

THE PETROGLYPHS OF KEJIMKUIK NATIONAL PARK,
NOVA SCOTIA: A FRESH PERSPECTIVE ON THEIR
PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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BEVERLEY CAVE



**The Petroglyphs of Kejimikujik National Park, Nova Scotia:
A Fresh Perspective on their Physical and Cultural Contexts**

By

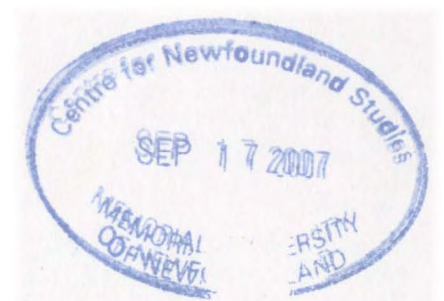
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an extension of an Honors thesis written at the Archaeology Unit at Memorial University of Newfoundland (Cave 1998). It concerns the great number of petroglyphs found around Kejimkujik Lake in western Nova Scotia. These rock carvings have been attributed to the Mi'kmaw who have inhabited the Maritimes from the pre-contact period to the present day.

There were three main objectives in this research. The first was to assess the importance of landscape in creating the context for the drawing of the petroglyphs. The second objective was to gain insights of contemporary Mi'kmaq regarding the modern significance of the petroglyphs. And finally, a direct comparison with recent tracings was made to assess the loss of petroglyphs to erosion and graffiti since they were first recorded in 1888 by George Creed. These objectives will provide a fresh perspective into the research of the Mi'kmaw petroglyphs.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Rock art is a global phenomenon and encompasses any symbolic representation on rocks (Bahn 1998: xi). This thesis examines the great number of symbols etched into the smooth, fine-grained slate rocks located in Western Nova Scotia, specifically those found in Kejimkujik National Park. The first objective for this research was to examine the petroglyphs in the context in which they were carved in order to assess the importance of landscape. There are four petroglyph sites in Kejimkujik National Park and it would be interesting to know why these particular four areas were chosen and if there are any differences in the kinds of images carved in each area. The second objective was to conduct informal interviews in which the Mi'kmaw themselves could be questioned about their thoughts concerning the glyphs. And finally, the third objective was to make a direct comparison between petroglyph recordings from 1888 with more recent recordings from the 1980s to see if any differences exist. It is the intention of this thesis to use these objectives to interpret the meaning[s] of the petroglyphs and to arrive at a clearer understanding of their chronological range.

The petroglyphs in Nova Scotia have been reasonably attributed to the Mi'kmaw who have inhabited the area in both prehistoric and historic times (Figure 1). James Moore first mentioned the petroglyphs in two sentences in the 1873 publication of a History of Queens County, N.S. Moore (1873: 213) described them as “some rude Indian representations of animals, birds, &c., &c. The rocks being soft and porous, those marks have been very much obliterated by the rains and ice.” The Mi'kmaw petroglyphs have been studied off and on ever since (Molyneaux 1981; McNeil 1960).

There are four petroglyph sites in Kejimikujik National Park. They are located at Fairy Bay (also known as Merrymakedge), Peter Point, Mill Bay and George Lake. Fairy Bay, Peter Point and Mill Bay are all found on Kejimikujik Lake while George Lake runs south off Kejimikujik Lake (Figure 2). The petroglyphs are all located on the eastern side of the Kejimikujik Lake. There are no slate beds on the western side of the lake. The petroglyphs found in Fairy Bay are the most numerous. Parks Canada has further divided Fairy Bay into seven areas based on the seven areas of slate beds on which the images are found.

These four petroglyph sites are now Zone 1 protected areas, which means that they are regularly patrolled to control trespassing and prevent vandalism. Only one area around Kejimikujik Lake (FB3d) is open to the public in a regular guided tour that takes place daily during the summer season (Figure 3).

The petroglyphs depict aspects of the life-ways of the Mi'kmaw, their customs, beliefs and their turning to a new faith during the post-contact period. Human figures, decorative designs and sailing vessels make up the bulk of the inventory. Other carvings depict animals, lodges, crosses and written hieroglyphics. Many of the petroglyphs have been designated "miscellaneous" as the content of the images cannot be identified (Robertson 1973).

The Mi'kmaw people believed they shared the woods and waters of Kejimikujik with several supernatural beings (Robertson 1977). Among these supernatural beings are the Bodaladamooge, or the "Stone People." They are referred to as the "Stone People" because they write on stones and rocks. The Bodaladamooge are also called the "Little People." The petroglyphs found at Kejimikujik are sometimes loosely referred to as the

Fairy Rocks, which reflects an old Mi'kmaq belief that the rocks were carved by fairies (Robertson 1977). The Bodaladamooqe, Stone People, Little People and fairies are all the same supernatural beings.

As the legend goes, one day as some old Mi'kmaq Indians were smoking their pipes, one of the men heard a tapping noise (Robertson 1977). When he investigated, he saw thousands of tiny people no taller than “two finger-joints” pecking images into the rocks. Apparently the Mi'kmaw believed that these tiny people lived in the sand among the rocky shore and spent their days etching pictures into the rocks. Many Mi'kmaw still believe the Bodaladamooqe live among the slate beds of the shores of Kejimikujik Lake and it is the responsibility of the Bodaladamooqe to protect the petroglyphs that exist there.

It is a glaring omission of past research on the Kejimikujik petroglyphs that, despite the strong historical continuity of Mi'kmaq culture, there has not been a solely ethnohistorical literary contribution made regarding contemporary Mi'kmaw interpretation and petroglyph significance. It is the intention of this thesis to begin to correct this defect. This is not to suggest that whatever interpretations present-day Mi'kmaw should offer be accepted uncritically. For one thing, they are removed in time and context from their ancestors who were responsible for the glyphs. Furthermore, the absence of any glyphs demonstrably more recent than the nineteenth century and the Mi'kmaw ascription of the glyphs to fairies rather than to ancestors points to a fundamental break in this symbolic tradition. Nevertheless, an ethnohistorical investigation of Mi'kmaw interpretations of the glyphs was long overdue.

In addition to European historical records and Mi'kmaw oral tradition, the glyphs represent another form of communication concerning how the Mi'kmaw viewed the world and how this world view changed with the arrival of the Europeans (Molyneaux 1997: 211). Because of its symbolic nature, this form of communication carries a high degree of ambiguity. The orientation of the glyphs in Kejimikujik also adds to this ambiguity. Because the glyphs were carved on horizontal or near horizontal surfaces, in some cases, one does not know the proper orientation in which the image should be regarded. As images have weathered and worn away, other images have been superimposed over them in every direction, which only adds to the difficulty in their interpretation. Nonetheless, a systematic synthesis of what is known from oral and historical sources regarding Mi'kmaw subsistence, technology and ideology during the post-contact period allows us to identify most of the Kejimikujik images and to date them approximately.

The three main objectives for this thesis will be dealt with in specific chapters. Following a brief overview of the history of the petroglyphs research in Kejimikujik National Park (Chapter 2), the proposed questions of landscape will be dealt with in Chapter 3. The ethnographic information collected on modern Mi'kmaw beliefs concerning the petroglyphs will be presented in Chapter 4. The results of the direct comparison will be presented in tables at the end of this thesis and summarized in Chapter 6. Information from these chapters will also be used in Chapter 6 to help interpret the chronological development of the petroglyphs. Having achieved this, it will be then possible to infer the potential significance of the glyphs and thus gain new insight into Mi'kmaw culture and history.

CHAPTER 2

History of Research

The area surrounding Kejimikujik Lake became a national park in 1967 (Quebecor Media 2003). The earliest archaeological work in Kejimikujik National Park was conducted long before the area became a National Park. After reading about the petroglyphs in Moore's 1873 publication of a History of Queen's County, N.S., George Creed, the postmaster at South Rawdon, became intrigued with them and dedicated his life to their investigation. Creed first visited the site in the summer of 1881 and began to trace the petroglyphs six years later (Robertson 1973: McNeil 1960).

In the summer of 1887, Creed introduced Colonel Garrick Mallery to the petroglyphs and he continued Creed's work of drawing and tracing them. Mallery, an American pioneer in rock art research, published two important volumes on native rock art, namely, "Pictographs of the North American Indian", 1886, and "Picture Writing of the American Indian", 1893, in the Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology by the Smithsonian Institution. In the latter report, seven pages were dedicated to the petroglyphs found at Kejimikujik Lake.

Creed, however, never abandoned his research and found over two thousand images carved into the Fairy Rocks. He copied several hundred of them (Molyneaux 1981: 4; Robertson 1973). Creed had two major concerns: to document the rock carvings before they were completely weathered and defaced and to make the government aware of the petroglyphs in Nova Scotia (Molyneaux 1981: 4). Creed even went so far as to threaten the government that he would seek help abroad if his request for storage of the copies and help in their preservation were denied.

A copy of Creed's records was given to the Office of the Provincial Secretary in 1888 and this record was transferred to the Provincial Museum in 1910. On November 13, 1888, Creed presented an illustrated lecture to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, and a report on the lecture was printed the following day in the Morning Herald (Anonymous 1888). The original drawings and tracings made by Creed were preserved in his home until 1948 when his granddaughter offered his collection to the provincial archives (Molyneaux 1981: 9; McNeil 1960). Much of Creed's work is presently preserved in the Nova Scotia Museum.

Research on the petroglyphs around Kejimkujik Lake continued into the early 1900s. In 1914, Jerry Lonecloud, a famous Mi'kmaq healer and showman, transcribed three of the petroglyphs from Kejimkujik Lake and presented them to the Provincial Museum (Molyneaux 1981: 8; Whitehead 2002). In the same year, J.W. Goldthwait, a prominent Nova Scotia geologist, took one of the first photographs of one of the petroglyphs. In 1915, Harry Piers, Curator of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, published a paper in Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, which referred to Creed's work.

From 1915 to the 1940s, there was a very little archaeological activity in the Maritimes. In the 1940s, Dr. and Mrs. Kelsall of Annapolis Royal visited the site and succeeded in photographing and making casts of many of the petroglyphs in the area. Their technique was to trace the lines with white ink and take a photograph. The result was a sharply defined picture of the carvings and thus a valuable record of the petroglyphs (Robertson 1973). However, this technique should never be used because

the ink contaminates the petroglyphs and the final image is largely determined by what the Kelsall's thought they saw.

In 1950, the Merrymakedge Lodge in Kejimikujik National Park developed a self-guided tour of the petroglyphs. Research in the area did not resume until the 1970s when Brad Myers and Klaus Wellmann, chairman of the American Rock Art Research Association, visited the area (Molyneaux 1981: 11).

Marion Robertson (1973; 1977) contributed two literary works that interpreted many of the petroglyphs by associating them with Mi'kmaw legends and culture. Robertson (1973) has reproduced approximately 320 of the petroglyphs in *Rock Drawings of the Mi'kmaq Indians*. She organized the petroglyphs into fifteen categories and provided likely interpretations for many of them. Some of the categories established by Robertson include "Legendary and Supernatural Beings," "Decorative Designs," and "Miscellaneous Drawings."

The most common depictions in Fairy Bay include images of the human figure, decorative designs and sailing ships. There are also many images that Robertson categorizes as simply "Drawings, Scratchings and Palimpsests." The meaning of these particular petroglyphs has been lost over time, but they are also very common. Bart Jorden, in a 1979 letter to W. L Wambolt (Superintendent of Kejimikujik National Park), interpreted some of them as ancient astronomical and calendrical symbols (Molyneaux 1981: 11). Many of the categories established by Robertson (1973) can be condensed and some of the interpretations should be questioned. This is not to condemn Robertson's work but it is obvious that an updated analysis is necessary for the

petroglyphs around Kejimikujik Lake and this thesis aims to serve that purpose in a preliminary way.

At the time of this research, Jean MacIssac, Mi'kmaq tour guide and her daughter, Melissa Sioux-Labrador, were in the process of collecting information for their own analysis' of the Keji petroglyphs. Within the past twenty-five years, the more prominent literature and documentation about the petroglyphs has come from Brian Molyneaux, Ruth Whitehead and Rob Ferguson. In 1981, 1983 and 1989 the petroglyphs were traced for Kejimikujik National Park/Historic Site, Parks Canada. In 1997, the tracings were put together in an unedited document held by Parks Canada.

CHAPTER 3

Study Area and Landscape

3.1: Introduction

There are only a few petroglyphs sites in the Maritimes. Besides those found in Kejimikujik, other petroglyphs have been found in Nova Scotia, including McGowan Lake near Kejimikujik National Park, the Bedford Barrens in Halifax, and Miller's Mountain in Dartmouth (McNeil 1960; Whitehead 1992). Unfortunately, literature describing these particular petroglyphs is scarce. The petroglyphs in Kejimikujik are the best documented of these sites. A comprehensive study of all of the petroglyphs in Nova Scotia would provide a valuable database, which would undoubtedly advance our understanding of the entire phenomenon.

As a part of native history, Keji was the center of traditional canoe routes between the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Coast. Europeans began to settle in the area in the 1820s. By the 1900s, logging, gold mining, hunting and fishing made Kejimikujik a popular spot. The name "Kejimikujik" itself has various meanings. Charlie Labrador said that it could mean "sore bottom" or "sore parts" and "attempting to escape" (pers. comm. July 2000; Rand 1919: 33). Jerry Lonecloud said that the term means "a long way to paddle." He also said that men only use this term to refer to "chapped and swollen testicles." These two meanings make sense considering that a man's testicles would be sore after a long paddle (Whitehead 2002: 172).

George Creed had originally recorded the Keji petroglyphs in 1888. They were retraced and redefined by area and Borden number by Parks Canada in the 1980s (Ferguson 1997). From these re-tracings, Parks Canada produced an unedited document of the only complete catalogue of the petroglyphs in Kejimikujik National Park to date, which divided Fairy Bay into seven

areas: Fairy Bay 1, 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 2f and 3d. This division corresponds to specific outcrops of rock that occur from north to south along the eastern side of the lake (Figure 2).

The Keji rocks are composed of schistose slate formations of the Silurian Period (380-330 million years ago) of the Paleozoic Era. This slate is fairly easy to scratch or carve. The slate beds lie at the water's edge and act as a natural drawing board for those who traveled through Keji. Researchers have variously described the petroglyphs as etched, pecked, carved and chiselled. Some speculate that the petroglyphs were carved into the fine-grained slate rocks with either arrowheads, quartz or even bone or antler (Robertson 1973; McNeil 1960). It is not clear whether these identifications of methods of production have been reliably established or simply inferred. However, I found that the broken sherds of slate all around the slate beds are very effective petroglyph tools.

In 1971, an archaeological survey of Kejimikujik National Park took place to determine the location and nature of aboriginal occupation sites within the area and possibly relate these sites to the various petroglyph sites throughout the park (Myers 1972: 1). The survey found five aboriginal occupation sites on the shores of Kejimikujik Lake (Figure 4). Merrimakedge Beach, which is the closest to the petroglyphs in Keji, has been tentatively dated to the Proto historic (or early contact period) in Nova Scotia (Myers 1972: 68). However, there have not been any artifacts recovered from the five sites that can be specifically connected with the petroglyphs.

The most comparable and also the closest petroglyph site to Keji is McGowan Lake. The petroglyphs there are all presently underwater because the lake is dammed. The site was underwater for approximately fifty years before it was re-recorded when the lake was drained for a period in 1983 to repair the dam (Molyneaux 1984) (Figure 5). According to Molyneaux (1997: 201), due to images like houses and ships, the petroglyphs at McGowan Lake reflect a time

relatively early in the post contact period. Many of the images, such as European ships, human figures and houses, are similar to those found at Keji.

Comparative data found at the Bedford Barrens site, include an eight-pointed star contained within a circle and a composite figure of an anthropomorph with a vulva (Figure 6; Molyneaux 1993). It has been suggested that the images had affiliation with specific religious functions (Whitehead 1992). These conclusions may be premature but similar conclusions could be made about particular images found in Kejimkujik.

There are two other petroglyphs carved at the Bedford Barrens site. The first included a few crosses carved together and the second is a geometric symbol that mirrors itself from the top (Figure 7). The initials “DL” and “ML” are found at the top and bottom of the image. The fact that there is lichen growing in this image may suggest that this image is relatively old but its authenticity is in question.

Another site in Nova Scotia where petroglyphs are found is Miller’s Mountain, in Dartmouth (Figure 8). There are only three petroglyphs found at Miller’s Mountain; a triangle, a cross within a shield and, two ships carved next to the name, “Joe Cope” and the date “June 22, 1876.” This section of rock was accidentally blasted from the mountain and now lies on the side of the road below the mountain. The fact that there are only three petroglyphs found in this area reflects the lack of suitable rock surfaces. It could also suggest that this area was not extensively used or that it was used chiefly as a lookout as it overlooks the harbor.

3.2: The Keji Landscape

One of the main objectives for this research was to assess the importance of landscape (i.e. the local landforms in aggregate) to petroglyph location. I will begin by defining what is meant by landscape archaeology. I will then identify which elements of the landscape are important to understanding these petroglyphs.

Landscape archaeology is a relatively recent development. Many researchers have studied entire landscapes as archaeological sites in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the past (Ashmore and Knapp 1999). However, the approach has been defined differently according to the researcher using it. It is defined here as the study of the shared connection between the physical and cognitive environments. More simply, it studies the way humans shape the land and, in particular, the relationship between political and economic systems and the landscape. Further, it is recognized that landscapes can be altered both consciously and unconsciously but differentiating between the two can be difficult. The approach itself is a holistic one as it draws from many disciplines.

To re-analyze the petroglyphs from the four sites in Kejimikujik National Park, a number of questions concerning landscape were posed. The first was to determine the accessibility of the sites. The second was to identify where the petroglyphs were in relation to each other and to occupation sites. The third was to define what kinds of images are found at each petroglyph site and how that compares with what is found in Keji (i.e. fauna, etc). The fourth was to determine whether there were rock outcrops in Keji without petroglyphs and finally, how did that number compare with the number of petroglyph sites in the park. These questions will be dealt with in the following sections.

Section 3.2.1: Site Accessibility and Petroglyph Location

The petroglyph sites are generally restricted to Zone 1 areas, which means the public is prevented from visiting them. The public is permitted to visit one petroglyph site in Fairy Bay (FB3d) on a guided tour that takes place daily throughout the summer season. All of the sites are accessible by both land and water. However, the Mill Bay site is surrounded by thick brush and more easily accessible by water.

The petroglyphs in Fairy Bay occur on eight separate slate beds running from north to south on the eastern side of Kejimikujik Lake. The next outcrop of petroglyphs occurs at Mill Bay, which is approximately a mile south of Fairy Bay. Peter Point is located directly across from Mill Bay approximately a quarter mile on the opposite side of the bay. Mill Bay can be seen from Peter Point but one would need a boat to get to it. George Lake is approximately 5km south of the Fairy Bay petroglyphs.

Section 3.2.2: Petroglyph Location Relative to Each Other and Occupation Sites

Figure 3 depicts the number of surveyed aboriginal sites around Kejimikujik National Park. There are three major settlement sites, known as the Merrymakedge sites, located in Fairy Bay. The Eel Weir sites located in the vicinity of George Lake, consist of numerous small camps, nineteenth century family farms and a nineteenth century cemetery (Committee 1994: 227). However, there are no artifacts that link either of these sites to glyph making. The glyphs could have been easily carved with the slate shards found all along the shore.

All the petroglyphs are located on the eastern side of Kejimikujik Lake. The east is very important in traditional Mi'kmaw culture as the sun rises in the east and wigwam entrances traditionally face east (pers. comm. with Jean Labrador – July 2000). However, it maybe a

coincidence that the petroglyphs are all found on the eastern side of the lake, as there are no slate beds on the west side. It is also significant that all of the slate beds available in Keji have petroglyphs carved into them.

Section 3.2.3: The Images

Of the four sites, Mill Bay and Peter Point are the most isolated. The images found in Mill Bay and Peter Point are much the same as those found at the other sites. The only real exception is what has been interpreted as sex organs (Robertson 1977) from Mill Bay and the two figures with emphasized sex organs in Peter Point (Figure 9). These images only occur once in the above-mentioned areas and are not found elsewhere in Keji. Images of ships, people, and written hieroglyphics occur at all the sites. The dated images of 1877 and the roman crosses, however, only seem to occur in Fairy Bay. With the exception of a possible headstone bearing a cross that has been carved into it at Mill Bay (Figure 10), there are no crosses at Mill Bay, Peter Point, or George Lake.

Although signatures occur at all the sites, FB2c stands out. There is an array of signatures found at this particular site. It is worth noting that this particular rock is about seven meters from shore while all others are along the shoreline. There are people, ships and animals carved at this site as well, but the majority of the images are people's names and initials.

Section 3.3: Landscape Importance

It is very difficult to assess the importance of landscape with respect to these petroglyphs. There is nothing in the petroglyphs, which explains why particular images were drawn where they were. Besides the Roman crosses and 1877 dates, which could be a coincidence, there are

no patterns at all. By using a landscape approach, we may be assuming that people in the past consciously altered the landscape to make it their own. I believe that this was the case in Keji. Each carving represents the “signature” of the person who carved it. It marks an event that that person wanted to capture, whether it was a fishing excursion, moose sighting or just a name to place that person in the area at a certain time. Accordingly, it is my opinion that the petroglyphs in Keji were part of a conscious effort to alter the landscape by the Mi’kmaw.

The petroglyphs in Keji have become better known in the past ten years. Because of the nature of the petroglyphs with respect to problems of erosion and graffiti, it has become important to preserve these images while they still exist. Accordingly, the landscape of Keji has become a cultural landscape (Ferguson 1997: 12). The petroglyphs found along the shores of Keji Lake define the connection that the local Mi’kmaw have with the land and the area. The Mi’kmaw feel a strong sense of connection to Keji as they have a substantiated 4000-year history of traditional land use (Committee 1994: 227). There is no argument that the Kejimikujik petroglyphs are important sites of Mi’kmaw cultural heritage.

CHAPTER 4

Historical and Modern Cultural Context

4.1: Introduction

The Mi'kmaw are an Algonquian speaking peoples who presently have a small population distributed over a large area in the eastern Maritime region of Canada (Prins 1996). The Mi'kmaw have inhabited the provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and possibly the southern coast of Newfoundland, since prehistoric times (Figure 1; Davis 1991: 195). This chapter emphasizes the major changes in Mi'kmaw culture from the early contact period to the present, including pertinent information regarding the petroglyphs gathered through personal communication.

4.2: The Early Post-Contact Period(1504 -1599)

When the French first settled in Nova Scotia, they identified two groups whom they called the Souriquois and the Etchmen. It is unclear who the Etchmen were. When the English later defeated the French, the Souriquois became known as the Micmac. Today they are referred to as the Mi'kmaw, which comes from the word nikmaq that means “my kin friends” (Whitehead 1983:1). The Mi'kmaw referred to themselves as, L'nu'k, which means "the people.”

Until the year 1504, the Mi'kmaw were unaware of humans across the “great salt water.” According to oral tradition, it was in this year that a young woman dreamt that a whole island came floating toward the land. The island had tall trees and living beings that looked like bears. It was customary for anyone who had an unusual dream to consult

with a shaman. At this time, the dream could not be interpreted but the next day the Mi'kmaw saw their first European ship. What the young woman thought were tall trees were actually the ship's masts and the bears were European sailors (Prins 1996: 44).

Europeans first visited on a seasonal basis to exploit a rich coastal fishery. Both the Mi'kmaw and Europeans were quick to recognize the value of each other's resources (Prins 1996: 44). The first encounters were peaceful and an early trading network was established (Davis 1991: 37).

4.3: The Later Historic Period (The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)

Traditionally, the Mi'kmaw were composed of small mobile groups of individuals with flexible social boundaries (Molyneaux 1997:195). The basic social unit consisted of the headman, his nuclear family, married sons and daughters and their families. Social power came through having many relatives (Prins 1996: 32). Polygyny was common as men could have several wives who were valued for labor and reproduction and women and their children could have protection and security. Because of the self-sufficiency of the family unit and minimal population pressure, there was little need for a formal political hierarchy. However, when Europeans began to settle in the Maritimes, the Mi'kmaw were introduced to disease, new technology and the "aggressive mercantile expansionism" of the Europeans, which brought about drastic changes in Mi'kmaw traditional culture (Prins 1996: 33).

Although pre-contact population figures are uncertain, it has been estimated that Mi'kmaw population declined by 80-90 % as a result of disease within the first century after contact (Davis 1991: 38). With the establishment of the fur trade, contact also

disrupted the Mi'kmaw economic system and means of subsistence. Because of their strategic coastal position, their shallops (i.e. small, sailing boats) and excellent seafaring skills, some of the Mi'kmaw headmen became middlemen in the fur trade (Prins 1996: 56). The Mi'kmaw even used their French allies and their acquired European weapons to attack their traditional enemies.

