

AN ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF  
THE MICMAC PETROGLYPHS OF  
KEJIMKUJIK NATIONAL PARK

BY

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12 CATALOGUE OF MICMAC PETROGLYPH SUBJECTS

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## 12.1 Subject Selection Criteria

There are a number of ambiguous images among the Micmac petroglyphs identified in Kejimikujik National Park. In order to present a subject catalogue that accommodates variations in interpretation, ambiguous petroglyphs have been included in the categories that might possibly describe them.

Consequently, both the sub-heading totals and percentage distribution figures will vary according to the number of ambiguous petroglyphs in the sample. This discrepancy is not regarded as a liability; it accurately reflects the interpretive situation. The statistical summary provides a good estimate of the number of petroglyphs of a particular subject and their relative frequency.

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## INCISING TECHNIQUES

The Micmac petroglyphs are all made by incising (scratching or cutting) or carving into the rock surface with a sharp-pointed object. The tool could have been a locally procured quartz fragment, the point of an arrowhead, knife blade or other sharp object.

The only indication that a specialized tool-kit might have been used was an informant's suggestion to George Creed that a sharpened beaver's tooth was used (Creed 1894). The only evidence of tool use are the deep, v-shaped grooves cut by a metal tool to form part of petroglyph 419 at Mill Point. Other evidence has been obliterated by erosion.

The presence of small, intricately detailed images, however, suggests that the tool had to be held easily in the hand and controlled by the movement of the fingers in the manner of drawing rather than carving. This quality is evident in petroglyphs of curvilinear design (176), fine crosshatching (197), and small scale, elaborately decorated peaked caps (439).

Most of the glyphs have been incised with a running line technique, the simple tracing out of the image with a smooth

line. There are 8 petroglyphs at Kejimkujik and several at McGowan Lake, however, that have been formed by creating a zig-zag line. These petroglyphs (e.g. 288) were described by George Creed in 1888:

"To say nothing of the marvellous grace of lines and curves, the fact that many of those that seemed to us the most unmeaning and worthless scratching have been laborously outlined with the most minute zigsaging (sic)... or even finer work. I find it impossible to do with the pen, on paper, at a desk, what has been done with graving tools on the rock."

This unique style is probably the creation of a single individual.

In one possible instance at Kejimkujik and several at McGowan, the artist has formed the image by scraping the surface inside an incised outline (296).

The fact that these distinctive styles are found at both sites reveals that the petroglyph carvers did not limit their efforts to one place, but may have incised images wherever they found suitable rocks.

The nearest Algonkian petroglyph sites are on Machias Bay in Maine (Mallery 1893). The glyphs are also found on a slate, but they have been pecked rather than incised because the slate is harder. The lack of other petroglyph making techniques at Kejimkujik may be due to the obvious ease with which the rock can be incised. Petroglyph carvers, like other artists, responded to the demands of the medium and would likely choose the most efficient way to carve.

**INCISING TECHNIQUES: ZIG-ZAG STYLE**

**FB2a**

- 83 C3.3 star, incised in zig-zag style  
84 C3.4 C20 heart, incised in zig-zag style

**FB2b**

- 222 SA12W.6 G7 curvilinear design, zig-zag style

**FB2d**

- 254 C14.4 foot, zig-zag style  
255 C14.5 handprint, zig-zag style  
288 F13.1a B9 overhead view of structure, in zig-zag incising style, with stick figures clothed in skirts, smoking pipes  
289 F13.1b B9 overhead view of structure, partially finished, in zig-zag incising style  
293 J13.1 H2 foot, in zig-zag incising style

## MICMAC NAMES

All names in English known to be of Micmacs have been included in this category. There is also one example of Micmac script recognizable as a Micmac name (229). It is probable that some of the other Micmac script represents names (104 probably lists four individuals), but this cannot be verified at present.

There are names in English of 10 Micmac people and at least 1 in Micmac script incised on the rocks. These names represent about 2% of the petroglyphs total. They represent a very small fraction of the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of names and initials on the rocks.

It is likely that most of the Micmac names are those of people who lived by the lake. Joseph Howe (1844) recorded the following names on Kejimikujik Lake in 1842: John and Sally Jeremy, Jem and Molly Lewis, Joe Peter, Francis Charles, Francis Meuse, Abraham Peter, John Pictou, Peter Glode (or Piel), Lewis Alexis. With their families, these amounted to 40 people.

The following of these family names appear on the rocks:

Jim Charles (138)

John Gload, 1873 (403)

Mary Gload, 1869 (412)

John Gloade (228)

John Gloade (242)

Malti Pictou, 1897 (331)

It is possible that some of the names were of people who lived in nearby areas. Malti Pictou was a Chief at Bear River at the time of the making of this petroglyph (331). Abram Toney (328) was a correspondent of Silas Rand (Ms. Silas T. Rand papers, Acadia University Archives) and lived at Bear River as well at the time of this petroglyph.

Although the Micmac had none of the advantages afforded to settlers in education, some schools were established in the 19th century. Howe mentions the teaching of writing to Micmac children at Bear River and Liverpool in 1842 (1844:121-22). It is not surprising, therefore, that some Micmac individuals could write their own names.

The only names associated with representational images are Jim Charles (138), which appears associated with a moose (137), Mary Gloade, (412), associated with a handprint, and "Malti" (338), associated with a chevron.



From the relatively few Micmac names found on the rocks, it appears that most carvers were visually oriented in the traditional Micmac way.

