, have been reported along the shores of southwestern Nova Scotia from time to time. (1987: personal communication)

So were Aubert's captives from somewhere along the coast of Maine? Are they northern New England Natives raiding into the Maritimes? Or are they Micmac who have acquired such crab-tail points in trade with Maine? Or is the fish-bone reference erroneous? One can see here both the fascination of ethnographic detective work, and its pitfalls, especially in the early years of reporting. However, as David Quinn points out, "From the point of view of the sources on which it is founded, the history of North America emerges from its dark ages some time in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Even if thereafter it continues to have problems of defective or contradictory evidence, they are less fundamental than they had been between 1000 and 1510." (Quinn 1977:136)
The Portuguese as well as the English continued to send fishing vessels to the Grand Banks in the years that followed. "It is probable, from the extent to which Portuguese nomenclature is to be found on maps of what became Labrador, Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, that many Portuguese vessels were coming to the area....some of these ranged the coasts." (Quinn, 1977:131) A Portuguese colony under Joam Alvarez Fagundes, of Viana do Castelo, is said to have been established on Cape Breton Island about 1521. A patent to settle was granted him by the Portuguese king on 13 March 1521, with a license to operate soap-factories, making use of oil supplied by the great fisheries, and wood-ash readily available from the great forests. (Harrisse 1892:174,183-188) "Because they lost their ships there was no further notice of them except from some Basques who continued to seek and barter on that coast the many things to be had there." (Sauer 1968:50)

Evidence for this first putative colony, and resultant Portuguese contact with Micmac, is suggested by several documents. The more substantial proof is the occurrence of Micmac place-names on the Lopo Homem map of 1554. (Ganong 1964:165-171; the Homem maps of Lopo and his son Diogo show the first appearance of the Bay of Fundy, "dating back at least to 1554, and...probably over thirty years earlier.")

They are therefore not only highly interesting in themselves, but also constitute the most ancient native Indian place-names recorded for any part of Canada....Second, their very existence on so ancient a map indicates for him who collected them a contact with the Indians far more lasting and intimate than was possible to the usual explorer of the sixteenth century, suggesting rather some contemporary settler there. Such settlers we know only in the group which followed Fagundes....(Ganong 1964:171)

William Ganong provides a gloss of the Micmac terms on the Homem map: mededequa, taesco, magaracade, pescagudique, xaracada (or xoracade), argomis. For xoracade, which in Micmac orthography would be solakati or sulakati, Ganong suggests "mussels place", sules being Micmac for a mussel—plural sulesk. (Ganong 1964:171-175) The termination akati means "place of whatever", and by implication, "place where whatever is found or acquired", not "place belonging to whatever." A typical Micmac practise was to name locales after particular resources available there, and Ganong felt that Sulakati was a place where the People went to get mussels.

But does Sulakati mean "mussels place"? Seventeenth-century Micmac, according to Lescarbot, did not eat this food: "they have a superstition that they will not eat mussels." (1968, III:172) So what is Sulakati? This particular place-name was still known to the Micmac in the late nineteenth century, as "Soolakade - the silver-place"; it was Mira, Cape
Figure 9  A fish-smoking rack
Breton Island. (Rand 1902:189) The morpheme *su*, plural *sul*, in Micmac refers to silver, to metal, to copper, to "cents, change, coppers". If this metallurgical sense is applied to the translation of *sulakati*, as Rand's definition suggests it should be, perhaps it derives from the fact that Sulakati in Cape Breton had become by 1524 a place of meeting with Europeans for trade, a place where copper cooking pots in particular—the most sought-after trade items—were acquired. As Nicholas Denys reports, "Above everything the kettle has always seemed to them, and seems still [in 1672, when he was writing], the most valuable article they can obtain from us." (1908:441) Perhaps a place of trading with the Portuguese was thus named after the most valuable commodity to be got there.

A second piece of evidence for an intensive Portuguese presence in the 1520s can perhaps be found in the writings of Jacques Cartier. On his 1534 voyage, Cartier entered and named Baie Chaleur, in present-day New Brunswick. There he was greeted by a vast crowd of Natives.

There were more than forty or fifty boats, of which one group approached this point, and a great number of these people leaped ashore with a great shout, and made signs to us to land, holding up skins on the ends of sticks...they ordered two of their largest boats to follow us, to which joined themselves five others of those who were coming from the sea, and all drew near our boat, leaping and making signs of gladness and of their wish for friendship, saying in their tongue, *Napeu, ton damen assur tah*, and other words which we understood not. (Lescarbot 1968, II:45)

This group, "making signs that they had come to barter with us", were not speaking Micmac alone. Only one word in that string is Micmac: the first word, *napé'u*. It has meant man, male, cock—as in cock-partridge, cock­­pheasant. Today it means "rooster." (Bernie Francis, 1986, personal communication) The other words appear to be a Portuguese pidgin. (Prins, Whitehead n.d.)

These Micmac are clearly accustomed to trade with Europeans; they know that furs are a valued commodity, and they seem to be doing their negotiations in a mixture of Micmac and Portuguese. The Fagundes colony left no other trace of itself except for the reference to "lost ships". The Maritime coasts, however, continued to be frequented by Basque traders, "seeking and bartering". Of all the "many things" to be found there, the major items of trade were furs and hides: beaver, otter, marten, moose, etc. The Frenchman Etienne Bellenger reported than on one of his later voyages—undertaken in 1583 for the Cardinal of Rouen—he had clashed with a group of Micmac, yet come home with a rich load of furs.
He had traffique with them in divers places and for trifles, as knyves, belles, glasses, and suche like smale marchaundize which cost hym but Fortie lievers which amount but to fower Poundes Englishe he had by waie of traffique commodities that he sould in Roan at his retoume for Fower hundreth and Fortie lieverers. Theis were some of the Commodities which he brought hoame from thence & showed them at his howsse. 1. Buff hides reddie dressed upon both sides bigger than an Oxe. 2. Deere skynnes dressed well on the inner side, with the hayre on the outside. 3. Seale skynns exceeding great dressed on the innerside. 4. Marterns enclyning unto Sables. 5. Bevers skynnes verie fayre as many as made 600 bever hattes. 6. Otters skynnes verie faire and large. 7. A kynde of liquid muske or sivet taken out of the Bevers stones. 8. The fleshe of Deere dried in the sunne in peeces a foote Long. 9. Divers excellent Cullors, as scarlet, vermillion, redd, tawny, yellowe, gray and watchett [blue]. (Quinn 1962:339-340)

This is quite a profitable trade: four hundred livres over his original investment of forty livres' worth of knives, bells and mirrors. Undoubtedly there were more ships and men involved in such ventures than Bellenger and the Cardinal of Rouen.

Bellenger's contact with Native groups was prolonged enough for him to take careful note of their dress and fire-making kit, but he did not spend much time in any one location. He traded and moved on. Captain Savalet, the Basque fisherman encountered by Marc Lescarbot in 1607 somewhere along the coasts of Guysborough County, Nova Scotia, had been coming to catch and dry fish in the area since 1565. For forty-two years the Micmac had had a summer-long contact with Savalet.

Finally, we arrived within four leagues of Canso, at a harbour where a fine old sailor from St Jean de Luz, named Captain Savalet, was fishing....This worthy man told us that that voyage was his forty-second to these parts, and one must remember that these Newfoundlanders make but one a year. He was wondrous content with his fishing, and told us that he caught daily a good fifty crowns' worth of cod, and that his voyage was worth to him ten thousand francs. He had sixteen men in his employ, and his vessel was of eighty tons' burden, and able to carry one hundred thousand dry fish. He was at times troubled by the savages encamped there, who too boldly and impudently went on board his ship, and carried off what they listed. To stop this he threatened them that we should come and put them, one and all, to the sword if they did him injury. This frightened them, and they did not do him so much harm as they would otherwise have done. However, every time that the fishers arrived with their boats laden with fish, these Indians chose whatever they thought good, not bothering themselves with the cod, but taking whiting, bass, and halibut, which here in Paris would be worth four crowns or more....And it would have been difficult to prevent this impertinence, inasmuch as one would have been forced to remain constantly under arms, and work would have been at a standstill. (Lescarbot 1968, II: 352-353)

These two accounts give a vivid picture of the type of contact which was occurring throughout much of the sixteenth century, both through the fur-
Figure 12  Butchering a moose
trade and the fisheries, and of the Micmac acquisition by gift, barter or pilferage of a wealth of European goods. An understanding of the workings of the fisheries and fur-trade—the European background—is also vital to any interpretation of Maritime archaeological sites of this period.

There are two further accounts, one from 1593 and one from 1597, to round off this century in terms of the European documentation. The first is from Richard Strong, Master of the Marigold, fishing or trading out of Falmouth into the New World.

We beat about a very long time, and yet missed it [Newfoundland], and at length overshot it, and fell in with Cape Briton....Here divers of our men went on land upon the very cape, where, at their arrivall they found the spittes of oke of the Savages which had roasted meat a little before....And, having found no people here at this our first landing, wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the west of Cape Briton, where wee saw many seales. And here, haveing neede of fresh water, we went againe on shore, and, passing somewhat more into the lande, wee founde certain round pondes artificially made by the Savages to keepe fish in, with certain weares [weirs] in them to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Savage with blanke long hayre hanging about his shoulders, who called unto us, weaving his hands downwardes towards his bellie, using these wordes, "Calitogh, calitogh"; as wee drew towards him one of our mens muskets unawares shot off; whereupon hee fell downe, and rising up suddenly againe hee cryed thrishe with a loude voyce, "Chiogh, chiogh, chiogh";

Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right up over the bushes with great agilitie and swiftnesse came towards us with white staves in their handes like half pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke, not so bigge as a greyhound, followed them at the heelles; but wee retired unto our boate without any hurt at all received. Howbeit one of them brake a hogshead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Upon which occasion wee bestowed halfe a dozen muskets shotte upon them, which they avoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwardes retired themselves to the woodes. One of the Savages, which seemed to be their captaine, wore a long mantle of beasts skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their privities, which were covered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to give their fellowes warning of us. (Brown 1869:40-41)

The second account is that of Captain Leigh, in the Hopewell out of London.

This day, about twelve of the clocke, we took a savage boate which our men pursued; but all the Savages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on board. The same day, in the afternoon, we brought our ship to an anker in the harborow [now Sydney, Cape Breton Island]: and the same day we tooke three hogsheads and an halfe of traine [oil], and some 300 of greene fish. Also in the evening three of the Savages, whose boat we had, came unto us for their boat; to whom we gave coats and knives, and restored them their boat againe. The next day, being the first of July, the rest of the
Savages came unto us, among whom was their king, whose name is Itary [first mention of a Micmac name], and their queene, to whom also we gave coats and knives and other trifles. These Savages called the harborow Cibo [sipu, 'river']. (Brown 1869:44)

One cannot help imagining Captain Leigh pointing to the water and asking "What do you call this?" "We call it a river, sipu," reply his Micmac visitors. Leigh went on to visit the Magdalen Islands, hoping to slaughter seal and walrus. There he encountered, he said, a hostile force of Frenchmen, aided by three hundred savages, and was obliged to withdraw. (Quinn 1979 IV:69-70)

The two accounts above show us that contact varied between pleasant and profitable, hostile to murderous, on either side. Bellenger warns others about the Micmac of Cape Breton.

In divers places they are gentle and tractable. But those about Cape Briton and threescore or fowerscore leagues Westward are more cruell and subtil of nature than the rest. And you are not to trust them but to stand upon your gard. For among them he lost two of his men and his smale Pinesse [his ship's boat] which happened through their own folly in trusting the salvages to farr. (Quinn 1962:339-340)

At the same time, such "salvages" were being taken back to France for visits, by ship's crews. Messamouet, chief at what is now Lahave, Nova Scotia, had visited France as the house-guest of the mayor of Bayonne, before that same M. de Grandmont's death in 1580. (Lescarbot 1968, II:324) Micmac oral history records the feelings of another such guest, who, being treated more as a zoo exhibit, took his revenge.

Shortly after the county was discovered by the French, an Indian named Silmoodawa [Silmu'tewey] was taken to Planchean (France) as a curiosity. Among other curious adventures, he was prevailed upon to exhibit the Indian mode of killing and curing game. A fat ox or deer was brought out of a beautiful park and handed over to the Indian; he was provided with all the necessary implements, and placed within an enclosure of ropes, through which no person was allowed to pass, but around which multitudes were gathered to witness the butchering operations of the savage. He shot the animal with a bow, bled him, skinned and dressed him, sliced up the meat, and spread it out on flakes to dry; he then cooked a portion and ate it, and in order to exhibit the whole process, and to take a mischievous revenge upon them for making an exhibition of him, he went into a corner of the yard and eased himself before them all. (Rand 1894:279)
1500-1600 A.D.
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE
Figure 14.
European trade axes from three Nova Scotian sites

BlCx-1

BkCp-1

BgDb-6
1500-1600 A.D.: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

There was a woman long, long ago:
She came out of a hole.
In it dead people were buried.
(Micmac chant, in Leland 1884:309)

Archaeological evidence for a protohistoric European and Native presence in the Maritimes comes from a number of sites in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. All are Native burials, the majority from Micmac rather than Maliseet territory; all include both Native-made items and European-made trade goods. The presence in many of these burials of copper cooking pots has resulted in greater than usual preservation of organic materials, due to the sterilizing effect of copper salts—preventing bacterial breakdown of the wood, bark, fur and feathers in close association within the burials.

Such burials have commonly been referred to as "copper kettle burials." More than eight sites in New Brunswick have been reported to date.

The record is very sketchy at best as only two sites have been excavated properly. The published quantity of sites is probably not a good reflection of their actual frequency....The standard of reporting is quite variable. Most descriptions are offered years after the sites were found; some remain unpublished. (Turnbull 1984:12)

Chris Turnbull's 1984 listing of reported Maritime sites gives location, history and contents, where known. The contents of a few in New Brunswick are summarized below, with all data taken from Turnbull. (Ibid.)

TABUSINTAC, N.B., discovered 1879, contained three copper pots, one 18" in diameter at the mouth and 11" deep, the other two twice that size. These were upside down over the human remains; three tanged iron knives were also possibly present.

TRACADIE, N.B. [sic; perhaps Wilson's Point, Shippegan; see below], described 1901, showed four circular depressions in the soil. One hole contained a copper pot holding a skull, arm bones, and ribs; other bones were found outside the kettle. Animal skins and birchbark were stretched over the mouth of the pot. "In the other holes were found pots, axes, a sword, knives, a harpoon and a pair of bracelets. In the small pot were some beads...[a button with the] face of a man on it, surrounded by a halo and cross at the side of it." (Kain, Rowe 1901; in, Turnbull 1984)
RED BANK, N.B., discovered 1927; contained various parts of human skeletons, fragments of a brass tub, birchbark, tanned skins of moose and beaver, woven mat fragments [see Whitehead 1987], folded leather, armbands of leather over birchbark interfacings.

PORTLAND POINT, N.B., excavated 1955; graves dug into French strata of the period 1630-1762. Grave One held two bundles of long-bones, one wrapped in cloth and birchbark, with strings of glass and shell beads, copper chain, copper wire, a musket shot-mold, a gun flint, scissors, an iron knife with wooden handle, an iron caulker, iron dagger with wooden grip, a carved stone pipe "probably French", and a native-made stone pipe lined with copper, fragments of cloth and vegetable-fibre textile fragments. Grave Two held the remains of "a teen-age girl...lying with head to north-west, arms extended along the sides, and the lower legs folded under the knees." (Harper 1956:17; in, Turnbull 1984) Grave goods included an iron strike-a-light, about 2000 white, light-blue and dark-blue glass trade beads, and two crude arrowheads, one on either side of the body.

OLD MISSION POINT, N.B., discovered 1972, was one large burial pit with multiple interments. Grave gifts included copper tube beads, shell disc beads, leather or hide, an iron axe, a bone toggling-harpoon head with an end-blade slot, and two rectangular pieces of bone decorated with gouged holes, function presently unknown.

The article by Kain and Rowe, "Some Relics of the Early French Period in New Brunswick," quoted above by Turnbull, is replete with interesting information as well as line drawings (see below). However, it is at times confusing about which material comes from which site.

The site discovered in 1879 at Tabusintac is fairly straightforward. It was reported by Dr. A.C. Smith, and published in the Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick (1806, V:14-19). The three pots found therein, wrote Kain and Rowe, "are now in our museum." (1901:306-307)

In the Tabusintac kettle [type], the top sides of the kettle are flattened into a rim three-quarters of an inch wide, and beneath this the kettle is encircled by a broad iron band, to which are welded two circular iron ears for handles [for handle insertion]. All the Tabusintac kettles have the inner side of rim decorated with diagonal markings, and the handles are distinguished by a peculiar prolongation of the ends beyond the "ears," of from 3 to 3 1/2 inches, and at right angles to the sides, as shown in plate xi, fig. 4. In two of the Tabusintac kettles, the shape of the bottoms is that of a compressed cone. (1901:307-308)

This is obviously the type of French-Basque pot common in the New World trade between 1580-1600. (Fitzgerald, Turgeon et al. 1992) The drawing shows it to be identical to those pots of the same period, from Nova Scotian sites. Also found at Tabusintac was a single iron spearhead, forged, leaf-shaped,
Figure 15.
Plate X, from Kain & Rowe's 1901 Essay

PLATE X.

Figure 1. Sword, from Tracadie, 2 feet 5½ inches long.
Figure 2. Iron axe, from L'Etang, Charlotte County, 9 inches long.
Figure 3. Micmac tomahawk, 7¼ inches long.
Figure 4. Copper kettle, from Tracadie, 21½ inches wide and 12 inches deep.
Figure 5. Iron harpoon, from Tracadie, badly rusted. Length, 10 inches.
Figure 1. Glass bead or pendant, found at Washademoak. Natural size.
Figure 2. Beads, glass and porcelain, from Tracadie. Natural size.
Figure 3. Porcelain bead, from Nerepis. Natural size.
Figure 4. Copper kettle, from Tabusintac. Depth, 7½ inches; width, 17½ inches.
Figure 5. Lead toy, from Oromocto.
Figure 1. Front view of gouge, from Tracadie, 5½ inches long.
Figure 1a. Side view of figure 1.
Figure 2. Front view of gouge or scraper, from Tracadie, 4 inches long.
Figure 2a. Side view of figure 2.
Figure 3. Knife, from Tabusintac, about 6 inches long.
Figures 4-5. Knives, from Tracadie, about 6 inches long.
Figure 6. Leaden crucifix, from Tabusintac.

PLATE XII.
unfullered, and identical to those found in Nova Scotian sites of 1580-1600. Kain & Rowe (1901 plate xii, fig. 3; see below) list it as a knife. It isn't.

The confusion in this article is over the two sites listed as Wilson's Point near Shippegan, and as Tracadie. On page 308, for example, they list two 'knives'—again, these are spearheads—found by Dr. Smith at Wilson's Point. Yet in their drawings, these 'knives' are listed as from Tracadie. Are these sites one and the same? In 1899, the Society received an account from Dr. A.C. Smith of graves at Wilson's Point, Shippegan; portions of his letter, dated 19 September 1899 [written, and so headed, from his home in Tracadie, hence perhaps the confusion], and a second undated communication, are given below.