As the influence of European culture increased, this traditional sense of community was disrupted (Molyneaux 1997: 194). The Mi'kmaw had always considered animals as metaphorical equals to humans (Molyneaux 1997: 193). Christian missionaries taught the Mi'kmaw that the world was not a community of animals and humans but a divinely ordered hierarchy in which animals were created to serve mankind. Accordingly, some the Mi'kmaw began to view animals only as an economic resource.

The French Jesuits first introduced Christianity to the Mi'kmaw in the late sixteenth century. Missionaries often visited the Mi'kmaw to introduce them to the Christian God, prayer and religious objects such as rosary beads, the crucifix and sacred books. It was not until 1611 that the Jesuits were authorized by the French Crown to convert the Mi'kmaw to Christianity (Prins 1996: 72-73).

The Jesuits aimed to discredit Mi'kmaw shamans and remove all traces of aboriginal beliefs and religious practices (Molyneaux 1997: 198). By introducing Christianity, the Jesuits hoped the Mi'kmaw world would become more human-centered and more emphasis would be placed on economic and religious individuality (Molyneaux 1997: 199).

The fur trade expanded dramatically after 1600. At the height of the fur trade, the

Mi'kmaw hunted animals like the beaver and other large game very vigorously (Krech 1981: 16). Surprisingly, the Mi'kmaw did not blame the Europeans for the diseases devastating their population. Instead, they felt punished by the animals they were over-hunting (Krech 1981: 17).

The Mi'kmaw and French Acadians formed a symbiotic relationship during the colonial period when they became allies and even intermarried. The French were more concerned with having the Mi'kmaw as trade and military allies than with civilizing them (Prins 1996: 8). Allying themselves with the French provided the Mi'kmaw with partial protection against the English and other aboriginal groups (Prins 1996: 55).

Because of the great demand for certain fur-bearing animals for the fur trade, the Mi'kmaw began to alter traditional seasonal rounds (Bailey 1969). As European settlement spread along the coast after the mid-eighteenth century, the Mi'kmaw were no longer able to visit their traditional camping grounds, which were located along the coast. Essentially, the Mi'kmaw were forced inland for a greater portion of the year and, as moose, caribou and beaver became depleted, the Mi'kmaw began to experience food shortages (Molyneaux 1997: 211). As a result, the Mi'kmaw became dependent on the European market economy at the expense of their traditional way of life (Molyneaux 1997: 196).

During the seventeenth century, the fur trade collapsed as a result of a shortage of fur bearing animals to hunt in the Maritimes and the fact that fur went out of style in Europe. At the time, the Mi'kmaw were still allied with the French. During the eighteenth century, there were many conflicts over land rights between the English and the French (Prins 1996: 62). The Mi'kmaw fought on the French side but on September

8, 1760, the French were defeated and Canada passed into British hands (Prins 1996: 151).

With the defeat of the French, the Mi'kmaw had to decide whether they would continue to fight with the English or surrender themselves. In 1761, the Mi'kmaw signed a peace treaty with the British. Unfortunately, the symbiotic relationship the Mi'kmaw had with the French could not be continued with the British. The Mi'kmaw were now faced with a relationship of subordination and domination with years of treaties and broken promises.

The development of the fur trade and the introduction of Christianity at the beginning of the seventeenth century began the process of erosion of traditional cultural values (Molyneaux 1997: 195). The developments and changes described here are by no means as detailed as they actually were and do not suffice in explaining the devastating effects of European arrival on Mi'kmaw culture. This is not to say that the Mi'kmaw were passive victims. The Mi'kmaw very skillfully exploited the French, continued to raid their neighbors and established a considerable reputation in handling captured British vessels and prisoners.

4.4: Mi'kmaw Traditional Culture

From archaeological and historical records, we know that the Mi'kmaw were a seasonally mobile people whose subsistence was based on a combination of hunting and fishing supplemented by wild bird eggs, berries and nuts (Miller 1991: 6; Whitehead 1983: 30). There were certain areas within the Maritimes that were conducive to farming practices, which sustained much larger populations of Abenaki, Massachusetts and

Iroquois to the south and west of the Mi'kmaw area. The Mi'kmaw moved seasonally between particular hunting grounds and coastal fishing areas (Prins 1996: 27). Generally, the Mi'kmaw dispersed in small family groups of about ten to fifteen people during the fall and winter when they concentrated on hunting. In the spring, when fish and shellfish were easily accessible and abundant, families reconvened in bands of over two hundred (Prins 1996: 27; Wallis and Wallis 1955: 25-26).

The Mi'kmaw were very fond of decorating their material culture. They often embroidered leather and bark with moose hair, wampum and quills. The Mi'kmaw mixed pigments like red and yellow ochre, chalky white shells or charcoal with fish roe or egg yolks to make four traditional colors: red, white, black and yellow. They sometimes used blueberries to make blue and violet (Whitehead 1983: 30-31). The Mi'kmaw used these colors to paint the borders of robes, the toes of moccasins and the bottoms and sides of their leggings. The most common decorative designs included geometric symbols like triangles, circles and parallel lines. Perhaps the most aesthetically pleasing Mi'kmaw design was the double-curve motif (Figure 11; Davis 1991: 31). Besides their clothing, the Mi'kmaw often decorated their canoes, paddles, cradleboards, boxes, bags and snowshoes. Women often painted images of birds, moose, otters and beavers on their wigwams (Robertson 1973).

Although the Mi'kmaw did not have a written language prior to the coming of Europeans, they did have a rich oral tradition. The Mi'kmaw used myths and legends to explain the origins of the land, its nature and its beings. These legends concerning their ancestors and the seemingly strange happenings around them reflected what it meant to be Mi'kmaw (Rand 1894). Mi'kmaw legends were passed down through the generations

and are packed with stories of magical power, superhuman strength and daring feats of bravery (Prins 1996: 9). Some of the legendary characters include the great Culloo, the Star Husband, the Star Wife and Crane and the Horned Snake (Figure 12; Figure 13) (Robertson 1973). The most important character to the Mi'kmaw was Gluskap (sometimes spelled Kluskap or Glooscap) who was believed to be a great magician who came into being when no other human existed.

Gluskap was credited with giving the Mi'kmaw many of their worldly possessions. For example, they believed Gluskap taught them how to make birch bark canoes (Davis 1991: 42-43). According to legend, Gluskap had supernatural powers that enabled him to transform objects and living things to stone. The Mi'kmaw believed the great Gluscap created the strangely shaped rocks found throughout the Maritimes (Davis 1991: 42-43).

The Mi'kmaw also believed that Gluskap abandoned them just before the European arrival (Prins 1996: 10). Stories about Gluskap only became important again in the mid-nineteenth century when it seemed that the Mi'kmaw faced extinction. The Mi'kmaw always believed that Gluskap would come and save his people. Essentially, the figure Gluskap was integrated with Roman Catholic theology and Gluscap and Jesus became one in the same. Since the cross occurs in the petroglyphs, this is an important point.

The Mi'kmaw were able to maintain their traditional way of life much longer than the coastal aboriginal people around them (Dickason 1986: 32). This was because they lived part of the year inland away from European influence. The Mi'kmaw became accustomed to European technologies but never gave up their freedom or autonomy

(Prins 1996: 56). They rejected all efforts to settle permanently, held onto their ancestral tongue and preserved many features of their cultural heritage (Prins 1996: 56). Contact with the Europeans affected Mi'kmaw subsistence patterns, social and political relations, values and beliefs but the Mi'kmaw survived as a people when many other tribal groups did not (Prins 1996: 54).

4.5: Ethnographic Study

The second objective in researching the Keji petroglyphs was to conduct a limited ethnographic study on modern Mi'kmaw beliefs regarding the petroglyphs. I planned to interview the Mi'kmaw themselves about their thoughts concerning the glyphs. My interview strategy was approved by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) at Memorial University of Newfoundland. I explained that my interviewing methods would be very informal. Interviews would take place when and where it was convenient for the informant and notes would be taken afterwards.

Preparatory work for this thesis began by talking to Rob Ferguson of Parks Canada, who had much research experience in Keji. He suggested a number of people whom I could talk to and also suggested that I talk to Mi'kmaq elder, Charlie Labrador. Months before I was to carry out the fieldwork for this thesis, I sent Mr. Labrador a letter introducing my research proposal and myself. Once he received and reviewed my letter, he immediately phoned me to discuss the petroglyphs. It was apparent that Mr. Labrador was interested in my research and wanted to discuss these petroglyphs. He suggested that I also speak with the tour guides of Kejimikujik National Park. At this point, we both looked forward to a future meeting.

I received an email from Charlie Labrador's granddaughter, Melissa-Sioux Labrador-Posey before I traveled to Nova Scotia. At the time, she was in the very early stages of writing down her own teachings and interpretations from Mi'kmaw elders. She wrote, "In order to say you are going to re-assess them (the petroglyphs)...you must understand Keji itself. The meaning of these petroglyphs is far more spiritual than anything else." She also stated that she was concerned that, "in order to put yet another book out there in regards to the petroglyphs, is to yet tell more lies." I assured her that it was not my intention to tell any lies.

I contacted Sherry Pictou (via email) of the Bear River Band Council before I traveled to Nova Scotia. Unfortunately, the Band Council was very busy during the time of my visit and she did not have time to see me. She discussed my thesis proposal with Chief Frank Meuse Jr. and they both agreed that the "study has a great deal of merit and will be invaluable to the First Nations and the public at large." Sherry Pictou, herself, had a special interest in the glyphs of women and stated that she believed that "they have not been interpreted enough or (they have been) misinterpreted."

I also contacted Harry Delong, superintendent of Kejimikujik National Park, for permission to investigate the petroglyphs. Mr. Delong is not Mi'kmaw and could not give me permission to see the petroglyphs without the consent of the Mi'kmaw within the area of Keji. He agreed to meet with me when I arrived in Keji to discuss my research goals. Mr. Delong introduced me to Todd Labrador, who was the warden in training and also Charlie's son, before I started any research in Keji. Todd had initial concerns about my research but felt more at ease after speaking to his father. He volunteered to take me on a tour to each site by boat so I could get a different perspective of the petroglyphs.

I had a few questions in mind before I arrived in Keji. I wanted to know if all the slate beds available in Keji had petroglyphs carved on them. Todd told me that all of the slate beds available in Keji do have petroglyphs on them and that all of the slate beds are located on the eastern side of the lake. He further explained that traditional Mi'kmaw worship the sun, which rises in the east and wigwam entrances face the east. He also advised me that the petroglyphs are best seen around 6:00 pm because the sun is at the right angle to the slate beds to make the images more visible.

Todd set up the first meeting with Charlie on my second day at Keji. We toured area FB 2b in Fairy Bay. Charlie first spoke about the image that he had interpreted. He used the water to draw a double-curve motif that he said he would show me later. It is a double-curve motif that is carved next to the date 1810 (Figure 14). To paraphrase Charlie, this image means water, which is the giver of life; without it, we would not be here, the trees would not be here and the petroglyphs would not be here; it also represents customs and culture and the native right to fish and to live on the land. Parks Canada has this image listed as a pair of spectacles.

Charlie and Todd both pointed out the image in Fairy Bay 2b that has been referred to among Mi'kmaw interpreters as the "Mowiomi" or the Wabenaki Confederacy symbol (Figure 15). Todd explained that the Five Nations came together in peace and each of them carved a symbol into the rocks as a symbol of this peace. There are five designs that make up the "Mowiomi" which is approximately one foot long and one foot wide. Todd pointed out an image of a human figure in traditional dress also in Fairy Bay 2b (Figure 16). He told me that a friend of his who has been blind all of his life once described this image exactly and said it was a medicine man.

Jean MacIssac is a Mi'kmaq interpreter at Keji. I met Jean on my third day at Keji. We spent the better part of an afternoon sitting amongst the glyphs and discussing different images and their possible interpretations. She, like her daughter Melissa-Sioux Labrador, is in the process of writing about the petroglyphs. She was often surprised at the questions I asked her. She commented that she was impressed that I seemed to “know my stuff.” Of course, I wanted those I spoke to about the glyphs to know that I had some knowledge about the glyphs myself. However, I had to be clear that, what I knew came from books and not the word of mouth of the Mi'kmaw.

One of the first questions I had for Jean pertained to the possible sexual imagery in Keji. In particular, three images have been carved together in Peter's Point and have been interpreted as the female vulva (Figure 9). I did not know at the time where they were, just that they existed. She said that there was no sexual imagery within the Keji glyphs; however, she did not offer an alternative interpretation of these particular images. She explained that sex was not talked about among traditional Mi'kmaw, let alone carved into rocks.

We then talked about peaked caps. She told me that only women would have carved such images because of the taboos associated with them. Men would never go near them, thus they would never carve them.

I then asked Jean about the absence of certain things like beavers, for example. She said that there are many things around Keji that were not carved at Keji. Certain things did not need to be carved because they were all around. I asked if it were possible that some images were used as teaching tools. She liked this idea but commented that

one did not need to carve a particular flower or tree as a teaching tool because it was so easily accessible within the area.

I asked Jean about the “little people.” She told me that she spent the night in a wooded area around the petroglyphs to have a spiritual cleansing. That night, while she was in her tent, she heard “little feet” running around her tent and what sounded like children’s giggles. I felt a cold shiver run up my back and asked if she was scared. She was not afraid because she knew that they were the “little people” and they were there for her protection and spiritual cleansing. They were not there to hurt her.

I started my research as a very brave soul who thought it would be a good idea to camp by myself in the Keji campgrounds. An unidentified creature passed through my campsite in the night and the Keji staff took pity on me. They offered me a place to sleep within their residence for the rest of my stay. It poured rain my first night with the staff and I was lucky not to be in a tent. Charlie came to visit me the next day because he was worried that I would have been uncomfortable the previous night.

Charlie and I decided to spend the late afternoon walking through the trail at Mill Falls. When the flies began to swarm around us, we sat in Charlie’s car to continue talking. That day, Charlie told me that he was a spiritual healer among his people. He told me about many of his healing experiences and visions. He told me that he has healed two cancer patients, stressing that these patients were healed by him spiritually and not by medicine. He healed a woman who was ran over and mangled by a truck. He cured a lady from multiple sclerosis in 1999. She currently lives in Baffin Island. He shook hands with a man who had a broken hand. Mr. Labrador did not know that the hand was broken but the hand was healed immediately after the handshake.

Charlie has also experienced visions. He envisioned that the PEI Bridge will break but no one will get hurt. He also foresaw Flight 111 go down off the coast of Nova Scotia. He visited the crash site to offer tobacco to the people that died. Charlie also told me that he has seen the “little people.” To him, these “little people” are protectors. He once visited a lady and when she opened the door, the “little people” were all around her and even hanging off her arms. He asked her if she knew that there were “little people” around her and she said yes.

Charlie’s ancestors can be traced back to the time when a lot of the images were carved even though the family name does not show up on the rocks. The family has traced its history back to Louie Luxie, Joe Luxie, Katie Luxie/Jeremy, Beatrice Jeremy, Charlie Labrador, Todd Labrador and Melissa Sioux Labrador-Posey. Charlie told me that his grandfather lived to be 141. Charlie had often held healing ceremonies. In the late summer of 2000, he scheduled a four-day healing. The four days represented north, south, east and west. He said that the “petroglyphs are like a heartbeat” and they have given him the “strength” to do what he is doing. Before we parted that day, Charlie said that he thought I was going to do good work and good things would happen for me in the future as a result of this work.

Charlie and I met again the next day to walk through the sites. On a guided tour, an ancient Mi’kmaw burial ground is pointed out to the tourists but it is not visited. Charlie took me to the ancient cemetery where he offered tobacco to the graves. He gave me some tobacco to do the same. He did not want me to take pictures. We continued our walk and he pointed out a tree that had a square carved into the birch bark that had thread

all around the square. He explained that during a ceremony held in this area, the square bark was cut from the tree. Overnight, the “little people” sewed the bark back into place.

Todd and I toured the petroglyph sites by boat during my last few days at Keji. I suggested that many of the early carvers might have used a boat to get to the different sites. Todd agreed and pointed out that the petroglyphs located in Mill Bay, which is across from Peter Point, could only be accessed by boat, as the forested area surrounding the glyphs is too thick to pass through easily by foot.

Todd also explained that his family feels very protective of the petroglyphs. Their main concern is vandalism as many people try to carve their own images and names, often over the ancient glyphs that have faded and are thus hard to see. While we toured the sites, we encountered two sightseers who had pulled their canoe over a slate bed where petroglyphs were located. The canoe would easily scratch the slate surface. Todd pointed out that there were logs chained together in the water that were supposed to protect the Mi’kmaw petroglyphs so canoes could not have access. Unfortunately, the lake ice from winter of 1999 pushed the logs over the slate beds of Peter Point and damaged a lot of the slate surface and images.

I encountered problems in my attempt to interview other Mi’kmaw outside of the Labrador family. I had a few names and telephone numbers. I either could not get in touch with someone or they did not want to talk to me or they felt they didn’t have anything to offer. My timing was off as well. The band office in Bear River closed down for the entire time I was in Nova Scotia on account of a fishery dispute. I also made an attempt to mail a few images and their possible interpretations to some Mi’kmaw elders throughout Nova Scotia. Unfortunately, I did not receive any responses. In the months

following my fieldwork, it became apparent that the petroglyphs are better known locally and are less known throughout the rest of Nova Scotia. This is an important factor as many of my would-be informants were located outside of the Keji area.

I was only successful in making a connection with one particular family, the Labrador family: Charlie, his son Todd, Todd's ex-wife Jean and their daughter, Melissa Sioux-Labrador-Posey. However, this family has a strong, spiritual connection with these petroglyphs. They have watched over and studied them for years. There was no other Mi'kmaw presence in Kejimikujik or throughout Nova Scotia for that matter, willing to offer varying opinions.

CHAPTER 5

Chronological Study of the Kejimikujik Petroglyphs

5.1: Introduction

If you take the tour of the petroglyphs at Kejimikujik, the Mi'kmaq tour guide will tell you that these petroglyphs have been carved over at least the last one thousand years. None of the dated carvings in Kejimikujik reflect this. Some of the images include European elements that could possibly date to the late 1500s and early 1600s. However, most of the European elements found in the petroglyphs can be more confidently dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

There were originally four objectives for this research. The fourth objective was to attempt to date the images through a process called microerosion. Microerosion is an optical technique that measures the degree of erosion in a petroglyph and compares it to a mark of known age, thus permitting an age for the petroglyph (Bednarik 1992, 1993, 1995). When I first began studying these petroglyphs, I thought there may be evidence that some images were prehistoric. However, it is apparent that the majority of the images can be linked to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also, because the images are carved in schistose slate, they are subject to rapid weathering and had they been carved over a period exceeding half a millennium, there would be noticeable differences in the weathering patterns and they do not exist. So, it is safe to conclude that the Mi'kmaw began carving the petroglyphs late in the post-contact period. We can also estimate a date when the carving stopped based on the fact that none of the European-influenced images can be dated later than the nineteenth century. Based upon these

conclusions, it was obvious that microerosion would not be suitable for the Kejimikujik petroglyphs and the fourth objective was dropped from my research agenda.

5.2: Problems with dating the petroglyphs

There are tremendous difficulties in dating rock art and dating the rock carvings in Kejimikujik is no exception. The petroglyphs themselves cannot be directly assayed by any current method of absolute dating. Since the Mi'kmaw used pigments with organic content to decorate a wide range of their material culture, it is possible that they also similarly embellished the petroglyphs. No researcher has reported the presence of pigments associated with the petroglyphs but no microscopic studies of the rocks have been conducted so this does not negate the possibility that pigments were once present and have simply weathered away.

The best that can be achieved under the present circumstances is to date the petroglyphs in a relative manner based on their graphic content. The only exceptions to this are several petroglyphs, which are actual calendar dates. There are a great number of superimposed images but, because of extreme weathering of the schist rocks, it has not been possible to assess which of the images are earlier and which are later.

The general time frame for the petroglyphs very probably can be restricted to a period stretching from the late prehistoric to the mid-nineteenth century. Two possibilities emerge. First, the phenomenon of petroglyph carving evolved over a period of half-a-millennium or more, beginning in the late prehistoric period and continuing for centuries thereafter. Second, the phenomenon is much more chronologically restricted

and emerged only during the post-contact period. There are strong indications that the second of these alternatives is the most likely.

Relative dating by graphic content is a one-sided affair in that many symbols such as European ships and Christian crosses can be unequivocally linked to the post-contact period. However, because of the strong cultural continuity across the prehistoric-contact boundary, no symbols can be unequivocally linked to the prehistoric period. In short, any petroglyph such as legendary beings, ritual symbols, representations of traditional material culture and depictions of native animal species, which have, European-influenced content could be either prehistoric or post-contact.

The argument that petroglyph carving occurred only in the post-contact period and, more specifically, only in the later post-contact period has two aspects. First, if the activity began before the sixteenth century, we should reasonably expect to find some petroglyphs whose content can be connected to the earliest stages of European colonization. However, none is apparent. Where European-influenced content exists, it can invariably be linked to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Second, schist is a relatively soft rock, which is subject to fairly rapid weathering. Had the petroglyphs been carved over a period exceeding half-a-millennium, we should expect noticeable and marked differences in weathering patterns and yet no researcher had reported such. Based on present evidence, therefore, it seems safe to conclude that petroglyph carving among the Mi'kmaw began in the late post-contact period.

Having established a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of petroglyph carving, it is necessary to determine a *terminus a quo* that is a cut-off date for the cessation of the activity. Once again, there are two considerations. First, no European-influenced content

can be dated later than the nineteenth century. Second, what is striking is that the Mi'kmaw have a legend attributing the glyphs to fairies rather than to themselves. Such a legend could only emerge in a context in which the Mi'kmaw had lost connection with and knowledge of whatever activities generated the need to carve the glyphs. Although we are not certain as to when this legend arose, this loss of connection suggests that the glyphs were probably carved late in the post-contact period, that the activities associated with them stopped shortly afterwards, and that the Mi'kmaw subsequently lost their knowledge of those activities.

5.3: Petroglyphs with chronological significance

It is now appropriate to turn to a discussion of those images, which contain potentially important chronological content. These images include representations of aspects of both Mi'kmaw and European culture.

5.3.1: Traditional Mi'kmaw clothing

Some petroglyphs depict figures dressed in traditional Mi'kmaw clothing or individual items of such clothing (Figure 17). This is a problematical category. First, we have very little knowledge of what “traditional” Mi'kmaw clothing was like in prehistory or even in the early post-contact period. What is known is that the use of traditional clothing tapers off during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Prins 1996: 181). Traditional clothing would only be worn during festivals such as the important St. Anne's Day celebrations. Therefore, depictions of clothing do little to assist us except to

suggest that such representations likely date to the period before the mid-nineteenth century.

As mentioned before, images reflecting sexuality are also scarce in the Mi'kmaw petroglyphs. They include only three images of what are thought to be human reproductive organs (Figure 9). Nude representations of humans and copulation scenes between animals or humans have not been carved on the Kejimkujik rocks. There are a few possibilities included in Figure 18.

Images of violence and warfare have also not been discovered in Kejimkujik. Given the long history of conflict in the pre- and post-contact periods, this is seemingly odd. Those Mi'kmaw who became middlemen in the fur trade often fought wars with the Maliseet and Abenaki in competition to control the fur trade (Molyneaux 1997: 195). As well, it has been stated by Martin (Krech 1981: 13) that the Mi'kmaw waged war upon the animals during the fur trade and this "warfare" is also absent from the rock art. The lack of petroglyphs, which might be associated with warfare, may reflect the fact that by the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Mi'kmaw were no longer engaged in such activities.

Mi'kmaw tribal bands were known to get together in very large gatherings on occasion but there are no images reflecting this. Seasonal gatherings are possibly extremely important in understanding the context in which these petroglyphs were made. It is possible that during such aggregations, stories and legends were recounted and the glyphs were used as illustrations.

Petroglyph carving is not a current tradition among the Mi'kmaw but it remains a very important aspect of Mi'kmaw culture. Jean MacIsaac agreed with the suggestion

that these slate beds were used as teaching tools for children and each other. The glyphs only depict some aspects of Mi'kmaw society and not their day-by-day lives. Therefore, we must look to historical documentation to interpret the glyphs.

5.3.2: Mi'kmaw structures

There are several representations of Mi'kmaw wigwams and timber-framed huts (Figure 19). By the late-nineteenth century, birchbark wigwams were used almost solely as summer residences. By that stage, most Mi'kmaw lived in timber-framed huts throughout the year (Prins 1996: 32 and 182). Though the possibility remains that some of the images of wigwams may be among the earliest images carved, the mixture of wigwams and framed huts suggests a general nineteenth century date for these images.

5.3.3: Mi'kmaw subsistence activities

Among the petroglyphs reviewed here, only one can be unambiguously related to subsistence activities. Figure 20 depicts a few porpoise hunting scenes with two figures in the canoe. While the rear figures steadies the canoe with an oar, the leading figure aims a long-barreled rifle at the image of a porpoise. Another porpoise is depicted inside the canoe of the first image in Figure 20. This subsistence activity only became important to the Mi'kmaw in the early nineteenth century (Prins 1996: 179; Leighton 1937: 414).