MICMAC NAMES

FB2a

138 H4.4 legend adjacent to moose: "Jim Charles, his  
moose, Sept. 19, 1867"

FB2c

228 K7.1 John Paul  
John Gloade

229 K7.8 I17 Micmac script (a name)  
date 1877

FB2d

242 A3.6 John Gloade

FB3d

300 3d.5 ... Bradford, Indoin (sic) from Caledonia  
Corner, Queen's Co., N.S.

328 3d.57 Abram Toney, 188...

331 3d.68 Malti Pictou, 1897

338 3d.86 name "Malti", chevron

PP3

403 PP3.14 J. Gload, date 1873

MP2

412

MP2.6

Mary Gload, date 1869, handprint

## MICMAC SCRIPT AND IDEOGRAMS

All Micmac script and those petroglyphs that appear to represent ideograms have been recorded here.

There are 13 petroglyphs of or including Micmac script. This represents about 2.5% of the petroglyphs total. 7 of these glyphs were incised in 1877.

Although the writing has not been translated, several of the glyphs appear to be the names of individuals. Glyph 229 is clearly a Micmac name, because the first name Noel can be seen. Petroglyph 104 appears to record the names of four individuals with a message added below. The style of the writing suggests that one person wrote all the names.

Other script may represent titles, for images such as the porpoise hunting scene (124) and other petroglyphs dated 1877. These petroglyphs depict scenes or images of Micmac culture of the 19th century in a specific way that makes them distinct from the other petroglyphs. The use of Micmac rather than English may represent the desire on the part of the carver to emphasize this cultural distinction.

The presence of script on some of the petroglyphs lacking Micmac attributes shows that they may be regarded as part of the Micmac inventory. The most significant example is petroglyph 59, which depicts a sailing ship with Micmac script written in the bow. Petroglyph 212 is a handprint with four Micmac letters in the palm.

The association of the Micmac names in English, John Paul and John Gloade (228), with the adjacent name in Micmac script (229) may typify the negative effect of acculturation in regard to the use of Micmac language and writing.

It appears that a few individuals, literate in Micmac script, produced much of the script on the rocks, probably representing the names of others as well. Petroglyphs 24 and 25, at Fairy Bay 1, and 35, 49, and 59 at FB2a were carved by the same person: the word written in each glyph is the same, and the letters and numbers are similarly formed. Petroglyphs 294 at FB2d, dated 1845, 368 at Peter Point, dated 1829, and 427 at George Lake, dated 1834, appear to have been incised by the same person. In 368 and 427, the same word has been written and in all three, the writing appears identical in style.

This evidence indicates that Micmac script was not commonly

carved on the rocks. Indeed, most of this work may have been done by a very few individuals in a short period of time.

There are 8 examples of Micmac ideograms on the rocks. These represent about 1.5% of all the petroglyphs.

All the examples appear to be random. In no instance is there any pattern to the ideograms that would suggest that they are conveying a statement. None of the ideograms are rendered in line form. From this evidence, it appears that the ideograms have been incised as individual symbols rather than words. None of them appear to be associated with representations. The possible exception is the group at Fairy Bay 3d, (305,307,308,309,310), which appears to be associated with a group of three images: a cross, a figure in a canoe, and an hourglass form. This petroglyph group (311) is incised in the same very small scale. In addition, one of the ideograms (310) is a star, which is the ideogram for heaven.

The association of these glyphs with religious imagery suggests that they function in the way that Wallis and Wallis (1923:25) characterize them, as symbols which have lost their literal meaning but are still regarded as sacred images.

## MICMAC SCRIPT AND IDEOGRAMS

### FB1

24 1.42 date 1877, Micmac script

### FB2a

35 C1.8 I10 Micmac script

date 1877

49 E1.1 E26 man smoking pipe (clothing not shown)

date 1877

Micmac script

59 D2.8 sailing vessel: ship, with Micmac script in bow

date 1877

104 E3.4 Micmac script

124 E4.7 D12 porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow shooting porpoise

Micmac script, date 1877

### FB2b

212 SG10.5 I4 handprint, with Micmac? script in palm (I4 is script only)

FB2c

229 K7.8 I17 Micmac script  
date 1877

FB2d

294 P13.2 Micmac script?, date 1845

FB3d

305 3d.13 Micmac ideogram

307 3d.15 ideogram?

308 3d.16 ideogram?

309 3d.17 ideogram?

310 3d.18 ideogram?

333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross on  
breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
date 1877

three lines of Micmac script

PP1

368 PP1.36 C34 sailing vessel: topsail schooner  
date 1829, Micmac script?

GL1

427 GL1.3 I15 Micmac script?, date 1834



CREED

493	I2	Micmac script
494	I3	Micmac ideogram
495	I6	Micmac ideogram
496	I7	Micmac ideogram

## DATES AND DATED PETROGLYPHS

There are 26 dates or dated Micmac images on the rocks of Kejimkujik. These dates represent about 5% of the petroglyphs total.

The chronology is as follows:

1829 (368)

1834 (427)

1842 (29)

1845 (294)

1867 (138)

1869 (412)

1873 (403)

1877 (18, 24, 33, 35, 49, 59, 124, 132, 163, 229, 238, 312, 333,  
334, 340, 342)

188. (328)

1889 (162)

1897 (331)

Most of these dated petroglyphs were selected because of their association with other Micmac images. In several instances, however, isolated dates were recorded because of the unusually large number of glyphs dated 1877.

The attribution of some of these dated petroglyphs to single

individuals repeats the analysis in the Micmac script section. The following dated petroglyphs are grouped because of similarities in the style of the image, writing, or date: 368, 427, and 294; 24, 35, 49, and 59; and 333 and 334.