In 1899, Dr. A.C. Smith sent to the Society an account of the finding of some graves of the early French period at Wilson's Point, Shippegan. Here stood an old French fort, now washed away, which has been described by Prof. W.F. Ganon and is marked on his map as "Denys' Fort:"

The following is an extract from a letter by Dr. Smith to the Society, dated at Tracadie, Sept. 19, 1899:

"Four circular depressions, about 100 feet from the shore, were noticed by two men who happened to pass through the woods. In one hole they found the copper kettle which I will forward in a few days. In this kettle they found the skull, arm bones and ribs, but the bones of the lower extremities were outside the pot. Over the mouth of the vessel was the skin of some animal, and over the skin birch bark. I saw the circular skin covering, but it was too sodden to bring away. In the other holes were founds pots, axes, a sword, knives, a harpoon, and a pair of bracelets. In a small pot were some beads." In a letter written some days later, he adds: "The round holes were four in number; about three feet in diameter and about four feet apart. Clearly they were graves; and there are no indications of anything else in the vicinity. Since writing you, I have found on special enquiry that there were human bones in two of the holes. A button was found with the bracelets; but I have failed to get either. From a reliable friend who saw the button, I learn that the button face 'which was as bright as gold, had a face of a man on it, surrounded by a halo, and a cross at the side of it.'" (Kain, Rowe 1901:306-307)

The authors immediately add, "We have in our museum three of these kettles from Tabusintac, and four from Tracadie." Nowhere in their article, however, is there a discussion of a Tracadie site, in addition to the two previously mentioned: Tabusintac, and Wilson's Point. The authors seem to refer to the Wilson's Point site both by its name, and by the Tracadie heading on the Smith letter of 1899. And sometimes, as in the artifact descriptions and figure captions, by both at the same time.

This site, wherever it was, contained a double-edged sword, with a blade length of 25 1/4 inches, 2 3/4 inches across at the widest point, and a tang length of 3 1/2 inches (see below). The two spearheads previously described, were "about six inches long." (Kain & Rowe 1901:308) Three caulking irons,
labeled "iron goudges or scrapers" (*ibid.*) are identical to those found in Nova Scotian sites of the period 1580-1600 (see below). The most completely preserved specimen from this New Brunswick site measured 5 1/2 inches long by 1 5/8 inches at the spatulate end. Such tools were used by Europeans to caulk vessels; the Native peoples may very well have used them to scrape hides. However, it must be remembered that Native groups were sailing their own shallops and pinnaces in the late sixteenth century, and such tools may very well have been used by them to perform the tool's original function.

The kettle [labeled "Tracadie"] shown in plate x, fig. 4, was found by Dr. Smith, under the circumstances just described [at Wilson's Point]. It is of copper, 21 1/2 inches in diameter, 12 inches deep, and has a capacity of 15 imperial gallons. The handle is of iron, rectangular in section and passing through copper ears, strongly fastened with three copper rivets to the body of the kettle. The bottom is nearly flat and gently rounded at the sides. This kettle weighs twenty pounds....The other pots from Tracadie, three in number, are small, the smallest being six inches across the mouth and four inches deep. (Kain & Rowe 1901:307).

At least one burial site containing copper, unexcavated, is known from Prince Edward Island. Its location is not being given out, in order to avoiding looting. (David Keenlyside 1986: personal communication)

In Nova Scotia, five copper-pot sites have been reported located in the north-central portion of Nova Scotia. The oldest known of these was excavated in 1870 by a Mr. J. J. Withrow, on an old French/Micmac trail from Shubenacadie to Newport, Hants County. (Piers 1895:52-56) Within the pit, the copper pot was upturned, and contained a stone pipe, two iron axes, described as "tomahawks," five or six corroded iron knives, about seven dozen blue oval beads, and a beaver incisor. The absence of human remains, and the fact that the pot was not turned upside down, suggests that this collection was perhaps a cache rather than a human burial. The whereabouts of this material is not known.

John Erskine recorded other sites, some little more than rumour.

A single kettle-burial was washed out of a bluff at the mouth of Salmon River, Guysborough County. This kettle was much smaller [than those found in Pictou], and covered a single skull of a man of between twenty-five and thirty. With the skull was an iron axe and a fur cloak ornamented with beads and stitched with spruce roots. The white and blue beads were of shell, the red beads of glass. This was found by Harry MacDonald in 1930, and by the time that we saw the kettle in 1963 everything else had crumbled away and we had only his description of it.
Figure 18.
Artifacts from Steele's Island, near Tatamagouche
Colchester County, N.S.

Copper Panniken
from
Steele's Island
Private Collection

Copper Tube, Steele's Island
possibly modern
The skeleton of a child is said to have been found "wrapped in copper" on an island in Tusket Lake, and at Brighton there were traditions of men buried erect with copper kettles over their heads. These were probably kettle-burials with the missing body imagined. (Erskine n.d.)

In the nineteenth century, a small copper pot was recovered from a so-called "treasure pit" on Steele's Island near Tatamagouche, N.S. It is now in a private collection, and appears to be the thin-walled pot type more common after 1600. (Fitzgerald, Turgeon et al: in press) The site has locally been known as an 'Indian burial ground', one perhaps still in use in the eighteenth century.

The traditions of this graveyard have been known for years and at various times human bones have been dug up or found nearby. After a heavy storm in 1936, almost complete human skeletons were found on the nearby beach...[Nearby] can yet be seen a large field stone or boulder, on which have been scratched the markings of a cross. If not a modern hoax the markings are, it is obvious, of an age subsequent to the Christianization of the Indians...On an early plan of the DesBarres Estate [granted 1765], an Indian burying-ground is marked near the Northwest end of the island. (Patterson 1947:2-3)

The Nova Scotian sites of greatest importance—due to their relative datability, their similarities and differences, and the richness of their grave goods—are the Northport Site, BlCx-1, on the Shinimicas River, Cumberland County; the Hopps Site, BkCp-1, at Lowdens Beach near Pictou; and the Avonport Site, BgDb-1, Hants County. Of these sites, the first two appear to be demonstrably sixteenth-century (Fitzgerald, Turgeon et al: in press; Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988; Whitehead 1987), through the presence of specific European trade-goods in the burials. Avonport, dated as early seventeenth-century (Fitzgerald 1986: personal communication; Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988), is interesting for its differences in trade-goods. A fourth site, BlCu-2/BlCu-3 at Oak Island in Cumberland County, is less well-known. Only a few artifacts—washed out after a spring storm—were recovered.
Figure 19.
Site BlCu-2,3 Oak Island
Cumberland County, N.S.
THE OAK ISLAND SITE
BICu-3
Cumberland County, N.S.

A poorly documented site on Oak Island, off Fox Harbour Point near Wallace, Cumberland County, was found in 1933, after the spring tides washed it out. A pit, lined with sewn birchbark, and at least three feet deep, produced an iron axehead, and an iron tool wrapped in sealskin, probably a spud for de-barking timber. A fragment of birchbark, cut and sewn with spruce root, was probably originally part of a basket. The final item was a small piece of beaver fur, about the size of a handkerchief, its inside edge painted with red ochre. This was found inside a curled piece of birchbark, whether purposely rolled therein, or by the action of burial, decay, and excavation, is not known. Nothing appears to have been included inside the beaver fur, and the birchbark is not modified in any way. The juxtaposition of fur inside bark may be a complete accident. A fibrous piece of modern twine was formerly wrapped around the roll. These items came to the Nova Scotia Museum in 1935, and were catalogued by Harry Piers. (Accession Book V, 8260-8263)

"Part of Indian Birch-bark Basket, sewed with black-spruce rootlets," now missing from the collection, consisted of two pieces, one trapezoidal and measuring 12.50 inches by 6.35 inches by 9.50 inches by 7.30 inches. The three smaller edges had holes through which the spruce-root stitches had formerly passed. Along one of these smaller edges, nineteen or twenty stitches still remained, and attached this piece to a triangular fragment, 7.50 inches along its longest edge. The bark was 0.14 inches thick. Piers' description and measurements are all that remain. (Accession Book V, 8260)

The second item measures 100 x 60 mm, rolled up.
"Piece of very old Pelt of Canadian Beaver (Castor canadensis canadensis, Kuhl), rolled in a piece of birch-bark, and tied with strands of buffy-brown fibre. (The tying with these strands may be the work of the finder). (Accession Book V, 8261)

Piers gives the weight of the forged-iron axehead as three pounds. It had been wrapped in sealskin. "Hairs of the sealskin, closely set together, are evident, caked together with rust, on the side of the axe." It had been "found in a circular hole or cache, which seemed to have been lined with birch-bark, about three ft. below the surface, which had been washed out by action of the sea, above a sandy shore; it is a great place for Seals, which live there nearly the year around, at south end of Oak Island...." (Accession Book V, 8262)

The forged-iron tool found with this other material appears, from Piers' drawing, to have been a spud, or de-barking tool—a long narrow shape,
Figure 20.
1933 Map by Howard Cruikshank
Site BiCu-2,3 Oak Island

Found by Alden Langille
Fox Harbor, Wallace, N.S.

Fox Harbor Point near Wallace N.S.

Indian Cache

French Hatchet

Long with Point Attached of Basket

Beaver Skin and Fur
flaring into a slightly spatulate wedge at the very end. This end is now missing, as is the projection at the top of the tool. Piers felt that the Micmac may have made use of this bar as a weapon for killing seals, which abound on the island where it was found.

Very old, much rusted, long, flat wrought-iron implement, with a transverse cutting edge at one end, once used by our Indians for some unknown purpose. It is now in two pieces, each of which had been carefully wrapped from end to end, first in sealskin and then in birch-bark, a good deal of which remains. [This material is no longer in the collection.] The two pieces consist of:

(a) Long, flat bar of wrought-iron, 36.90 inches long, from 1.38 to 2.12 inches wide, and about 0.40 inches thick, with a short tail-like process (1.62 inches long), at its narrow extremity, and having the other extremity broken across.

(b) A broad, sharpened piece of wrought-iron, which without doubt had originally been the widened and edged end of the above-described bar. It is slightly spade-shaped, 7.00 inches long, 2.27 inches wide, and 0.35 inches thick at the broken end; and about 3.80 inches wide at the broad, thin cutting edge. It was found lying lengthwise, above or beneath the long flat bar, with its centre about 10 inches from the latter's broken end.

These two pieces were one, in which case the whole would be a crow-bar-like implement, at least 44 inches long (3 feet 8 inches), perhaps more, with a transverse cutting-edge of 3.80 inches at one end. The flat section of the bar shows that it was not originally made for a handle (which could have been rounded). Very likely it was originally some of the iron-work from a wrecked whaler or other vessel, which had been salvaged by an Indian and put to a use of his own. H.S. Cruikshank thinks it may have been used by Indians to kill seals, as the locality is a great resort for seals which live there nearly the year round.

When found, the two pieces, when laid away, had been neatly wrapped from end to end, and on both sides, with the furred skin of a Seal, and then again wrapped with birch-bark. The heavy skin is visible nearly everywhere, and the overlying bark appears in several places on either side. The skin and exterior rust make the iron rim thicker than it really is. (Accession Book V, 8263)

The sealskin and bark wraps for this tool are no longer in the collection. The second piece, which forms the bar end, is also missing, as is the small projection at the upper end of the first fragment of the bar.

This material was acquired for the Nova Scotia Museum in 1935 by a taxidermist named Cruikshank, who sent with it the following letter:

There are four Articles from a Cache on Oak Island off Fox Harbor Point...having been washed out by action of the Sea, Spring of 1933 & found by Alden Langille, who lives near there. they were buried about 3 feet. but there were no Skeleton bones as was reported. There is a very fine Specimen of French Hatchet, a Piece of Birchbark which seems to be a Part of a basket, a small Piece of Beaver skin with Fur still on it. you will be able to reconize [sic ] the Beaver Fur on acct of the very long guard Fur. the Fourth
Figure 21.
Iron Bar, possibly a spud for de-barking trees
Site BlCu-3

BlCu-3

IRON BAR

the bar as it is today
1992

Tip (1935)
The bar and its tip as Piers saw it in 1935

BAR
scale drawing, reduced

BAR
ACTUAL SIZE

350 mm in length, not drawn in

THIS ILLUSTRATION HAS BEEN REDUCED TO 90% OF ITS ORIGINAL SIZE
(To accommodate printing requirements)
Figure 23.
Birchbark
Site BlCu-3

19 to 20 stitches
with spruce root

Outside of bark

Holes for 16 stitches

7.50"

12.50"

Root

Smith Pt.

Mackenzie Pt.

Place where specimens were found

Oak Island

Fox Harbour

See Geo. Sur. Map, 60

HARRY PIERS DRAWING
ACCESSION BOOK V: p. 130

THIS ILLUSTRATION HAS BEEN
REDUCED TO 90% OF ITS ORIGINAL SIZE
(To accommodate printing requirements)
Article which is in Parcel is in two parts and I am not able to make out what it is as it is covered with rust & soil...it look too me to have been wrapped in Seal skin and then covered with Birch Bark. Perhaps it was something used to Kill Seals. the Party who got them for me from Mr. Langille said they were in a Circular Hole which seemed to have been lined with Birch Bark. I visited this place 25 years ago, goose hunting and remember there is a low sandy beach which is covered at High Tide it may be Possible there are other things buried near there. it is a great Place For Seals which live there nearly the year around...also a stone axe was found but sold or given to some other party. (Cruikshank to Piers, 9 September 1935)

Mr. Cruikshank was correct; there were other things buried on Oak Island. In 1933, an RCMP Sergeant Nilssen sent to the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa a fragment of a "copper bowl," in actuality the base of a copper pot "exhibiting peen marks" (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988), of the lathe-turned, spirally-hammered, sixteenth-century variety; two iron axes, an iron rod, four wooden shafts, an iron knife, a horn handle, a bone point, and two glass beads (CMC VIII-B-1277-1285). Recovered on Oak Island in the same year, these perhaps originated from the same cache, although the former find has been designated BlCu-3, and the Ottawa collection BlCu-2.

Examination of the Ottawa material by Karlis Karklins in 1988 identified the two bead specimens, one fragmentary (Kidd IIIc1), tubular (square-sectioned), with a transparent bright blue exterior, opaque white middle layer, and transparent bright blue core, and ground corners. The complete specimen (Kidd IIIc1) measured 35.3 x 5.4mm. (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988) Karklins feels the specimens "probably date to somewhere in the 1550-1625 period, or slightly later." The axes are an early French form, and corroborate the date.
Figure 24.
Site B1Cx-1 Northport
Cumberland County, N.S.
THE NORTHPORT SITE
BICx-1
Cumberland County, N.S.

The second of these sixteenth-century collections to be acquired by a museum and catalogued came from a site at Northport, Cumberland County—the primary burial of a young adult female. The discovery was made after the burial eroded out of a cliff-face above the Shinimicas River in 1971.

The site is located in the north bank of the outlet of the Shinimicas River on Northumberland Strait, about 300 yards northeast of the north end of the bridge over the river at Northport (Map reference: 11/E/13/327874). From this point on the north bank, a long sand spit formerly stretched in a southerly direction to within about 100 yards of the south bank by the south end of the bridge. The spit was known locally as "Indian Point". It has now been entirely eroded and only the base remains as a vertical cliff, about 30 feet high. The burial deposit was exposed in the face of the cliff by erosion. The area stretching back from the edge of the cliff at the point is occupied by a lawn and summer cottage owned by Mr. and Mrs. Ivan Perry of Amherst. After the burial had been exposed, it was excavated during the week 18-24 July by a daughter and son-in-law of Mr. and Mrs. Perry, on vacation from Montreal. The human skeletal remains and some of the other material were handed over to the local RCMP detachment at Amherst, and Constable Pushman notified the Nova Scotia Museum on July 24. The site was investigated on July 29. The site of the burial deposit was marked by an irregularity in the face of the cliff about 4 feet wide, extending from a point about one foot below the top of the cliff to about three to four feet. The remaining features suggested an original deposit about 54" in diameter, about two to three feet deep, located about one foot below the present ground surface. A verbal description of the deposit was obtained from Mr. and Mrs. Perry. Under a layer of red ochre there were four inverted copper pots situated over a flexed inhumation burial. The body was encased in birch bark and fur pelts (the latter perhaps a cloak?—the informants referred to "a fur coat"). Some of the surviving fragments of these materials show fine traces of woven plant fibres. Personal adornment consisted of a necklace of discoidal and cylindrical shell beads, a leather wrist strap and a sheet copper bracelet or gorget. There were also 45 glass beads which probably came from another necklace. Four iron trade axes had been placed on or by the breasts and thighs. Other iron objects included two knives and a number of as-yet unidentified implements. The deposit also included a fragment of sheet copper, two shell fragments, fragments of a possible abrader of sandstone, and two modified animal long bones, which were probably beamers. A considerable amount of fragmentary human skeletal material was salvaged including skull, pelvis and long bones. A preliminary examination of these remains suggested a young adult female... The site has been designated BICx-1. (Preston MS 1971; in, Whitehead 1987:68-69)

Brian Preston's Field Report on Northport, given above in full, is the only description of this site.
Figure 25.
Armband fragments
Site BICx-1
A closer examination of the Northport artifacts, both of Native and European manufacture, proved interesting. Many similarities to grave gifts from the Pictou site (described below) were noted. The two armbands or wristlets are made from single leather rectangles, folded over once to double the thickness, then sewn with sinew and laced up with a leather thong. Two fibre-textile fragments were discovered to be twill-woven cedar bark (*Thuja occidentalis*, 40x31mm), and twine-woven rush or reed (*Scirpus lacustris* 88x35mm). (Whitehead, 1987a) Both may once have been part of bags; similar fragments from the Hopps Site proved to be so, although the cedar-bark piece could have come from a mat.

Only one of the two shells in the burial is now in this collection. It is a modified Surf Clam—the Bar Harbor clam, *Spisula solidissima*. (Davis 1988: personal communication) The two modified long-bones, probably moose, had been cut open lengthwise, perhaps for use as beamers. Each cut, however, had been packed with red ochre and thus may have represented a food supply of marrow, or some other symbolism. Two sandstone fragments (one now broken in half), use undetermined, and multiple fragments of birchbark, leather and fur, with chunks of unidentifiable organic matter, were also present.

The Native-made shell "necklace" now exists only as discrete pieces: 669 discoidal beads (plus 27 fragments) made from the Quahog *Mercenaria mercenaria*, ranging in diameter from 4-8mm; some 28 discoidal beads (plus 3 fragments) cut from the Blue Mussel *Mytilus edulis*, ranging in diameter from 7-9mm; and 22 ovoid beads (plus 6 fragments) cut from the central columella of whelk shells, possibly the local species *Buccinum* or *Neptunea*, ranging in diameter from 3-5mm. (Davis 1988: personal communication)

Grave gifts of European manufacture included much forged iron: 4 axes, 2 barbed points, 5 awls (plus 2 fragments), 1 fishhook (plus 4 fragments), 2 knives, and a scabbard fragment. Multiple fragments of unidentifiable corroded iron were also recovered. The axe-heads are each made from a single piece of metal, one end wrapped around to form the eye; a fragment of wooden handle still remains in one axe eye. Sizes range from 21.3 x 11.5cm to 22.9 x 11.9cm. The longest awl measures 20.6cm. One of the knives is at least 19cm long, possibly 27cm, of the type known as a utility knife. (Ellis 1986: personal communication) The blade is full-slab forged iron, sandwiched between two wooden grips held in place by iron rivets. The tip of the blade rests within a fragment of scabbard, material undetermined. The second, smaller, knife is represented only by its grips. One grip has been incised with circles, bored holes and swirling lines; the other is partially decomposed.
The European-made beads included a multi-layered ovoid (olive-pit-shaped) drawn bead with an outer layer and core of nearly opaque dark navy blue glass and an opaque white middle layer (Kidd IVb-), 4.5 x 8mm. It is decorated with three straight to slightly spiral white stripes. The other 43 ovoid beads (plus 2 halves) were frit-cored specimens exhibiting an opaque dark navy blue glaze, each approximately 9 x 7mm. (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988)

Further frit-cored beads of this type remain fused in the several lumps of organic material recovered from the site. To date, several of these lumps have been 'excavated.' Within the first chunk, careful removal of dirt and other debris revealed an initial layer of moose-hide, with the fur side uppermost. Beneath this was a small piece of wood with traces of oxidised iron in the centre, possibly the wooden cap for an awl. Lower in the organic matrix were the parallel arcs of two necklace segments, one of the same navy frit-cored beads described above. The other necklace, of translucent/opaque green glass beads—which Karlis Karklins feels were probably a variety of the Kidd IIa40. robin's-egg-blue beads found at the contemporary BkCp-1 site (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988)—had broken down into glass chips and paste smears. Between the two necklace fragments was a well-preserved lock of black human hair. Given the positioning of the necklaces, and the hair, this lump was thought to have come from the neck area of the body.