There are also many representations of native species like a moose (Figure 21) and what have been interpreted as a snake and a possible horse (Figure 22). With the exception of the horse, which is obviously post-contact, these animals would have been economically important to the Mi'kmaw but, as they have been depicted in isolation, they carry no chronological significance. What is intriguing, however, is the total absence of

the beaver since it was so central to the Mi'kmaw economy in the early post-contact period when the fur trade with the Europeans developed. By the late nineteenth century, the use of beaver in European hats went out of style and the market collapsed. In any case, by this stage the Mi'kmaw had over-hunted beaver in the Maritimes almost to extinction. Admittedly, this is negative evidence but the absence of a once economically important species suggests that petroglyph carving did not start until the beginning of the eighteenth century at its earliest.

Other animals common in Mi'kmaw territory include the bear, skunk, weasel and raccoon. Aside from the bear, which is extremely ambiguous and depicted only once, these animals did not make it onto the rock panels either. The skunk, weasel and raccoon may not have been economically important in terms of Mi'kmaw subsistence and this may explain their absence.

Though many prey species are represented, with the single exception of the porpoise hunt by canoe, the methods of hunting, trapping and fishing are not shown. The Mi'kmaw knew of many ways to catch fish, which included using nets, weirs, hooks and lines and harpoons and spears.

Mi'kmaw men and women would have had an intimate knowledge of trees, plants and herbs (Wallis and Wallis 1955: 119). However, besides the possible fiddlehead or thumbprint depicted on a human hand (Figure 36), plants and trees were not carved at all. According to Jean MacIsaac, knowledge of plants and trees would be general knowledge for any Mi'kmaw living a traditional life style and it would be unnecessary to carve such common knowledge into the rocks. There is inconsistency with this logic since there are

many petroglyphs depicted objects common throughout Kejimikujik, like traditional Mi'kmaw clothing and structures.

5.3.4: Religious and ritual symbols

This category includes depictions of Christian crosses, hieroglyphic signs for “Lord” (in a Christian sense), as well as representations of the legendary figure of Gluskap. There are numerous depictions of Christian crosses, which obviously date to the contact period (Figure 23). Some are shown individually or in triads with a complex design element at the base while others look like they are part of a church. The star, used in Mi'kmaw hieroglyphics, was meant to represent heaven (Figure 35). Very little is known about the evolution of Christian iconography among the Mi'kmaw but it is likely that such complex design elements were chronologically restricted and this is therefore a potentially important avenue for future investigation.

When the Europeans arrived, the Mi'kmaw believed that their culture hero, Gluskap abandoned them. However, as Mi'kmaw traditional culture and the Mi'kmaw themselves almost became extinct by the end of the nineteenth century, the Gluskap legend assumed new importance for the Mi'kmaw (Prins 1996: 10, 187). It is possible that the hieroglyphic sign for “Lord” was meant to represent the Mi'kmaw culture hero and carved during the nineteenth century when they seem to have needed his guidance the most. A triangle with a line drawn straight up from a corner edge outside of the triangle represents Guskap. (Whitehead 2002: 167)

The Mi'kmaw came into contact with Christian missionaries, initially Jesuit, from the earliest contact period onwards. However, there was considerable resistance to adopting this foreign religion and it was not until the early nineteenth century that many

converted (Robertson 1973). Traditional Mi'kmaw religion focused on sun worship and this was still widespread in the seventeenth century (Prins 1996: 83). It is therefore important to note the absence of any sun images among the petroglyphs. This lends support to Jean MacIsaac's statement that certain things were not carved because they were all around.

Christian missionaries were intent on introducing Christianity to the Mi'kmaw. However, such an endeavor was difficult, as the Mi'kmaw did not develop literacy until the late seventeenth century. In the 1600s, Abbe Maillard introduced a hieroglyphic system to deal with the teaching of Christianity. The Mi'kmaw did not oppose this system (Prins 1996: 86). This suggests that the hieroglyphs at Kejimkujik were not carved before that time.

5.3.5: Aspects of European Culture

Of the many representations of European culture, depictions of European sailing ships have the greatest chronological content because of the details of hull designs and rigging. There is even a side-wheeler paddle steamer (Figure 24). The first steam ship in North America to sail in open sea was in 1807 from New York to Albany. Built by Robert Fulton, it was called the Clermont. The Annapolis County Steam Boat Co. was incorporated by an act of the Nova Scotia Legislature in 1836. The side-wheeler in Kejimkujik had to have been carved after 1836. All of the images reflecting sailing ships, with the exception of one, can be shown to be from the nineteenth century. Robertson (1973) suggested that the hulls and rigging of many of the sailing ships date from the

mid-eighteenth century up until the years when Creed copied them in 1888. The side-wheeler is probably the most recent of the ships represented.

5.3.6: The Carved Dates

There are 30 to 40 dated images at Kejimkujik. Molyneaux (1984) had reported that there were 26 dated images at Kejimkujik, however, most occur in isolation, with names or with Mi'kmaw and European images. However, Molyneaux only counted images that had dates associated with them while, in this study, a lone date is counted as one image. The earliest date found is from area FB2d. It is a name, "Alvin Chalton" with the date May 16th 1708 and "Ag 1036 years" (Figure 25). There is only one other date from this century and that is 1711, which is carved alone. The date 1877 has some obvious significance as it occurs at least thirty times. Molyneaux (1984) reported only sixteen instances. The only visible pattern is in the months carved; May, June and possibly August indicating summer visits to Kejimkujik Lake.

There are only a few names and initials associated with the dates including Jim Taul, B.L Teller, R. F. Teller and Noel Nlot (Figure 26). The most notable image is the porpoise-hunting scene from 1877 that has Jim Taul inscribed underneath. The date 1877 also occurs with ships or by itself. It appears that something special occurred in 1877 that likely emphasized traditional nineteenth century Mi'kmaw culture. In a photograph taken at a St. Ann's Day celebration at Shubenacadie in 1893, several men are wearing Glengarry hats like those found in the petroglyphs (Whitehead 1980: 27). Some are even wearing badges. It is possible that the sacred heart and star motifs on the chests of some figures are meant to represent those badges (Molyneaux 1984)(Figure 27). It is also

possible that a St. Ann's day celebration occurred in 1877 that took place in Fairy Bay at the Merrymakedge site. This was the most significant cultural celebration for the Mi'kmaw as it combined the Catholic religion with the traditional Mi'kmaw culture. These themes are presented in the Kejimkujik petroglyphs. Unfortunately, there are no documents from 1877 describing this event. In fact, papers from the year 1877 in that area have yet to be found (personal communication with Halifax archives personnel). It is interesting to note that this date does not occur in Mill Bay, Peter Point or George Lake.

5.4: The Chronological Range of the Petroglyphs

The images fall into two general categories: those that depict aspects of post-contact culture and are definitely dated to the historic period and those that lack such aspects and are therefore either pre- or post-contact. Because of the strong continuity of traditional Mi'kmaw culture over the contact interface, there is currently no way to determine by content alone if any of the glyphs are pre-contact. However, where content has some chronological significance, all the indicators point to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Though we cannot reject the proposition that some of the glyphs may be much earlier, nothing is represented that would not fit into that time period. Thus, we have a strong, though admittedly not compelling, argument that the period of glyph formation was the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER 6

Reinterpretation of the Kejimikujik Petroglyphs

6.1: Introduction

The three objectives of this research were to assess the importance of landscape, to conduct informal interviews where Mi'kmaw individuals could be questioned about their thoughts concerning the petroglyphs, and to make a direct comparison between the petroglyph recordings from 1888 with the more recent recordings from the 1980s to see if any differences exist. This chapter presents the results of the direct comparison.

6.2: The Carvers

There is no doubt that nearly all of the petroglyphs around Kejimikujik Lake can be attributed to the Mi'kmaw. However, we cannot make any strong assertions as to whether men, women or children were responsible for creating particular images. The Mi'kmaw first occupied the region followed by the French and British, so the pictures show a bewildering mix of Indian and European designs. According to Grant (1983:54), objects that appear to be of Indian origin are figures with patterned bodies; figures wearing decorated hats and long robes, men and canoes, fish and snakes. European motifs are five pointed stars, horsemen, and females in dresses, elaborate scroll designs, sailing ships, Christian symbols, and many dates. These designations do not necessarily mean that only the Mi'kmaw carved Indian motifs and only Europeans carved European motifs.

Rock art has traditionally been a phenomenon attributed to men. We can reasonably assume that men were responsible for many of the glyphs because of the

associations with animals, hunting and European ships, for example. Those glyphs of decorative designs and peaked caps can reasonably be attributed to women. We cannot exclude children from carving, although nothing can be specifically attributed to them.

We know that Europeans carved a few glyphs because of the names and dates carved into the rocks. However, as we can establish little from the glyphs themselves, it is impossible to determine the identity of the carvers aside from those images that have been apparently signed.

6.3: The Direct Comparison

It is very difficult to rate the success of the direct comparison. The results of the direct comparison can be seen in Table 1. Creed identified 334 images, recorded in 15 categories, which included sailing vessels, human figures, decorative designs, roman crosses, and “nondescript and unclassified.” It is interesting to note that he placed sailing vessels and canoes in two separate categories. He also separated human figures and parts of the human figure in two separate categories. From those 334, I have only accounted for 175 images, which represents 52%. A small portion of this discrepancy, about 5 or 10%, can be attributed to the fact that some of the images that Creed recorded were from McGowan Lake.

The most successful recovery was for sailing vessels and roman crosses, both at 83%. “Parts of the human figure” was also successful with 82% of the images found. The least successful recovery was Creed’s class “M” which corresponds to “Non-descript and unclassified.” Most of these images are non-descript and unclassified for a reason. Creed labeled Class “L, M and N” as “Non-descript and unclassified” which constitutes

ninety-seven images and only 26% have been re-identified. They cannot be identified in accordance to the other classifications. For the most part, these particular images are smaller or just mere scratches. This makes them more difficult to find. Either they are incorporated into bigger collages of images or they have since eroded away.

George Creed documented the petroglyphs in 1888. It is obvious from the dated images that carving was an ongoing process at the time of Creed's recording. It is unfortunate that when he was documenting the petroglyphs, he had the opportunity to ask some of the actual carvers what they were doing and why, but failed to do so. After conducting the direct comparison, it became apparent that either Creed missed a lot of images, or more petroglyphs were carved after Creed recorded them in 1888. I suggest the later explanation is more likely. Even today, vandalism is a problem in these protected areas. Unfortunately, names and images are being added every year and unless the date is carved with it, it is very difficult to separate the authentic images from the vandalism.

I have included a table of results for the direct comparison for each main image type in Kejimikujik. This includes peaked caps, decorative designs, ships, canoes, human figures, animals, and crosses. The results for each of these categories that Creed included in his classification are described in the following sections.

6.3.1: Peaked Caps

Among the drawings at Kejimkujik are peaked caps, which are hats worn by Mi'kmaw women on formal occasions (Molyneaux 1997: 209). Jean MacIsaac, says that the women were more connected to these areas and there is no doubt in her mind that women carved the images of peaked caps. The design on the cap is an indicator of status. Size may also be a factor because the caps range from the size of dimes to images that are over half a meter long.

The most notable images of peaked caps are all found in three different areas of Fairy Bay. There are two peaked caps found in FB1, which are each about the size of a dime (Figure 28). This slate bed is the most isolated in Fairy Bay in relation to occupation sites and the other slate beds, which cannot be seen from this area. It is the first of the FB slate beds that runs from north to south. It is a tall rock with a flat surface that is found just offshore from the woods in a boggy area. The majority of the images found there are ships.

There are also two peaked caps found together in FB2b. They are found in association with an image that is referred to by the Mi'kmaw interpreters of Kejimkujik as the "Mowiomi," which will be described in a later section (Figure 15). This area is basically around the corner from FB1 and juts out from the shore as a large flat surface. The surface is so large that it falls into both FB2a and FB2b. There are numerous petroglyphs found in this area. One can see all of the other slate beds in Fairy Bay from this area.

Not all of the peaked caps found were carved in pairs. Actually, the majority of them were carved without association with another image. The largest cap is about half

a meter long and found at FB3d, the only site that can be seen in a public tour (Figures 3 and 29). There is a place to sit under the image that resembles a chair so one can almost picture someone carving the image there. This area is the closest to the Merrimackedge occupation site.

George Creed found 22 images of peaked caps while I found 29 (Table 2). This could mean that Creed missed a few or that they were carved after Creed documented them. Of Creed's 22, only nine have been re-identified which represents only 41%. Peaked caps were found in all areas except FB2c, FB2d and FB2f. FB2c is found the furthest from shore. It is not until the mid-summer that the water level has subsided enough to walk out to it without getting wet. There are hundreds of names carved in FB2c. There are more names carved in FB2c than in all the other areas around Kejimikujik combined. FB2d and FB2f are both rock surfaces that are found directly on the shore and have relatively few petroglyphs on them.

6.3.2: Decorative Designs

Besides peaked caps, other images associated with Mi'kmaw traditional culture include decorative designs, lodges, and figures in traditional costume. Representations of the double-curve motif are common in Mi'kmaw decorative tradition so it is not surprising that these images have turned up in the rock art.

The most notable decorative design is referred to among the Mi'kmaw interpreters as the "Mowiomi" or the Wabenaki Confederacy symbol (Figure 15). Charlie and Todd Labrador stated that the Five Nations came together in peace and each of them carved a symbol into the rocks as a symbol of this peace. I have some difficulty with this

statement. The entire image is about 30cm long and 30 cm wide. There are five designs that make up the “Mowiomi” but there are also two peaked caps carved with this image, which could have been carved by a woman.

When Creed documented the decorative designs, he separated them into two categories: “Class B-Enclosed designs, other forms,” and “Class G-Decorative Designs.” Class B included nine images while Class G included 25 images. Of these 34 images, only 17 or 50% have been re-identified (Table 3). Again, either these images were missed by Creed or they have been added since his recording. There are no decorative designs in FB2f, FB3d, Mill Bay or George Lake.

6.3.3: Sailing Vessels

Another aspect to the images in Kejimkujik is the European elements. Many images are associated with the contact period, in particular sailing ships, men on horses and men with guns. Figure 30 depicts only a few of the sailing vessels found around Kejimkujik. It is possible that sailing vessels were carved because of their strangeness. Still, they may have been carved due to the fact that the Mi’kmaw proved to be extremely capable seamen who learned to handle European ships. At various times, they actually captured and commanded European vessels. In the summer of 1727, a party of eight Mi’kmaw from Sable Island captured a European vessel, killed its crew and sold the craft to the French at Cape Breton Island for two thousand pounds (Prins 1996: 140). Accordingly, these carvings could have been a record of the victorious capture of European ships.

It is certain that ships had to be carved from memory because ships could not access Kejimikujik. They were only found along the coast of Nova Scotia. Several of the ship illustrations show an intimate knowledge of ship design and rigging. Thus, individuals had to be very familiar with ship architecture.

There are 115 ships found throughout Kejimikujik. Creed recorded only 40. Of those 40, 33 (or 83%) have been re-identified (Table 4). Ships have been carved in every area as defined by Parks Canada. The greatest concentrations of ships are found in FB2a and Peter Point with 28 and 26 respectively. It is unknown whether Creed meant to document all of the images or just a sample in each area. In any case, 75 images of ships have been missed by Creed or added since his original recording.

6.3.4: Canoes

At present, only 12 canoe images have been found throughout Kejimikujik. Creed recorded 13 canoe images from both Kejimikujik and McGowan Lake. Of Creed's 13, only six (46%) have been re-identified (Table 5). Only one of these six canoes is from McGowan Lake. The most notable images of canoes are found in Fairy Bay. There are two images of porpoise hunting scenes. "Jim Taul" likely carved the first image found in FB2a in 1877 as that name and date have been carved immediately beneath the image (Figure 20). The second image found in FB2d was carved in isolation and could possibly be a whale-hunting scene (Figure 20). There are no images of canoes in areas FB2c, FB2f, FB3d, Mill Bay and George Lake.

6.3.5: Human Figures

Human figures are very common throughout Kejimikujik. At present, approximately 84 can be found. Creed only recorded 45. Of those 45, only 24 (or 53%) have been accounted for (Table 6). The depictions range from profiles to images that are quite detailed and elaborate (Figure 31). The Mi'kmaw tended to depict the human form with straight-broad shoulders tapering to a waist expanding to a wide base (Robertson 1973). It has been suggested that several of the human figures found around Kejimikujik were carved in the pre-contact period (Whitehead 1980: 24). These images would include those figures in traditional dress. It follows that the earlier representations of the human figure paid more attention to the clothes rather than the wearer. This interpretation fits with our knowledge of the traditional Mi'kmaw who were a decorative people who did not center on the individual. Later representations likely of the post-contact period depict heads in profile and lack decorative clothing. It is likely that these profiles are European-inspired.

6.3.6: Animals, Birds, Snakes

Judging by the number of animals depicted, it is logical to suggest that they were of some considerable importance to the Mi'kmaw. There are about 48 images of different animals in Kejimikujik. Creed recorded only 31 images of animals and 18 (or 58%) of them have been accounted for (Table 7). Of these images, snakes and moose are the most common. There are approximately 17 snakes and 15 moose carved at Kejimikujik. Other animals found include birds, fish, a possible horse, a pig (Figure 32) and what is possibly a bear. There is little distinction between those images meant to

represent deer, caribou, moose and horse but in one instance in FB2c, there is no doubt that the image is a caribou (Figure 33).

Marion Robertson (1973) identified one image as a preying mantis (Figure 34). This would have been a remarkable find as the preying mantis has only been collected once in the Maritimes. However, Robertson was looking at the inverted image. It is actually a hunter aiming a gun at a moose. The hunter is decorated with the double-curve motif (Figure 34).

Some of the animals carved throughout Kejimkujik can be associated with Mi'kmaw legends. An image that possibly corresponds to the "Legend of the crane" can be found in FB2d (Figure 12). As the legend goes, if a hunter can catch this magical crane, it will grant him a wish (Robertson 1973).

6.3.7: Writing Hieroglyphics

The Mi'kmaw did not have a written language prior to the arrival of Europeans. In the seventeenth century, a hieroglyphic system was developed which was used primarily for Christian teaching (Prins 1996: 85). This system used pictures instead of words and was referred to by the Mi'kmaw as *komqwejvikasik* or *abutalvikasik*, which means, "it is written with curves" (Prins 1996: 86). This form of picture writing was first documented in 1691. It is thought to have been invented by Abbe Maillard (Prins 1996: 85).

The traditional Mi'kmaw were uninterested in learning the written word of the French but when the French recognized their interest in picture writing, it was used as a tool to teach them Christianity. It is possible that the Mi'kmaw used a hieroglyphic

system before any attempt was made to convert them to Christianity but, if so, no record of it survives. “The Our Father” prayer shown in Figure 35 depicts an example of the Mi’kmaw hieroglyphic system. A few of the hieroglyphic symbols from the prayer have been found at Kejimkujik.

6.3.8: Roman Crosses

There are 29 crosses found throughout the slate beds of Kejimkujik. Creed only documented six. Of those six, five have been accounted for (Table 8). Roman crosses are found in all areas except FB2c, Peter Point and George Lake. The crosses often occur by themselves or on churches or altars (Figure 23). Perhaps the most notable are the crosses found within a heart on the chest of two individuals in FB3d (Figure 27). These individuals are likely meant to represent missionaries. Another image that stands out is found in Mill Bay. It appears to be a grave with a cross at the top (Figure 10). This is the only image of its type found among the slate beds and the only image of a cross found in Mill Bay. The fact that Mill Bay, Peter Point and George Lake are relatively close together and there is only one cross found in all three areas may be important when it comes to questions of landscape.

6.3.9: Parts of the Human Figure

There are many images depicting body parts in Kejimkujik. Hand and foot prints are commonly depicted (Figure 36). The hand is considered the most basic and unmistakable sign for identifying man from Paleolithic cave prints made 30 000 years

ago to those of more recent history (Grant 1974: 152). In many circumstances, the hand is thought to be a signature piece.

Creed combined this category to include both hands and feet but because there are so many hands and feet, I have separated the two. Creed only documented eleven hands and feet while I have counted 84 hands and forty feet. Again, this could be due to ongoing carving or simply that Creed just recorded a sample of hands and feet. Of Creed's 11, nine (or 82%) have been re-identified. Because Creed put hands and feet in one class and today, they are so numerous; it was decided not to tabulate the comparison.

The most notable glyphs of hands have to be those with images carved within them such as the hand found in FB2d that has a ship carved inside it (Figure 36). There is also a small, child-like hand that has fiddleheads carved on the thumb and fingers. It could also represent a thumbprint (Figure 36). Another image consists of a hand that has a peaked cap and a Glengarry hat carved inside it (Figure 36). It likely represents a marriage. It is found in George Lake and is the only image like it in Kejimikujik. There is a hand found in FB2b that has a finger missing (Figure 37). According to Jean MacIsaac, sometimes Mi'kmaw women of the past cut off a finger to grieve for a dead husband. This particular image may reflect this tradition.

6.3.10: Non-descript and unclassified

A great number of images in Kejimikujik remain ambiguous and have been deemed miscellaneous (Figure 38). These images are classified by Creed as "Non-descript and unclassified." They constitute the majority of the petroglyphs. Creed recorded these images in three different sections all under the same heading because they

were so numerous. The results of this direct comparison can be found in Table 1. To simplify here, he recorded 97 images overall and only 31 (or 32%) have been accounted for. The difficulty in finding these particular images lies in the fact that they are ambiguous. They are usually only scratches or designs that are easy to lose in the great number of collages found throughout the slate beds. It is very possible that a great number of these images are still present in Kejimkujik and have been overlooked. It is also possible that they have eroded away.

6.3.11: Curious

The last category that Creed included in his recordings was classified as “Curious.” Creed only recorded four images in this section. Of those four, three (or 75%) have been accounted for. Because there are only four images in this category, it is unnecessary to tabulate the results. These images appear to have a sexual connotation. The first image (Q1 of Creed’s classification) is found at Peter Point (Figure 9- top). There are two people, with their genital areas emphasized. Q2, Q3 and Q4 of Creed’s classification are part of the same image (Figure 9 - bottom). Robertson (1973) has interpreted these images as sex organs.

Ms. Jean MacIsaac does not agree with Robertson’s interpretation but did not offer an alternate explanation. There are a few images found throughout Kejimkujik with similar connotations. For example, the “Horned Serpent” as shown in Figure 13, is found in area FB2c and is seemingly phallic.

6.4: The Cultural and Chronological Context of Glyph-Making

It is extremely important to understand the context in which the Mi'kmaw created their rock art, as it would likely affect the interpretation of the images. We must regard glyph making as a serious and purposeful activity. It has already been mentioned that the Mi'kmaw petroglyphs may have been carved during seasonal aggregations. As such gatherings did not occur on a regular basis, it is likely that the petroglyphs were not carved on a regular basis.

A number of meanings can be inferred from the hundreds of rock drawings found throughout Kejimikujik. It is obvious that they must have had meaning to those Mi'kmaw who carved them but that meaning has been lost, as time has passed. The Mi'kmaw who watch over them today recognize their importance and discuss their significance as it relates to their own lives. In addition to many elements that must be associated with European contact, the Kejimikujik petroglyphs clearly depict many traditional Mi'kmaw elements including aspects of subsistence, material culture, religious and ritual activities and ideology.

Similar rock art sites have been found elsewhere in Nova Scotia. Other concentrations are found at McGowan Lake, Miller's Mountain and the Bedford Barrens. McGowan Lake is the most comparable site to Kejimikujik in terms of size. There are only three images found at Miller's Mountain and one at the Bedford Barrens. The fact that there are so many images found in Kejimikujik could mean that this particular area had special significance to the Mi'kmaw people. By studying Mi'kmaw history and culture, we can relate the possible contexts in which the petroglyphs were made.

Chapter 7

Cultural Context of Glyph Making

There were three objectives outlined for this thesis for a goal of providing a fresh perspective into the research of the petroglyphs carved in Kejimikujik National Park. The first was to assess the importance of landscape in regards to petroglyph location. At the moment the first images were carved into the slate beds of Kejimikujik Lake, the Mi'kmaw made their mark on the land. Today, the area around Kejimikujik Lake encompasses a cultural landscape that is of national, historic significance (Ferguson 1997: 12).

My second objective was to take an ethnohistorical approach and interview contemporary Mi'kmaw about the petroglyphs. Due to circumstances beyond my control, I was only successful in contacting one particular family. However, this family has a strong, spiritual connection to the petroglyphs and the information told to me was a valuable contribution to this thesis.

My final objective was to conduct a direct comparison of the petroglyphs originally recorded in 1888 by George Creed with those recorded in 1997 by Parks Canada to see how much has been lost to erosion and graffiti. The natural process of weathering and the unnatural process of vandalism were a concern for these petroglyphs over 20 years ago (Pride and Stewart 1983). It is unfortunate to know that we have lost part of a very important cultural landscape. It is more unfortunate that one day, the petroglyphs will be lost forever. Having these objectives completed, I was able to contribute a fresh perspective on their physical and cultural contexts.