The date 1877 has some obvious significance, in that it is found at times on the rocks. Some insight into the reason for this unusual pattern may be found in the subjects with which the dates are associated. 7 of these glyphs also have Micmac script. 6 glyphs represent typical images or events of late 19th century Micmac culture: a porpoise hunt, a lynx, men in ceremonial clothing, a man smoking a pipe, a star, and a footprint. 2 others are associated with European sailing ships.

It appears that a special event occurred during this year, one that emphasized traditional 19th century Micmac culture, judging by the presence of the specific cultural detail on these petroglyphs. Of the 3 porpoise hunting scenes at Kejimkujik, only this one (124) is specific to a time and probably to individuals. Similarly, the human figures, all males, have detailed faces and musculature, and the two figures at Fairy Bay 3d (333, 340) have clothing detailed enough to be identified in the ethnographic record. In a photograph taken at a St. Ann's day celebration at Shubenacadie in 1893, nine young men are wearing glengarry style hats similar to those in the petroglyphs (see Whitehead 1980: 27). Several of them also wear badges. It is possible that the sacred heart and

star motifs on the chests of the petroglyph figures represent similar badges or insignia.

These latter figures provide the clearest evidence for the nature of the event that provoked so many petroglyphs. It is possible that a St. Ann's day festival was being commemorated. As the most significant cultural celebration of the Micmac calendar, it combined the attributes of the Catholic religion with more traditional Micmac pursuits. These themes are represented in the dated petroglyphs.

Although the event may have taken place at Kejimikujik, it is likely that it occurred at Bear River. Bear River had the necessary Catholic presence and was the most significant gathering place for the Micmac in the region. An Indian agent at Bear River estimated that there were over 1000 Indians and French assembled for the St. Ann's day feast in 1887 (Upton 1979:176). The image of the porpoise hunting also suggests this: before the middle of the 19th century, Levinge noted that Micmac canoes hunting porpoise "covered the water" of Digby Gut. (1849: 210).

It is likely that these dates were made by a very few individuals, all of them literate in Micmac script. 5 of these 1877 glyphs were done by two individuals; and if nearby isolated dates are included, the number is increased to 11 of the 16 (18, 24, 33, 35, 49, 59; and 312, 333, 334, 340, 342). This evidence suggests that

this phenomenon does not necessarily reflect the experience of Micmac people on the lake as a whole, but may represent the individual experience of as few as two men who may have participated in the St. Ann's day festivities in 1877.

## DATES AND DATED PETROGLYPHS

### FB1

18 1.31 date 1877  
24 1.42 date 1877, Micmac script  
29 1.55 hand  
date 1842

### FB2a:

33 C1.2 date 1877  
35 C1.8 I10 Micmac script  
date 1877  
49 E1.1 E26 man smoking pipe (clothing not shown)  
date 1877  
Micmac script  
59 D2.8 sailing vessel: ship, with Micmac script in bow  
date 1877  
124 E4.7 D12 porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two  
figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow  
shooting porpoise  
Micmac script, date 1877  
132 F4.10 N45 footprint  
date 1877 inside

138	H4.4		legend adjacent to moose: "Jim Charles, his moose, Sept. 19, 1867"
162	E6N.3		sailing vessel: schooner, with crosshatched hull, date 1889
FB2c			
163	SB1.2		date 1877
FB2d			
229	K7.8	I17	Micmac script date 1877
238	F9.8		date 1877
294	P13.2		Micmac script?, date 1845
FB3d			
312	3d.20		star date 1877
328	3d.57		Abram Toney, 188...
331	3d.68		Malti Pictou, 1897
333	3d.78		male figure in profile, with heart and cross on breast, wearing glengarry style hat date 1877 three lines of Micmac script
334	3d.79		date 1877

340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
style hat, date 1877

342 3d.94 sailing vessel: schooner, with illegible  
writing in hull  
date 1877 below

PP1

368 PP1.36 C34 sailing vessel: topsail schooner  
date 1829, Micmac script?

PP3

403 PP3.14 J. Gload, date 1873

MP2

412 MP2.6 Mary Gload, date 1869, handprint

GL1

427 GL1.3 I15 Micmac script?, date 1834



## HANDPRINTS AND HAND FORMS

There are 64 handprints and drawings of hands on the rocks.

Handprints represent about 13% of all Micmac petroglyphs.

One handprint has clearly been incised by the Micmac: it appears to have Micmac script incised in the palm (212). One other handprint (438) contains a peaked cap and a rectangular hat, but there is some evidence that the handprint was made after the headwear was incised (see the discussion under peaked caps). All handprints were recorded unless there was evidence that they were made by non-Micmacs.

The carvers produced most of the handprints by tracing around the hand or simply making a handprint with water and incising it quickly before the water dried.

Handprints are commonly found in rock art throughout the world. In other Algonkian areas, such as the Canadian Shield region, they are probably the most numerous image (see Dewdney and Kidd 1967).

The handprint is a fundamental image for an artist, because it is easily conceived and executed and, therefore, within the grasp of any prospective image maker. It is also a personal mark that may express some relationship between the natural and cultural worlds, as the hand meets the rock and the images converge.

The drawn handprints may emphasize the significance of the hand more than the traced ones, because the drawings are not in the same way a simple and convenient image. These hands were purposefully selected as subjects. For example, glyph 29, a hand and the date 1842 appear in some sense as a personal mark - and yet they seem to our eyes to be anonymous.

The other interesting handprint is the one that encloses a peaked cap and a top hat, both decorated with fronds or feathers (439, 440). Associated with these petroglyphs are several male and female figures in ceremonial dress. The handprint enclosing these images frames them; it may be that this symbol represents the male-female bond suggested by the ceremony or dance that is depicted around it.