Within the second lump, a layer of birchbark appeared, covering moosehide fragments, again with the fur outermost; below this was a portion of beaver fur, probably from the woman's dress or jacket. Several modified tubular shell beads were embedded in the organic matrix, as were examples of the blue frit-cored beads seen previously, and greenish smears from the decomposing glass beads. Further removal of dirt revealed a light-coloured area, tentatively identified by Dr. Paul Erickson (1990, personal communication) as several centimeters of bone paste, possible a collarbone and first rib.

Resting over the collarbone area was a small leather pouch, sewn down one side and across the base with sinew. A lashing of sinew closed this little bag at the neck. The pouch was at first thought to be an amulet bag, due to its position at the throat, but as it and the surrounding matrix dried out, no traces of ties for stringing around the neck were found, even with microscopic examination of the lump, using a fibre-optic lamp. It is now assumed that this little bag was placed on the woman's breast at time of burial, along with the iron sewing awl found with the first lump. An X-ray of the pouch revealed nine discrete oval shapes, with denser outer shells; examination
with fibre-optic light through an old tear in the back of the bag shows these items to be seeds. All are black with age, and some are splitting along their rims into two discrete halves. They appear to be cultigens, probably squash.

The most spectacular larger items in the BICx-1 burial were four copper cooking pots. The largest (72.51.11) is 47cm in diameter, with a depth of 25cm, made of forged copper, hammered in a spiral design out from the centre of the slightly rounded base. This pot has outflaring sides, and a rim everted at right angles to the pot side, with the outer edge folded under. This right-angle turn of the copper has been notched with cut-marks from a sharp heavy instrument, possibly as an aid to bending the rim, done by the manufacturer, rather than the user. (Fitzgerald 1986: personal communication; Fitzgerald, Turgeon et al: in press) There are two iron rim-bands, each with a single central ear-lug for insertion of the iron handle-ends; they are riveted centrally and at either end. The handle itself measures 72cm from end to end.

The pot next in size (72.51.12a-d) is made in much the same way. The diameter cannot be ascertained, as the pot has been ceremonially "killed" by cutting and crushing. Three sections and the handle are all which remain. It is 26.5cm high, including the earlugs; actual depth is 20 cm. The length including the handle is 61.3cm. This pot differs in construction from the first in that the two rim-bands are each a single length of copper, twisted once in the centre to form an ear-lug, and copper-riveted, centrally and at either end of each band.

The third pot (72.51.21) is 39.5cm in diameter. Including the earlugs, it is 26cm high, with an actual depth of 22cm; and a handle-width of 50.5cm. Construction is similar to Pot One. This pot has also been "killed," by punching a small circular hole in one side.

The fourth pot (72.51.20) is considerably smaller, with a 26cm diameter, a 15cm depth, and a handle-width of 29cm. Construction is similar to Pots One and Three. This little pot, however, has been incised around the outside in a design resembling the natural markings on birchbark. These and the manufacturer's cut-marks on its rim make it analogous to the birchbark containers, their rims lashed with spruce root, which such copper pots replaced in the material culture of the Micmac.
Figure 26.
Copper scrap
Site BICx-1, Northport
Also recovered from the original excavators of the eroded burial were five fragments of copper, each bent so that the five originally may have been the armband reported to Brian Preston (Whitehead 1987a). One fragment has a pierced hole near the edge, possibly for a lacing closure. Another long rectangular strip of scrap copper, 28x4.2cm, may have been intended for an unfinished second armband.
Figure 27.
Site BkCp-1 Lowdens Beach, near Pictou
Pictou County, N.S.
THE PICTOU SITE
BkCp-1
Pictou County

On 10 October 1955, Kenneth Hopps was digging a drain on his property at Lowdens Beach near Pictou, N.S.: "a pleasant sandy loam plateau sloping gently to the southward at a 25' elevation and 300' back from the water's edge of Pictou harbour...3 1/4 miles from the open Northumberland Strait."
(Harper 1957) Mrs. Hopps remembered that the find occurred on her birthday:

I thought October 10 was my birthday (she later obtained her birth certificate which indicated her birthday is October 13) and my husband and son were digging a trench. They told me they didn't get me anything else for my birthday, and said the trench would be their present. A while later my son came into the house and said, "We've struck a gold mine in the backyard for your birthday." Of course what they struck was a big copper kettle. (Chronicle-Herald, Halifax, N.S., n.d. April 1984; from a clipping in the Nova Scotia Museum scrapbook series)

The copper-pot burial discovered that day, and the second burial site found nearby a year later, have provided a wealth of information, through the quality and quantity of both the Native-made and European-made grave gifts, and their relatively good state of preservation. At first, the discoverers thought the site to be a cache of Acadian treasure, hidden in the face of the English expulsion in 1755. Almost immediately, this was revised to the theory of a cache of trade-goods hidden by the French in the 1600s.

Mr. Hopps, on the discovery of this cache, got in touch with George Crawford, a teacher at Pictou Academy and well known for his study of local history. Under the direction and digging of Mr. Crawford the unusual find was brought up from the hole, piece by piece, each being carefully recorded and saved. [These notes have not survived. Photos by R.H. Sherwood are the only surviving documentation of this excavation.]

R. H. Sherwood, another student of local history, was called in, to try to establish any known French or Indian village or encampment at this spot. Although the French were known to have a burying ground at a place which is nearby and now known as Seaview cemetery, there has been nothing in recorded history of this place to locate the French on this high ground above Lowden's Beach....[They] ruled out the idea that it might have been hidden by the Indians. While arrowheads were found, they were not of the type that were used by the Indians, and the copper pots rule out that possibility also. The theory is that the cache was made by the French, and this theory has been concurred in by members of the Provincial Archives who visited the scene of the find. From the materials found...it would appear as if this was hidden by French traders with the Indians. (Chronicle-Herald, Halifax, N.S., 13 October 1955)

This identification was incorrect; the site was, in fact, Micmac, but it was not until the 1980s that the date of the burials was established as 1580-1590.
Figure 28.
Iron spearheads
Site BkCp-1
The Pictou site represents an interesting variation on the Northport type of interment. Both pits contained secondary burials—in which the bodies are first laid out on scaffolding in the open air for a period of months or years, and the bones then buried in the earth. The first pit was presumed to have contained the skeletal remains of an adult male, by the grave gifts. Only small pieces of bone were recovered. The second pit held skeletal fragments of a child, a woman, and five other adults, whose gender could not be determined.

Hopps and his family, with George Crawford, excavated the first pit, found in 1955. J. Russell Harper, then the Archivist at the New Brunswick Museum, visited the site for a few hours during this excavation and did a cursory write-up. (Harper 1956a) In the following year, on 12 July, Mr. Hopps uncovered a second pit while digging a post-hole.
Figure 29. Trade goods
Site BkCp-1

BkCp-1

FISHHOOK

ARROWHEADS

HARPOON
problematical at present, and another wooden item which he thought might be a native hoe. He also noticed a reed basket among the several found which had an [sic] European-made fabric as a cross-weave. [If this was correct, the piece is now missing.]. . . . He took many pictures of the work while it was in progress, some of which he will no doubt add to his wonderful collection of coloured slides of archaeological subjects for showing on the screen. [This may be the source of the slides of this excavation given to the N.S. Museum by Kenneth Hopps in 1984.] (Pictou Advocate, Pictou, N.S., 19 July 1956)

As mentioned above, Russell Harper traveled to Pictou to excavate the second pit.

Hopps called me on Thursday morning and I went up on the bus which left here at 3.30 AM Saturday morning, and a couple of the lads digging with me [at Portland Point] said that they would like to go as well. We went to work digging as soon as we arrived, but were interrupted by rain in the afternoon. However, on Sunday morning we went at it about 6.15 AM and worked until the perspiration was pouring off us until I had to leave for the bus in the late afternoon, without anything like reaching the end of the material, and rushing really far too fast as we did it as well. Left the two lads...who worked with a chap from Mass. [J. Valenti (or Valente), whose estate donated Hopps material to the Massachusetts Archaeological Society, which kindly redonated it to the Nova Scotia Museum in 1969], and removed the rest of the stuff later that night and on Monday. (Harper to MacLaren, 19 July 1956)

As one may see by his account below, this was a rushed job; yet it is to Harper that we owe any information on the stratigraphy of this most important site.

**Burial Pit One** Burial Pit No. 1 excavated in 1955 was divided into two distinct areas or sections. Section One was a circular depression of 6' diameter and 3' deep; it had been carefully prepared. A second depression, Section Two, lay to the north and slightly overlapped the first section. It was of the same depth, covered roughly the same area, but was irregular in shape; this second section was much less carefully prepared. Both portions had nearly vertical side walls. The floor of Section One was covered with small branches and twigs. Over these a carefully prepared birchbark sheathing covered the entire floor, and then reached up along the sides to a height of 1'6" from the bottom. Sewing holes bordered some bark edges. Several fragments were irregularly daubed with red ochre; others had black patches on their surface, either of paint or the result of decaying organic material. Five layers of pelts lay above the bark on the floor. The final pelt layer lay with flesh side uppermost and was painted red. Three intact inverted copper kettles lay on the painted skin. Beneath each kettle was a very black layer of decayed organic material. A fragmentary human long bone, a single incisor, and a short jaw bone section retaining three molars, were embedded in the mass of fine twigs, rootlets, seeds and hair of which the black stratum seemed chiefly composed. Several grave gifts lay on the black stratum and were protected by the kettles from the earthen grave fill. These included a wooden bow, iron trade axe with handle, awls, fragments of cloth, and a glazed pottery beaker. Moose skin covered Kettles Nos. 1 and 3, and a black bear skin, hair side down, covered Kettle No. 2. A few scattered articles such as a sword were thrown into the grave fossa around
Figure 30. Weaponry Site BkCp-1

DAGGERS

THIS ILLUSTRATION HAS BEEN REDUCED TO 50% OF ITS ORIGINAL SIZE
(To accommodate printing requirements)
the kettles. Earth had been added until the kettles were covered, then a birchbark sheet laid over the fill at a depth of 1-1/2' from the grave floor; this was at the same depth as the upper edge of the bark lining along the pit sides. The remainder of the grave fossa was filled finally with stones and earth. Section Two adjoined the first part on the northerly side. Seemingly the carefully prepared portion was not large enough to receive all gifts necessitating the hasty preparation of an extension. Bark and skin covered the bottom of this section's southerly portion only as a flooring for gifts. No such flooring was found under Kettles Nos. 5, 6 and 7. All kettles in the Second Section were mutilated; some were badly crushed by deliberate flattening under heavy pressure (jumped on?), and the balance were slashed with an axe....Kettle No. 4 covered a black humus layer of the type found under the kettles in Section One. Fragments of carefully woven rush matting lay immediately under this kettle, being the floor covering's top layer at that point. Very many French trade objects and some native artifacts thrown into the grave along with the kettles, were scattered about without definite order. Skin and birchbark covered the articles found in part of this Second Section, rush matting other portions, and in places there was no covering of any kind. Stones and earth completed the grave fill.

(Harper 1957; in, Hopps Reprint)

**Burial Pit Two** Burial Pit No. 2 was a circular excavation with a total depth of 48" along the northerly side and 40" on the southerly; the floor was level and the difference in depth was the result of the sloping surface of the ground. The diameters at ground level measured 6'8" from north to south and 6'3" from east to west. Sides were virtually vertical to a depth of 34" when they sloped inwards to make a pit bottom measuring 68" x 63". The fill...[lay] in three distinct strata. The lowest 14" contained skeletal remains from either three or four bodies together with a compact mass of grave goods; in the next 15" were skeletal fragments from a single body together with two inverted copper kettles and stone and earthen fill; the third section, 11" deep, showed traces of two fires lit over the grave, evidently of a ceremonial nature.

(Harper 1957; in, Hopps Reprint:3-4)

Burial Pit 2 was also filled with goods of Native as well as European manufacture. Kenneth Hopps presented Russell Harper with samples of many of the artifact categories, their whereabouts presently unknown; other material was given to William Dennis of Halifax, which came to the Nova Scotia Museum on his death, as did the items taken back to Massachusetts by Jack Valenti. Hopps donated samples to the Nova Scotia Museum, and, over the years, to numerous interested persons. Hopps himself informed the author (1980:personal communication) that he had reburied about 3 cubic yards of Native-made fibre textile fragments, as he had nowhere to store them. He took very commendable care of the bulk of the material, however, building a small museum to display it all; on his retirement in 1984, the collection came to the Nova Scotia Museum. (Accession 84.22.1-913)

To date, more than 1,000 items have been catalogued, some with multiple components. Preliminary work has shown that the lists made by
Figure 31.
English or Scottish swordblade
Site BkCp-1

CROSS-SECTION

BLADE TIP

BkCp-1

HANDLE TANG

DOUBLE-EDGED
SWORD BLADE
DETAILS
Russell Harper in 1955 and 1956 are inaccurate in many respects—it must be remembered that he spent only a few hours at the site in 1955. The inventory is actually much richer than previously known.

Extensive conservation, however, is still needed before some material, now catalogued as "organic matter" or "unknown object," can be separated out, in many cases, from the matrix into which corrosion and pressures of burial have fused it. Corrosion of the iron items accelerated after removal from the ground, and the condition of many items have altered from Harper's initial descriptions. Just one example of the difficulties faced by the conservators working on the iron objects stems from the fact that Hopps soaked all these pieces in linseed oil to preserve them. Tiny spiders in his exhibit cases liked the taste of linseed oil, and ate it; they promptly had spider diarrhoea, and their fecal droppings on the iron began to sprout with mold.

In 1984, when the collection came to the Nova Scotia Museum, the skeletal material was examined by Dr. Paul Erickson of St. Mary's University, with the permission of the Micmac Grand Chief and Council. He was able to show that the remains in Burial Pit Two were those of an adult female and four to five other adults, whose gender could not be determined. Included in a birchbark bag sewn with spruce root were several bone fragments from a child whose secondary teeth were just erupting. (Erickson, personal communication 1984) After examination, all remains were turned over to the Micmac Nation for reburial at Merigomish on St. Anne's Day, 26 July 1984.

The Pictou material includes the largest collection of objects of worked plant fibres known for the Maritimes, and possibly for northern New England (Whitehead 1987a). Species represented include the reed *Scirpus lacustris*, the cattail *Typha latifolia*, the inner bark of the cedar *Thuja occidentalis*, the inner bark of the basswood *Tilia americana*, suspected beachgrass *Amophila brevilingulata*, and the inner bark of some species of conifer other than cedar. Basketry techniques include twining in three variations, chequer and twill weave, two types of braiding, and sewing. Thirty-six fragments appear to have once been portions of at least five bags, and one or more mats. In addition, there are multiple fragments of two types of cordage, both twisted and plaited. (Whitehead 1987a:43)

In Pit 1, Harper found the ostensible end of a bow, but it is, sadly, merely a piece of worked spruce branch. (Mueller to Whitehead, personal communication, May 1992) Discoidal shell beads and leather fragments were recovered. (1957:18) Harper further noted (1957:16-18) the presence in Burial Pit 2 of a leather pouch, rolls of birchbark, two pieces of wood "that may have
Figure 32
Sword blade, in two fragments
Site BkCp-1

BkCp-1

HILT
TANG

SWORD
BLADE
2 FRAGMENTS
Figure 33.
Dagger and scabbard fragments
Site BkCp-1

BkCp-1

BLADE TANG

IRON THROAT

LEATHER SCABBARD FRAGMENT

IRON SCABBARD TIP

84.22.38

DAGGER

84.22.39

84.22.91q6
been portions of boxes or bowls" and a "cluster of small feathers". A "remarkably well-preserved birch bark dish measuring 3" x 8" and 3 1/2" high", from the second pit, is no longer with the collection. Flat leather thongs and rolled-leather lines, possibly tump lines, were also found in the second pit.

The "two pieces" of wood—that Harper felt had once been boxes—on close examination seem more likely to have been portions of a baby-carrier. There are six fragments in all (84.22.536a-f), and it must be remembered that they were found in Pit 2, which contains the remains of an child’s skeleton. The largest piece—thought to be the backboard—is a portion of smoothed flat wood. Only the upper right area remains, but it shows a finished beveled right edge, with two small carved slots near the upper end. This would have been where the side-portion of the carrier was lashed into position, standing up at a 90-degree angle off the backboard. There would have been other slots further down the backboard, across the foot, and up the other side, for further lashing. These areas are now destroyed. All six fragments are of the same thickness, show the same sort of damage and splitting, possibly charring. Two show the same beveled edge. One has adhering to it fragments of fur similar to those on the backboard.

Harper does not record the following items at all, so their pit of origin remains unknown: a porcupine skin, with quills still attached; a hair roach of moose neck hairs, painted with red ochre and slip-knotted at one end over sinew cordage, the cord then coiled into a tubular headdress [probably from the suspected male burial in Pit 1]; and a collection of nine beaver molars and premolars. Five smooth round pebbles coated with red ochre, labelled "Pit A," may represent symbolically the fire-stones dropped into bark containers of water to bring them to a boil.

Pelts include moose, deer, bear and beaver. Many beaver and moose pelt fragments are solidly painted on the inside with red ochre or vermillion. Hide fragments with the hair removed bear traces of red paint. Conservation is needed before further study can be attempted, but these fragments may prove to be from pieces of clothing such as moccasins. What may be an armband fragment, similar to those in the Northport burial, is constructed of leather folded over a birchbark interfacing and sewn with sinew; this is presently coated with mud and awaiting conservation. It does, however, appear to show traces of plaited porcupine quillwork, either as an impression in the mud coating, or preserved under the mud. A second roll of birchbark, now fused to a twine-woven textile fragment, may represent a woven belt with a birchbark interfacing, similar to the leather-and-bark armband above.
Figure 34.
Miscellaneous artifacts
Site BkCp-1
Articles of European manufacture include a bottle cork, two hinges, a wedge, fishhooks, several chisels or bark spuds, eleven caulking irons, three iron arrowheads, eight iron axeheads, an iron harpoon head, the tip of a copper saw blade, and a green-glazed St-Onge-ware apothecary jar. There are portions of at least two woolen blankets, originally having dark stripes on a lighter ground, from Grave Pit 2; these were "twill-woven, with a thread count of 18 or 19 to the inch." (Harper 1957:16) Grave Pit 1 had a twill-woven material with a thread count of 50 to the inch, probably wool; one fragment has three hemmed edges, and may be a sash or loincloth.

Weaponry from Grave Pit 1 has been examined by Bruce Ellis of the Army Museum, Halifax. There are fourteen daggers or dagger fragments, as opposed to Harper's initial listing of four (Harper 1957:14). All have tanged single-edged unfullered blades of forged iron. Three are associated with scabbard fragments, all fairly similar, composed of leather, with iron throats and belt loops, and knobbled iron tips. A fourth pair of throat-and-tip pieces completes all that remains of Harper's "five single-edged swords, four with leather scabbards." (Harper 1957:15) There are, however, three further daggers, where the blade tang passed through a wooden quillion and a cylindrical wooden hilt (only fragments of the wood now remain).