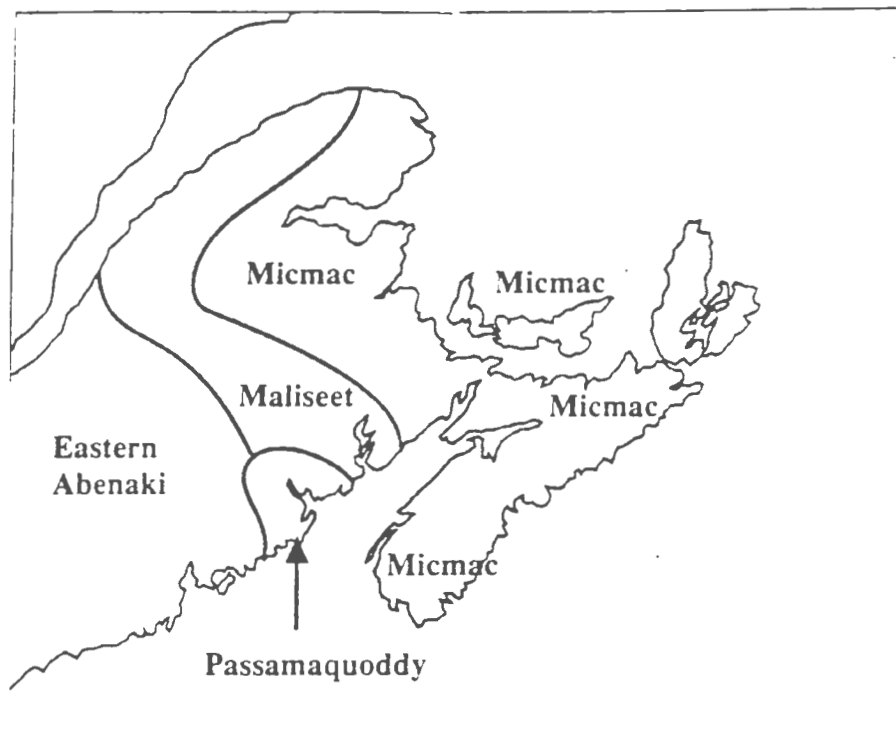


Figure 1: A map showing the distribution of historic tribes in the Maritimes c. 1700 (Davis 1991: 24)

PARC NATIONAL KEJIMKUIK



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Figure 3: A photograph of the main tour site in Keji – FB3d (Parks Canada)

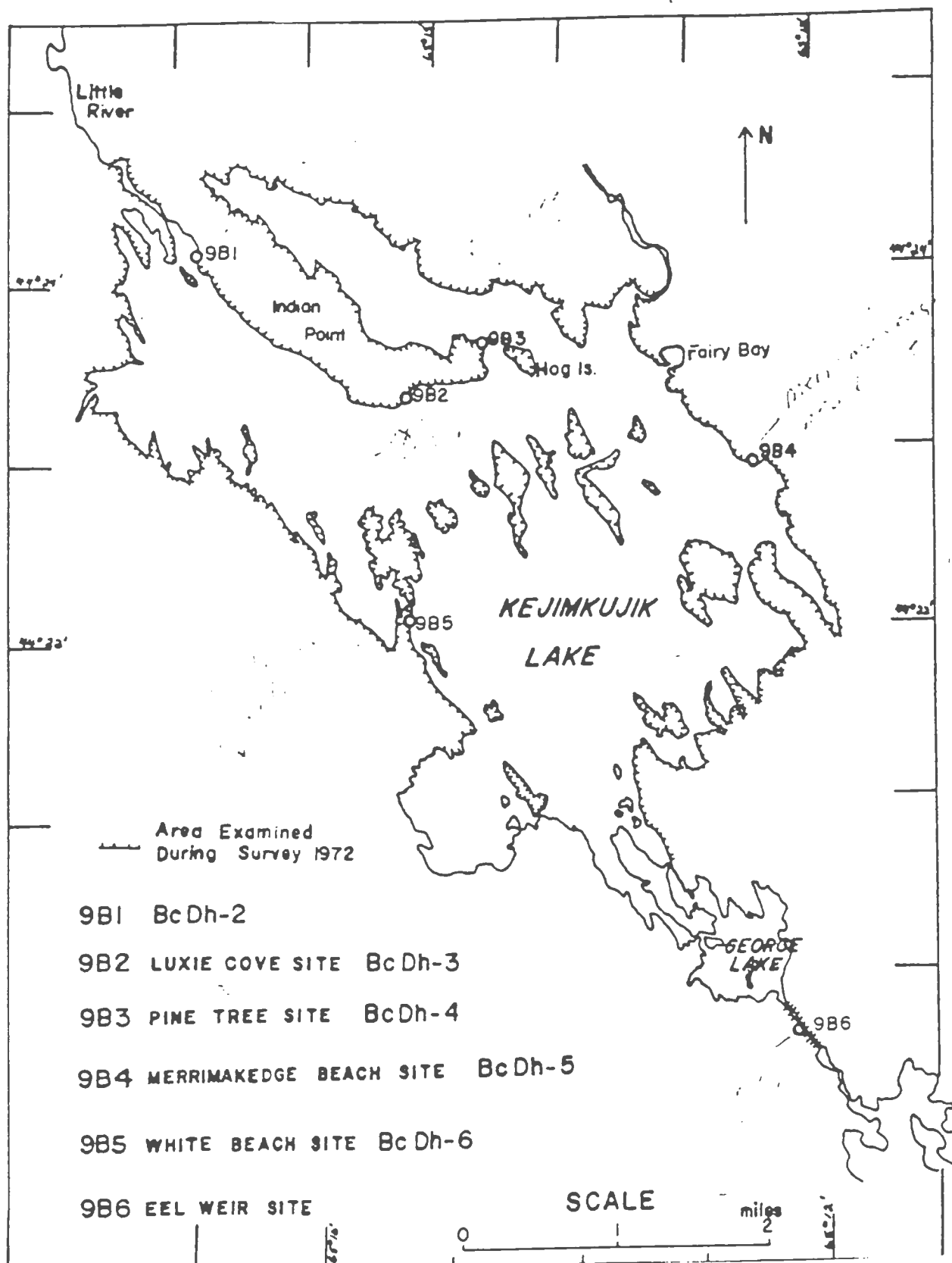


Figure 4: A map showing the number of surveyed aboriginal sites around Kejimikujik Lake (Myers 1972: 91).

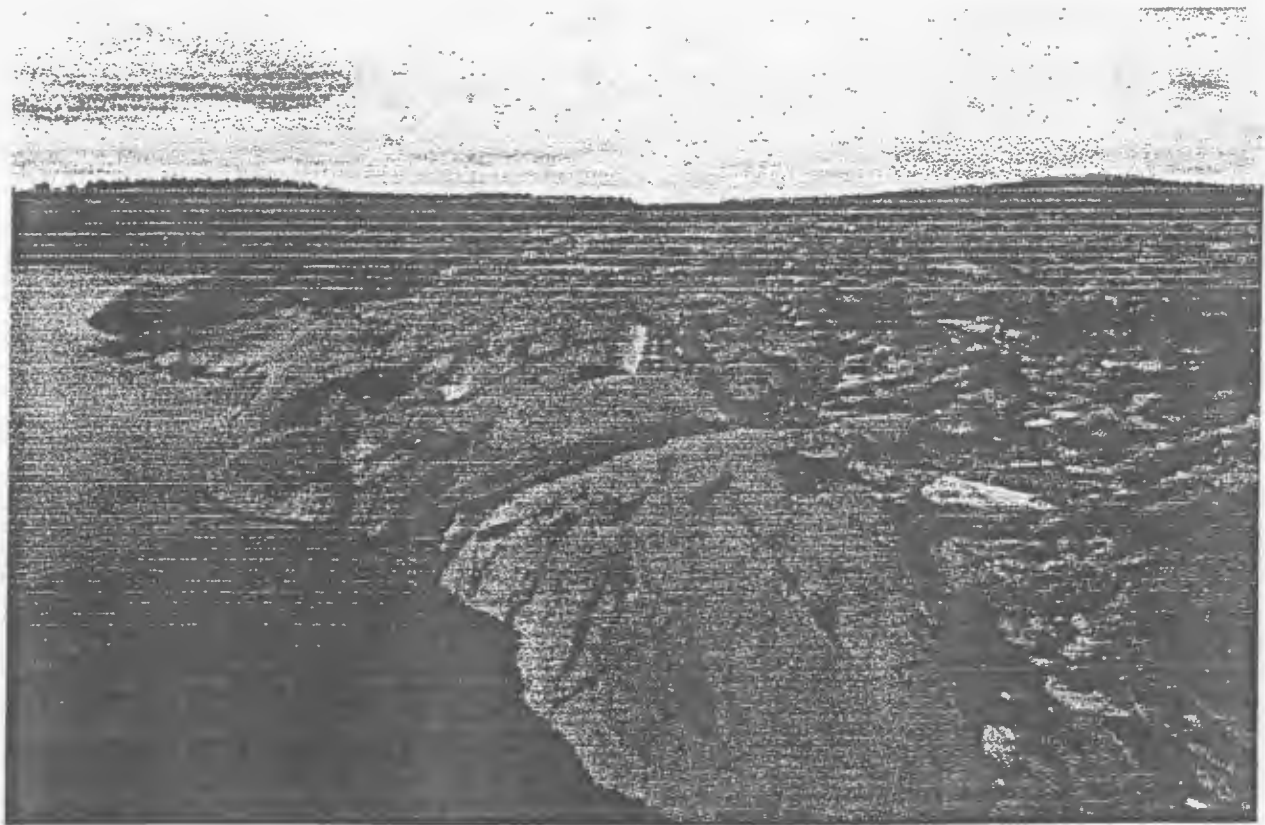


Figure 5: This photograph was taken after McGowan Lake was drained. The petroglyphs are all presently under water (Parks Canada)

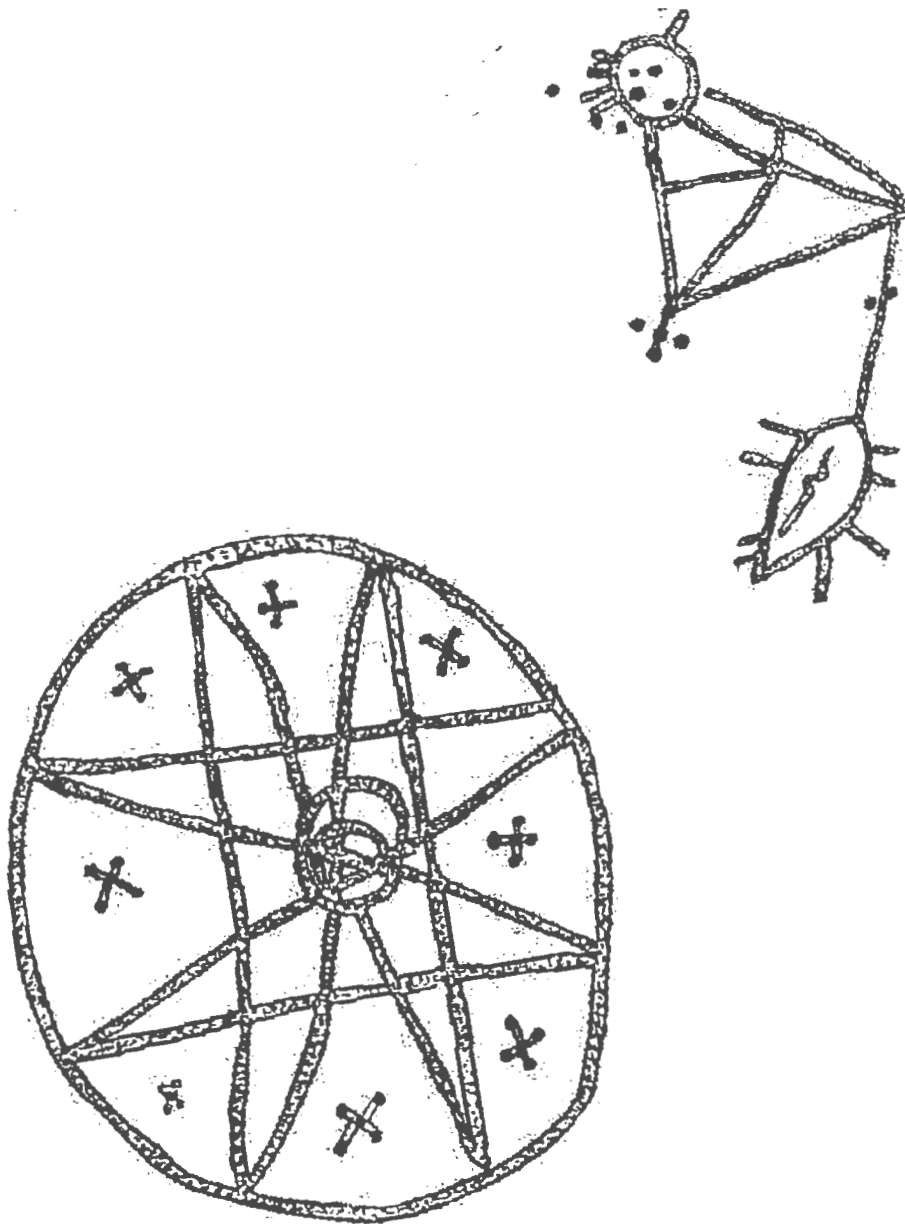
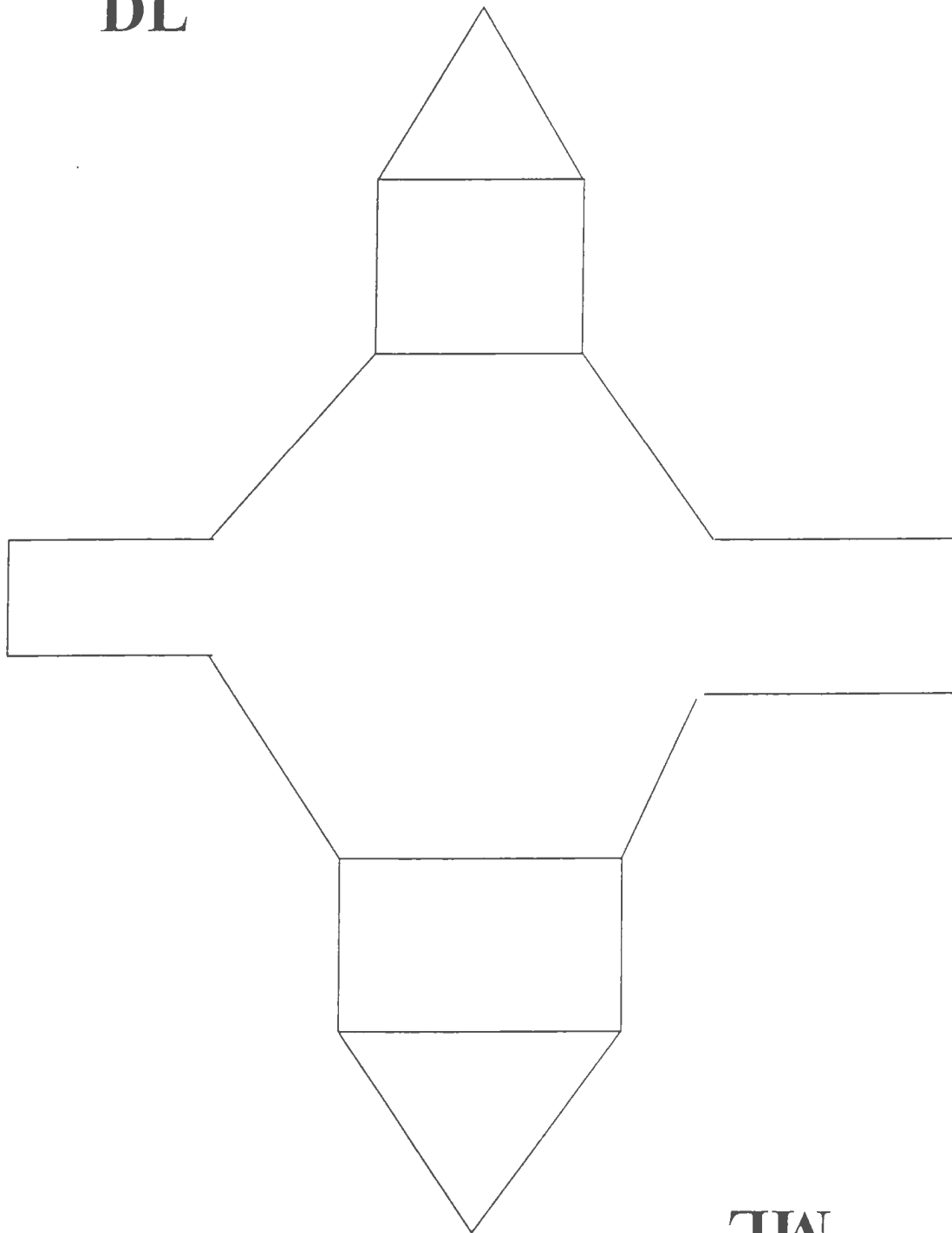


Figure 6: This image is found at the Bedford Barrens site. It is an eight-pointed star. The figure above it is an anthropomorph and vulva (Parks Canada)

DL



ML

Figure 7: A geometric symbol found at the Bedford Barrens site that appears to mirror itself from top to bottom. It is unknown who “DL” and “ML” stand for. (This figure is for demonstration purposes only. It is not to scale).



Figure 8: A photograph of Miller's Mountain where a few petroglyphs are found (Parks Canada)

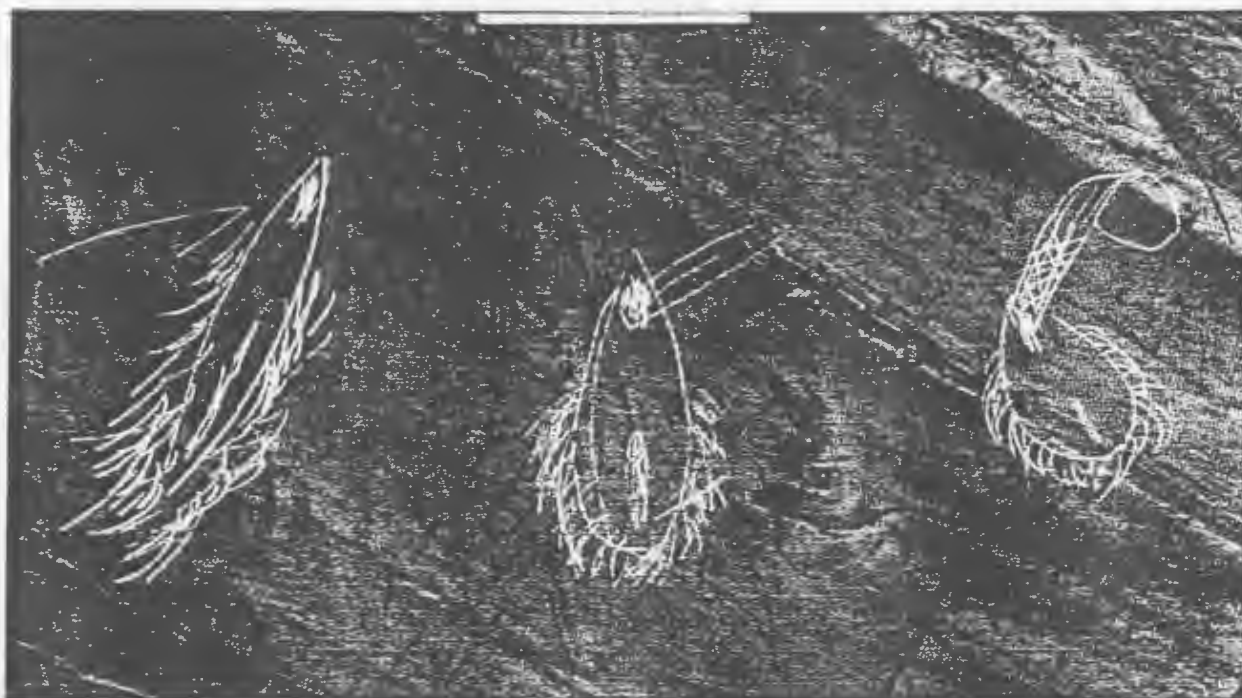


Figure 9: The top image shows a couple carved in Peters Point where the sex organs are emphasized (Parks Canada); The bottom image has been interpreted as sex organs by Robertson (1973).

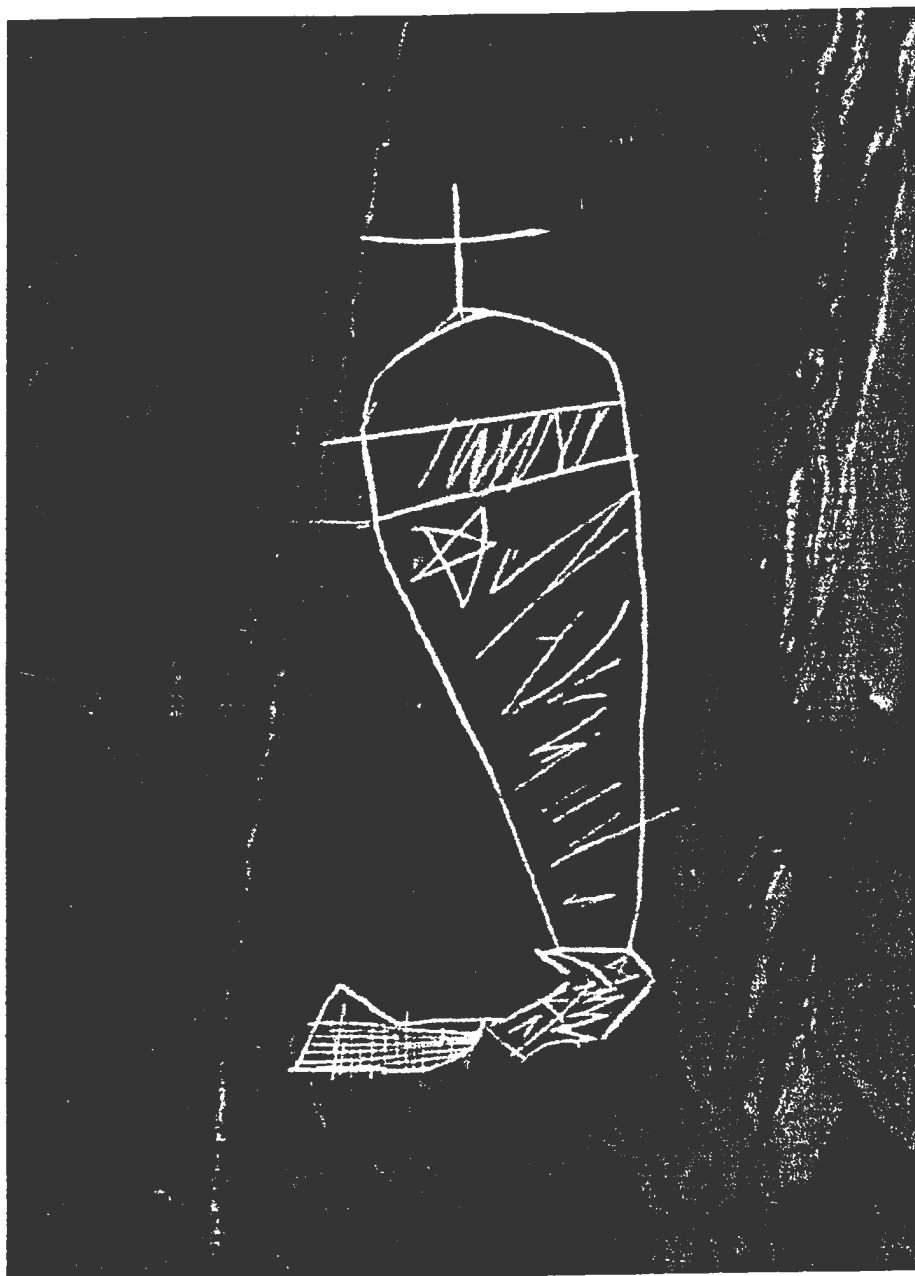


Figure 10: The only cross found in the three most southern petroglyph sites in Keji is found in Mill Bay and looks like a grave marker (Parks Canada)

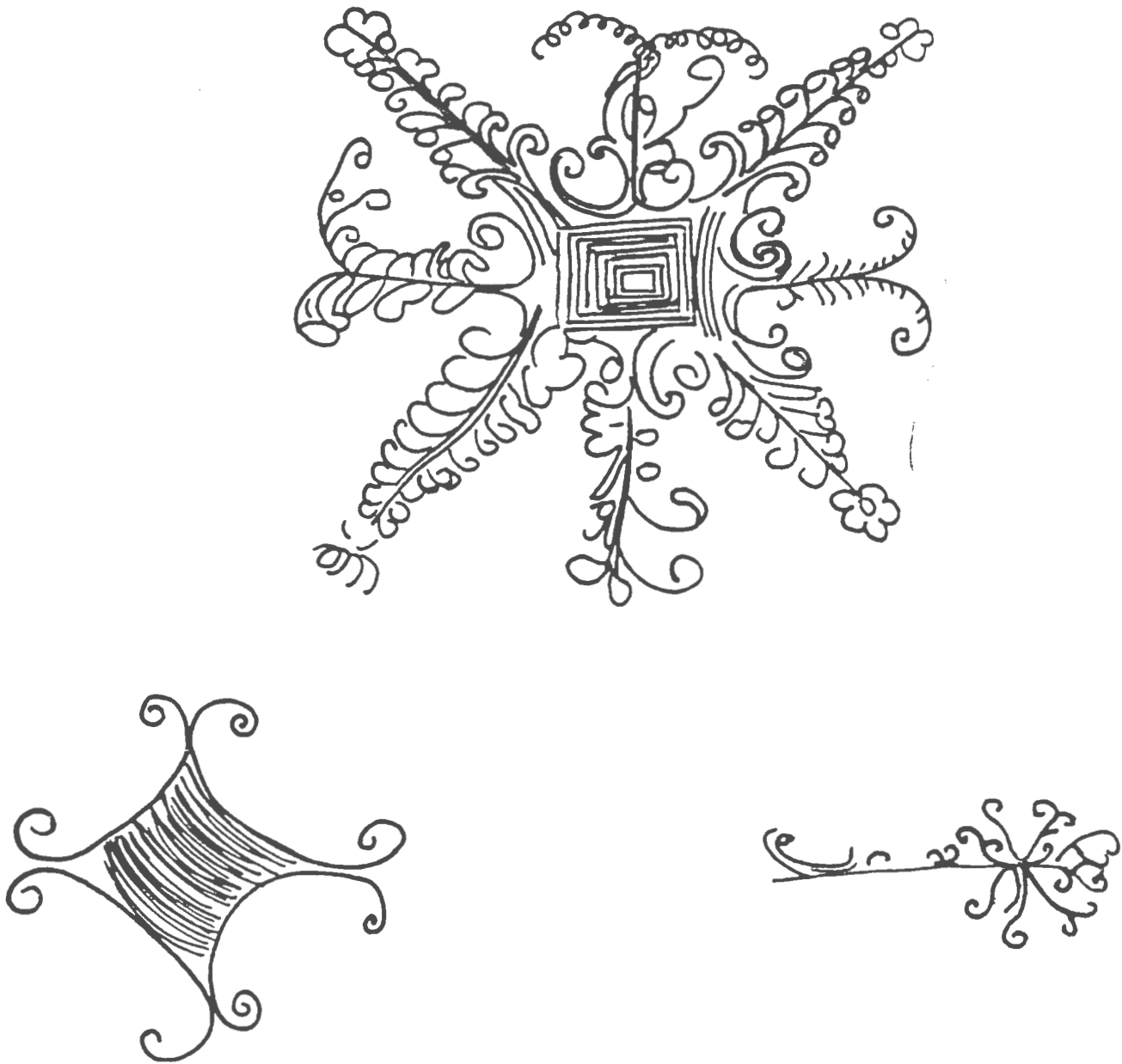


Figure 11: Examples of the double-curve motif (Robertson 1973).