18 of the handprints show flexion creases or dermatoglyphic features. It is not known whether these attributes had any significance to the Micmac, but they may have made personal images of what would otherwise have been anonymous forms.



157 B6N.1 handprint

FB2b

164 SB1.4 handprint, with lines radiating from palm

167 SB4.4 handprint

177 SD5.2 handprint, with flexion lines and whorls

180 SD5.7 handprint

182 SD5.12 handprint, with nails depicted

183 SD5.14 handprint

184 SD5.16 handprint, with flexion lines and whorls

185 SD5.19 handprint

190 SE5.9 handprint

192 SE5.12 handprint

193 SF5.1 handprint

202 SG5.11 handprint

203 SG5.13 handprint

213 SG10.7 handprint

217 SE12.10 handprint

219 SE12.13 handprint, with flexion lines

220 SE12.14 handprint, with flexion lines

FB2c

225 H6.1 handprint

233 KB.10 hand and arm

239 M14.4 handprint

FB2d

240 A2.4 handprint

249 C5.5 handprint

251 C6.2 handprint

253 C14.1 handprint

255 C14.5 handprint, zig-zag style

257 C15.1 handprint

258 C15.2a handprint, with flexion lines

259 C15.2b handprint, with flexion lines

260 C15.4 handprint, with flexion lines

261 D3.3 handprint, with flexion lines

262 D3.6 handprint, with flexion lines

264 D4.1 handprint

274 D8.1 K2 handprint, with flexion lines and whorls

284 E11.4 handprint, ring on third finger

290 F13.5 handprint, with flexion lines

291 F13.7 handprint

FB3d

317 3d.27 handprint

318 3d.28 handprint with crosshatching

327 3d.56 pipe, hand

335 3d.83 four handprints  
339 3d.87 hand and arm  
348 3d.110 handprint  
349 3d.111 handprint

PP1

375 PP1.54 handprint, with flexion lines and whorls  
zig-zag design below  
376 PP1.56 handprint, with flexion lines

GL1

438 GL1.23 K8 handprint  
446 GL1.32 handprint

- HANDPRINTS WITH FLEXION LINES AND DERMATOGLYPHICS

FB2a

37	C1.11		handprint, with flexion lines
110	F3.11		handprint, with radiating lines from palm, finger whorls
130	F4.6	N45	handprint, with flexion lines
131	F4.9	N45	handprint, with lines radiating from palm, and flexion lines

FB2b

164	SB1.4		handprint, with lines radiating from palm
177	SD5.2		handprint, with flexion lines and whorls
184	SD5.16		handprint, with flexion lines and whorls
219	SE12.13		handprint, with flexion lines
220	SE12.14		handprint, with flexion lines

FB2d

258	C15.2a		handprint, with flexion lines
259	C15.2b		handprint, with flexion lines
260	C15.4		handprint, with flexion lines
261	D3.3		handprint, with flexion lines
262	D3.6		handprint, with flexion lines
274	D8.1	K2	handprint, with flexion lines and whorls

290	F13.5	handprint, with flexion lines
PP1		
375	PP1.54	handprint, with flexion lines and whorls zig-zag design below
376	PP1.56	handprint, with flexion lines



## FOOTPRINTS AND FOOT FORMS

There are 35 footprints and drawings of feet on the rocks. Footprints represent about 7% of all Micmac petroglyphs.

One footprint has the significant Micmac date 1877 incised in the sole (132) and two others appear to be grouped with a peaked cap (42-44). Four of the footprints appear to be outlined moccasins. All footprints were recorded, with the exception of those associated with non-Micmac petroglyphs.

General interpretive comments about footprints are similar to those for the handprints. The association of the footprint with the date 1877 (132) may be compared to the dated hand drawing (29). The association of the small-scale footprints (a child's feet?) - one incised with a heart - with a peaked cap (42, 43, 44) may support the notion that some cultural tradition existed involving a ritual contact with the rocks (the site as a sacred place). On the other hand, if such an activity had any currency in the area, there would probably be more of these footprints than there are.

It is most likely that the majority of footprints were made because they were convenient, personal marks that could be recognized by the individual who made them - if not anyone else.

## FOOTPRINTS AND FOOT FORMS

### FB2a

42	D1.9a		left footprint with heart in centre
43	D1.9b		right footprint, crosshatched
48	D1.12		footprint
71	F2.3		footprint, crosshatched
95	D3.16		footprint (moccasined?)
96	D3.17		foot, profile drawing
120	D4.11		footprint
121	E4.4		footprint
127	F4.1	N45	footprint
128	F4.3	N45	footprint
129	F4.5	N45	footprint
132	F4.10	N45	footprint date 1877 inside
133	F4.12		footprint
136	H4.2	K3	footprint, crosshatched, with nails depicted
159	D6N.2		footprint (moccasined?)