There are two more elaborate daggers, one of which is possibly a small-sword. The first is single-edged, a tanged, unfullered, forged iron blade; the hilt is wooden, a slightly ovate cylinder wrapped with brass wire, topped with a metal ball pommel and a metal cap. The quillons show one downturned, with ball finial; one upturned, with the end missing. Blade width is 25mm, hilt width 110mm; length 328mm. This dagger type is late sixteenth century, illustrated in Wilkinson's Swords and Daggers (1967: Plates 31-44). The second dagger is a double-edged forged iron blade, unfullered; the cylindrical hilt is wood or metal, mostly missing. It has metal quillons, one upturned with ball finial, one probably downturned, now missing. Length is 355mm; width 28mm.

A heavy sword, 840 mm long, has a double-edged forged iron blade with double fullers [gutters]. The upper end is tanged, but the hilt is missing. Ellis thinks it is probably English, possibly Scottish (personal communication 1984). The site also yielded a metal ball, probably a sword boss, and two double-edged sword blades, 30-35mm wide, plus several possible blade fragments—eight in all.
BkCp-1

Figure 35.
Awl, caulkier and adze blade
Site BkCp-1

AWL

CAULKER

FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS

ADZE BLADE
Figure 36.
Full-slab knives
Site BkCp-1
Figure 37.
Full-slab knife fragments
Site BkCp-1
The item present in greatest quantity was the forged iron spearhead, tanged, leaf-shaped, unfullered. There are approximately 232 of these, many now only represented by fragments. They range in length up to 220mm. Of the 91 iron awls recorded by Harper, many are now in fragments, and an exact count of whole specimens is impossible. About 158 pieces are present in the collection. Several have protective wooden tips slipped on over their points.

Seventeen knives were recovered, with one possible knife fragment. These are similar to the two types found at Northport, with full-slab forged iron blades sandwiched between two wooden grips to form the handles, ranging in size from the smaller types, 16cm and longer, to the heavier utility knives 27cm and more in length. One tanged utility knife was noted, with a slightly rounded handle of a single piece of wood, topped with a metal cap.

While there was a greater variety of bead-types in this site, three sorts matched those found at Northport. The collection presently contains 106 of the frit-cored beads described more fully above. Three remain strung on their original vegetable-fibre cordage. A single example of another frit-cored bead was recovered (84.22.652a,b); it too was ovoid, with a dark navy glaze, decorated with an applied white glaze in two central longitudinal lines, with design elements above and below of six white dots around a central white dot. The bead measured 1.1 x 1cm and is now broken in half. The white is a tin slip applied by trailing, after the bead has been dipped in the blue glaze. The brown core "has the appearance of compact sand (the grains are slightly fused on the surface of the perforation)." (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988)

Glass beads included approximately 25 of the drawn beads of the IVb-variety found at Northport, ovoid to cylindrical. Length ranges from 0.3-1.1cm, width from 0.4-0.55cm. These are multi-layered, translucent dark navy-blue over white over dark navy-blue, exhibiting three straight to slightly curved/spiral white stripes. A variant with distinctly spiral stripes (Kidd IVb'-) has a paler exterior and a darker core, 1.4 x 0.8cm. The burial originally included at least 40 more of these beads, which Georgina Hopps had made into a necklace and earrings. (A photograph of her wearing these appeared in the 5 May 1989 edition of the Halifax Chronicle-Herald.)

Also recovered from this site were approximately 225 transparent navy-blue glass beads (Kidd Ila56), with slight variations in size and shape, but averaging 2mm in diameter and 1mm in length. Some appeared almost unaltered tube sections, while others had rounded ends very like the later "seed" beads. This lot included variants of oval, translucent/opaque bright navy glass (Kidd Ila57). (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988)
One whole bead (plus 12 fragments) of practically opaque robin's-egg-blue glass (Kidd IIa40) is 6mm in diameter by 4mm. These beads are chemically unstable and many other examples are now represented only by paste smears. (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988)

The final group of 81 beads, all of a translucent "rose wine", show wide variation in their shape, ranging from nearly tubular (not seen by Karklins) to elongated oval (olive-pit-shaped) to ovoid (Kidd IIa60). (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988)

The European-made beads at both Northport (BkCx-1) and Pictou (BkCp-1), as analyzed by Karklins, have proved valuable dating aids.

Based on the most distinctive varieties, the [Pictou] site most likely dates to the 1550-1600 period. The assemblage is more similar to those from Ontario and western New York than New England. The similarity of the beads from the [Northport] site with those from the Hoppis site [Pictou] suggests that the two are roughly coeval. (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988)

Native-made beads included seven whole and two fragmented white discoidal shell beads, now bonded together in a lump of iron rust. Identification of the shell type is not possible until after conservation. They appear to measure 0.4cm in diameter by 0.09cm, with a bore diameter of 0.2cm.

Once again, the most spectacular of the grave-gifts were the copper cooking pots, which were truly impressive, both for sheer size, quantity, and variety of construction techniques. One brass cooking pot was also recovered, and the presence of a large brass base-fragment, formerly thought to be copper, has been revealed by microprobe analysis. (Valery Monahan 1990)

The smallest of the copper pots (84.22.533a) could more properly be called a pannikin. All that remains is the base, roughly 9cm in diameter, and a portion of one side, about 6.5cm high.

The next smallest pot (55.48.001a) was recovered bent into an ovoid shape, measuring 29.7 x 24.7cm, with a depth of 11cm. It is forged copper, hammered in a spirally-coiling pattern. The iron ear-lugs are simply riveted on, apparently dispensing with any sort of rim-band. It is approximately the same size as Pot Four (72.51.20) from the Northport Site.
Figure 38.
Copper panniken fragment
Site BkCp-1
Seven large copper pots were present, one of them crushed, and one lacking a handle. Diameters range between 69.7cm and 52cm; with depths of between 37.7cm and 26 cm, respectively. All appear to be made in the same way as Pot One (72.51.11) from the Northport Site: that is, of lathe-turned, spiral-hammered copper, having two rim-bands with three iron rivets each, the ear-lugs incorporated into the rim-bands, and iron handles. Rims are everted at right angles to the pot, their outside edges folded under, with cut-marks notching the right-angle bend.

A further spiral-hammered copper pot, of which only a fragment remains, shows the same twisted-copper rim-band and earlug combination, with copper rivets, of Pot Two (72.51.12a-d) from the Northport Site. This pot fragment has its rim bent up vertically, extending the pot wall, and the whole piece has been liberally smeared with red ochre.

There are four other partial pots. The single fragment which shows a rim-band has one of iron, which completely encircles the pot, held on by four iron rivets, two to a side. This pot's rim is small, 1.5cm wide. It does not completely cover the rim-band.

The only complete brass pot found in the Maritimes so far is in this collection (84.22.30). It has a similar single iron rim-band; the rim is 0.7cm wide. The brass is forged, hammered in a spiral pattern beginning at the centre of the base of the pot, as in the copper pots from both Pictou and Northport. Valery Monahan, in the course of the research for her Honors Thesis (1990; see her appendix below), discovered that one of the pot fragments—a base—formerly thought to have been copper, was actually of brass (84.22.14).

Ten unattached iron handles and three rim-bands were present in the two pits. Two of these could have come from the two brass pots for which we have evidence, a third possibly from the single complete copper pot which lacked a handle at time of burial. The seven remaining handles may have represented gifts of recycled iron, or these may indicate the presence of seven further copper pots, all fragmented, in the two burials. Presently, ten rim-fragments, four base fragments, and twenty-nine miscellaneous copper pieces are in the collection. (It must be remembered that Hopps also gave material to Russell Harper and to others, long before the Nova Scotia Museum acquired the present collection.)

According to Laurier Turgeon—who has been examining notarial records for Bordeaux and Rouen—French-Basque trade-goods lists from the
late sixteenth century match items in the Hopps and Northport Sites closely. The copper pots are well represented on such bills of lading.

In 1584, Micqueto de Hoyarsabal, master of a Basque vessel, purchased for "trade with the Savages of Canada", some 1212 pounds weight of "kettles of red copper", probably making up about 100 kettles since another document specifies that their average weight was twelve pounds (Archives départementales de la Gironde, 3E 5425, folios 449-450, 28 April 1584). The same Hoyarsabal bought no fewer than 200 kettles of red copper in 1586, and 200 more the following year for trade in Canada (ADG, 3E 5427, folios 265-267, 20 April 1586; 3E 5428, folios 84-86, 6 February 1587). It is of interest to point out that the kettles of the 1586 purchase were noted as having been "garnished with iron", presumably referring to the handles and the support bands. (Fitzgerald, Turgeon et al: in press)

William Fitzgerald, who examined the Hopps and Northport material in 1986, is of the opinion that artifacts from the two sites are the type of trade goods common in the New World during the period 1580 to 1600. Laurier Turgeon, who examined the collections in 1990, concurs. (Fitzgerald & Turgeon 1990: personal communication; Fitzgerald, Turgeon et al: in press)
The Archaeological Evidence
1600-1630 A.D.

Figure 39
Figure 40.
Site BgDb-6 Avonport
King's County, N.S.
THE AVONPORT SITE
BgDb-6
King's County, N.S.

In the summer of 1971, Walter Frandsen was digging a ditch from a well to his cottage at Avonport, N.S. The land on which he dug had formerly been a field incorporated into the Haliburton Farm (Map Reference ME07966 approximately). Before that, according to John Erskine (n.d), the area may have been an early cemetery.

The delay in occupying the Avonport peninsula may be explained by the tradition that on the knoll above the beach there had been an Indian chapel and cemetery. Respect for the Indians may have delayed occupation until a church in Grand Pré made the chapel unnecessary. There were both church and priest in Grand Pré by 1687.

On the surface Mr. Frandsen found two rim-fragments of a thin-walled copper pot, one of them measuring 185 x 104mm, and the other 120 x 86mm. The pot had been constructed of thin copper, not of the thicker-walled spirally-hammered copper as were those from Sites BlCx-1 and BkCp-1. The rim was an almost non-existent fold of the metal, parallel to the body of the pot. One piece shows a small perforation, 10mm in diameter 7mm below the lip, which probably represents a rivet hole for the rim-band, now missing. This type of thin-walled pot is felt by William Fitzgerald to be the cheaper style being made in France for the North American trade after 1600. (Personal communication: 1986)

The process of ditching uncovered further material, at a depth of 24-30" below the surface. (Preston 1988: personal communication) Erskine reported (n.d.) that "at a depth of three feet, a cache of tools appeared: a short sword, a stiletto with a metal scabbard, an axe, a dozen or so of knives from which wooden handles had decayed, fragments of a copper kettle, a quart of beads. At the bottom of the disturbance were a few pieces of crumbling bone above a thin layer of black soil."

There is no further documentation for this site, other than a photo-caption in the Halifax Chronicle-Herald dated 16 September 1971, which mentions a "cache" of "30 small table knives, porcelain [glass and shell] beads, pieces of copper utensils, a foot-long sword and a heavy pointed stone...." This illustration also showed an iron axe.

The Avonport "cache" or burial site has been designated BgDb-6, and some of the artifacts are now in the Nova Scotia Museum collection. This
Figure 41.
Copper pot fragments
Site BgDb-6
Figure 42.
Shortsword with ivory hilt
Site BgDb-6
Figure 43.
Knife blades and ornamented handle
Site BgDb-6

CORRODED KNIFE BLADES

ORNAMENTED KNIFE HANDLE
material includes five long-bone fragments, not identified as to species (Erickson, 1989, personal communication). The "sword" is a dagger or small-sword, of a late 16th-century type similar to the two small-swords found at BkCp-1. It has a forged iron blade, unfullered, single-edged, with an iron tang passing through an ovate ivory hilt-piece, capped with an iron ball-finial slipped on over the tang and held by an iron washer and cap. Metal quillions emerging from a heavy rectangular centre-bar show one upturned, ending in a small ball-finial and washer, the other downturned, with the end missing. The small-sword is now fused by corrosion to a metal scabbard-throat similar to those found at the Pictou Site, BkCp-1. A scabbard tip was also preserved. The sword length is 44cm, width 10cm, and the depth 3cm, including the scabbard throat.

Approximately 1950 white shell beads were recovered from the site. The majority were discoidal (8-9mm in diameter), and the remainder slightly more tubular forms (9x7mm to 20x7mm), both types virtually identical to those from the Pictou and Northport sites. In addition, there were 1069 translucent oyster-white and 34 transparent bright navy glass beads [Kidd Ia4 and Ia19, respectively], thin-walled and tubular in shape, of a type not encountered at Sites BlCx-1 or BkCp-1. Length of the blues varied from 13-14mm, with a diameter of 3mm; length of the whites was 14-15mm, with a 3mm diameter. "Both varieties are extremely long-lived but considering the associated material, the beads would suggest a site date [for BgDb-6] between about 1575 and around 1615." (Karklins to Ferguson, 28 June 1988) Additional beads are still in private collections in the area.

These beads are known to have been common in Atlantic Canada by 1607, when Marc Lescarbot noted their acquisition by the Micmac at Port Royal: "...matachias [ornaments; quills] are brought unto them from France, made of small quills of glass mingled with tin or lead, which are bartered with them by the fathom for want of an ell...." (Lescarbot 1968, III:158) The beads came in two colours: blue and white. "Thereupon to win him over M. de Poutrincourt made a treaty of friendship with him, and gave him presents of knives, hatchets, and matachiaz, i.e. scarves, necklaces, and armlets made of chaplets or of tubes of white and blue glass, whereat he was well content...." (Lescarbot 1968, II:322)

There appears to be such an abundance of these white and blue tubular beads in the New-World trade with which Lescarbot was familiar, that their absence from the Northport and Pictou sites perhaps bespeaks an earlier date for these two sites, a date before the introduction of beads Ia4 and Ia19 (Kidd),
common in 1607; and, conversely, a date for the Avonport site in the latter end of Karklins' range of 1575-1615.

Of the thirty or more knives recovered at the Avonport site, at least twenty-five are now in fragments. The five remaining in fair condition measure between 150 x 27mm and 164 x 26mm. None of these knives are constructed in the same way as those in either the Hopps or Northport sites. The blades are tanged, and those with handles remaining show a single piece of wood bored and slipped over the tang to form the grip.

Iron awls found are similar to those from the other two sites, but the single iron trade-axe, while constructed in the same way, is smaller and thinner. It measures 20.2 x 10.5cm, as compared to a 22.1 x 12cm axe from Northport, and a 22.5 x 12.2cm axe from the Hopps Site. It too may represent a cheaper class of trade-goods, being made especially for the North American market after 1600.

The smaller axe size, the very thin shoddy copper-pot remains, the differing knife-style, and the presence of a known type of seventeenth-century glass trade bead, would seem to indicate a seventeenth-century date for this site, perhaps between 1600-1625. By contrast, evidence for an earlier date at the Northport and Hopps Sites rests on a complete lack of such glass beads — available in bulk by the seventeenth century—coupled with an earlier knife-style, an earlier, heavier copper pot type, and no evidence of any kind of gun or associated technology in the male burial at BkCp-1. Guns were being traded by the French to Micmac and Maliseet for the first time in 1607, and as Nicolas Denys mentions above, were common grave-gifts for male burials. [The Avonport Site, if it is a burial, may be that of a woman or women; sewing awls and multiple beads were common female grave-gifts, as opposed to bows or guns.]

There actually may be less than two generations between the persons buried at BlCx-1 and BkCp-1, and those associated with the Avonport material at BgDb-6. Differences in the type of goods recovered may reflect a number of things. For example, an increase in the fur-trade led to a commercialization of it which resulted in cheaper and shoddier goods being made specifically for the New-World market. New technologies are perhaps reflected in the tanged, as opposed to the full-slab, knife blades. An additional factor was the increased movement of the French into an area formerly dominated by the French Basques.

Long before 1600, the Micmac had abandoned Portuguese in favour of a Basque pidgin. This would give way to French, as French settlers began to
move permanently into the Maritimes. The first settlements, beginning in 1604 with St. Croix, and Port Royal the following year, meant an increased supply of trade goods, and perhaps a difference in types of trade goods as well.

In summer they often wear our capes, and in winter our bed-blankets, which they improve with trimming and wear double. They are also quite willing to make use of our hats, shoes, caps, woolens and shirts, and of our linen to clean their infants, for we trade them all these commodities for their furs. (Biard, Jesuit Relations 1896, II:75-77)

Trade goods were in such great demand that, into the first few decades of the seventeenth century, they gave rise to a type of Native commerce. M. de Poutrincourt, founder of the Port Royal settlement, voyaged to what is now Saco, Maine, in 1607. He saw French trade-goods being funnelled down into Maine by Micmac and Maliseet entrepreneurs, acting as middlemen in the fur trade. (Bourque, Whitehead 1987)

Two hours later two Indians arrived, the one an Etechemin, named Chkoudon, the chief of the river St. John, which is called by the Indians Oigoudi; the other a Souriquois, named Messamoet, chief or Sagamos in the river of Port de Lahave....They had much merchandise, gained by barter with the French, which they came thither to sell—to wit, kettles, large, medium, and small, hatchets, knives, dresses, capes, red jackets, peas, beans, biscuits, and other such things. (Lescarbot 1968, II:323)

Early seventeenth-century French chroniclers were calling the Micmac "Souriquois" after the Souricoua River in their territory. This piece of historical trivia sheds light on Native and European interactions during the protohistoric period. The name Souricoua appears only once in documents of the time (Champlain 1936, I:169), and it may derive from the Basque zurikoa, meaning "of the white men." (Bakker, n.d.) This river, possibly the Scadouc, was located by Champlain as running between the Northumberland Strait and the Bay of Fundy, and was an important trading rendezvous between the Natives and Europeans.

One must keep in mind that the Micmac and Maliseet were speaking pidgin-Basque to European visitors at that period—Lescarbot is very specific that they are not using their own language to him at Port Royal. We may postulate the Micmac telling Champlain the Basque translation of their name for this river—"the place the white men come." This term in turn is used by the French as a geographically-derived tribal name for Natives frequenting that coast, just as they called Micmac from the Gaspé "Gaspéiquois." The derivation of the tribal name Etechemin or Etchemin, for Maliseet, is still being argued.
I include this analysis of "Souriquois" as just one instance of the way in which archaeologists studying the protohistoric period in the Maritimes must unravel a multicultural tangle of languages, of material cultures, of social, economic and ritual frameworks. Hitherto, this has not been done as comprehensively as it might. As the seventeenth century unfolds, and greater documentation becomes available, the historical spotlight begins to shift away from the Aboriginal Peoples to the Europeans. Many histories of the Maritimes, or of particular provinces or counties therein, begin with a chapter on "The Indians;" this is followed by "The Acadians," and thereafter nothing is said of the Native groups.

Within the European context the spotlight rests mainly on the French and the English, whose warring for dominance in North America would occupy centre stage in the next 150 years; starting in 1613, when the English burned Port Royal. Yet even after the first tentative beginnings of French settlement here, the Gulf of St. Lawrence was still awash with the intrigues, the alliances and feuds of many groups: Portuguese, Spanish, Spanish Basque, French Basque, French, English.

The French Captain Daniel sent his ship under Michel Gallois from Cape Breton to Miscou in 1631, to fish and to trade. Gallois encountered two Basque vessels, and boarded one of them, demanding to see the captain's commission. This Basque, Joannis Arnandel of St. Jean de Luz, was alone on the vessel with his cabin boy; he had no license. Arnandel was taken off his ship by Gallois and the captain of a French barque named du May, who took Arnandel and all his ship's arms back to du May's own vessel. What followed was one of the funniest episodes in the many cod-and-fur wars of the period.