Figure 12: Some of the animals depicted are associated with Mi'kmaq legends. This image is affiliated with the "Legend of the Crane" (Robertson 1973).

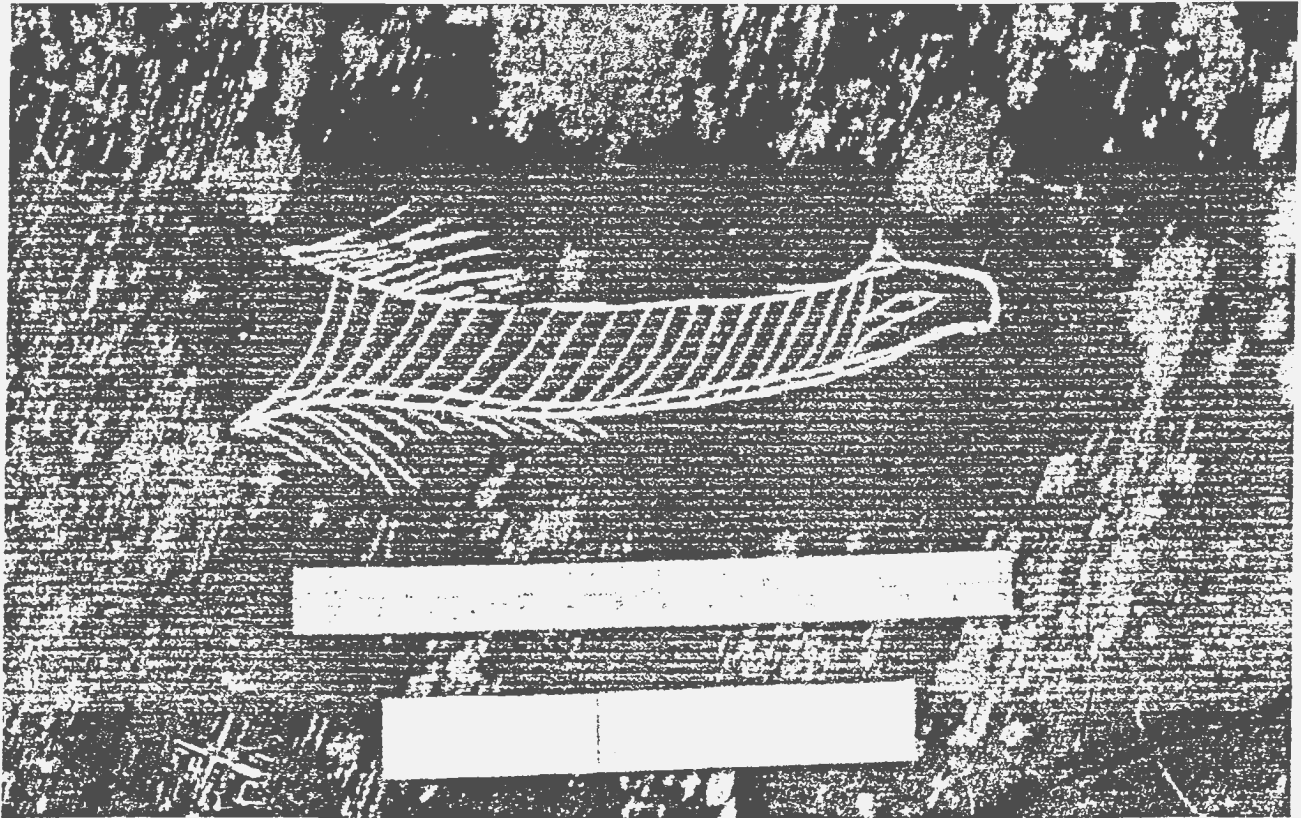


Figure 13: There are a few images meant to represent traditional Mi'kmaq legendary characters including the "Horned Snake" (Parks Canada)

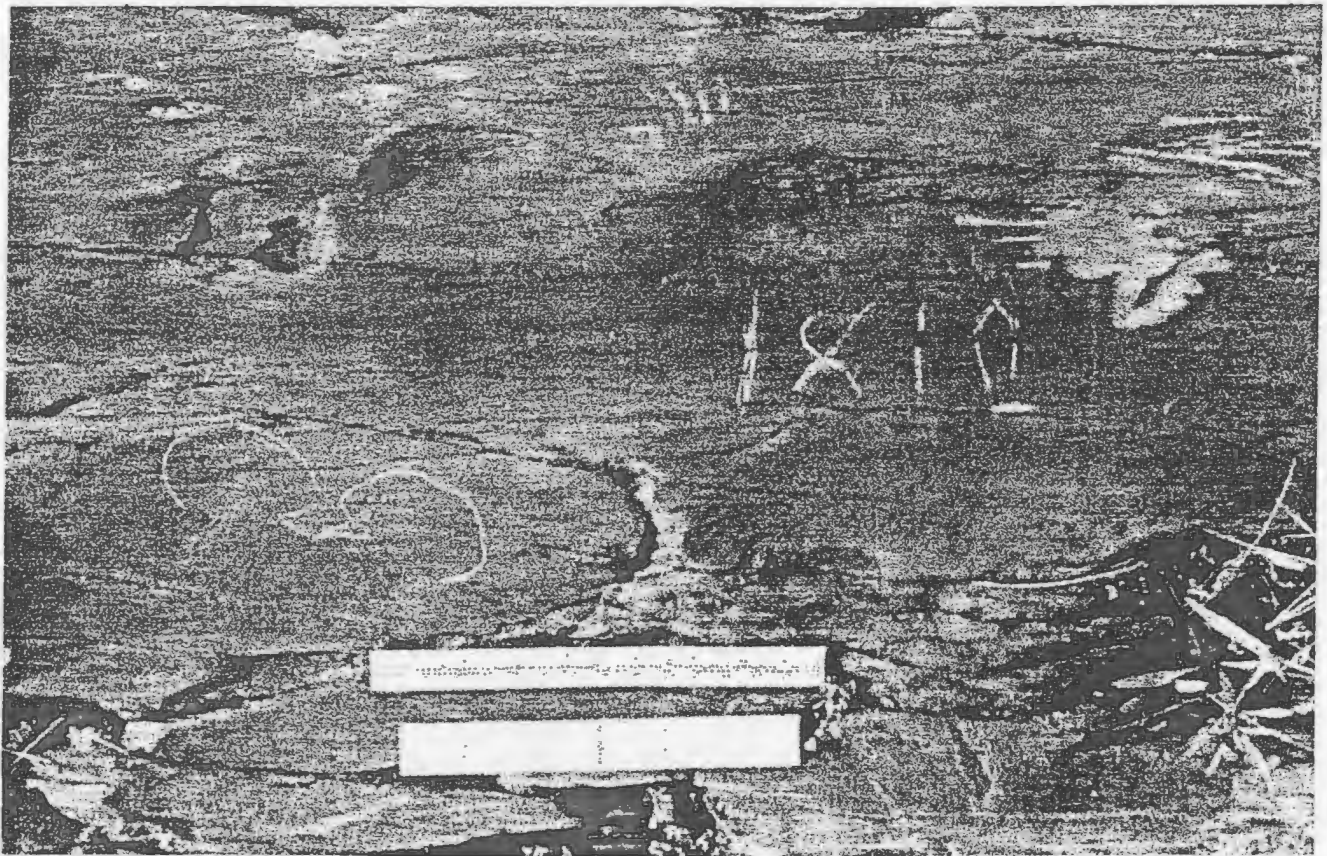


Figure 14: Charlie Labrador has interpreted this image as the “giver of life” (Parks Canada)

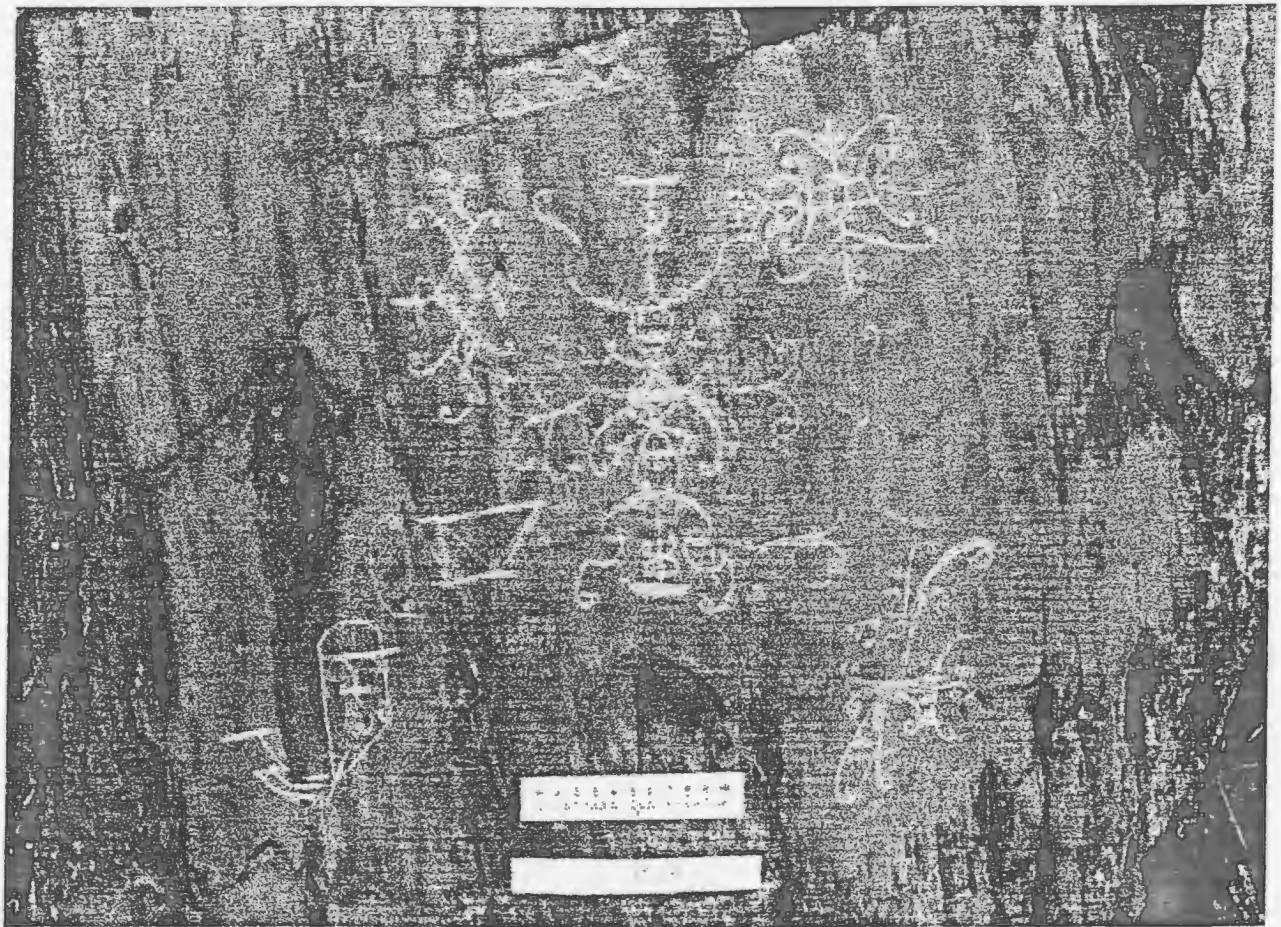


Figure 15: This image is interpreted as the “Mowiomi” by the Mi’kmaq (Parks Canada)

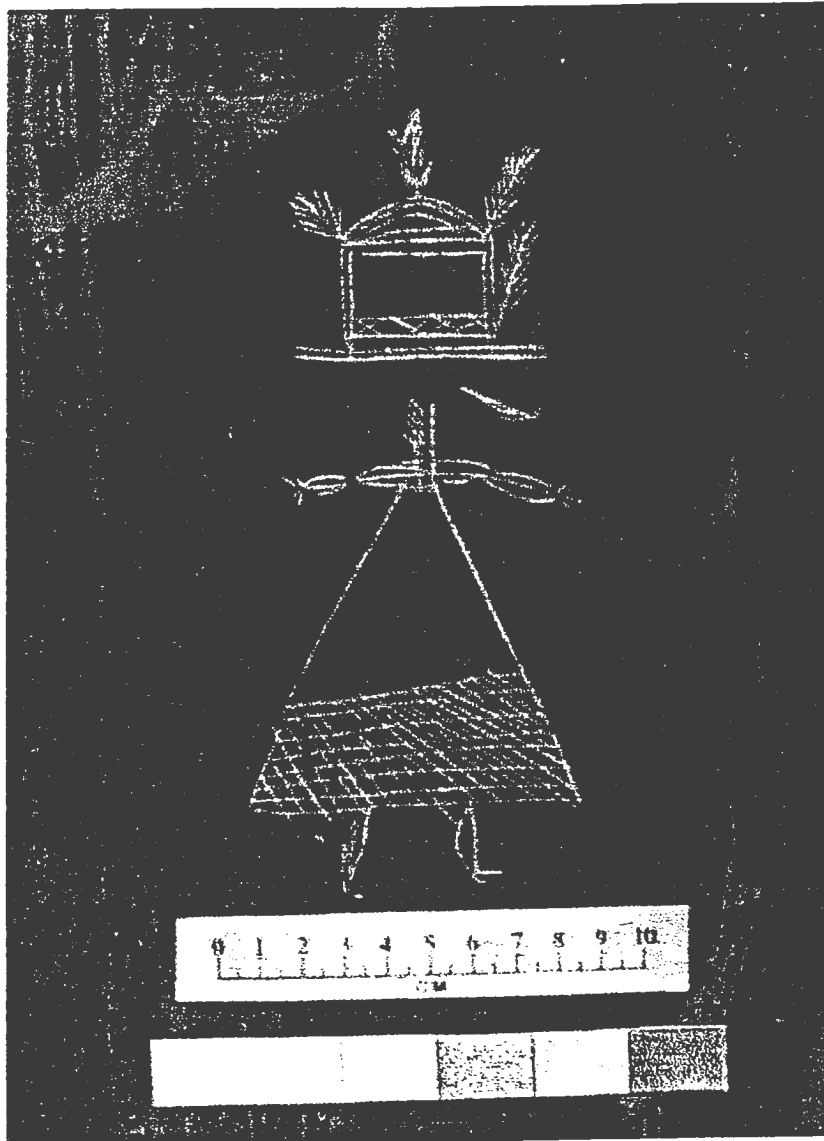


Figure 16: This figure has been interpreted as a Medicine Man (Parks Canada)

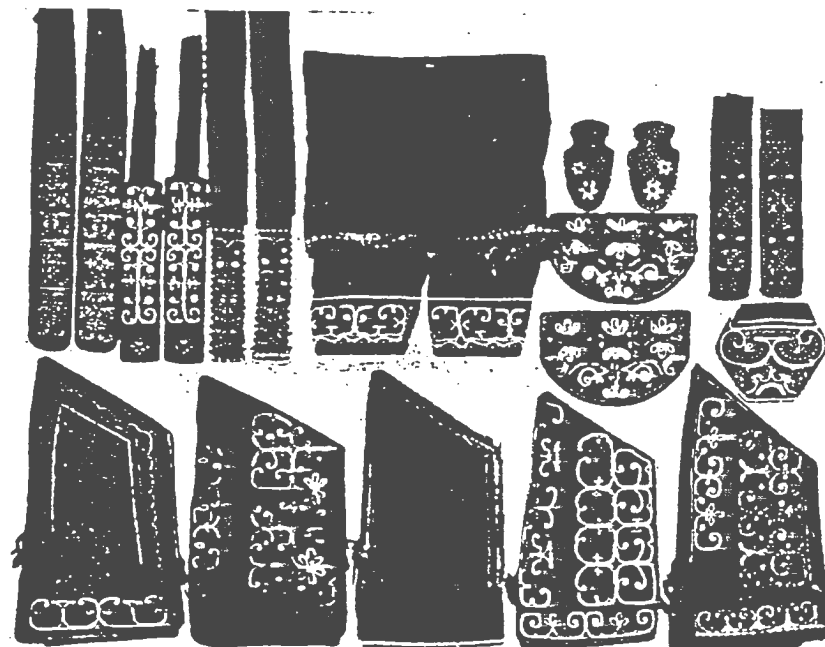


Figure 17: The Mi'kmaq often used the double-curve motif when decorating their clothing and various other material culture (Wallis and Wallis 1955: 49).

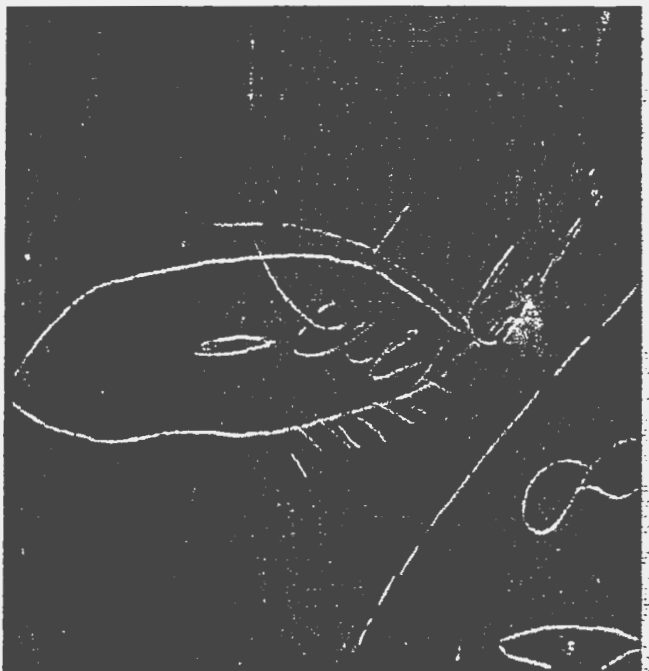
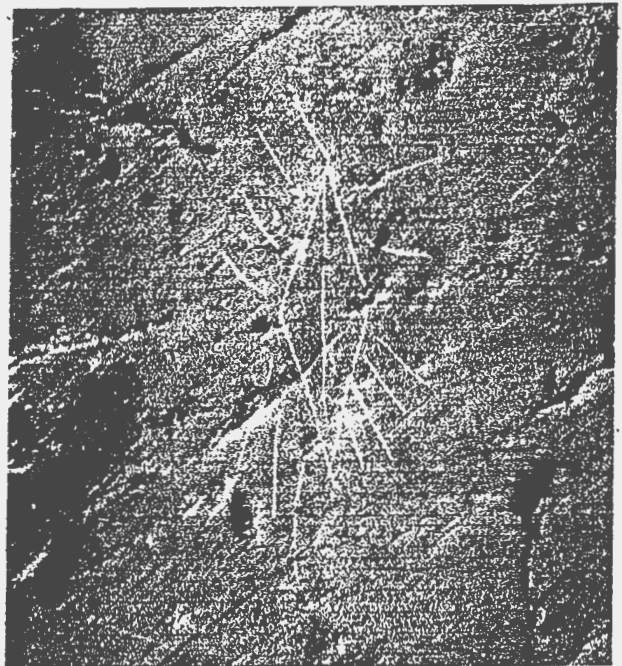
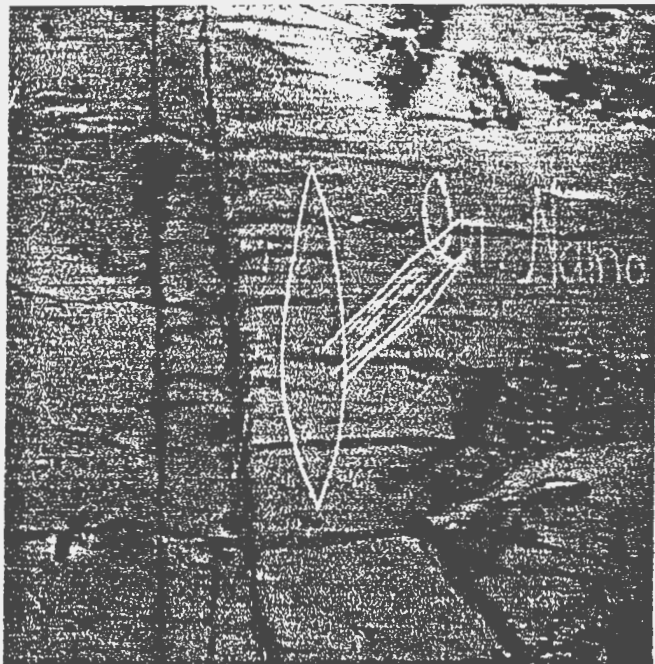


Figure 18: Other possible sexual images?