### FB2b

165	SC3.1		footprint
169	SE4.1		footprint
171	SG4.5		footprint

178	SD5.4	footprint
179	SD5.5	footprint
181	SD5.10	footprint, with nails depicted
186	SE5.4	footprint
194	SF5.2	footprint, crosshatched
214	SA12.2	footprint (moccasined?), with radiating lines in sole
216	SE12.9	footprint
FB2d		
281	E4.4	footprint
292	F13.8	footprint (moccasined?), with internal designs
293	J13.1 H2	foot, in zig-zag incising style
FB3d		
314	3d.23	pair of footprints
316	3d.25	right footprint
343	3d.96	footprint with rings
344	3d.104	footprint
PP1		
358	PP1.13	footprint
377	PPI.57	footprint, interior filled with scribbled lines

MP2

420

MP2.17

footprint

- MOCCASIN FOOTPRINTS

FB2a

95 D3.16 footprint (moccasined?)

159 D6N.2 footprint (moccasined?)

FB2b

214 SA12.2 footprint (moccasined?), with radiating lines  
in sole

FB2d

292 F13.8 footprint (moccasined?), with internal designs

## HUMAN FIGURES OR ANTHROPOMORPHS

There are 84 petroglyphs representing or including human figures or anthropomorphs on the rocks of Kejimikujik. Human figures make up approximately 17% of the petroglyphs total.

The difference between Micmac and non-Micmac figures can only be determined by clothing; and since the Micmac adopted European clothing almost completely in the 19th century, the identification of figures not wearing traditional Micmac dress is problematic.

The most clearly Micmac are female figures in the traditional dress of the historic period: a peaked cap, decorated skirt, and leggings. Other clothed figures were included if their outlines conformed with those of the more clearly identified Micmac figures and were not associated with non-Micmac images.

There are also 4 anthropomorphic figures, but they lack the necessary detail to be precisely identified.

- Male and Female Figures

Male and female figures are difficult to distinguish because of the similarity in outline between the flared coat of the male and the skirt of the female. Headwear was taken as the surest indicator: peaked caps for the women and top hats, rounded hats or headdresses for the men.

30 of these petroglyphs represent female figures; 35 of them are males. The remainder cannot be distinguished.

- Anthropomorphs with Curvilinear Design Heads

This category was created to accommodate two distinctive anthropomorphs that have curvilinear designs as heads.

- Figures Grouped In Pairs

13 pairs of human figures have been carved on the rocks. The most distinct pairs are those with the images side-by-side (e.g. 208). Other examples were chosen because their style or subjects indicated that they were incised by the same individual (e.g. 321, 322) and were located on the same section of rock.

4 of these pairs consist of two males, 5 have a male and a female, 2 have two females and in 2 the sex cannot be determined.

- General Comments

38 of the human petroglyphs portray events that would have been typical of the daily lives and ceremonial occasions of the local Micmac people.

In 22 of the glyphs, the people are shown in canoes, travelling or hunting sea mammals. In 3 of these hunting scenes, porpoise are being harpooned; in the other, a harpooned whale appears to be towing the canoe. A fishing line appears to trail from one canoe (286). Other hunters are shown shooting caribou, moose and birds.

Pipe smokers are pictured in 5 of the petroglyphs, and all but one appear to be at leisure. The structure or floor plan incised in the zig-zag style (288) contains two very small stick figures wearing skirts and smoking pipes. Robertson (1973) identifies this petroglyph as the ground plan of a 'medicine man's lodge', citing native informants in the late 19th century. There is no visible evidence in the petroglyph itself (in the Myers or Creed



version) to either support or disprove this interpretation. It is possible, however, that the zig-zag style was used for petroglyphs of special significance. There is one example of this petroglyph form at McGowan Lake.

There is a group of human figures at George Lake that appear to be involved in coordinated movement - a procession, dance or other, probably ceremonial activity (436, 437, 441, 442). The group consists of two pairs of figures, each with a male figure, identified by the rounded headdress, and a female figure wearing a peaked cap. All the caps and headdresses are decorated with fronds or feathers. Each individual appears to have braided hair, extending downwards below the hats. The figures appear to be rendered in profile, as if they are involved in either a dance or procession. The possibility that it is a procession is suggested by the nearby petroglyph of a frame structure (443) that may represent a church. In addition, the images are arranged around an enlarged, elaborately detailed peaked cap and a smaller top hat, both decorated with fronds or ferns. They are enclosed within a handprint, which may have been added later, because it overlaps part of one of the human figures.

The peaked cap/top hat arrangement seems to be a Micmac cultural symbol - there is a similar group on a nearby rock (450, 451) -

that may express some aspect of the relationship between men and women, the headwear being symbolic of the sexes.

Another pair of figures, at Peter Point, appear to depict either a ceremonial occasion or a symbolic relationship (363, 364). The two figures, both males, are wearing what appear to be tricorne hats, decorated with fronds or feathers. One man is dressed in a coat and tails and carries a cutlass. The other figure carries a bunch of fronds or feathers. To the left of these images, a schooner has been carved. The association of the sailing ship with these figures in Micmac formal dress suggests that this group commemorates an event involving English colonists and the Micmac.

A third significant pairing of figures, petroglyphs 333 and 340, is discussed in the section on dates and dated petroglyphs.

In general, the human figures appear to be of two kinds. In one, the images are static, usually face outwards, and probably represent individual portraits, made spontaneously. The other kind appear to represent activities or events that are more symbolic of the lives of Micmac people. Where the activities involve travel, subsistence or leisure, the figures are usually anonymous (with the exception of those dated 1877). The figures

wearing ceremonial dress, however, are more detailed, as if to ensure the symbolic clarity of the occasion. These latter petroglyphs were probably recognized by local Micmac people as being specific to a particular ritual or event.

Two of the anthropomorphs have a distinctive heads, consisting of curvilinear lines projecting upwards like antennae (82, 295). Petroglyph 82 is schematic, consisting of two hatched triangles forming the body. Petroglyph 295, however, is a figure pointing a gun at a caribou. To emphasize its non-human aspect it has a similar curvilinear line as a tail. The significance of this rendering of the head is not known, but among other Algonkian peoples, projections from the head represent spiritual power and were commonly associated with shamans (see Dewdney and Kidd 1967).