This having been done, du May and Gallois returned to the vessel of the said Arnandel with some of their own people. And when they had gone on board they called all the men of Arnandel's crew who were ashore and informed them of the agreement and understanding come to between their captain and themselves. To which one of the Basques made reply, that the capture and detention of their captain were not of much consequence, since they could make another captain of a small boy on their vessel. Whereupon du May, wishing to reprove the man for such a remark, and to point out to him how wrong it was to speak so disparagingly of his chief, the Basque and all his companions became enraged, and being very impetuous by nature, they made their way to the lower part of the vessel, and seized some pikes and muskets still remaining, which du May and Gallois had not found. And with these they both defended themselves and attacked du May and his men so courageously that they forced him to retire from the ship with some of his men who were wounded, and whom he quickly caused to embark with him in his boat. And as these people were now in a state of great excitement, not satisfied with what they had done, they continued to pursue du May.
until, having retreated to his own vessel, he was obliged to get Captain Arnandel to come up on deck, so that the latter might order his men to cease their violence. But the Captain, finding himself free, promptly threw himself into the water, and, clothed as he was, swam to a boat in which were some of his people...then by the favour and assistance of another Basque vessel, he came swooping down on du May, and fired two or three cannon shots at him....[du May and Gallois] found themselves captured by the men whom they had captured shortly before. (Champlain 1936, VI:207-210)

Arnandel, a hero in the best Basque tradition, proceeded to take captive yet a third French vessel, which had previously been robbed of its cargo of furs by the English at Tadoussac.

Captain Daniel, who had dispatched Gallois to Miscou, was beset by New-World poachers and pirates. He had just run the Scots out of St. Anne three years previously, burning their fort. But there were also pirates of other nationalities, with whom he had to contend, nationalities whose presence in the area is even less well-known today. Captain Daniel was sailing from France to the New World in 1631, when he was attacked off Cape Breton Island by “Turks,” probably pirates from—or flying the flag of—the Barbary Coast states of Northern Africa.

On the eighteenth they sighted land at Cape Ray; and shortly afterwards they perceived a vessel, which they took for a Turkish one, coming down upon them with the wind. This made them get under way and prepare for defence; but the Turk, perceiving a considerable number of men on the deck, drew off and bore down on a Basque vessel at which it fired some cannon-shots and then drew alongside. The grappling was not well done, however, and the vessels separated; and, as they separated, a Basque sailor who was in the stern of his vessel grasped the flag that was in the stern of the Turk, and pulled it to himself. At once the Basque vessel began to make off...so that it escaped and carried off the said flag, on which were depicted three crescents. (Champlain 1936, VI:201)

These European raids, piracies, and maneuverings for power inevitably drew in the Micmac and Maliseet, on whom the fur-trade in the area depended.

The malice of these same Basques [under Joannis Arnandel]...persuaded the savages that the French meant to poison them by means of the brandy they gave them to drink. And, as these people are very credulous, on meeting a boat with Frenchmen in it, which had approached the land in order to trade with them, these quarrelsome and barbarous people [the pot calling the kettle black], flinging themselves on the boat, ravaged it, and plundered it of all that it contained. When the sailors resisted, one of them was killed by an arrow, and two savages were in like manner killed by the sword of a Frenchman belonging to the boat. Thus were the French maltreated by the English, the Basques, and even by the savages....(Champlain 1936, VI:213)
A competent protohistory of the Maritimes must take all these peoples, all these variables, into account.
Figure 44

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT
BURIALS

The Northport site was that of a primary burial of a single individual, a young woman. Her rich grave-gifts included copper pots, glass and frit-cored beads, axes and knives—all virtually identical to those included in the multiple secondary burials which make up the Hopps site. What is the cultural context which presents us with two such different burial forms, one the primary burial of a single individual, the other a secondary burial of the skeletal remains of multiple individuals? Both sites seem to be of the same period, the late sixteenth century. Their locations are not too widely distanced. They may even represent burials of close kin. What accounts, then, for the differences? And what is the cultural context which provides all the dead with lavish gifts, both the single adult male and the young female, as well as the other, group, burial?

A search of the seventeenth-century documentation provides answers to some of these questions, even while raising further questions. The most detailed sources—Champlain, Lescarbot, Biard, Denys, LeClercq and Diéreville—blanket the seventeenth century. Through the eyes of these French writers, one sees Native life as it was in the early protohistoric period, and how it begins to change with the second century of European contact.

Lescarbot (1968, III:273-275) describes the death and burial of Panoniac, a Micmac killed while trading with the Armouchiquois. His body was brought to St. Croix where it was embalmed. "Of what kind this balm is I could not discover, not having enquired upon the spot; I believe they cut up the dead bodies and dry them. Certain it is that they preserve them from rotteness." After Panoniac's body was preserved at St. Croix, it was brought home to Port Royal. Usually the dead were mourned for about a month, said Lescarbot, but fearing to offend the French, Chief Membertou cut the time to eight days.

"...They began on the next day at daybreak their weepings and cryings, which we heard from our said fort, taking some intermission during the day. And they mourn in turn, every cabin on his set day, and every person in his turn." (Lescarbot 1968, III:279)

The Micmac painted their faces black to mourn Panoniac, and after they had wept for him, "they went to the place where his cabin stood while he was alive, and there burnt all that he had left, his bows, arrows, quiwers, his beaver skins, his tobacco (without which they cannot live), his dogs, and his other small furniture, to the end that none should quarrel over his succession." (Lescarbot 1968, III:279)
They content themselves with burning the dead man's goods [rather than his body]; and as for the body, they put it honourably in the grave. This Panoniac, of whom we have spoken, was kept in the cabin of Niguiroet, his father, and of Neguiaodetch, his mother, until the spring-time, when the muster of the savages was held to go to revenge his death: in which assembly he was yet again bewailed, and before they went on the warpath they made an end of his funeral, and carried him (according to their custom) to a desolate island, towards Cape Sable, some five and twenty or thirty leagues distant from Port Royal. Those isles which serve them for graveyards are secret amongst them, for fear some enemy should seek to disturb the bones of their dead. (Lescarbot 1968, III:283)

Tombs, according to Lescarbot, were made like wooden boxes, into which the bodies were placed and then covered, "which we call to bury, and not to inter, seeing they are not within the earth." (Lescarbot 1968, III:284) The grave was then filled with gifts from all the people present.

For after they have laid the dead to rest, every one makes him a present of the best thing he has. Some cover him with many skins of beavers, of otters, and other beasts: others present him with bows, arrows, quivers, knives, matachias [ornaments], and other things...they have this custom from the first days of their fathers....(Lescarbot 1968, III:285,288)

Some of the questions raised by Lescarbot's account—how was embalming done? has he misunderstood about burial in the earth itself?—can be answered by the more detailed description by the Recollet Father Chrestien LeClercq, who officiated at Micmac burials while living in the Gaspé-Miramichi-Restigouche region during the period 1675 to 1683.

When the dying person has drawn his last breath, the relatives and friends of the deceased cover his body with a fine skin of elk, or a robe of beaver. In this he is enshrouded and bound with cords of leather or bark in such a manner that the chin touches the knees and the feet the back. Hence it comes about that their graves are quite round, of the form of a well, and four to five feet deep. Meanwhile the leading person and the chiefs [elders] give directions that the bark of the wigwam of the dead man be struck, the words Oue, Oue, Oue, being said for the purpose of making the soul come forth. Then certain young Indians are appointed to go and announce to all the people, and even to the French settlements, the death of their relatives and friends. These deputies approach the wigwams to which they are sent, climb into a tree, and cry out three times with all their strength that such an Indian is dead. After this, they approach...inviting them to assist in his funeral, which is celebrated in the following fashion. Everybody having assembled at the wigwam of the deceased, the body is carried to the general burial-place of the nation. It is placed in the grave and covered with bark and with the finest skins. It is adorned also with branches of fir and sprigs of cedar, and finally they add thereto everything which the deceased has been accustomed to use. If it was a man, they add his bow, arrows, spear, club, gun, powder, lead, porringer, kettle, snowshoes, &c.; if it was a woman, her collar for use in dragging the sled or in carrying wood, her axe, knife, blanket, necklaces of wampum and of beads,
and her tools used for ornamenting and painting the clothes, as well as the needles for sewing the canoes and for lacing the snowshoes. The grave is then filled with earth, and upon it is placed a quantity of logs elevated three or four feet in the form of a mausoleum. (LeClercq 1910:300-301)

This wooden structure, in LeClercq's day, was erected over the grave, both as a marker and as a protection from beasts. Perhaps Lescarbot, who was not present at Panoniac's burial, misunderstood. Perhaps this type of box-burial was done in rocky areas where an excavation of four to five feet was impossible; perhaps there were regional variations in burial customs, even within a single tribal group. It is also possible that customs had changed in the 70 years between Lescarbot and LeClercq's writings: LeClercq does describe "a grave built in the form of a box, containing a quantity of skins of beavers and of moose, some arrows, bows, wampum, beadwork, and other trinkets." (1910:303)

This seems to fit with Lescarbot's depiction. Because this grave contained arrows and a bow, instead of a musket and lead, it may represent an older form. Yet the Jesuit Pierre Biard, living at Port Royal a scant four years after Lescarbot, tells us, "When the body is placed (in the grave), as it does not come up even with the ground on account of the depth of the grave, they arch the grave over with sticks, so that the earth will not fall back into it, and thus they cover up the tomb." (Biard, Jesuit Relations 1896, II: 322)

In 1699, Dièreville saw the grave of the Jesuit Father Thury, who had died at Chebuctou [now Halifax], and who had been buried by the Micmac, in "a tomb of stakes, covered with bark, arched, cradle-shaped, and rather long than round; while covering his clay small stones, instead of marble, were neatly arranged upon the ground." (Dièreville 1934:78) This suggests the priest was buried extended, covered with earth and small stones, then having some sort of wood and bark construction erected over the burial site.

LeClercq, having described primary burials, goes on to discuss secondary burials, which occur if death overtook the person during the winter, when the ground was too hard to dig.

If an Indian dies during the winter at some place remote from the common burial-place of his ancestors, those of his wigwam enwrap him with much care in barks painted red and black, place him upon the branches of some tree on the bank of a river, and build around him with logs a kind of little fort, for fear lest he be torn by wild beasts or birds of prey. In the spring the chief sends the young men to fetch the body, and it is received with the same ceremonies which have just been described. (1910:302)
It is from LeClercq (1910:302) that we have information confirming Lescarbot's guess at embalming procedures.

I have learned only this from our Indians, that the chiefs of their nation formerly entrusted the bodies of the dead to certain old men, who carried them sacredly ["religieusement"] to a wigwam built on purpose in the midst of the woods, where they remained for a month or six weeks. They opened the head and the belly of the dead person, and removed therefrom the brain and the entrails; they removed the skin from the body, cut the flesh into pieces, and, having dried it in the smoke or in the sun, they placed it at the foot of the dead man, to whom they gave back his skin, which they fitted on very much as if the flesh had not been removed.

This was a method practised both by Micmac and Maliseet—Panonia was embalmed by the Maliseet at St. Croix, who then brought the remains to Port Royal. This technique of embalming also appears in a story collected by Silas Rand from the Micmac—"The Invisible Boy"—in which a sister performs the operation for her dead brother, who had taken the shape of a moose as he died. (Rand 1894:101-109)

An early Nova Scotia Museum curator, Harry Piers, was told in 1913 that the last burial to be made in an Indian cemetery at French Village, Nova Scotia, was that of a chief who had died in the woods near Liverpool. "They suspended the body and smoked it till it dried," said Piers' informant, Jerry Lonecloud, "then brought it by canoe to Indian Point...and buried it there; an old woman at Halifax still lives who saw the body brought there for burial." (Piers Notes, NSM Printed Matter File)

The placing of the body on scaffolding, described by LeClercq as a wintertime emergency measure, is reported by Nicolas Denys as having been routinely done, no matter what the time of year. Denys lived, fished and traded in the Maritimes for forty-eight years, between 1633 and 1681. His son Richard Denys de Fronsac married a Micmac woman. Again, it is difficult to understand the differences in the two accounts, since Denys' time-frame overlaps that of LeClercq, and LeClercq was living near de Fronsac's fort at one point.

The women went to fetch fine pieces of bark from which they made a kind of bier on which they placed him well enwrapped. Then he was carried to a place where they had a staging built on purpose, and elevated eight or ten feet. On this they placed the bier, and there they left it about a year, until the time when the sun had entirely dried the body....The end of the year having passed, and the body [being] dry, it was taken thence and carried to a new place, which is their cemetery. There it was placed in a new coffin or bier, also of Birch bark, and immediately after in a deep grave which they had made in the ground. Into this all his relatives and friends threw bows, arrows, snow-shoes, spears, robes of Moose, Otter, and Beaver, stockings, moccasins, and
everything that was needful for him in hunting and in clothing himself. All the friends of the deceased made him each his present, of the finest and best that they had. They competed as to who would make the most beautiful gift. At a time when they were not yet disabused of their errors, I have seen them give to the dead man, guns, axes, iron arrowheads, and kettles....All the burials of the women, boys, girls, and children were made in the same fashion, but the weeping did not last so long. They never omitted to place with each one that which was fitting for his use, nor to bury it with him. (Denys 1908:438-439)

All these grave goods, both of native and European manufacture, either belonging to the dead, or gifts from the survivors, were included in the burial, "in the thought which possessed them, that the spirits of all these articles would bear him company and do him service in the Land of Souls." (LeClercq 1910:303)

Denys reports how the French tried to disabuse the Micmac and Maliseet of this notion, urging them to open graves and see for themselves how the things had not gone away with the dead to the Ghost World. When they finally consented to trying this, they saw among other things a kettle, "all perforated with verdigris."

An Indian having struck against it and found that it no longer sounded, began to make a great cry...."We see indeed," said he, "the robes and all the rest, and if they are still there it is a sign that the dead man has not had need of them in the other world, where they have enough of them because of the length of time that they have been furnished them. But with respect to the kettle," said he, "they have need of it, since it is among us a utensil of new introduction, and with which the other world cannot [yet] be furnished. Do you not indeed see," said he, rapping again upon the kettle, "that it has no longer any sound, and that it no longer says a word, because its spirit has abandoned it to go to be of use in the other world to the dead man to whom we have given it?"

(Denys 1908:440)

This is a perfectly logical deduction, given the premises and world-view upon which it is based: the world-view discussed earlier, in which much of the created inorganic world was animate, having souls which departed after "death," just as almost all organic life-forms had souls, whether human, tree or animal. (While trees are considered Persons, and take the animate case, plants, for the most part, do not.) Denys says it was difficult to refute such logic, even upon showing the man another kettle, worn out from use, and not "speaking."

"Ha," said he, "that is because it is dead, and its soul has gone to the land where the souls of kettles are accustomed to go." And no other reason could be given at that time. (Denys 1908:440)
CONCLUSION
CONCLUSION

Any overview of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Maritimes must have as one of its primary foci the ways in which the European cultures affected, and in their turn were affected by, the Native cultural matrix already in place.

Looking at this solely in terms of Native lifeways, one sees that such changes were virtually all-encompassing. By 1608, for example, the Micmac and Maliseet had acquired guns in trade with the French at Port Royal, and had used them to wipe out most of the effective leadership of their enemies, the "Armouchiquois" around Saco, Maine. In 1610, Membertou, Chief at Port Royal, and his extended family were baptized as Catholics. The Chief, having thus allied himself with the French, immediately offered to make war on all those who did not convert. Hundreds of Micmac and Maliseet arrived in Port Royal seeking baptism, whether through a desire for alliance, or a fear of Membertou, is not known.

Conversion to Catholicism resulted in a loss of much of the pre-contact ritual life of the Micmac and Maliseet. Conversion to a fur-trade economy greatly modified existing social structures, while new materials and technologies from the Old World altered native material culture substantially.

Yet it was the introduction of European pathogens—the "measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, chicken-pox, small-pox, typhus, typhoid, malaria, yellow fever, as well as the venereal diseases and possibly tuberculosis" (Heagerty, in Bailey 1969:75)—which was to have the greatest effect. The People had no natural immunities to such killers; even the common cold was often fatal to them. Ill health was further exacerbated by the new trade-diet of peas, prunes, biscuits and beans. The switch to carbohydrates, by a group used to millenia of eating largely meat and fat, proved disastrous. Their health was further attacked by alcohol, itself a carbohydrate.

By 1612, both Membertou and Messamouet, Chief at Lahave, were dead of European-introduced diseases, their lives a paradigm for what was to take place all over North America as first encounters between the New World and the Old took place: contact, enculturalization, death.

Adapting an entirely different custom and thus breeding new diseases, they pay for their indulgence during the autumn and winter by pleurisy, quinsy, and dysentery,
which kill them all off. During this year alone sixty have died at Cape de la Hève [Lahave, N.S., Messamouet's territory], which is the greater part of those who lived there.... (Biard, Jesuit Relations 1896, I:1770)

"They are astonished," continued Biard, "and often complain that since the French mingle with and carry on trade with them, they are dying fast and the population is thinning out...one by one the different coasts according as they have begun to traffic with us, have been more reduced by disease...." (Biard, Jesuit Relations 1896, III:105,109)

By the end of the seventeenth century, 70% to 90% of the Native peoples of the Maritimes were to die of European diseases, or from the toxic and sociological effects of alcohol. (Bailey 1969) There were few Elders left to pass on the stories and the knowledge of the Old Ones; there were few children left to learn.

Of all the changes that the protohistoric period ushered in for the Micmac and the Maliseet, this enormous drop in population was the greatest and most tragic. The archaeological record for the Maritimes was to read very differently after 1700.

As this essay shows, as early as 1600 Micmac burial sites were being broken into—at first for their grave-gifts of valuable beaver furs. Later excavations were done by vandals and treasure-seekers, the curious, the collectors, or the scientifically minded. Other sites have been destroyed by development, or eroded out by processes of nature. Interference with human remains is a felony under the Criminal Code of Canada. Any accidental discovery of Micmac remains, such as the Pictou material, is now reported by the Nova Scotia Museum to the Micmac Grand Chief and Council, and the material reburied at an appropriate time and place of their choice.

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The Nova Scotia Museum
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The late Dr. Peter Paul, Maliseet Historian, Woodstock, N.B.
Brian Preston, Archaeology Curator, The Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax
Laurier Turgeon, Université Laval, Québec

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Grateful thanks go to Penny Lighthall for her help in cataloguing the myriad fragments of furs and hides from the collections. Valery Monahan helped catalogue the cordage section of the collection, and contributed the appendix. Bruce Ellis identified the weaponry, and Karliss Karklins the beads. (Rob Ferguson kindly included our bead samples with some of his own from Canadian Parks Service sites, sent to Karliss Karklins.) Derek Davis, Fred Scott, and Alex Wilson identified organic material. Martin Mueller showed us that the "bow" fragment was in reality something else, not yet identified. Alex Wilson did the microphotography. Paul Erickson, with the permission of the late Grand Chief Donald Marshall, Sr., did the examination of the human remains. William Fitzgerald, Laurier Turgeon, James Bradley, Bruce J. Bourque, Michael Deal, Birgitta Wallace, Ingeborg Marshall, Chris Turnbull, David Keenlyside, Ralph Pastore and Karliss Karklins' research all helped in dating the sites and expanding knowledge of their historical contexts. Harold McGee once again provided the library of seventeenth-century sources, many of which the Champlain Society has made available to the world in English. Research Associate Joleen Gordon is at work reproducing the vegetable-fibre textiles, and her research has helped identify materials. Scott Robson did the proofreading and computer tutoring; Linda Wood, Roger Lloyd and Ron Merrick took the photographs. Appreciation is due to the many conservators who worked on the collection, both at the Canadian Conservation Institute, the Nova Scotia Museum Complex, and the independant contractors. Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Hopps were always kind and hospitable, and shared their information. Final special thanks go to the late Tom Paul and to Isabelle Toney-Shay, Micmac traditionalists who watched over us while we worked with this material.
For the Protohistoric Overview section:

All line drawings are by the author, and are actual size, unless otherwise indicated.