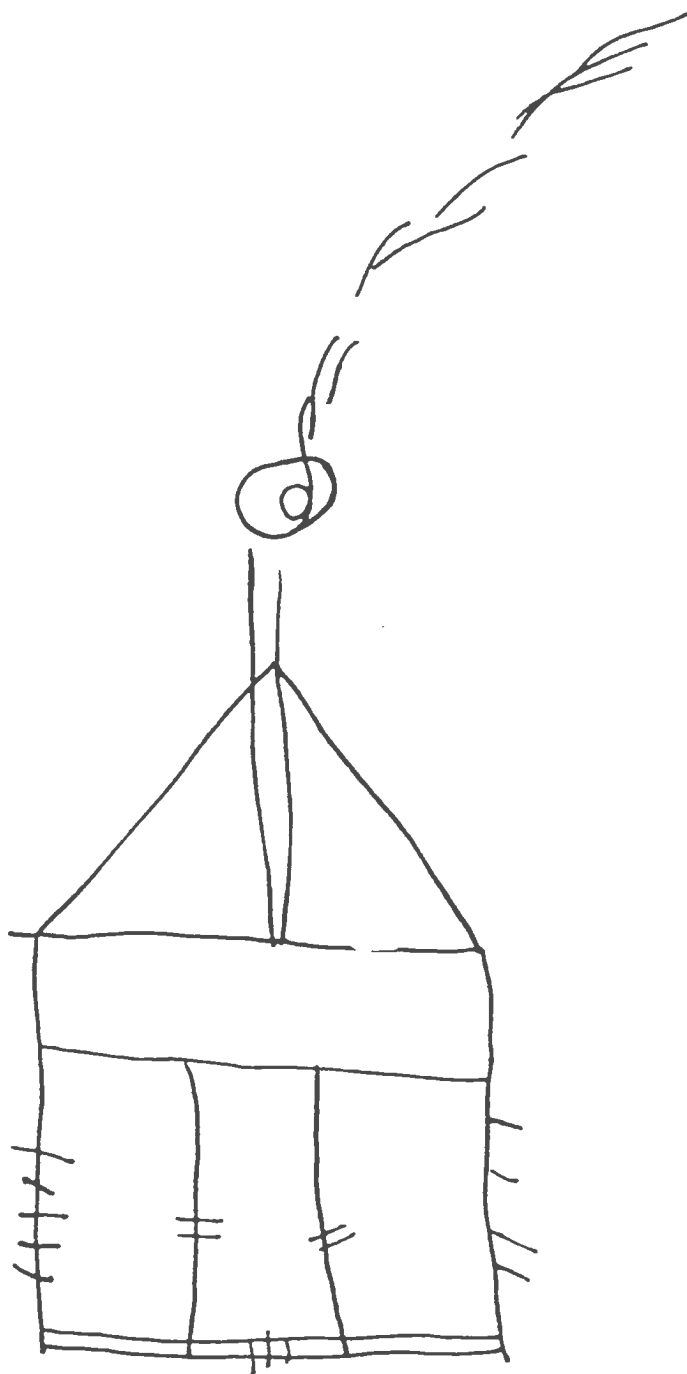
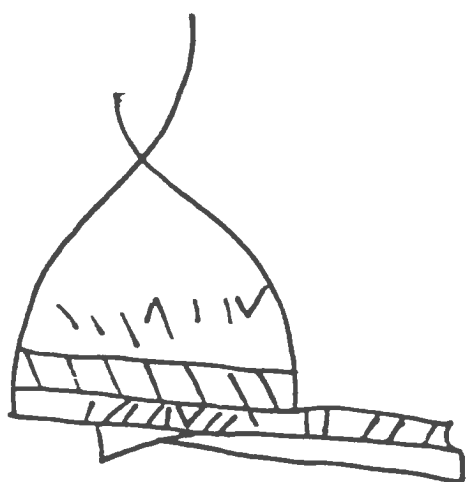


Figure 19: Common representations of Mi'kmaq lodges and houses (Robertson 1973)

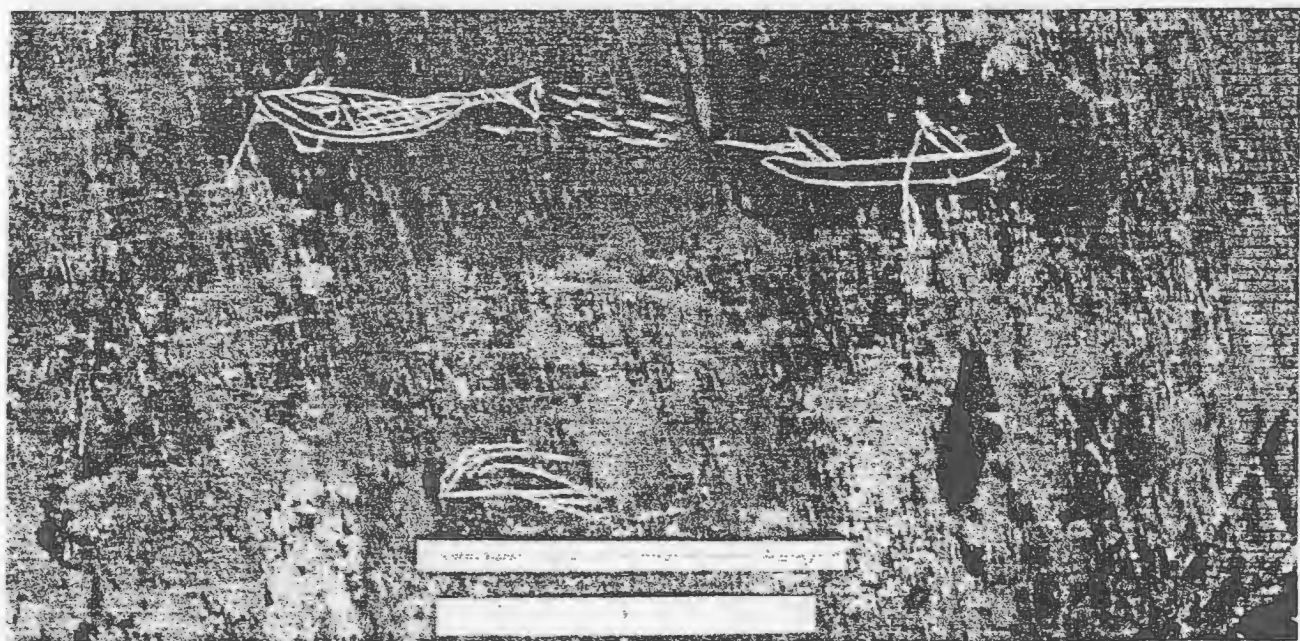
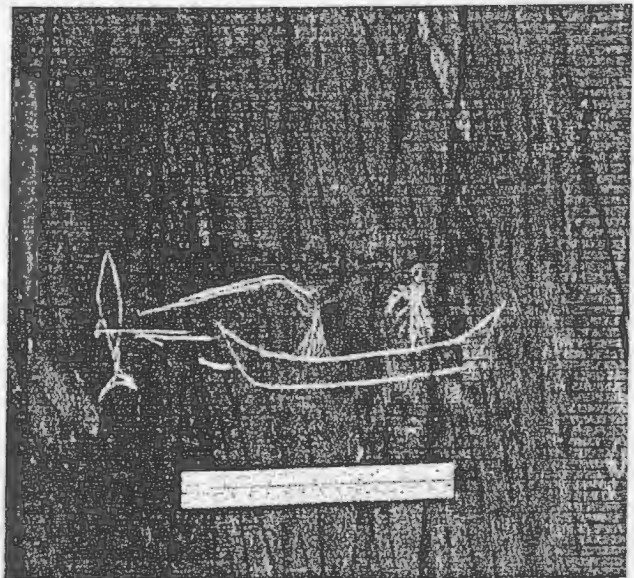
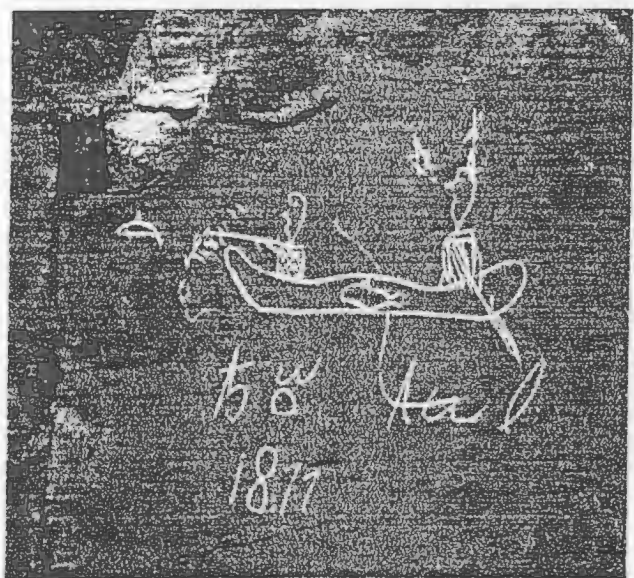


Figure 20: These are various porpoise hunting scenes (Parks Canada)

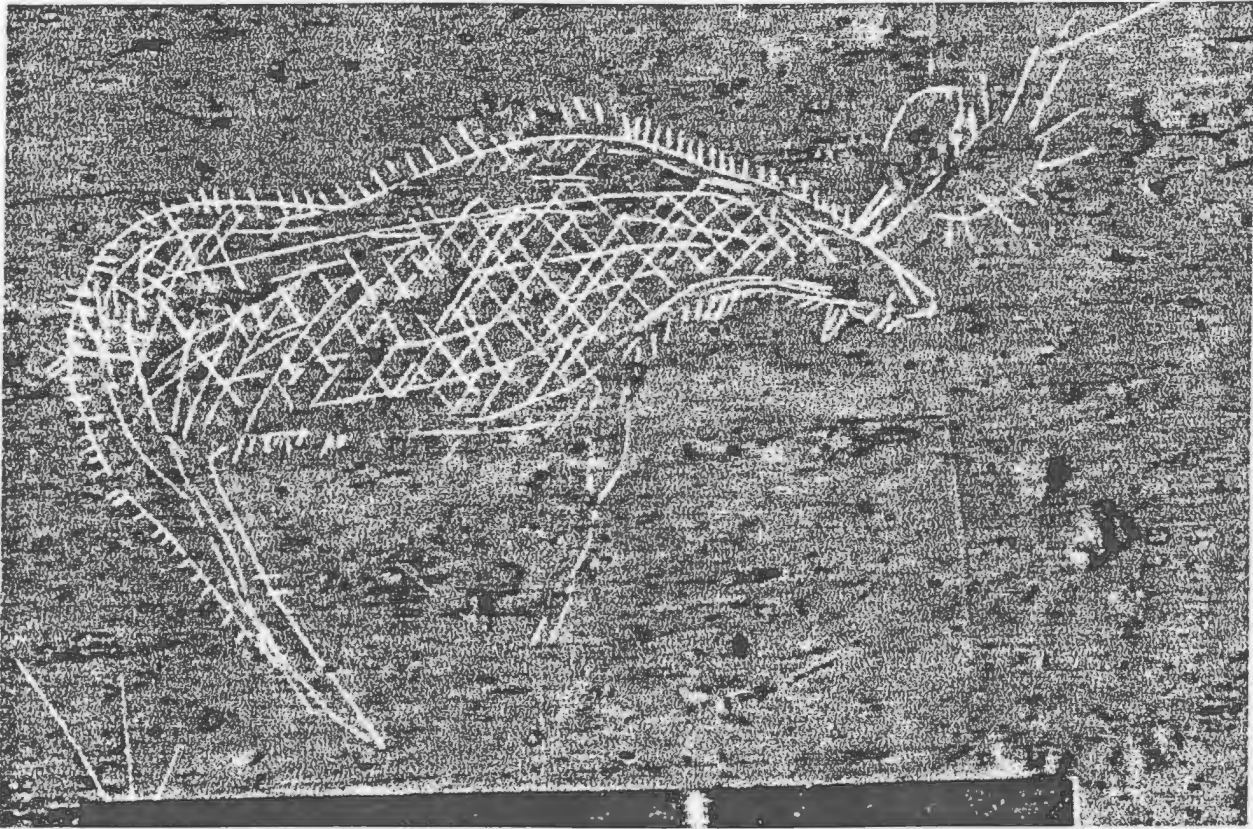


Figure 21: The moose is among the most common animals carved at Keji (Parks Canada)

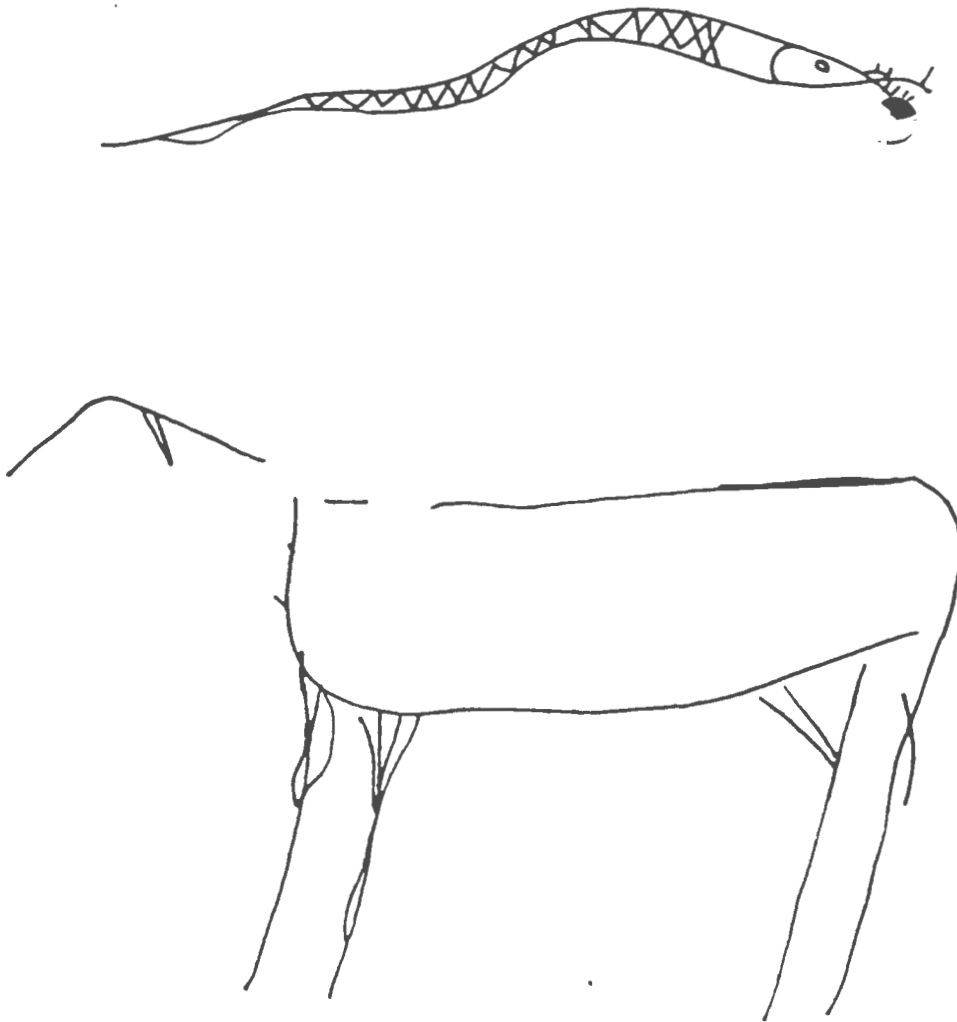


Figure 22: The top image is a snake; The bottom image is a horse (Robertson 1973).

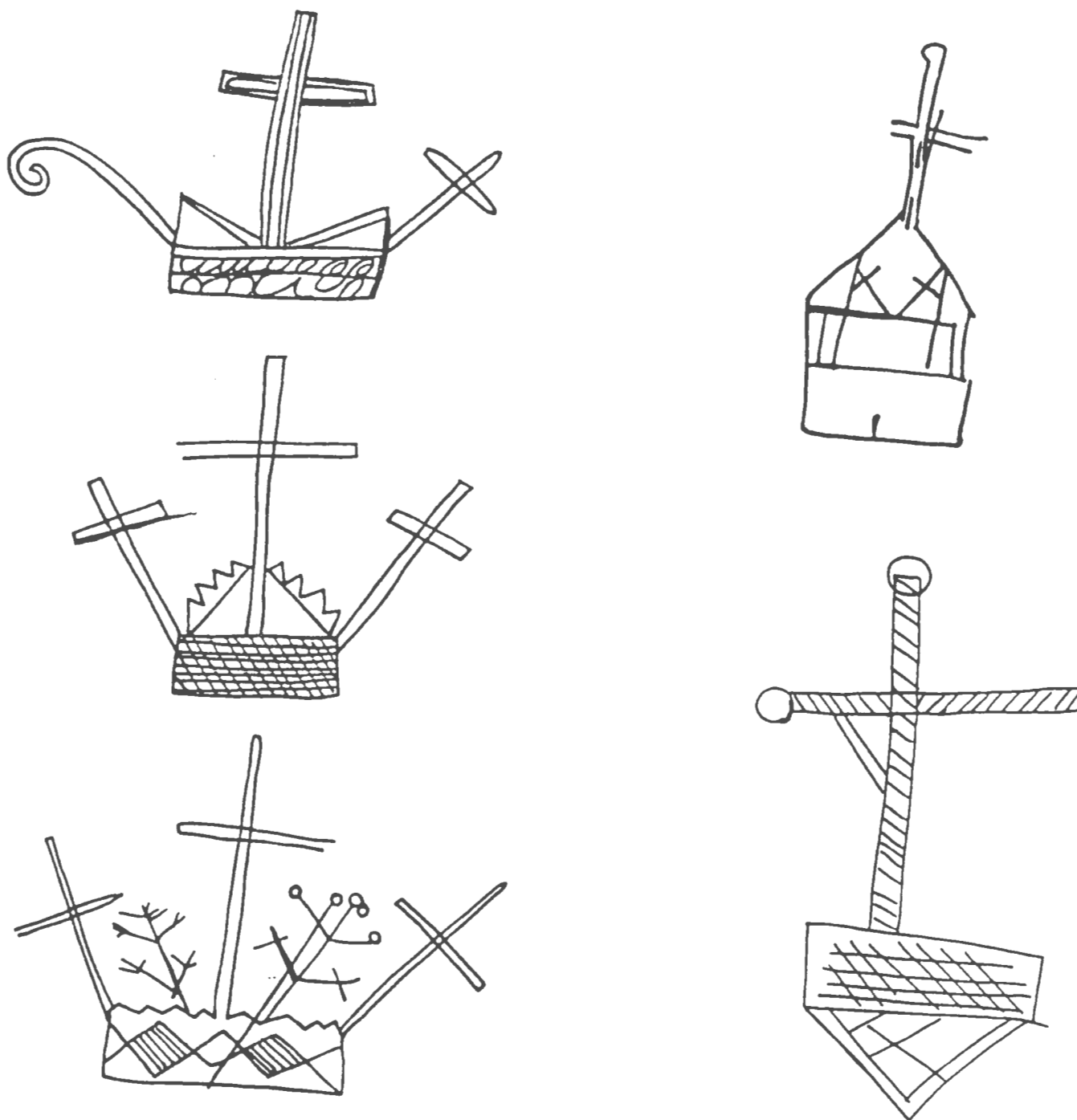


Figure 23: Representations of the New Faith (Robertson 1973).

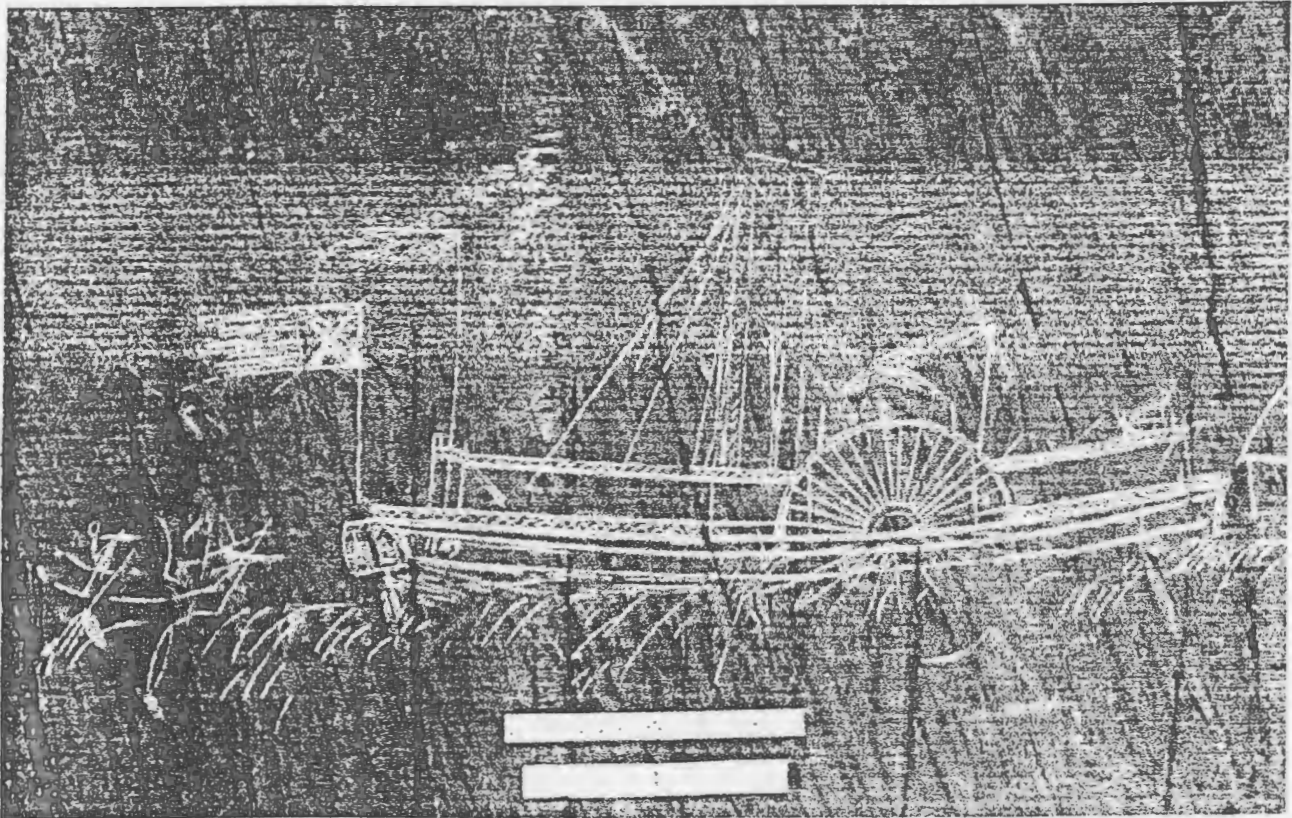


Figure 24: A great number of ships were carved around Keji but this is the only side-wheeler (Parks Canada).

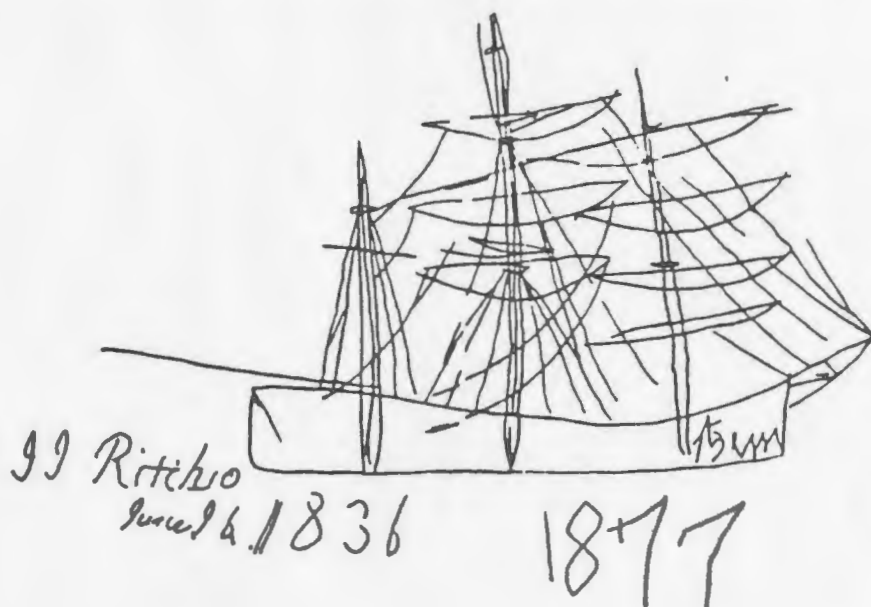
Alvin Shallen
May 16 1708

Ag 1036 years

Figure 25: The oldest date found in Keji is from FB2d (Parks Canada).



15.11
 15.11.1877
 1877



BLT
 FLIER
 1877

Model No. 1877

Figure 26: The year 1877 occurs a number of times throughout Fairy Bay. It is found with ships, names or in isolation (top - Parks Canada; bottom - Robertson 1973).