## HUMAN FIGURES OR ANTHROPOMORPHS

### FB1

- |    |      |     |   |
|----|------|-----|---|
| 2  | 1.5  | D9  | Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern figure with top hat |
| 22 | 1.39 | E15 | human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt                            |

### FB2a

- |     |       |     |   |
|-----|-------|-----|---|
| 49  | E1.1  | E26 | man smoking pipe (clothing not shown)<br>date 1877<br>Micmac script   |
| 82  | G2.1  | L14 | two hatched triangles (anthropomorph?) with curvilinear design as head  |
| 87  | D3.3  |     | stick figure (anthropomorphic?)   |
| 107 | F3.1  | E16 | human figure, with mortarboard style hat and dress or gown  |
| 112 | F3.7  | E4  | human figure, wearing top hat?  |
| 124 | E4.7  | D12 | porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow shooting porpoise<br>Micmac script, date 1877 |
| 125 | E4.9  | D10 | porpoise hunting scene: canoe with level gunwhales, with two figures, figure in bow shooting porpoise                                     |
| 147 | H4.13 | G18 | human figure, incised in geometric design with scalloped edges  |

153	H5.2	A10	Micmac canoe, figure with hat in stern
154	H5.3	A10	human figure, wearing hood-like headcover and decorated dress
FB2b			
166	SG3.1	E29	human figure, with rounded headdress and decorated coat or dress
187	SE5.6	E31	human figure, wearing coat or dress and derby style hat
197	SG5.5	E8	human figure, wearing peaked cap, dress, and leggings, crosshatched
208	SG5.19	E32	human figures (2), holding hands, clothed in skirts, with one crosshatched
211	SG6.1	E26	human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
215	SE12.5	E28	human figure, clothed with bonnet and crosshatched dress
FB2c			
234	J8.5	F26	human figure: head and shoulders
FB2d			
244	B2.4		human figure, with hat and crosshatched dress
245	B5.1	E5	human figure, wearing rectangular hat, crosshatched, and smoking a pipe

247	B9.1	D13	whale hunting scene: two figures in canoe with level gunwhales, figure in bow shooting at, or harpooning whale (crosshatched)
256	C14.7	E17	two figures, one incomplete, one clothed with hood-like headcovering and skirt
265	D5.1		human figure, wearing decorated dress
267	D6.3a	E13	human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt
271	D6.6	E30	human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt
272		E30	human figure, wearing hatched skirt
498	D6.3b	E23	human figure, smoking pipe
499	D6...	E23	human figure, smoking pipe
275	D16.2	N28	keyhole design, hatched, with (possibly) superimposed rectangular form (candle lantern?)
282	E5.2	E40	heron-like bird, surrounded by stars, adjacent figure pointing weapon
285	E15.1	D11	canoe with level gunwhales, two figures catching porpoise
286	E15.2		canoe with level gunwhales, figure in stern (with fishing line?)
287	E15.4	C35	canoe, with level gunwhales, two figures
288	F13.1a	B9	overhead view of structure, in zig-zag incising style, with stick figures clothed in skirts, smoking pipes

FB2f

295 F2.1 F8 figure with curvilinear design as head,  
pointing weapon

FB3d

298 3d.3 E36 human figure, with flat-topped or peaked cap  
and decorated dress or coat and leggings

299 3d.. E37 human figure, with decorated dress or coat

311 3d.19 cross  
canoe with level gunwhales, figure with paddle  
hourglass form

320 3d.30 human figure, wearing dress (incomplete)

321 3d.41 K11 head in profile

322 3d.44 head in profile

325 3d.52 head in profile, with headdress

326 3d.53 head in profile

333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross on  
breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
date 1877  
three lines of Micmac script

340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
style hat, date 1877

345 3d.105 head of a man wearing feather headdress,  
frontal view

PP1

- 354 PP1.5 Q1 human figure, arms extended downwards, palms exposed
- 355 PP1.7 Q1 male figure, wearing top hat and coat, genitals depicted
- 356 PP1.8 Q1 female figure, wearing peaked cap? and skirt, genitals depicted
- 359 PP1.14 E41 human figure, wearing mortarboard type hat, hatched skirt and bloomers or leggings
- 360 PP1.15 human figure, wearing skirt
- 361 PP1.16 E3 human figure, wearing coat or tunic
- 363 PP1.23 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped hat, waistcoat, and carrying cutlass
- 364 PP1.24 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped hat, carrying feathers or frond

PP2

- 382 PP2a.4 canoe with level gunwhales, two (possibly three) figures
- 384 PP2a.7 canoe with yard and square sail, at least twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular hat decorated with feathers or branches



385	PP2a.8		canoe with yard and square sail, at least twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular hat
391	PP2d.7	E39	human figure, with braided or gathered hair?
392	PP2d.8	E39	female figure, wearing decorated skirt
399	PP2d.21		Micmac canoe with two figures
401	PP2e.10		canoe with level gunwhales, figure with top hat
402	PP2e.12		Micmac canoe with figure, wearing derby style hat
MP1			
407	MP1.5	N41	canoe with level gunwhales, two figures
MP2			
413	MP2.7		horse and rider
GL1			
436	GL1.21	E33	human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
437	GL1.22	E33	human figure, wearing rounded hat and decorated coat or skirt
441	GL1.26	E38	human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
442	GL1.27	E38	human figure, wearing rounded hat