The photographs in the preceding section, as well as Figure 118 in the following section, are reconstructions of Micmac life circa 1400 A.D., and were taken on the set of MI'KMAQ, a television series on the 15th-century Micmac, co-produced by the N.S. Department of Education's Education Media Services and CBC Halifax, 1980-1981; at the request of Dr. Peter Christmas of the Micmac Association for Cultural Studies. The photographer was Linda Wood.

Photographers for the Collections Inventory (Figures 47-117) are listed in the captions for that section.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object Name</th>
<th>Accession Number</th>
<th>Measurements</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

NOVA SCOTIA MUSEUM  
Protohistoric Sites  
COLLECTIONS INVENTORY
Figure 47  Contact sheet, artifact photography, BkCp-1 Photograph by Roger Lloyd.
COLLECTIONS INVENTORY:
Site BlCu-3
Oak Island, N.S.

Object Name, Accession Number, Measurements, Comments

Containers
BASKET 35.194 (8260) 318 x 165 mm birchbark fragment

Faunal, Floral and Mineral Specimens
BEAVER FUR 35.195a (8261) 100 x 60 mm fragment
wrapped in birchbark fragment 35.195b
inside painted with red ochre
SEALSIGN 35.197b (8263) no mm fragment missing
originally wrapped around spud 35.197a
BIRCHBARK 35.195b (8261) 100 x 60mm fragment
wrapped around beaver fur fragment 35.195a
BIRCHBARK 35.197c (8263) no mm fragment missing
originally wrapped around spud 35.197a

Instruments and Utensils
AXEHEAD 35.196 (8262) 204 x 102 x 38 mm forged iron
traces of sealskin adhering
SPUD? 35.197a (8263) 622 x 50 mm forged iron
originally in sealskin fragment 35.197b, birchbark 35.197c
COLLECTIONS INVENTORY:
Site BlCx-1
Northport, N.S.

Object Name, Accession Number, Measurements, Comments

Containers
Bags, probable, fragments; woven vegetable fibres, native manufacture:
BAG? 72.51.4b 115 x 57 mm twine-woven reed fragment fused to organic matter 72.51.4d

Pots, copper, cooking, European manufacture:
POT 72.51.11 Diam: 470 mm; Dp: 250 mm intact
L: 720 mm (+ handles) H: 285 mm (+ earlugs)
POT 72.51.12a-d Diam: ?mm; Dp: 200 mm crushed
L: 613 mm (+ handles); H: 265 mm (+ earlugs)
POT 72.51.20 Diam: 260 mm; Dp: 150 mm intact
POT 72.51.21 Diam: 395 mm; Dp: 220 mm punctured
L: 505 mm (+ handles); H: 260 mm (+ earlugs)

Costumes and Accessories
Armbands, leather:
ARMBAND 72.51.3a 199 x 41 mm fragment
ARMBAND 72.51.3b 44 x 42 mm fragment
ARMBAND 72.51.3c 120 x 41 mm fragment

Armlets, copper, native manufacture from European metal:
ARMLET 72.51.9a 49 x 41 mm fragment
ARMLET 72.51.9b 43 x 40 mm fragment
ARMLET 72.51.9c 74 x 42 mm fragment
ARMLET 72.51.9d 65 x 35 mm fragment
ARMLET 72.51.9e 43 x 16 mm fragment
the five fragments originally formed a single armlet

Beads:
BEAD 72.51.7a.1-696 04-08 x 01-04 mm shell, Mercenaria mercenaria
669 whole, 27 frgs
BEAD 72.51.7b.1-31 07-09 x 01-02 mm shell, Mytilus edulis
28 whole, 3 frgs
BEAD 72.51.7c.1-28  17-22 x 03-05 mm  shell, *Buccinum/Neptunia*  
22 whole, 6 frgs

BEAD 72.51.8.1-45  09 x 07 mm  frit core, blue  
43 whole, 2 halves

BEAD 72.51.22  08 x 4.5 mm  glass, blue/white, IIb69

BEAD 72.51.27b  08 x 07 mm  bone, rabbit radius?, fragment  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.27a

BEAD 72.51.29.1-8  07 x 05 mm  glass, blue IIa40?, 8+  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.31  decomposing to paste

BEAD 72.51.30.1-8  08 x 07 mm  frit core, blue, 7-8 whole  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.31

BEAD 72.51.33c  10 x 05 mm  glass, blue IIa40?, smears only  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.33b  decomposed to paste

BEAD 72.51.36b  07 x 05 mm  glass, blue IIa40?, smears only  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.36a  decomposed to paste

BEAD 72.51.37c  07 x 05 mm  glass, blue IIa40?, 2-3  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.37a  decomposed to paste

BEAD 72.51.44b  07 x 05 mm  bone, rabbit radius?, 7-10  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.44a

BEAD 72.51.44c  11 x 6.5 mm  frit core, blue, 2 whole  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.44a)

BEAD 72.51.45*  no mm  yet to be catalogued

Leather and fur, fragments, from articles of clothing:

FUR, BEAVER  72.51.43o  no mm  fragment

FUR, MOOSE  72.51.28  180 x 115 mm  fragment

FUR, MOOSE  72.51.43c  no mm possible  fragment  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.43a

FUR, MOOSE  72.51.45c  no mm  fragment

LEATHER  72.51.14a  56 x 32 mm  unknown species; ochre

LEATHER  72.51.14b-d  no mm possible  unknown species; ochre

LEATHER  72.51.37b  no mm possible  unknown species  
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.37a

THONG  72.51.5a  30 x 15 m  leather fragment

THONG  72.51.5b  40 x 15 mm  leather fragment

Miscellaneous ornaments:

ORNAMENT  72.51.10  280 x 40 mm  copper rectangle, pierced

Pouches

POUCH  72.51.43d  51 x 32 x 07 mm  leather, sinew thread, ties  
unopened; contents: nine seeds (72.51.43f-n)
Faunal, Floral and Mineral Specimens

Faunal material, identified:

**BONE**
- 72.51.17 no mm unknown species; fragments, 7
- 72.51.43b 35 x 10 mm human rib, collarbone?, fragments decayed paste smears, embedded in organic matrix 72.51.43a
- 72.51.2a no mm moose, tibia, modified packed with red ochre
- 72.51.2b no mm moose, tibia, modified packed with red ochre

**HAIR, HUMAN**
- 72.31.32a no mm black strands, female embedded in organic matrix 72.51.31
- 72.31.32b no mm black strands, female embedded in organic matrix 72.51.31
- 72.31.32c no mm black strands, female embedded in organic matrix 72.51.31
- 72.31.33a no mm black strands, female embedded in organic matrix 72.51.33b

**SEEDS, 9**
- 72.31.43.e-m tied up in pouch 72.31.43d

**SHELL**
- 72.51.6 55 x 34 mm Clam, *Spisula solidissima*, modified

**SKELETON, human female** 72.51.1 RETURNED to the Micmac Nation

Organic material, unidentified:

**Organic matter**
- 72.51.4c 80 x 30 mm unidentified mass fused to textile 72.51.4a
- 72.51.4d 115 x 155 mm unidentified mass fused to textile 72.51.4b
- 72.51.24a-w no mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.27a 45 x 40 x 12 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.31 45 x 40 x 12 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.33b 130 x 40 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.35 60 x 45 x 15 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.36a 80 x 40 x 30 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.37a 106 x 65 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.38 60 x 55 x 40 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.39 95 x 90 x 20 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.43a 180 x 160 x 50 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.44a 64 x 61 x 38 mm unidentified mass
- 72.51.45a no mm unidentified mass
Floral material:
BIRCHBARK 72.51.25a-g no mm fragments, 7
SEED 72.51.43f-n no mm cultigens, 9
possibly pumpkin or squash, contained in pouch 72.51.43d

Mineral material:
STONE 72.51.19a 32 x 29 mm sandstone fragment
STONE 72.51.19b 29 x 25 mm sandstone fragment
STONE 72.51.19c 13 x 11 mm sandstone fragment

Furnishings and Architectural Features
Mats, fragments, woven vegetable fibre, Native manufacture:
MAT? 72.51.4a 40 x 31 mm chequer-woven cedar bark fragment
fused to organic matter 72.51.4c

Instruments and Utensils
Awls, forged iron, European manufacture:
AWL 72.51.15a 152 x 08 mm forged iron
AWL 72.51.15b 118 x 07 mm forged iron
AWL 72.51.15c 138 x 09 mm forged iron
AWL 72.51.15d 192 x 06 mm forged iron
AWL 72.51.15e 210 x 10 mm forged iron
AWL 72.51.18b 90 x 07 mm forged iron
AWL 72.51.18d 67 x 21 mm forged iron
AWL 72.51.34a,b 40 x 30 mm forged iron fragment
(b) wooden cap
AWL 72.51.43a,b no mm poss. forged iron 
embedded in organic matrix 72.51.43a

Axeheads, forged iron, European manufacture:
AXEHEAD 72.51.13a 213 x 115 x 31 mm + handle fragment
AXEHEAD 72.51.13b 217 x 109 x 33 mm
AXEHEAD 72.51.13c 212 x 120 x 28 mm
AXEHEAD 72.51.13d 229 x 119 x 37 mm

Fish hooks, forged iron, European manufacture:
FISH HOOK 72.51.16 116 x 07 mm fragment
FISH HOOK 72.51.18a 41 x 09 mm fragment
FISH HOOK 72.51.18c 42 x 07 mm fragments, 3

Knives, forged iron, single slab, wooden grips, European manufacture: 
KNIFE 72.51.23 235 x 30 mm fragment, blade & handle
### Unidentified Objects

**Unknown objects:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN 72.51.40</td>
<td></td>
<td>56 x 40 mm</td>
<td>amorphous lump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN 72.51.41</td>
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<td>100 x 42 x 25 mm</td>
<td>amorphous lump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN 72.51.42</td>
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<td>60 x 50 x 25 mm</td>
<td>amorphous lump</td>
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</table>

**Unknown objects, metal:**

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN 72.51.26a-k</td>
<td></td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>corroded iron frgs, 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COLLECTIONS INVENTORY:
Site BkCp-1
Pictou, N.S.

Object Name, Accession Number, Measurements, Comments

Containers:
Bags, probable, fragments; woven vegetable fibres, native manufacture:
BAG 84.22.094c  50 x 30 mm  reed, fragment
fused to scabbard, dagger fragments (.094a,b)
BAG 84.22.519e  55 x 40 mm  reed, fragment
fused to spearhead cluster, leather fragment (.519a-d, .519f)
BAG 84.22.520c  77 x 23 mm  conifer species inner bark
fused to scabbard, dagger (.520a,b)
BAG 84.22.533b  100 x 30 mm  unknown fibre
fused to copper pot fragment (.533a)
BAG 84.22.533c  40 x 30 mm  unknown fibre
fused to copper pot fragment (.533a)
BAG 84.22.533d  70 x 35 mm  unknown fibre
fused to copper pot fragment (.533a)
BAG 84.22.535b  15 x 15 mm  unknown fibre
fused to copper fragment (.535a)
BAG 84.22.553  145 x 80 mm  cedar bark, base fragment
BAG 84.22.554  50 x 10 mm  reed, handle fragment
BAG 84.22.555  75 x 40 mm  reed fragment
BAG 84.22.560  170 x 105 mm  basswood bark, fragment
BAG 84.22.561  52 x 50 mm  unknown fibre
BAG 84.22.562a  162 x 80 mm  basswood bark, fragment
fused to fur fragment (.562b)
BAG 84.22.567  50 x 30 mm  unknown fibre
BAG 84.22.568  30 x 10 mm  unknown fibre
BAG 84.22.573a  85 x 75 mm  conifer species inner bark
fused to fur fragment (.573h)
BAG 84.22.573b  55 x 30 mm  conifer species inner bark
fused to fur fragment (.573i)
BAG 84.22.573c  68 x 40 mm  conifer species inner bark
fused to fur fragment (.573j)
BAG 84.22.573d  70 x 35 x 1.5 mm  conifer species inner bark
fused to fur fragment (.573k)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>BAG</th>
<th>84.22.573e</th>
<th>44 x 23 mm</th>
<th>conifer species inner bark fused to fur fragment (573l)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.573f</td>
<td>125 x 123 mm</td>
<td>conifer species inner bark fused to fur fragment &amp; reed bag fragment (573m &amp; 573n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.573g</td>
<td>52 x 20 mm</td>
<td>conifer species inner bark fused to fur fragment (573o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.573n</td>
<td>31 x 15 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment fused to conifer-bark bag fragment &amp; fur fragment (573f &amp; 573m)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.574a</td>
<td>200 x 125 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment fused to fur fragment &amp; feathers (574d &amp; 574e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.574b</td>
<td>120 x 90 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.574c</td>
<td>68 x 65 mm</td>
<td>reed, base fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.575</td>
<td>148 x 55 mm</td>
<td>reed, edge fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.576a</td>
<td>230 x 95 mm</td>
<td>reed, rim fragment</td>
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<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.576b</td>
<td>185 x 150 mm</td>
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</tr>
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<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.577</td>
<td>119 x 11 x 02 mm</td>
<td>reed, rim fragment</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.578</td>
<td>123 x 63 x 02 mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.579</td>
<td>59 x 55 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.580</td>
<td>18 x 12 x 03 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.581</td>
<td>85 x 83 x 04 mm</td>
<td>reed, edge fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.582a</td>
<td>122 x 64 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment fused to fur fragment (582b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.583</td>
<td>113 x 84 mm</td>
<td>reed, rim fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.849</td>
<td>32 x 28 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.850</td>
<td>115 x 60 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.851</td>
<td>56 x 31 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.852</td>
<td>120 x 70 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment</td>
</tr>
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<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.853</td>
<td>65 x 32 mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAG</td>
<td>84.22.854a</td>
<td>130 x 50 mm</td>
<td>reed, fragment fused to moose fur fragment (854b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bottle corks, European manufacture**

| CORK | 84.22.537 | 28 x 32 mm |

**Ceramics, European manufacture:**

| JAR, APOTHECARY | 84.22.667 | 83 x 69 mm ceramic |

**Pots and Pot Fragments, Copper and Brass, European manufacture:**

<p>| POT | 55.48.001a | 297 x 247 x 11 mm | copper fused to moose fur fragment (55.48.001b) |
| POT | 69.80.003a-m | no mm | fragments, 13 |
| POT | 84.22.001 | 265 x 515 mm | copper |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Material</th>
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<tr>
<td>84.22.002</td>
<td>375 x 670 mm</td>
<td>copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.22.003</td>
<td>360 x 615 mm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.22.004</td>
<td>305 x 520 mm</td>
<td>copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.22.005a</td>
<td>305 x 585 mm</td>
<td>copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fused to birchbark frag. (.005b); fused to bear fur frag. (.005c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.22.006</td>
<td>500 x 650 x 90 mm</td>
<td>copper, crushed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.22.007a</td>
<td>910 x 440 mm</td>
<td>copper, crushed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fused to (b-e) birchbark, cattail-mat, moose fur, misc. faunal material</td>
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<tr>
<td>84.22.008</td>
<td>425 x 310 mm</td>
<td>copper, base fragment</td>
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<tr>
<td>84.22.009</td>
<td>1070 x 240 mm</td>
<td>copper, crushed</td>
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<tr>
<td>84.22.010a,b</td>
<td>445 x 430 x 90 mm</td>
<td>copper, base &amp; rim</td>
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<td>fused to cattail-mat fragments, moose fur frag. (.010c, .010e, .010d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>84.22.011a-d</td>
<td>1150 x 260 mm</td>
<td>copper, 4 rim fragments'</td>
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<td>fused to cattail-mat fragments (.011e, .011f, .011g)</td>
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<td>600 x 200 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.018</td>
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<td>84.22.023</td>
<td>740 x 20 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.024</td>
<td>710 x 25 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.025a</td>
<td>702 x 25 mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>84.22.025b</td>
<td>480 x 65 mm</td>
<td>rim band, iron</td>
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<td>84.22.026</td>
<td>510 x 105 mm</td>
<td>rim band, iron</td>
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<td>84.22.027</td>
<td>640 x 65 mm</td>
<td>rim band, iron</td>
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<td>260 x 145 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.029</td>
<td>850 x 25 mm</td>
<td>handle, iron</td>
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<td>84.22.030</td>
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<td>50 x 38 mm</td>
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<td>fused to fur fragment (.334b)</td>
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<td>350 x 245 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.364a</td>
<td>350 x 350 mm</td>
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<td>fused to moose fur fragment (.364b)</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.365</td>
<td>265 x 180 mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.366</td>
<td>360 x 260 mm</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.367a</td>
<td>365 x 195 mm</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.368</td>
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<td>POT</td>
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<td>84.22.370</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.373</td>
<td>210 x 60 x 100 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.374</td>
<td>78 x 48 x 35 mm</td>
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<td>115 x 79 mm</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.376</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.377</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.378</td>
<td>110 x 43 x 39 mm</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.379</td>
<td>115 x 61 mm</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.533a</td>
<td>100 x 90 x 65 mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.535a</td>
<td>50 x 35 x 18 mm</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.538</td>
<td>480 x 285 x 30 mm</td>
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<td>POT</td>
<td>84.22.727</td>
<td>135 x 102 mm</td>
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**Dress and Adornment:**

**Armbands:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARMBAND</th>
<th>73.180.433a</th>
<th>rolled, 75 x 60 mm</th>
<th>birchbark, leather</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARMBAND</td>
<td>73.180.433b</td>
<td>rolled, 80 x 55 mm</td>
<td>birchbark</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARMBAND</td>
<td>84.22.685a</td>
<td>rolled, 150 x 110 x 35 mm</td>
<td>birchbark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARMBAND</td>
<td>84.22.685b</td>
<td>rolled, 135 x 70 mm</td>
<td>birchbark</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Beads:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEAD</th>
<th>69.80.006a</th>
<th>10 x 07 mm</th>
<th>glass, IVb'</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BEAD</td>
<td>69.80.006b-c</td>
<td>11 x 05 mm</td>
<td>glass, 2, IVb*</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEAD</td>
<td>69.80.006d-f</td>
<td>09 x 06.5 mm</td>
<td>frit core, 3 whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEAD</td>
<td>73.180.433c-f</td>
<td>09 x 07 mm</td>
<td>frit core, 4 halves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEAD</td>
<td>84.22.649a-hhh</td>
<td>09 x 07 mm</td>
<td>frit core, 89 whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEAD</td>
<td>84.22.650a-c</td>
<td>09 x 07 mm</td>
<td>frit core, 3 whole</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fused to cordage used to string beads (.650d-e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEAD</td>
<td>84.22.651a-l</td>
<td>09 x 06 mm</td>
<td>frit core, 6 whole</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEAD</td>
<td>84.22.652a,b</td>
<td>11 x 10 mm</td>
<td>frit core, 2 halves</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Belts:
BELT? 84.22.685a 150 x 110 x 35 mm  (a) rolled birchbark
84.22.685b 135 x 70 mm  (b) textile
Possible textile belt with birchbark interfacing
Cross-referenced to Floral Material

Blanket-Robes, woolen, European manufacture:
BLANKET 69.80.005 170 x 90 mm  fragment
BLANKET 84.22.725 420 x 360 mm  large fragments, fused
BLANKET 84.22.726 270 x 200 mm  large fragments, fused