Figure 27: The star on this individual's chest could represent a badge or the individual could represent a missionary (Parks Canada)

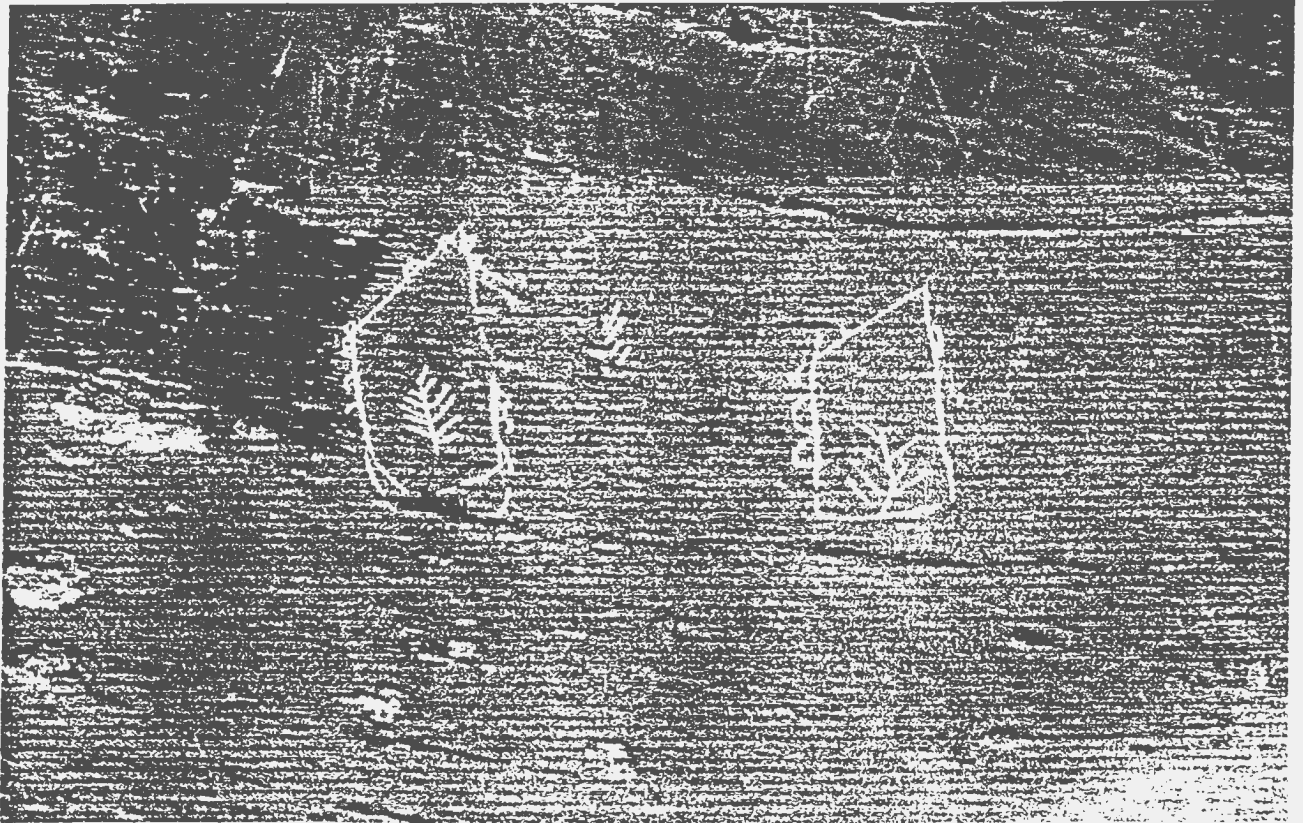


Figure 28: These peaked caps are the smallest caps carved. They are about the size of a dime (Parks Canada)

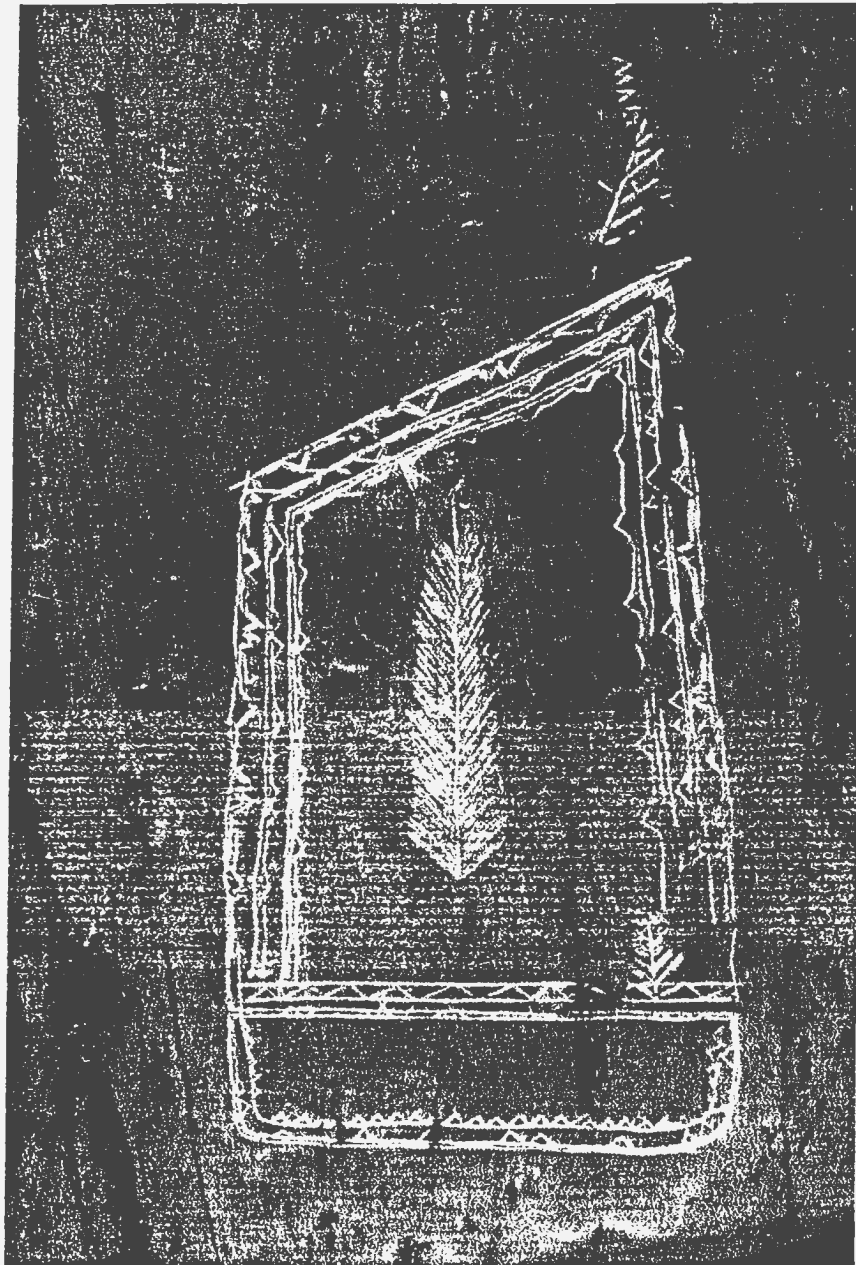


Figure 29: This peaked cap is the largest peaked cap carved in Keji (Parks Canada).

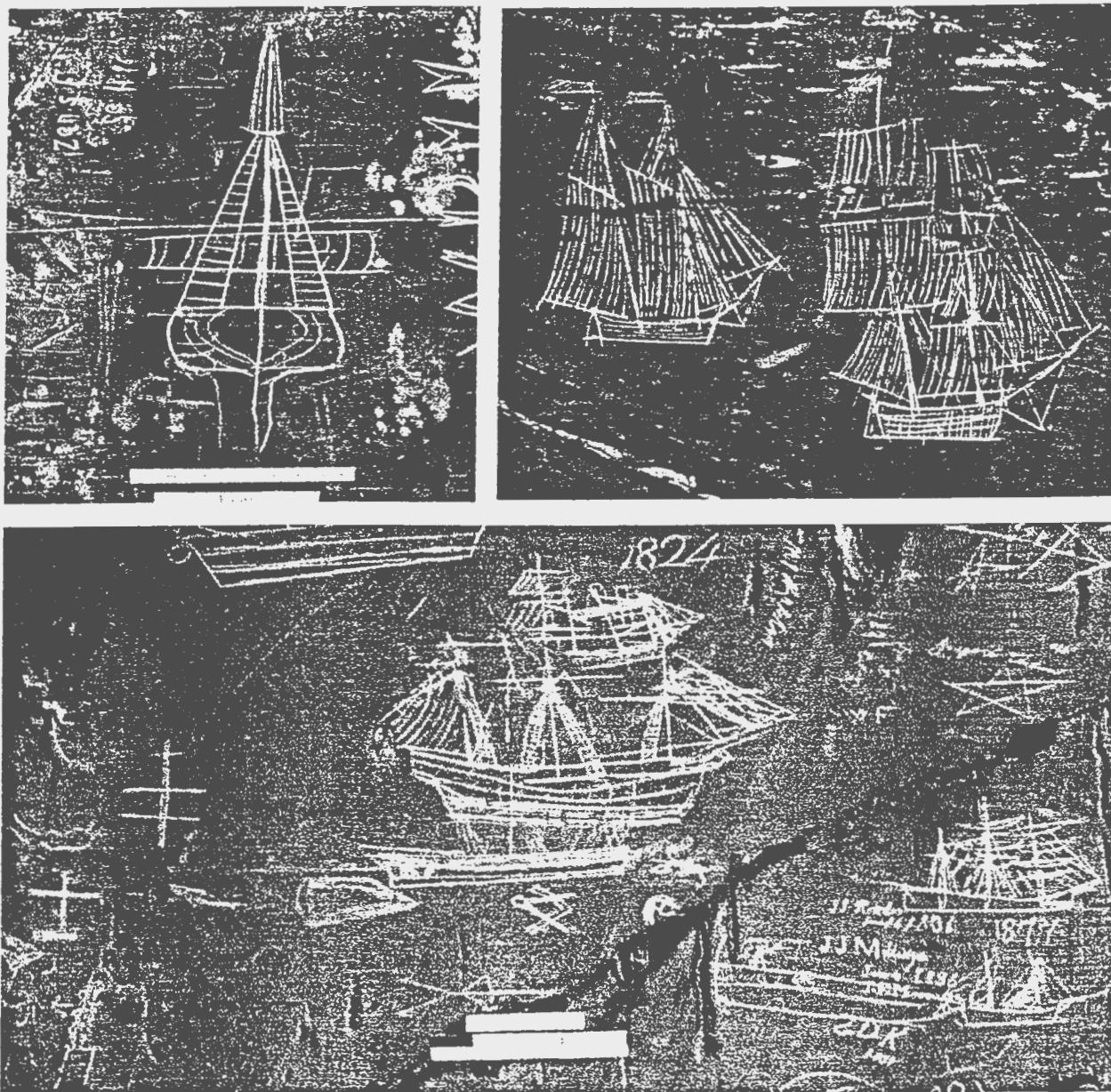


Figure 30: Sailing vessels were commonly depicted throughout Keji (Parks Canada).

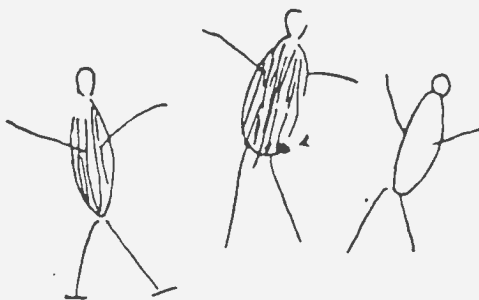
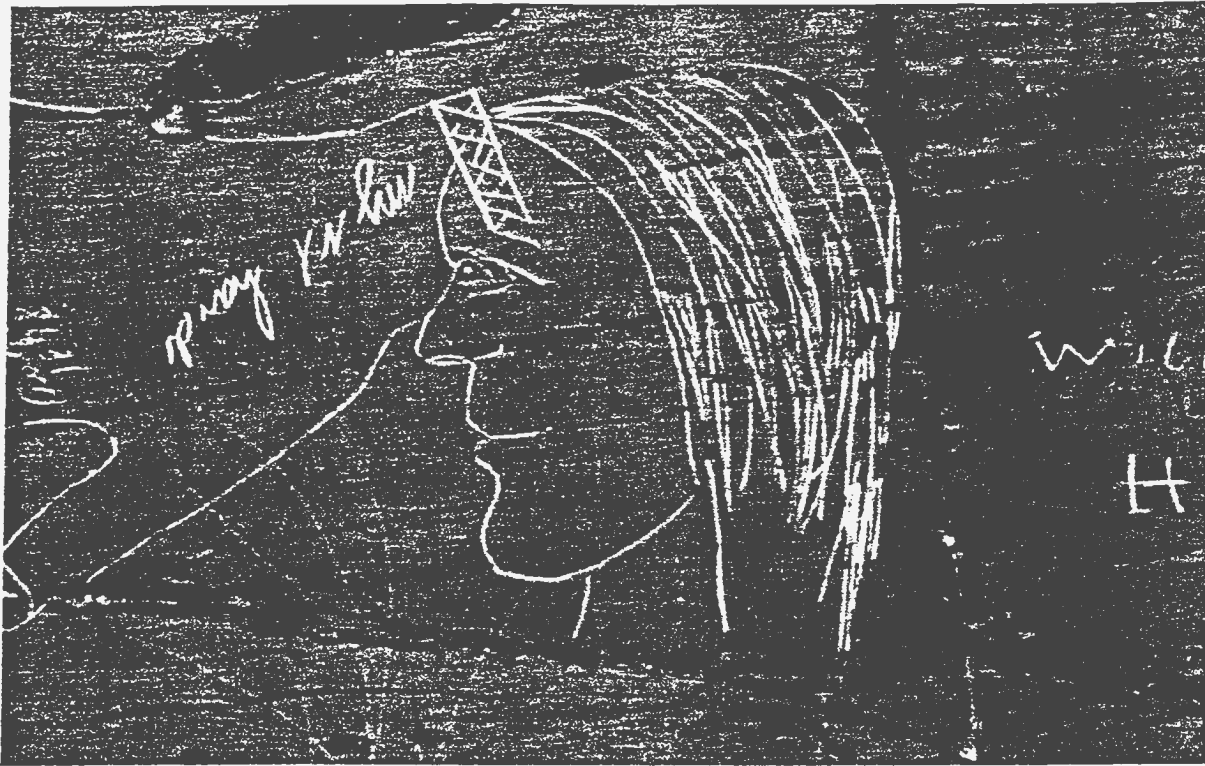


Figure 31: Representations of the human figure. They range from profiles to figures in traditional dress (The top image is from Parks Canada; the bottom two images are from Robertson 1973).

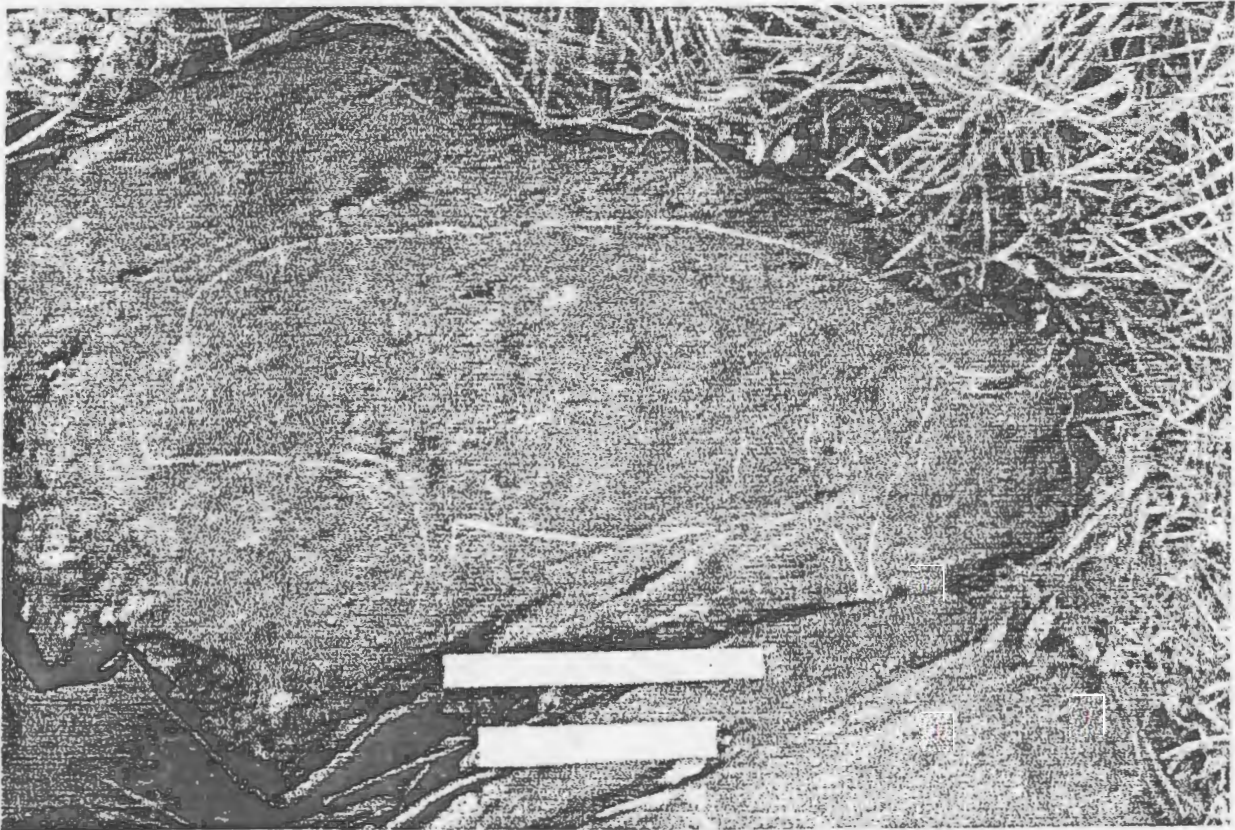


Figure 32: There are a number of animals depicted in Keji including this pig (Parks Canada)



Figure 33: Among the animals carved in Keji is the caribou which went extinct in the area in 1924 (Parks Canada)

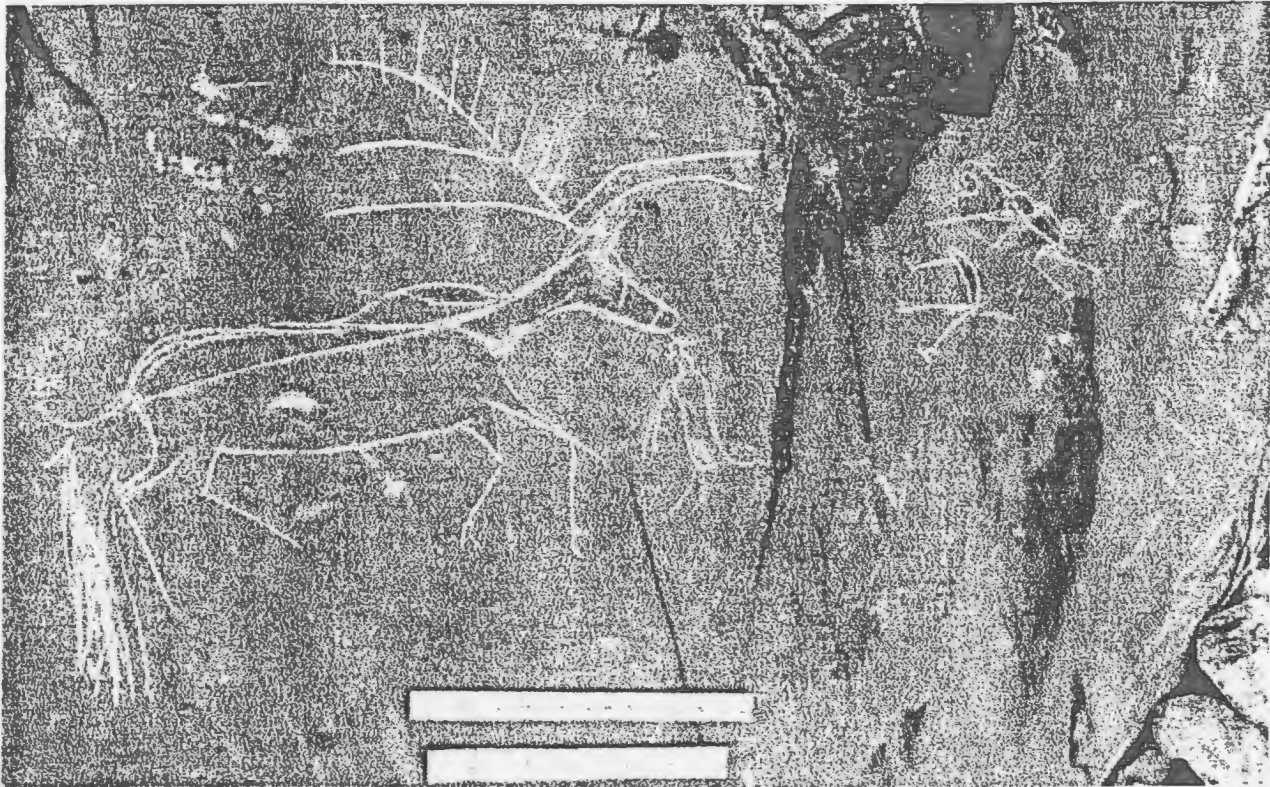


Figure 34: The first image has been interpreted as a preying mantis by Robertson (1973). Had the image been viewed in context, it would be apparent that it is actually a hunter, with a gun and a dog aiming at a moose (Parks Canada)

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




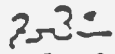
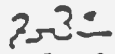

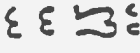





OCTOBER, 1861

[No. 10.]

General Department.

MIKMAQ OR RECOLLECT HIEROGLYPHICS.

THE OUR FATHER.

								
Nutshinan wasoh	abin	techiptuk	delwinin	mekidemet, wasoh	n'lelidanen, techiptuk			
Our Father	light	thou art sitting	may	as thou art named	honored, heaven	that we go,	may.	
								
igenamutuk	ala	namutuk	ulolusenon,	nadel	wasoh	ritik	deli skedak,	
us give	there	we see thee	we will be happy,	there	heaven	they are	as they obey thee,	
								
techiptuk	ap	ninen	deli skedulek,	magamitek	rimuk	delamugubenik		
may	also	we	so we obey thee,	earth	we are	the same food		
								
meimutuk,	apuk	nigutuk	kiskuk	delamutuk	pangunamun	nunul		
as thou hast given,	again	now	to-day	the same food	to us let come	for our nourishment		
								
deli abitrikatuk	magainamelenik,	ap	hi	Nikam	deli abitrikatuk	durulluk,		
as we pardon	who have been angry with us,	also	thou	Great Spirit	thou us pardon	sinner,		
								
mekonin	mutuk	wiradiz	su	Uligalin,	kwitukamuk	wiradiz		
us strengthen	never again	bad things	not	we are brought,	evils	bad		
								
kefuk	tuatukin	n' deliutuk						
of every kind	remove from us	that is true						

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From John Shea 1861 "Mi'kmaq or Recollect Hieroglyphics."