CREED

- 466 D2 canoe, with figure in stern
- 467 D3 canoe, with level gunwhales, figure wearing peaked cap in bow, stern paddle
- 469 D4 Micmac canoe, with figures and stern paddle
- 470 D5 canoe, with two figures
- 471 D6 Micmac canoe, with two figures
- 472 D7 Micmac canoe, with two figures
- 474 E12 human figure, wearing skirt or dress
- 475 E10 human figure, wearing skirt or dress
- 476 E11 human figure, wearing skirt or dress
- 477 E9 human figure, wearing decorated dress and wide-brimmed hat
- 478 E14 human figure in profile, wearing decorated dress or gown
- 479 E20 human figure, wearing dress or gown
- 481 E35 caribou, grazing, with stick figure pointing weapon at it
- 488 J4 altar, with kneeling figure
- 497 Q2 copulation schema, with male figure

- FEMALE FIGURES

FB1

2	1.5	D9	Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern figure with top hat
22	1.39	E15	human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt

FB2a

107	F3.1	E16	human figure, with mortarboard style hat and dress or gown
154	H5.3	A10	human figure, wearing hood-like headcover and decorated dress

FB2b

197	SG5.5	EB	human figure, wearing peaked cap, dress, and leggings, crosshatched
208	SG5.19	E32	human figures (2), holding hands, clothed in skirts, with one crosshatched
211	SG6.1	E26	human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
215	SE12.5	E28	human figure, clothed with bonnet and crosshatched dress

FB2d

244	B2.4		human figure, with hat and crosshatched dress
-----	------	--	---

256 C14.7 E17 two figures, one incomplete, one clothed with  
hood-like headcovering and skirt

265 D5.1 human figure, wearing decorated dress

267 D6.3a E13 human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt

271 D6.6 E30 human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt

272 E30 human figure, wearing hatched skirt

FB3d

299 3d.. E37 human figure, with decorated dress or coat

320 3d.30 human figure, wearing dress (incomplete)

PP1

356 PP1.8 Q1 female figure, wearing peaked cap? and skirt,  
genitals depicted

359 PP1.14 E41 human figure, wearing mortarboard type hat,  
hatched skirt and bloomers or leggings

360 PP1.15 human figure, wearing skirt

PP2

391 PP2d.7 E39 human figure, with braided or gathered hair?

392 PP2d.8 E39 female figure, wearing decorated skirt

GL1

436 GL1.21 E33 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated  
skirt

441 GL1.26 E38 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt

CREED

467 D3 canoe, with level gunwhales, figure wearing peaked cap in bow, stern paddle

474 E12 human figure, wearing skirt or dress

475 E10 human figure, wearing skirt or dress

476 E11 human figure, wearing skirt or dress

477 E9 human figure, wearing decorated dress and wide-brimmed hat

478 E14 human figure in profile, wearing decorated dress or gown

479 E20 human figure, wearing dress or gown

- MALE FIGURES

FB1

2 1.5 D9 Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern figure with top hat

FB2a

49 E1.1 E26 man smoking pipe (clothing not shown)  
date 1877  
Micmac script

124 E4.7 D12 porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow shooting porpoise  
Micmac script, date 1877

125 E4.9 D10 porpoise hunting scene: canoe with level gunwhales, with two figures, figure in bow shooting porpoise

147 H4.13 G18 human figure, incised in geometric design with scalloped edges

153 H5.2 A10 Micmac canoe, figure with hat in stern

FB2b

166 S63.1 E29 human figure, with rounded headdress and decorated coat or dress

187 SE5.6 E31 human figure, wearing coat or dress and derby style hat

FB2d

- 245 B5.1 E5 human figure, wearing rectangular hat, crosshatched, and smoking a pipe
- 247 B9.1 D13 whale hunting scene: two figures in canoe with level gunwhales, figure in bow shooting at, or harpooning whale (crosshatched)
- 282 E5.2 E40 heron-like bird, surrounded by stars, adjacent figure pointing weapon
- 285 E15.1 D11 canoe with level gunwhales, two figures catching porpoise

FB3d

- 298 3d.3 E36 human figure, with flat-topped or peaked cap and decorated dress or coat and leggings
- 321 3d.41 K11 head in profile
- 322 3d.44 head in profile
- 325 3d.52 head in profile, with headdress
- 326 3d.53 head in profile
- 333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross on breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
date 1877  
three lines of Micmac script
- 340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry style hat, date 1877

345 3d.105 head of a man wearing feather headdress,  
frontal view

PP1

355 PP1.7 Q1 male figure, wearing top hat and coat,  
genitals depicted

361 PP1.16 E3 human figure, wearing coat or tunic

363 PP1.23 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped  
hat, waistcoat, and carrying cutlass

364 PP1.24 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped  
hat, carrying feathers or frond

PP2

384 PP2a.7 canoe with yard and square sail, at least  
twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in  
bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular  
hat decorated with feathers or branches

385 PP2a.8 canoe with yard and square sail, at least  
twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in  
bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular  
hat

391 PP2d.7 E39 human figure, with braided or gathered hair?

401 PP2e.10 canoe with level gunwhales, figure with top  
hat



402 PP2e.12 Micmac canoe with figure, wearing derby style hat

GL1

437 GL1.22 E33 human figure, wearing rounded hat and decorated coat or skirt

442 GL1.27 E38 human figure, wearing rounded hat

CREED

467 D3 canoe, with level gunwhales, figure wearing peaked cap in bow, stern paddle

481 E35 caribou, grazing, with stick figure pointing weapon at it

488 J4 altar, with kneeling figure

497 Q2 copulation schema, with male figure



- PAIRED FIGURES

FB2b

208 SG5.19 E32 human figures (2), holding hands, clothed in skirts, with one crosshatched

FB2d

256 C14.7 E17 two figures, one incomplete, one clothed with hood-like headcovering and skirt

498 D6.3b E23 human figure, smoking pipe

499 D6... E23 human figure, smoking pipe

288 F13.1a B9 overhead view of structure, in zig-zag incising style, with stick figures clothed in skirts, smoking pipes

FB3d

298 3d.3 E36 human figure, with flat-topped or peaked cap and decorated dress or coat and leggings