Cloth, woolen, European manufacture:
CLOTH 84.22.522 150 x 82 mm  fragment, hemmed
CLOTH 84.22.527 no mm  multiple fragments
CLOTH 84.22.565 03 x 01 mm  fragment
CLOTH 84.22.566a 12 x 10 mm  fragment
CLOTH 84.22.566b 30 x 21 mm  fragment

Fur fragments, probably from articles of clothing:
FUR 84.22.533e 50 x 40 mm  fragment
fused to copper pot (533a)
FUR 84.22.536g no mm  fragment
fused to baby carrier (536f)
FUR 84.22.536h no mm  fragment
fused to baby carrier (536a)
FUR 84.22.551b 145 x 85 mm  fragment
fused to cattail mat (551a)
FUR 84.22.562b 165 x 55 mm  fragment
fused to cattail mat (562a)
FUR 84.22.563b no mm  fragment
fused to cordage (563a)
FUR 84.22.574d 30 x 20 mm  fragment
fused to reed bag fragment (574a)
FUR 84.22.574f 80 x 20 mm  fragment
fused to reed bag fragment (574b)
<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.582</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to textile (.582a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.687</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments; unknown type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.708</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments; unknown type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.709</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments; unknown type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.710</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments; unknown type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.711</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments; unknown type</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.722</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments; unknown type</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.724a</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment; unknown type fused to birchbark fragment (.724b)</td>
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<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.790</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment; unknown type</td>
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<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.791</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment; unknown type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.792</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment; unknown type</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.793</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment; unknown type</td>
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<td>FUR</td>
<td>84.22.794a,b</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEAR FUR</td>
<td>84.22.005c</td>
<td>550 x 330 mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to copper pot (.005a); birchbark fragment (.005b)</td>
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<td>BEAR FUR</td>
<td>84.22.799</td>
<td>200 x 120 mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEAVER FUR</td>
<td>69.80.004b</td>
<td>145 x 90mm</td>
<td>fragment</td>
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<td>BEAVER FUR</td>
<td>84.22.531</td>
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<td>fragments</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEAVER FUR</td>
<td>84.22.573h</td>
<td>85 x 75 mm</td>
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<td>BEAVER FUR</td>
<td>84.22.573i</td>
<td>85 x 75 mm</td>
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<td>90 x 40 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.573m</td>
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<td>BEAVER FUR</td>
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<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>fragments</td>
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<td>Deer fur</td>
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<td>350 x 195 mm</td>
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<td>Moose fur</td>
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<td>160 x 130 mm</td>
<td>approx. fragment fused to copper pot (55.48.001a)</td>
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<td>Moose fur</td>
<td>69.80.004a</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments, 4</td>
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<td>Moose fur</td>
<td>84.22.007d</td>
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<td>fragment fused to copper pot fragment, birch bark fragment, cattail mat fragment, &amp; miscellaneous faunal material (.007a,b,c,e)</td>
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<td>no mm</td>
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<td>Moose fur</td>
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<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to copper pot fragment (.334a)</td>
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<td>84.22.343b</td>
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<td>no mm</td>
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<td>Moose fur</td>
<td>84.22.367b</td>
<td>200 x 130 mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to copper pot fragment (.367a); red ochre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moose fur</td>
<td>84.22.375b</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments fused to copper pot fragment (.375a)</td>
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<td>Moose fur</td>
<td>84.22.519f</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment</td>
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MOOSE FUR 84.22.551 no mm fragment fused to spearhead cluster, reed bag frag. (.591a-d, .519e)

MOOSE FUR 84.22.580 no mm fragment
MOOSE FUR 84.22.665 100 x 65 mm fragment
MOOSE FUR 84.22.688 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.689 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.690 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.691 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.692 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.693 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.694 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.695 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.696 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.697 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.731 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.732 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.733 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.734 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.735 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.736 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.737 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.738 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.739 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.740 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.741 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.742 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.743 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.744 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.745 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.746 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.747 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.748 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.749 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.750 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.751 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.752 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.753 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.754 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.755 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.756 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.757 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.758 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.759a no mm fragments
fused to birchbark fragment (.759b)
MOOSE FUR 84.22.760 no mm fragments
MOOSE FUR 84.22.795 no mm fragment
MOOSE FUR 84.22.796 no mm fragment
MOOSE FUR 84.22.854b no mm fragment
fused to reed bag fragment (.854a)
MOOSE FUR 84.22.798b no mm fragment
fused to unknown metal fragment (.798a)
MOOSE FUR 84.22.854b no mm fragment
fused to reed bag fragment (.854a)

Headresses, hair roaches, native manufacture:
FEATHERS 84.22.574e 30 mm long unidentified species
fused to textile (.574a)
FEATHERS 84.22.729 50 mm long unidentified species, 40+
HAIR ROACH 84.22.807 140 x 40 x 20 mm moosehair; ochre

Leather fragments, probably articles of clothing:
| LEATHER    | 69.80.008  | no mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.660  | 200 x 82 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.761  | 83 x 54 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.762  | 89 x 28 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 82.44.763  | 79 x 67 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.764  | 150 x 65 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.765  | 149 x 68 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.766  | 154 x 128 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.767  | 198 x 51 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.768  | 81 x 55 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.769  | 74 x 52 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.770a-l | no mm fragments, 12 |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.771  | 140 x 44 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.772  | 134 x 64 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.773  | 191 x 79 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.774  | 160 x 89 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.775  | 139 x 53 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.776  | 124 x 37 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.777  | 63 x 46 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.778  | 125 x 99 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.779  | 70 x 22 mm fragment |
| LEATHER    | 84.22.780  | 315 x 39 mm fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.781 | 158 x 136 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.782 | 70 x 22 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.783 | 59 x 29 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.784 | 136 x 90 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.785 | 39 x 17 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.786 | 111 x 53 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.787 | 103 x 76 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.788 | 94 x 68 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.789 | 34 x 28 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.800 | 73 x 41 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.801 | 114 x 73 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.802a | 82 x 29 mm | fragment |
| LEATHER 84.22.802b | 52 x 26 mm | fragment |

**Faunal, Floral and Mineral Samples**

Faunal material:
- **BEAVER TEETH** 84.22.804a-i no mm molars, 9
  largest: 26 x 08 x 06 mm; smallest: 17 x 07 x 06 mm
- **HUMAN HAIR** 84.22.730 no mm misc. locks
- **PORCUPINE SKIN** 84.22.664 160 x 43 mm fragment, w/quills

Faunal material, unidentified:
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.007e no mm misc. fragments
  fused to copper pot frag., birchbark, mat frag., moose fur (.007a-d)
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.532 110 x 95 x 45 mm
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.535c 15 x 15 mm fur/feather fragment
  fused to copper fragment (.535a)
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.539-548 no mm
  Ten boxes of detritus: fur, hair, organic matter, soil, bark, debris
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.798b no mm fragment
  fused to metal fragment (.798a)
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.808 no mm large lumps
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.809 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.810 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.811 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.812 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.813 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.814 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.815 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.816 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.817 no mm unidentified
- **FAUNAL MATERIAL** 84.22.818a no mm unidentified

116
fused to birchbark fragment (.818b)

FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.819 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.820 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.821 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.822 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.823a no mm unidentified

fused to birchbark fragment (.823b)

FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.824 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.825a no mm unidentified

fused to birchbark fragment (.825b)

FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.826 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.827 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.828 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.829 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.830 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.831 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.832 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.833 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.834 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.835 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.836 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.837 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.838 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.839 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.840 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.841 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.842 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.843 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.844 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.845 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.846 no mm unidentified
FAUNAL MATERIAL 84.22.847 no mm unidentified

Floral Specimens:
BIRCHBARK 69.80.007c 190 x 100 mm fragment fused to copper pot fragment, cattail-mat fragment, moose fur, misc. faunal material (.007a,c-e)
BIRCHBARK 69.80.010 190 x 100 mm fragments
BIRCHBARK 84.22.005b 600 x 550 mm fragment fused to copper pot, bear fur fragment (.005a, .005c)
BIRCHBARK 84.22.094d 35 x 30 mm fragment fused to dagger fragment (.094a)
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<th>Material</th>
<th>Case Number</th>
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<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
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<td>65 x 33 mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to metal fragment (.223a)</td>
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<td>84.22.372b</td>
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<td>fragment fused to copper pot fragment (.372a)</td>
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<td>84.22.663</td>
<td>350 x 232 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.671a</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragments</td>
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<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.671b</td>
<td>no mm</td>
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<td>84.22.672</td>
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<td>84.22.679</td>
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<tr>
<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.680</td>
<td>119 x 38 mm</td>
<td>fragment; possible container fragment, red ochre on outside</td>
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<tr>
<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.681a</td>
<td>410 x 160 mm</td>
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<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.682a</td>
<td>280 x 230 mm</td>
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<td>Birchbark</td>
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<td>220 x 110 mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to cattail-leaf mat fragment (.683a)</td>
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<td>84.22.684a</td>
<td>130 x 80 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.685</td>
<td>190 x 45 mm</td>
<td>worked</td>
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<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.724b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.759b</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to moose fur fragment (.759a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.818b</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to faunal material (.818a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.823b</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>fragment fused to faunal material (.823a)</td>
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<td>Birchbark</td>
<td>84.22.825b</td>
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<td>fragment</td>
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<td>Bark</td>
<td>84.22.797a</td>
<td>58 x 49 mm</td>
<td>fragment; unknown type</td>
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<td>Charcoal</td>
<td>84.22.805</td>
<td>no mm</td>
<td>in plastic case</td>
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118
FLORAL MATERIAL  84.22.539-548  no mm
   Ten boxes of detritus: birchbark, fur debris, organic matter, soil
FLORAL MATERIAL  84.22.223b  50 x 25 mm  unidentified
                     fused to metal fragment (.223a)

Mineral Specimens:
RED OCHRE  69.80.009  powder  iron oxide
RED OCHRE  84.22.806  powder  iron oxide
PEBBLE  69.80.007a  46 x 32 mm  quartz; ochre
PEBBLE  69.80.007b  38 x 33 mm  quartz; ochre
PEBBLE  69.80.007c  30 x 21 mm  quartz; ochre
PEBBLE  69.80.007d  33 x 27 mm  quartz; ochre
PEBBLE  69.80.007e  36 x 30 mm  quartz; ochre
STONE  84.22.127  125 x 80 mm  sandstone
PEBBLE  84.22.128  50 x 30 mm  biotite granite
PEBBLE  84.22.129  40 x 35 mm  quartz sandstone

Furnishings and Architectural Features
Baby-Carriers:
BABY-CARRIER?  84.22.536a  300 x 150 mm  fragment
                     fused to fur fragment (.536h)
BABY-CARRIER?  84.22.536b  145 x 50 mm  fragment
BABY-CARRIER?  84.22.536c  172 x 25 x 10 mm  fragment
BABY-CARRIER?  84.22.536d  139 x 23 x 10 mm  fragment
BABY-CARRIER?  84.22.536e  140 x 09 x 26 mm  fragment
BABY-CARRIER?  84.22.536f  99 x 03 x 47 mm  fragment
                     fused to fur fragment (.536g)

Cattail-leaf mats, sewn with grass cordage, edged with braided cattail leaves:
MAT  84.22.007c  no mm  fragment
                     fused to copper pot, birchbark, moose fur,
                     misc. faunal material (.007a-b,d-e)
MAT  84.22.010.c,e  no mm  fragments
                     fused to copper pot, moose fur fragment (.010a,b; .010d)
MAT  84.22.011e-g  no mm  fragments
                     fused to copper pot fragments (.011a-d)
MAT  84.22.550  260 x 200 mm  fragment
MAT  84.22.551a  145 x 85 mm  fragment
                     fused to moose fur fragment (.551b)
MAT  84.22.552  520 x 430 mm  fragment
MAT  84.22.564  220 x 120 x 25 mm  fragment
MAT  84.22.569  90 x 40 mm  edging fragment
MAT 84.22.570 240 x 19 mm edging fragment
MAT 84.22.571 135 x 10 mm edging fragment
MAT 84.22.572 130 x 13 mm edging fragment
MAT 84.22.579 119 x 12 mm fragment
MAT 84.22.682b no mm fragment
fused to birchbark fragment (.682a)
MAT 84.22.684b no mm fragment
fused to birchbark fragment (.684a)
MAT 84.22.855 125 x 60 mm edging fragment
MAT 84.22.856 110 x 70 mm fragment

Cordage fragments, all assumed to be from sewn cattail-leaf mats:
CORDAGE 84.22.556 163 x 2.7 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.557 290 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.558 125 x 2.5 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.559 100 x 4.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.563a 103 x 3.0 mm fragment
fused to fur fragment (.563b)
CORDAGE 84.22.584 38 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.585 138 x 4.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.586 65 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.587 60 x 5.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.588 214 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.589 126 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.590 41 x 5.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.591 102 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.592 172 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.593 82 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.594 99 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.595 157 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.596 161 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.597a 25 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.597b 94 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.597c 49 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.598 218 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.599 72 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.600 169 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.601 59 x 4.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.602 59 x 2.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.603 71 x 3.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.604 94 x 4.0 mm fragment
CORDAGE 84.22.605 81 x 3.0 mm fragment
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<td>112 x 4.0 mm</td>
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<td>48 x 4.0 mm</td>
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AWL 55.48.009 no mm fragment
AWL 73.180.433g.1a,b 80 x 15 mm (b) wooden cap
AWL 84.22.035 195 x 07 mm complete
AWL 84.22.036 11 x 04 mm fragment
AWL 84.22.092d 32 x 05 mm fragment
fused to spearhead (.092a), formerly part of fusion (a-d)
AWL 84.22.120a,b 70 x 05 mm (b) wooden cap
AWL 84.22.121a,b 45 x 07 mm (b) wooden cap
AWL 84.22.122a,b 150 x 07 mm (b) wooden cap
AWL 84.22.123a,b 90 x 05 mm (b) wooden cap
AWL 84.22.124a,b 30 x 10 mm (b) wooden cap
AWL 84.22.125a,b 60 x 05 mm (b) wooden cap
AWL 84.22.126a,b 53 x 07 mm (b) wooden cap
AWL 84.22.123b,c no mm cluster, 2; fused
fused to spearhead (.123a)
AWL 84.22.127b 33 x 03 mm fragments, 2
fused to spearhead (.173a)
AWL 84.22.175 70 x 07 mm fragment
AWL 84.22.176a,b 100 x 22 mm cluster, 2; fused
AWL 84.22.177 90 x 05 mm fragment
AWL 84.22.184 40 x 10 mm fragment
AWL 84.22.187 62 x 12 mm fragment
AWL 84.22.188a,b 70 x 18 mm cluster, 2; fused
AWL 84.22.189 90 x 18 mm fragment
fused to unknown metal object (.189b)
AWL 84.22.197b 65 x 04 mm fragment
AWL 84.22.197c 63 x 04 mm fragment
AWL 84.22.218 55 x 05 mm fragment
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AWL 84.22.254  50 x 05 mm  fragment
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AWL 84.22.287  48 x 07 mm  fragment
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AWL 84.22.313  67 x 05 mm  fragment
AWL 84.22.314  84 x 07 mm  fragment
AWL 84.22.318  50 x 12 mm  corroded awl/cap?
AWL 84.22.320  109 x 05 mm  fragment
AWL 84.22.322  55 x 05 mm  fragment
AWL 84.22.323  60 x 05 mm  fragment
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AWL 84.22.326  45 x 05 mm  fragment
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**Axe Heads**

| AXE HEAD | 55.48.006 | 210 x 100 x 30 mm | forged iron |
| AXE HEAD | 69.80.001 | 179 x 81 x 33 mm | forged iron |
| AXE HEAD | 84.22.053 | 210 x 110 x 32 mm | forged iron |
| AXE HEAD | 84.22.074 | 225 x 120 x 30 mm | forged iron |
| AXE HEAD | 84.22.130 | 235 x 105 x x x mm | forged iron |
| AXE HEAD | 84.22.131 | 225 x 125 x 50 mm | forged iron |
| AXE HEAD | 84.22.132 | 235 x 120 x 30 mm | forged iron |
| AXE HEAD | 84.22.133 | 230 x 105 x 40 mm | forged iron |
AXE HEAD  84.22.134  220 x 100 x 45 mm  forged iron

Caulking Irons:
CAULKING IRON  55.48.004  150 x 50 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.044  160 x 40 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.054  155 x 45 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.055  140 x 40 mm  fragment
CAULKING IRON  84.22.056  150 x 45 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.057  155 x 50 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.058  125 x 30 mm  fragment
CAULKING IRON  84.22.059  115 x 50 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.060  140 x 40 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.061  125 x 40 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.062  132 x 35 mm
CAULKING IRON  84.22.063a-e  140 x 40 mm  cluster; 5
                      formerly fused, now separated by conservation

Daggers:
DAGGER  84.22.032  470 x 32 mm
DAGGER  84.22.046  328 x 110 mm
DAGGER  84.22.078  390 x 50 mm
DAGGER  84.22.079  355 x 28 mm
DAGGER  84.22.080  325 x 39 mm approx
DAGGER  84.22.081  325 x 22 mm  blade fragment
DAGGER  84.22.082  372 x 30 mm  blade fragment
DAGGER  84.22.083  385 x 25 mm approx
DAGGER  84.22.091a  245 x 30 mm  blade fragment
                      fused to scabbard fragment (.091b)
DAGGER  84.22.093b  80 x 20 mm aprx  blade fragment
                      fused to scabbard fragment (.093a)
DAGGER  84.22.094b  85 x 30 mm  blade fragment
                      fused to scabbard fragment, bag fragment, bark fragment (.094a, c-d)
DAGGER  84.22.186  70 x 30 mm  blade fragment
DAGGER  84.22.216  82 x 34 mm  blade fragment
DAGGER  84.22.514  91 x 32 mm  blade fragment
DAGGER  84.22.520a  113 x 20 mm  blade fragment
                      fused to scabbard, bag fragment, bark fragment (.520b-d)

Fish Hooks:
FISH HOOK  55.48.005  70 x 40 mm  fragment
FISH HOOK  84.22.042  110 x 70 x 09 mm
FISH HOOK  84.22.043  130 x 70 x 09 mm
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SCRAPER? 84.22.033 97 x 42 mm iron blade
SCRAPER? 84.22.200 60 x 40 mm iron blade

Spearheads, forged iron, European manufacture:
SPEARHEAD 55.48.002a 170 x 32 mm iron
SPEARHEAD 55.48.002b 115 x 30 mm iron
SPEARHEAD 55.48.002c 128 x 28 mm iron
SPEARHEAD 55.48.002d 120 x 32 mm iron
SPEARHEAD 69.80.002 52 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.045 190 x 32 mm iron
SPEARHEAD 84.22.064a-e 175 x 35 mm cluster, 5; fused
  now separated by conservation
SPEARHEAD 84.22.065a-e 200 x 80 mm cluster, 5; fused
  now separated by conservation
SPEARHEAD 84.22.067 175 x 30 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.068 205 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.069 185 x 25 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.070 115 x 18 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.071 135 x 25 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.072 178 x 30 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.073 205 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.092a-c 175 x 30 mm cluster, 3; fused
  now separated by conservation
SPEARHEAD 84.22.096 170 x 25 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.097 160 x 25 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.098 202 x 30 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.099 170 x 25 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.100 160 x 25 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.101 175 x 30 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.102 175 x 30 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.103 175 x 30 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.104 185 x 30 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.105 175 x 30 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.106 178 x 30 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.107 175 x 30 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.108 170 x 25 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.109 145 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.110 170 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.111 180 x 30 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.112 187 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.113 160 x 30 mm broken
SPEARHEAD 84.22.114 185 x 30 mm tip missing
SPEARHEAD 84.22.115 155 x 25 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.116 185 x 30 mm
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SPEARHEAD 84.22.146 55 x 28 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.147 95 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.148 60 x 33 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.149 55 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.150 110 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.151 95 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.152 105 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.153 83 x 30 mm fragment
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SPEARHEAD 84.22.157 95 x 28 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.158 85 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.159 105 x 28 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.160 85 x 20 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.161 54 x 23 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.162 60 x 18 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.163 80 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.164 75 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.165 130 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.166 107 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.169 100 x 28 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.170 80 x 27 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.172 75 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.173a 108 x 25 mm fragment fused to awl fragments (.173b)
SPEARHEAD 84.22.174 92 x 20 mm tip
SPEARHEAD 84.22.178 115 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.183 25 x 10 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.192 90 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.194 45 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.195 80 x 20 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.197a 70 x 15 mm fragment
fused to awl fragments (.197b)
SPEARHEAD 84.22.198 80 x 18 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.201a,b 90 x 30 mm cluster, 2; fused
SPEARHEAD 84.22.202 70 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.203 75 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.205 105 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.206 73 x 23 mm fragment
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SPEARHEAD 84.22.210 120 x 20 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.211a,b 100 x 30 mm cluster, 2; fused
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SPEARHEAD 84.22.213 88 x 30 mm
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SPEARHEAD 84.22.215 60 x 15 mm tip
SPEARHEAD 84.22.224a,b 63 x 40 mm cluster, 2; fused
SPEARHEAD 84.22.228 63 x 35 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.231 72 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.233 67 x 20 mm tip
SPEARHEAD 84.22.237 35 x 20 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.238 48 x 24 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.239 55 x 25 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.242 62 x 27 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.243 71 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.244 50 x 23 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.245 60 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.246 60 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.249a 125 x 40 mm
fused to awl fragment (.249b)
SPEARHEAD 84.22.256 45 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.257 60 x 20 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.258 40 x 14 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.259 60 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.260 60 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.261 51 x 17 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.265 50 x 34 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.267 70 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.268 62 x 30 mm fragment

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</tr>
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<td>93 x 25 mm</td>
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<td>84.22.489</td>
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SPEARHEAD 84.22.490 158 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.491 137 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.492 102 x 25 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.493 35 x 20 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.494 74 x 27 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.495 105 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.496 104 x 39 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.501 73 x 25 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.502 118 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.503 150 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.504 155 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.505 163 x 30 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.511 115 x 32 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.512 157 x 32 mm
SPEARHEAD 84.22.516 132 x 35 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.517 120 x 30 mm fragment
SPEARHEAD 84.22.518a,b 162 x 46 mm cluster, 2; fused
SPEARHEAD 84.22.519a-d 155 x 50 mm cluster, 4; fused
fused to reed bag fragment, moose fur fragment (.519e, .519f)
Measurements for all spearheads and spearhead fragments are approximate
due to massive corrosion.