Figure 35: The traditional Mi'kmaq often used hieroglyphics instead of the written word. Although "The Our Father" has not been found at Keji, some of these symbols (like the star) do show up on the rocks (The Historical Magazine)

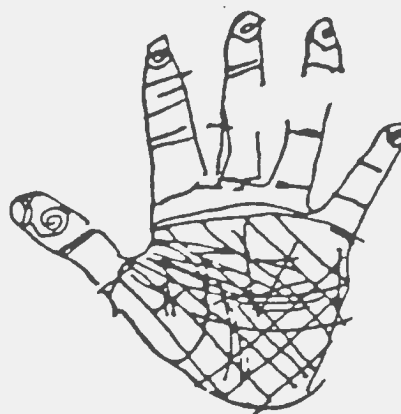
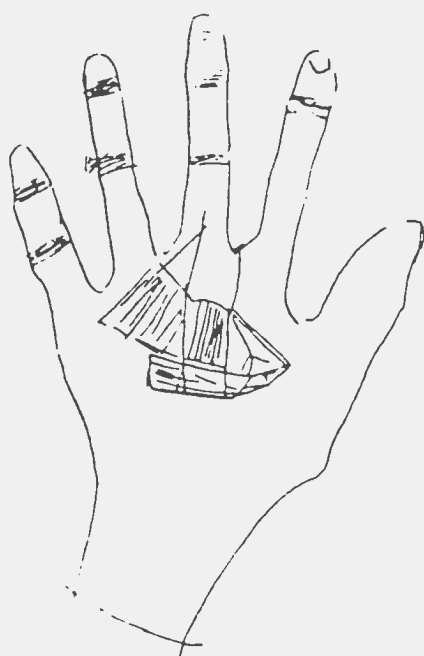
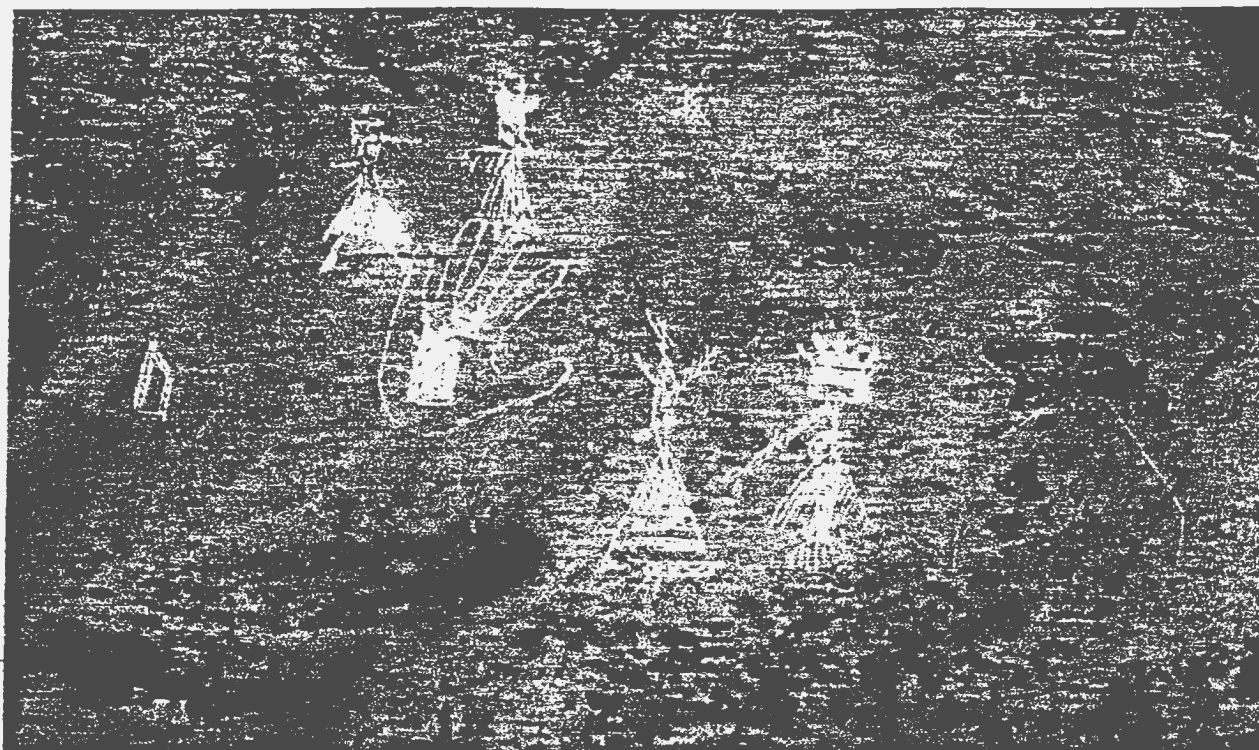


Figure 36: Some of the handprints in Keji seem to tell a story (Top – Parks Canada; Bottom – Robertson 1973)

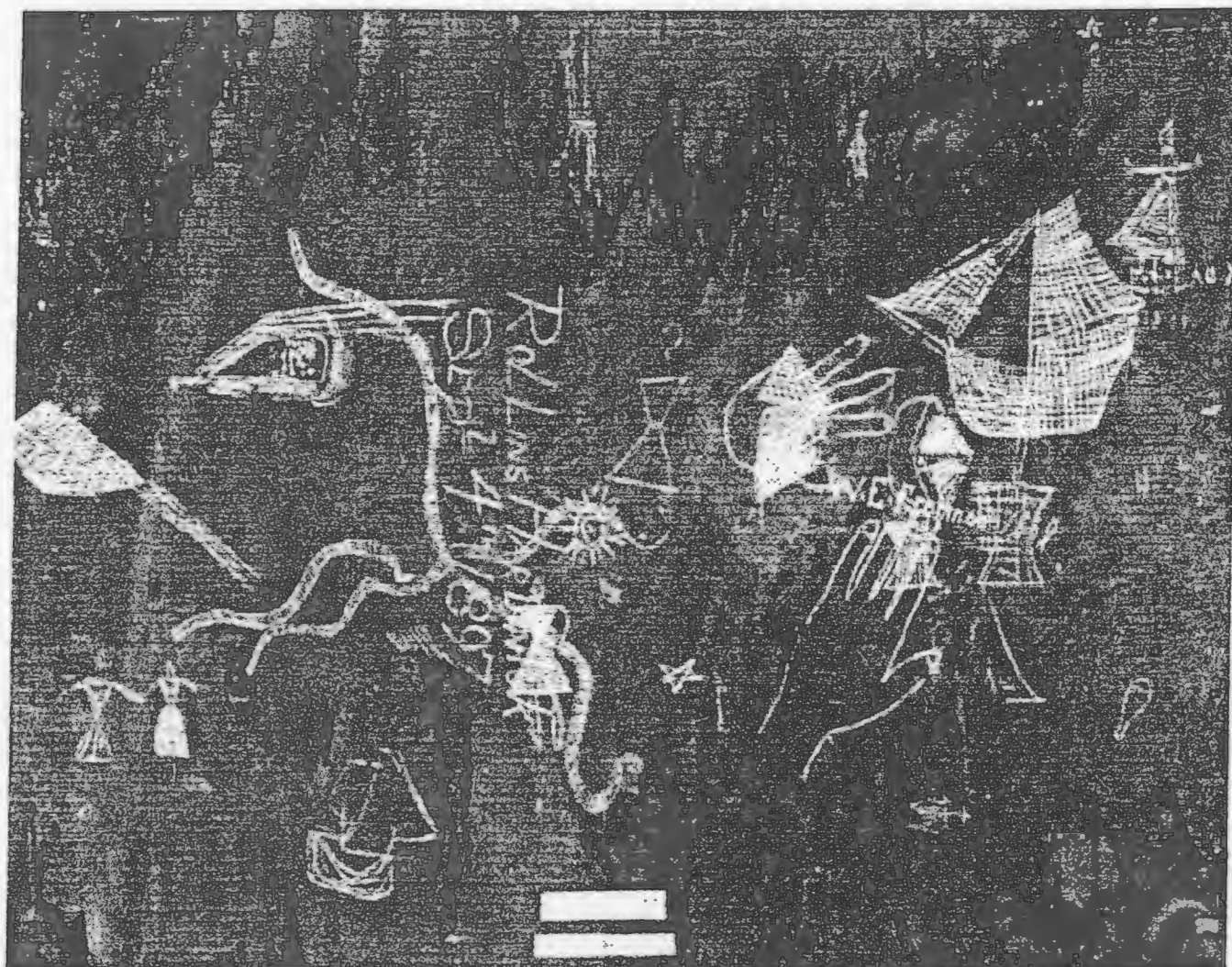


Figure 37: The most interesting image of a hand comes from FB2b. He hand had the last digit missing which is thought to signify a lost husband (Parks Canada)

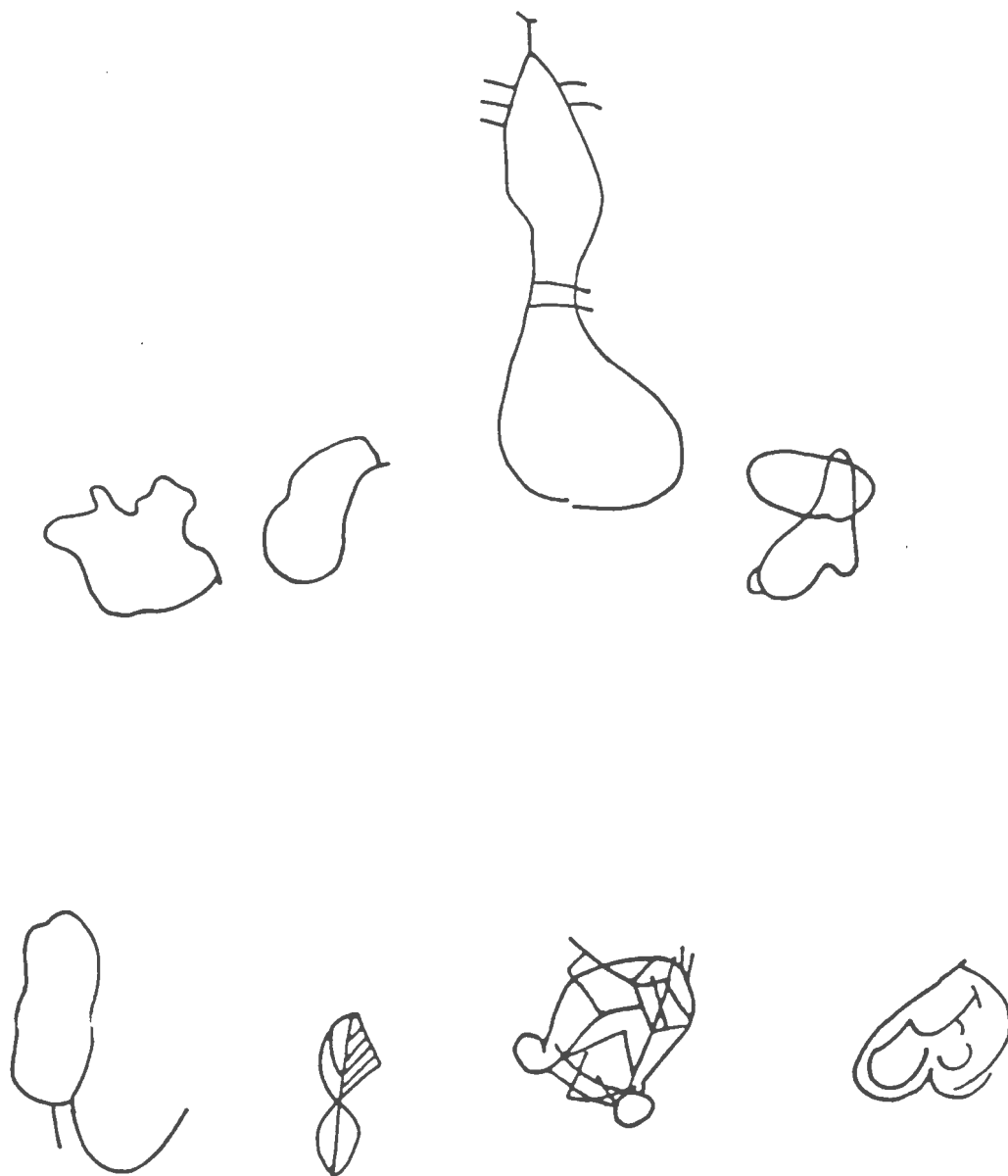


Figure 38: Selections of images are deemed miscellaneous (Robertson 1973).

Table 1: A table depicting George Creed's classification of his 1888 recordings and the results of the direct comparison

Class	General Description	Number of Images Creed Recorded	Number of Images Identified	Percentage of Comparison (%)
A	Enclosed designs, rectangular form	22	9	41
B	Enclosed designs, other forms	9	4	44
C	Sailing vessels	40	33	83
D	Canoes	13	7	54
E	Human figures	45	24	53
F	Animals, birds, snakes	31	18	58
G	Decorative designs	25	13	52
H	Parts of plants	9	2	22
I	Writing hieroglyphics	22	14	64
J	Roman crosses	6	5	83
K	Parts of human figure	11	9	82
L	Nondescript & unclassified	23	8	35
M	Nondescript & unclassified	29	3	10
N	Nondescript & unclassified	45	20	44
Q	Curious	4	3	75
TOTALS		334	172	52

Table 2: A direct comparison of peaked caps from 1888 to the present.

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of Peaked Caps	Creed's Number	Description
FB1	9B41-83-D33	2		2 smallest caps, the size of dimes
FB2a	9B41-89-D6	1		Questionable
FB2a	9B41-89-D10	1		
FB2a	9B41-89-D14	1		
FB2a	9B41-89-D19	1		
FB2a	9B41-89-D21	1	A2	
FB2a	9B41-89-D23	1	A20	
FB2a	9B41-89-D26	6	A9	
FB2a	9B41-89-D27	1		
FB2a/b	9B41-89-D41	2		Within "Mowiomi"
FB2a/b	9B41-89-D48	2	A18	
FB2c	NONE			
FB2d	NONE			
FB2f	NONE			
FB3d	9B41-83-D19	1	A22	Largest cap found at main tour site
Mill Bay	9B41-89-D19 to D22	1	A19	

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of Peaked Caps	Creed's Number	Description
Peter Point	9B44-81-D23	1	A6	
Peter Point	9B44-83-D31 and D33	2	A5/A16	
Peter Point	9B44-81-D40 and D41	1		

George Lake	9B45-81-D13	2		
George Lake	9B45-81-D14 to D16	1		
George Lake	9B45-81-D17 to D22	1		

Table 3: A direct comparison of decorative designs from those documented in 1888 to those from the present.

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of designs	Creed's Number	Description
FB1	9B41-83-D3/D14	1		
FB1	9B41-83-D4	4	G19, G21	Includes 2 masks
FB1	9B41-83-D9	2	G10, G15	
FB2a	9B41-89-D6	3		
FB2a	9B41-89-D7	1	G8	Part missing today
FB2a	9B41-89-D8	3	G24	“Whale-like”
FB2a	9B41-89-D10	1		
FB2a	9B41-89-D14	2	G4	Next to ship
FB2a	9B41-89-D23	2	G3	Lots of hands and feet
FB2b	9B41-89-D35	2	G7	Relatively isolated
FB2b	9B41-89-D37	1		
FB2b	9B41-89-D41	1		Mowiomi
FB2c	9B41-89-D91	1		Design w/ gun
FB2c	9B41-89-D93	1		

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of designs	Creed's Number	Description
FB2d	9B41-89-D108	1		Spectacles, 1810
FB2d	9B41-89-D114	1		
FB2d	9B41-89-D115	1	G12	
FB2d	9B41-89-D117	1	B5, G9	
FB2d	9B41-89-D120	1		
FB2d	9B41-89-D125	1		Design w/ fig.
FB2d	9B41-89-D127	1	B6, B9	

FB2f	NONE			
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FB3d	NONE			
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Mill Bay	9B43-81-D19 to D22	1	G22	
Mill Bay	9B43-81-D23	1	B1	
Mill Bay	9B43-81-D25 & D24	1	G23	

Peter Point	NONE			
-------------	------	--	--	--

George Lake	NONE			
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Table 4: A direct comparison of ships from those documented in 1888 to the present.

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of Ships	Creed's Number	Description
FB1	9B41-83-D2	3		
FB1	9B41-83-D7	1		
FB1	9B41-83-D8	1		
FB1	9B41-83-D10	1		
FB1	9B41-83-D11	2		D11 and D12 are together
FB1	9B41-83-D12	3		

FB2a	9B41-89-D2	2	C15/C37	Creed missed c/c hatching
FB2a	9B41-89-D4	1	C31	C/c hatching missing today
FB2a	9B41-89-D6	1		
FB2a	9B41-89-D8	2	C22/C30	C22: ship w/ star and heart; C30: people missing today
FB2a	9B41-89-D9	2		
FB2a	9B41-89-D10	6		
FB2a	9B41-89-D12	1	C40	A lot of lines missing today
FB2a	9B41-89-D13	1		"Lines of ship" written on rocks
FB2a	9B41-89-D14	5		
FB2a	9B41-89-D18	1	C39	Ship w/ cross, ship missing today
FB2a	9B41-89-D21	2	C16	
FB2a	9B41-89-D22	3		
FB2a	9B41-89-D31	1	C38	

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of Ships	Creed's Number	Description
FB2b	9B41-89-D35	1		
FB2b	9B41-89-D45	1		
FB2b	9B41-89-D48	3		Ship w/ figure, c/c hatching
FB2b	9B41-89-D52	1		

FB2c	9B41-89-D63	1		
FB2c	9B41-89-D65	1		
FB2c	9B41-89-D84	2		Sideways ship

FB2d	9B41-89-D100	2		
FB2d	9B41-89-D102	2	C12/C13	
FB2d	9B41-89-D112	1		Ship in hand
FB2d	9B41-89-D113	1		
FB2d	9B41-89-D116	2		
FB2d	9B41-89-D117	1		
FB2d	9B41-89-D121	1		
FB2d	9B41-89-D124	1	C35	Schooner-people on schooner missing today
FB2d	9B41-89-D127	2		
FB2d	9B41-89-D128	1		

FB2f	9B41-89-D134	1	C1	Child-like ship
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Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of ships	Creed's Number	Description
FB3d	9B41-89-D13	5	C8	Flag pole missing today
FB3d	9B41-89-D14	2	C10	Detail missing
FB3d	9B41-89-D15	1		
FB3d	9B41-89-D20	4	C7	In b/t 2 other ship, flag and hook missing today
FB3d	9B41-89-D21	5	C21	Decorative design missing today
FB3d	9B41-89-D22	1	C27	
FB3d	9B41-89-D24	1		

Mill Bay	9B43-81-D7	2		
Mill Bay	9B43-81-D14 to D18	1	C23	Ship w/ stars
Mill Bay	9B43-81-D25 to D28	1		
Mill Bay	9B43-81-D33	1		

Peter Point	9B44-81-D8 & D9	1		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D11 to D14	1	C25	Creed missed detail on boat
Peter Point	9B44-81-D15, D17 to D19	4	C32/C34	C32: snake over ship C34: people missing today
Peter Point	9B44-81-D16	1		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D21 & D22	3	C28	Ship sketchy
Peter Point	9B44-81-D25 & D26	2		

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of ships	Creed's Number	Description
Peter Point	9B44-81-D27 & D28	1		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D29 to D31	2		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D32 & D37	2		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D38	2		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D39	1		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D49 & D52	2		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D52 to D54	1		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D55 to D57	1		
Peter Point	9B44-81-D58 to D59	2		

George Lake	9B45-81-D10 to D12	1	C30a	
George Lake	9B45-81-D17 to D22	1	C24	Ship w/ design

Table 5: A direct comparison of canoes from those documented in 1888 to the present.

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of canoes	Creed's Number	Description
FB1	9B41-83-D2	1	D9	2 people in canoe, c/c hatching
FB2a	9B41-89-D19	1	D10	Porpoise hunt, 1 person w/ gun, 1 w/ oar
FB2a	9B41-89-D21	1	D12	Porpoise hunt, Jim Taul 1877
FB2b	9B41-89-D44	1		No people, 1 oar
FB2b	9B41-89-D51	1		No people, no oar
FB2c	NONE			
FB2d	9B41-89-D107	1	D13	Porpoise/whale hunt
FB2d	9B41-89-D117	1	D1	Lone canoe
FB2d	9B41-89-D124	3	D11	1 w/ steam ship; 1 w/ porpoise hunt; 1 alone
FB2f	NONE			
FB3d	NONE			
Mill Bay	NONE			
Peter Point	9B44-81-D29 to D30	1		2 people in canoe
Peter Point	9B44-81-D46 to D48	1		1 person in canoe
George Lake	NONE			

Table 6: A direct comparison of human figures with those documented in 1888 to the present.

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of figures	Creed's Number	Description
FB1	9B41-83-D2	1		Figure
FB1	9B41-83-D6	1	E15	Figure in traditional dress
FB2a	9B41-89-D22	3	E4,E16,E44	E4: Figure in hat; E16: Second person missing today; E44; Creed copied legs, missing today
FB2b	9B41-89-D37	1		Sideways figure
FB2b	9B41-89-D38	1		Big Nose Guy
FB2b	9B41-89-D41	1		Figure in traditional dress over house
FB2b	9B41-89-D44	1	E28	Figure in traditional dress w/ a lot of c/c hatching
FB2b	9B41-89-D48	4	E8, E32, E33	E8: Figure w/ triangle hat E32: 2 hand in hand E33: 2 fig. in traditional dress
FB2b	9B41-89-D50	1	E29	Medicine man
FB2c	9B41-89-D59	1		Figure
FB2c	9B41-89-D61	4		2 fig. and 2 profiles, 1 w/ pipe
FB2c	9B41-89-D62	2		2 fig. in embrace
FB2c	9B41-89-D63	1		1 profile
FB2c	9B41-89-D73	2		2 fig.
FB2c	9B41-89-D80	1		1 fig. on horse
FB2c	9B41-89-D81	1		1 profile

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of Figures	Creed's Number	Description
FB2c	9B41-89-D84	1		1 profile b/t 2 moose
FB2c	9B41-89-D93	1		Fig. w/ pipe
FB2c	9B41-89-D94	3		1 couple; 1 man w/ pipe
FB2c	9B41-89-D95	1		Female fig.
FB2c	9B41-89-D96	1		Male fig.

FB2d	9B41-89-D99	1		1 figure
FB2d	9B41-89-D102	2		1 man w/ pipe & 1 profile
FB2d	9B41-89-D105	3	E25	3 stick figures
FB2d	9B41-89-D114	2	E17	2 female fig. lots of hands
FB2d	9B41-89-D116	2	E13, E23	E13: Fig. in traditional dress E23: Fig. w/ pipe
FB2d	9B41-89-D117	6	E6, E24, E30, E40	E6: Fig in traditional dress E24: 3 stick figures E30: Figure E40: 1 fig. w/ legend of crane
FB2d	9B41-89-D121	2		2 profiles, 1 w/ feather
FB2d	9B41-89-D125	1	E18	Fig. w/ flower
FB2d	9B41-89-D126	1		Fig w/ gun

FB2f	9B41-89-D135	1		Man w/ gun & dogs. Part of "preying mantis"
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FB3d	9B41-83-D17	2		1 profile, 1 fig.
FB3d	9B41-83-D18	1		1 profile
FB3d	9B41-83-D20	2		2 fig., 1 w/ heart/cross on chest
FB3d	9B41-83-D21	1	E27	1 fig. w/ heart/cross/stars on chest

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of Figures	Creed's Number	Description
FB3d	9B41-83-D22	1		1 head/face
FB3d	9B41-83-D30	1		1 profile
FB3d	9B41-83-D31	4	E36	2 profiles, 1 fig. & 1 in traditional dress

Mill Bay	NONE			
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Peter Point	9B44-81-D8 to D9	3		"3-way"
Peter Point	9B44-81-D11 to D14	2	E41	2 fig. w/ "wing" arms
Peter Point	9B44-81-D16	2	E45	"Peeing man"
Peter Point	9B44-81-D39	2	E39	2 figures
	9B44-81-D46 to D48	1		1 fig. w/ hat
	9B44-81-D49 & D50	4		4 figures

George Lake	9B45-81-D13	4	E38	4 fig. in traditional dress
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Table 7: A direct comparison of animals from those documented in 1888 to those of the present

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Creed's Number	Description
FB1	9B41-83-D2	F7	1 snake over ship
FB1	9B41-83-D6		1 cat and 1 snake
FB1	9B41-83-D7		?
FB1	9B41-83-D8	F14	Horse

FB2a	9B41-89-D19	F17	Horse
FB2a	9B41-89-D22	F9	Snake under boat
FB2a	9B41-89-D24		Fish (Likely v. recent)
FB2a	9B41-89-D26		2 moose (1 moose has script that says, "Jim Charles, his moose, Sept 19, 1867)
FB2a	9B41-89-D41		Snake over fig. in traditional dress & 1 snake over hand

FB2b	9B41-89-D35		Horse
FB2b	9B41-89-D48		3 snakes

FB2c	9B41-89-D71		Pig
FB2c	9B41-89-D81		Horse (fig. on horse)
FB2c	9B41-89-D84	F10, F27	F10: horned serpent F27: Moose w/ cactus horns
FB2c	9B41-89-D87		2 moose

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Creed's Number	Description
FB2d	9B41-89-D99		Horse(?) & Moose
FB2d	9B41-89-D102		Horse(?)
FB2d	9B41-89-D107		Whale
FB2d	9B41-89-D111		Horse(?) & snake
FB2d	9B41-89-D113		Snake
FB2d	9B41-89-D116		Snake
FB2d	9B41-89-D121		Turtle

FB2f	9B41-89-D135	F8, F19	Moose w/ 2 dogs (Part of "preying mantis" image)
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FB3d	9B41-83-D23		Caribou
FB3d	9B41-83-D31		?

Mill Bay	9B43-81-D11 & D12		Snake
Mill Bay	9B43-81-D26 & D27		Bird
Mill Bay	9B43-81-D33		Snake (?) w/ legs

Peter Point	9B44-81-D8 & D9		Snake
Peter Point	9B44-81-D15, D17 to D19	F5, F24, F31	F5: crane F24: horse F31: snake
Peter Point	9B44-81-D25 & D26	F22	2 moose
Peter Point	9B44-81-D38	F30	2 snakes

George Lake	9B45-81-D10 to D12	F20	2 moose and 1 snake
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Table 8: A direct comparison of crosses from those documented in 1888 with the present.

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of Crosses	Creed's Number	Description
FB1	9B41-83-D2	3		
FB2a	9B41-89-D8	2		Altar-like
FB2a	9B41-89-D10	1		On church
FB2a	9B41-89-D11	1		3 crosses on altar
FB2a	9B41-89-D16	3	J2	3 crosses on altar
FB2a	9B41-89-D17	4	J1, J3	3 sets of crosses on altar, 1 w/ altar, 1 w/ female symbol next to it
FB2a	9B41-89-D18	2		
FB2a	9B41-89-D20	4		Hand w/ crosses in 4 fingers
FB2a	9B41-89-D22	1		
FB2a	9B41-89-D27	1		Cross on altar
FB2b	9B41-89-D42	1		On hand?
FB2b	9B41-89-D48	1		Church-like
FB2c	NONE			
FB2d	9B41-89-D100	1		
FB2f	9B41-89-D134	1	J5	On church
FB3d	9B41-83-D20	1		Cross on heart on chest of person
FB3d	9B41-83-D21	1		Cross on heart on chest of person

Area	Parks Canada Catalog Number	Number of Crosses	Creed's Number	Description
Mill Bay	9B43-81-D23& D24	1		On headstone
Peter Point	NONE			
George Lake	NONE			

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