Spikes
SPIKE? 84.22.241 65 x 10 mm handle fragment

Swords and Small-Swords:
SWORD 84.22.031 474 x 38 x 10 mm blade fragment
SWORD 84.22.077 505 x 35 mm blade fragment
SWORD 84.22.084 340 x 30 mm
SWORD 84.22.168 123 x 30 mm
SWORD 84.22.171 78 x 30 mm blade fragment
SWORD 84.22.204 90 x 20 mm blade fragment
SWORD? 84.22.457 88 x 35 mm blade fragment
SWORD 84.22.515 113 x 42 mm blade tip

Tools, Unknown Type:
TOOL 84.22.034 130 x 35 mm unknown type
TOOL 84.22.135 365 x 40 mm unknown type
TOOL 84.22.136 80 x 40 mm unknown type
TOOL 84.22.156 20 x 12 mm unknown type

Wedges:
Wedges:
WEDGE 84.22.050 158 x 42 mm forged iron

UNIDENTIFIED OBJECTS
Unidentified Material:
UNKNOWN 73.180.433h 40 x 20 x 13 mm
UNKNOWN 73.180.433i 60 x 13 mm

Unidentified Objects, Metal:
UNKNOWN 55.48.003a no mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 55.48.003b no mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 55.48.003c no mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 55.48.003d no mm rust fragments
UNKNOWN 84.22.076 112 x 40 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.137 22 mm diameter sword boss?
UNKNOWN 84.22.167 95 x 20 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.179 80 x 30 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.180 95 x 37 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.181 100 x 33 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.182 90 x 45 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.189b 90 x 05 mm metal/corrosion?
UNKNOWN 84.22.191 103 x 30 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.193 30 x 20 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.196 78 x 36 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.217 117 x 34 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.223a 65 x 33 mm iron fragment
fused to birchbark fragment (.223b)
UNKNOWN 84.22.225 78 x 40 x 11 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.226 67 x 14 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.227 70 x 25 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.247 60 x 18 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.248 122 x 22 x 16 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.250 175 x 30 x 30 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.251 110 x 45 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.255 75 x 07 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.262 40 x 13 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.263 30 x 30 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.264 25 x 20 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.274 46 x 10 mm metal fragment
UNKNOWN 84.22.289a-c 70 x 25 mm metal fragment
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.296 | 65 x 15 mm | metal fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.299 | 75 x 15 mm | metal fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.301 | 55 x 18 mm | metal fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.310 | 36 x 34 mm | metal fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.328 | 54 x 30 mm | metal fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.343a| 48 x 20 mm | metal fragment |
|          |          |            | fused to moose fur (.343b) |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.354 | 42 x 33 mm | iron fragment   |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.452a-f| 85 x 15 mm | metal fragments, 6 |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.521 | 45 x 20 mm | iron fragment   |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.798a| no mm      | metal fragment |
|          |          |            | fused to moose fur fragment (.798b) |

**Unidentified Objects, Wood:**

| UNKOWN   | 84.22.454 | 52 x 15 mm | fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.523a| 100 x 20 x 10 mm | fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.523b| 70 x 15 mm  | fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.534 | 95 x 10 x 09 mm | fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.549 | 125 x 13 mm | fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.728 | no mm       | fragment |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.662 | 490 x 15 mm | fragment; burnt |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.524 | 165 x 10 mm | fragment; burnt |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.526 | 187 x 20 x 07 mm | fragment; burnt |
| UNKOWN   | 84.22.528 | 142 x 17 x 03 mm | fragment; burnt |
COLLECTIONS INVENTORY:
Site BgDb-6
Avonport, N.S.

Object Name, Accession Number, Measurements, Comments

Containers:

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<tr>
<th>Pots</th>
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<th>Measurements</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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<td>185 x 104 mm</td>
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Dress and Adornment:

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<td>13-14 x 03 mm</td>
<td>glass, tube, blue, 34</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Bead</td>
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<td>08-20 x 07-09 mm</td>
<td>shell, disc/tube, 1,950</td>
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Faunal, Floral and Mineral Specimens:

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>5 long-bone fragments, not identifiable</td>
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Instruments and Utensils:

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<td>143 x 06 mm</td>
<td>forged iron</td>
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<tr>
<td>Awl</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fused to scabbard-throat and tip 74.45.1b-c</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Knives, forged iron, tanged, single-edged, European manufacture:</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Knife</td>
</tr>
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<td>Knife</td>
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Knife 74.45.11 150 x 27 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.12 161 x 23 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.16 147 x 26 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.17 109 x 21 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.18 76 x 21 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.19 79 x 20 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.20 104 x 21 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.21 86 x 21 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.22 100 x 23 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.23 90 x 21 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.24 103 x 23 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.25 119 x 26 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.26 124 x 25 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.27 115 x 28 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.28 116 x 29 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.29 109 x 23 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.30 118 x 29 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.31 82 x 19 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.32 117 x 22 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.33 94 x 23 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.34 121 x 25 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.35 91 x 20 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.36 100 x 18 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.37 92 x 20 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.38 122 x 30 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.39 112 x 26 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.40 37 x 29 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.41 91 x 24 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.42 139 x 28 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.43 152 x 28 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.44 134 x 28 mm blade fragment
Knife 74.45.45 131 x 26 mm blade fragment

Scabbards, leather, forged iron throat and tip, European manufacture:
Scabbard 74.45.1b 77 x 30 mm throat fragment
Scabbard 74.45.1c 76 x 26 mm tip fragment
PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE
NOVA SCOTIA MUSEUM COLLECTION
SITE AND ARTIFACT PHOTOS

Site B1Cu-3, Oak Island, N. S.
Figure 48

Site B1Cx-1, Northport, N. S.
Figures 49-55

Site BkCp-1, Pictou, N. S.
Figures 56-113

Site BgDb-6, Avonport, N. S.
Figure 114-117
SITE BlCu-3, Oak Island, N. S.

**Figure 48** A European trade-axe of forged iron, with a roll of birchbark enclosing beaver fur. Photo: Roger Lloyd

SITE BlCx-1, Northport, N. S.

**Figure 49** Copper pot 72.51.11. Photo: Ron Merrick.
Figure 50 Copper pot 72.51.12a-d. Photo: Ron Merrick.

Figure 51 Copper pot 72.51.21. Photo: Ron Merrick.
Figure 52 Copper pot 72.51.20. Photo: Ron Merrick.

Figure 53 Small leather pouch 72.51.43d. Microphotograph: Alex Wilson.
Figure 54 Detail of leather pouch 72.51.43d. Microphotograph: Alex Wilson.

Figure 55 On right: pierced copper scrap, possibly an ornament, 72.51.10. On left, from top: four fragments of a copper armband, 72.51.9a-d. On left, bottom: fragment of a leather armband, 72.51.3b. Photograph: Roger Lloyd
Figure 56. Kenneth Hopps, digging the drainage ditch which uncovered Burial Pit One, 10 October 1955. Photographer unknown.

Figure 57. Three copper pots from Burial Pit One. Photographer unknown.
Figure 58 The 1955 trench is widened to remove further material. Note the St-Onge-ware apothecary jar in left foreground. In the background is the sandy spit below the rise of the burial site, perfect for beaching canoes. Photographer unknown.

Figure 59 A copper pot from the first burial pit. Photographer unknown.
Figure 60 Stacks of iron spearheads (at left) were removed from the first pit, along with knives, at least one caulker (foreground), and fish hooks (right). The cannon belongs to Mr. Hopps. Photographer unknown.

Figure 61 The small copper pot (55.48.1) in situ, Burial Pit One. Photographer unknown.
Figure 62  Kenneth Hopps in July 1956, with the copper pot uncovered as he dug a septic field. This discovery proved to be Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.

Figure 63  Burial Pit Two, Lowden’s Beach, Pictou, N.S. Site BkCp-1. Photographer unknown.
Figure 64 Burial Pit Two, as Russell Harper prepares to excavate. Photographer unknown.

Figure 65 Hopps (at left), Russell Harper (2nd from left), and crew begin to remove the first copper pot from Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.
Figure 66 Excavating Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.

Figure 67 Two more pots make their appearance from Burial Pit Two, in July 1956. Photographer unknown.
Figure 68 Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.

Figure 69 Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.
Figure 70  Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.

Figure 71  Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.
Figure 72  This is almost certainly the intact brass pot (84.22.30) recovered from this site; the photo is thought to be of Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.

Figure 73  Woolen blanket fragments, probably from Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.
Figure 74 Forged-iron axeheads, probably from Burial Pit Two. Photographer unknown.

Figure 75 View from the beach of Kenneth Hopps’ property. The small brick building was erected by Mr. Hopps as his private museum, to house the recovered artifacts from Site BkCp-1. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 76 Hopps' Museum, which closed in 1984. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 77, Interior of the Hopps Museum, with artifacts from Site BkCp-1 on display. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 78 Copper pot 84.22.1. Photograph: Ron Merrick.

Figure 79 Copper pot 84.22.2, showing the spiral pattern of hammering on the base. Photograph: Ron Merrick.
Figure 80  Copper pot 84.22.2, side view. Photograph: Ron Merrick.

Figure 81  Brass pot 84.22.30. Photograph: Ron Merrick.
Figure 82  Two small copper pots of the period compared: Northport Site BLCx-1, pot 72.51.20, on the left; Pictou site BKCP-1, pot 55.48.1, on the right Photograph: Ron Merrick.

Figure 83  Four rim-fragments of a copper pot (84.22.11.a-d), overlaid with cattail-leaf mat fragments (84.22.11.e-g). Photograph: Ron Merrick.
Figure 84 Rim fragment from another copper pot (84.22.9). Note the copper, rather than iron, rim-band and lug, made from a single piece of metal. Photograph: Ron Merrick.

Figure 85 Dagger or small-sword 84.22.46. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 86  One of many daggers from BkCp-1. The large printed numbers on this and other artifacts were applied by Mr. Hopps, and are not the present catalogue numbers. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 87  The iron tip of a leather dagger-sheath. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 88 The iron belt-hook from a leather dagger-scabbard. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 89 A small knife from Site BkCp-1. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 90  One of hundreds of forged-iron spearheads from Burial Pit One. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 91  Seven awl fragments, six of which still have their protective wooden caps on, were embedded in plaster by Kenneth Hopps, for purposes of display. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 92 An iron caulk. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 93 An iron fish hook. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 94  An iron axehead, 84.22.74. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 95  A green-glazed reddish earthenware apothecary jar, probably St-Onge ware. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 96  Hopps restrung many of the beads recovered from Site BkCp-1, using copper wire. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 97  The dark beads at upper left are navy-blue glazed frit-core beads. At centre right is a single frit-cored bead, now broken in half, navy-blue with white designs. Below are the polychrome glass beads in blue and white. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 98  A closeup of the three bead types shown in Figure 97: polychrome glass beads in blue and white (84.22.653), navy frit-cored beads (84.22.649), and the halves of a frit-cored bead in blue and white (84.22.652).
Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 99  An adze, with a forged-iron European blade, lashed to a wooden haft (the string is modern). The haft may have been Micmac-made.
Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 100  This artifact (84.22.662) was formerly identified as a bow end-fragment. It is in reality a spruce or pine branch—not suitable for a bow—one end of which has been modified. Several other possible fragments of this unidentified item were recovered (84.22.524, 526, 528), all badly charred. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 101  Fragments of a moose-fur robe, its insides painted with red ochre. The actual leather has almost completely rotted away, leaving the hair of the outside of the robe, and the ochre from the interior. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 102  Fragments of porcupine skin, with the quills still in evidence. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 103  Five pebbles coated in red ochre. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 104 Beaver molars and pre-molars. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 105 Feather clumps, species unidentified. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 106 A leather armband fragment, still in place over its intact birchbark interfacing. Note the sinew stitches along the fragment top. A second line of stitches runs vertically from the fragment rim to the lowermost left-hand corner. This leather fragment is coated in mud which bears the impression of a wrapped or plaited textile, of the type traditionally worked in moosehair or porcupine quills over sinew, cordage or leather strips. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 107 Birchbark fragment with spruce-root stitches. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 108 The cedar-bark bag fragment, showing part of the base. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 109 Rim fragment of a reed bag, with a decorative design of crossed-wraps one line below the final row of weaving at the rim. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 110 Three reed-bag fragments, all twine-woven. The uppermost is a portion of bag base. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 111 Two reed-bag fragments, and a fingerwoven reed strip (below), possibly part of a handle. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 112 The small fragments are 2-ply cordage, probably American Beach Grass—each ply made up of lengths of three leaves. The larger strips are braided cattail leaves, used as edgings for sewn cattail-leaf mats.
Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 113 Fragments of twine-woven bags. The two at left are made from the inner bark of an unknown conifer species (and laminated by pressures of burial to fragments of fur). The one at right is made of inner bark of basswood.
Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
SITE BgDb-6, Avonport, N.S.

Figure 114 Two copper pot fragments (74.45.2-3), over multiple Micmac-made shell beads, all found in the Avonport Site. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 115 Forged-iron knife, and a decorated knife-handle fragment. Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Figure 116 Detail of Micmac-made shell beads (74.45.15), and European glass beads in blue and in white (74.45.14.a-b). Photograph: Roger Lloyd.

Figure 117 One thousand nine hundred and fifty discoidal and tubular shell beads, Micmac-made, coated with red dust and grit (74.45.15.1-1950). Photograph: Roger Lloyd.
Appendix: Valery Monahan

"Scratch-Testing of the Trade Pots from the Pictou Site, BkCp-1"
Scratch-Testing of the Trade Pots from the Pictou Site, BkCp-1

POTS or cauldrons of copper and brass—often referred to as "kettles"—are considered to have been the most important items of trade between Europeans and Amerindian groups of Northeastern North America, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (Bradley 1987, Fitzgerald and Ramsden 1988) The presence of cuprous metal in Amerindian sites of this period is usually interpreted as an indicator of European contact or influence, with small pieces of metal (gun parts, metal sheet, etc.) appearing as the first recognizable items of European trade. (Bradley 1987) However, indigenous use of native copper throughout the Northeastern region—as naturally occurring nuggets or foil-like sheets—complicates this interpretation. (Monahan 1990) The widespread re-working of cuprous metal by Amerindian groups, and the similarity in appearance of copper and copper alloys in the archaeological context makes the identification of artifacts of European origin difficult.

In their paper, "Copper Based Metal Testing as an Aid to Understanding Early European-Amerindian Interaction: Scratching the Surface," Fitzgerald and Ramsden (1988) suggest that an easy distinction can be made between pure copper and its alloys—brass (copper and zinc) and bronze (copper and tin)—by examining the colour of the metal through a scratch removal of the patina. While this test cannot distinguish between native-copper objects of North American origin, and smelted copper objects of European origin, it can provide a quick identification of brass and bronze artifacts. Since indigenous metal-working in northeastern North America did not produce copper alloys (Tyler 1961), any object of brass or bronze must be of European origin. Colour alone cannot be used to distinguish between brass and bronze, both of which appear yellow when scratched, but more quantitative elemental analysis can easily identify the alloys.

Ramsden and Fitzgerald found in their sample of Iroquoian sites from the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, that the incidence of brass objects increased through time, making them a relative indicator of site age. An easy and accurate method of identifying brass and bronze objects will allow researchers to see if this trend in European trade patterns existed elsewhere in North America.
As part of an experimental study on copper-working in the Maritime provinces, in 1989 I applied Fitzgerald and Ramsden's 'scratch test' to a number of cuprous metal artifacts from prehistoric and protohistoric sites in the Maritimes, New England and Quebec. (Monahan 1990) These objects were then tested using an electron microprobe to identify their constituents. My results indicated that all the metal which appeared yellow when scratched contained enough zinc (more than five percent by weight) to identify it as brass, while metal which appeared reddish was very pure copper (more than ninety-eight percent by weight).

Six of the objects I tested were pot fragments from the Hopps Site, BkCp-1, near Pictou, Nova Scotia. Testing revealed that one of the fragments, a kettle base previously identified as copper, was in fact brass. At this point, the Nova Scotia Museum, through Ruth Holmes Whitehead, asked that I do scratch tests on all of the pots and the major fragments, so that they could be accurately identified as copper or as brass/bronze, for future research.

Testing was carried out on small samples which had been removed from the pieces to allow for future quantitative analysis. In most cases, the colour of the underlying metal was readily apparent where the samples had been broken off the kettle or kettle fragment. Very corroded samples were scratched with a steel knife-blade to reveal the underlying metal colour more clearly. The colour of the metal was compared to the standard colours of the Munsell Soil Colour Charts (1975), and the matching colours were noted (see accompanying table).

The results of the scratch test indicate that one of the pots, and the base fragment which is all that remains of a second pot, are either brass or bronze. Since these were two of the pieces tested by electron microprobe (Monahan 1990), they can be more positively identified as brass. The remaining twenty samples are copper.

Valery Monahan
Results of Scratch Test

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<th>Colour</th>
<th>Munsell Designation</th>
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Bradley, James W.


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