299 3d.. E37 human figure, with decorated dress or coat

321 3d.41 K11 head in profile

322 3d.44 head in profile

325 3d.52 head in profile, with headdress

326 3d.53 head in profile

333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross on  
breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
date 1877

three lines of Micmac script

340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
style hat, date 1877

PP1

355 PP1.7 Q1 male figure, wearing top hat and coat,  
genitals depicted

356 PP1.8 Q1 female figure, wearing peaked cap? and skirt,  
genitals depicted

363 PP1.23 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped  
hat, waistcoat, and carrying cutlass

364 PP1.24 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped  
hat, carrying feathers or frond

PP2

391 PP2d.7 E39 human figure, with braided or gathered hair?

392 PP2d.8 E39 female figure, wearing decorated skirt

GL1

436 GL1.21 E33 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt

437 GL1.22 E33 human figure, wearing rounded hat and decorated coat or skirt

441 GL1.26 E38 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt

442 GL1.27 E38 human figure, wearing rounded hat

## CLOTHING

There are 122 petroglyphs that depict clothing, either on human figures or as separate articles. These petroglyphs represent about 25% of the petroglyphs total.

The articles of clothing represented as separate images were in general the most detailed. All identifiable clothing on human figures has been included, in spite of the lack of detail of the majority of these figures. In particular, the distinction between men and women in traditional Micmac dress is not clearly shown in outlined forms.

### - Decorated Clothing

13 human figure petroglyphs have clothing that has been decorated in traditional Micmac styles. This category does not include crosshatching, which is a technique used to fill space, rather than to portray decoration.

Parallel border decoration and geometric patterns consistent with ribbon applique design of the 19th century (see Whitehead 1980:25) may be seen on petroglyphs 154, 166, 211, 265, 298, 299, 392, 441 and 477.

Badges or insignia appear to have been represented on the male figures 333 and 340. Petroglyph 333 has a sacred heart; glyph 340 has a sacred heart and two stars. The interpretation of these details as badges is derived from the photograph of the St. Ann's Day feast at Shubenacadie in 1893 (see Whitehead 1980:27). Several of the young men wearing similar dress to that of the petroglyph figures are wearing 'tomahawk' badges.

#### - Peaked Caps

There are 61 peaked caps carved at Kejimikujik Lake. This number represents slightly more than 12% of the petroglyphs total.

8 of the peaked caps are depicted on female figures; the other 53 are represented alone.

11 of the caps have a plain border design, one or more lines parallel with the edge of the cap and with no interior decoration (44, 54, 88, 98, 116, 148, 168, 175, 370, 400, 421). This technique is consistent with a plain ribbon applique design.

26 of the caps have scalloped or geometric border designs (75, 78, 79, 134, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 152, 224, 329,

369, 387, 388, 395, 435, 439, 440, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461). The scalloped designs are most often represented in the manner of a fringe, off the edge of the cap (139,140). Others are represented within plain borders, as are the geometric designs. These motifs are all consistent with ribbon applique decoration.

20 of the caps have curvilinear designs or design fragments, rendered as border decorations or in the interior, and correspond to the double curve designs consistent with beadwork designs of the 19th century (46, 75, 77, 78, 79, 142, 143, 152, 174, 209, 211, 369, 388, 395, 423, 439, 447, 458, 460, 461).

16 of the caps are decorated with feathers or fronds ( 5, 6, 46, 75, 78, 79, 152, 209, 329, 436, 439, 441, 450, 459, 460, 461).

6 of these caps have feathers or fronds represented in the interior of the cap (5, 6, 79, 152, 329, 459). These details are interpreted as representative designs rather than actual objects. They are most like quillwork, associated with the chevron design (see Whitehead 1982:146) or a feather representation. It is possible, however, that they are feathers worked into the design of the cap.

19 of the caps have the lower panel section depicted (5, 75, 78, 79, 134, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148, 152, 175, 209, 329, 369,



387, 457, 460). The significance of this detail is that the carvers clearly had an intimate understanding of peaked cap structure and design.

#### -- General Comments

In general, the decorative and design detail found on the peaked cap petroglyphs indicates that these women's caps were incised by people who were familiar with the traditional patterns of ribbon applique, beadwork and the structure of the caps as shown in ethnographic examples. This indicates that the caps were probably done by Micmac women.

The range of images and unique design of each cap suggests that they were intended to represent actual caps. Like images of sailing ships were to Europeans, the peaked cap represented a distinctive and identifiable symbol, one that could be readily made and, perhaps, recognised as the work of a specific woman. The symbolic use of these images is underlined by the overwhelming number of peaked caps represented as subjects: of the 61 caps, 53 are incised alone.

As Whitehead has recently learned through an informant, peaked caps were made by girls as part of puberty rituals (1984 personal

communication). This association of peaked caps with a life crisis ritual supports the idea that this headwear had a symbolic aspect, and that the carving of peaked caps may have been connected with other ritual activities. Indeed, there are several peaked caps, similar enough in size and style to have been incised by one or more individuals (e.g. 5, 6; 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80), quite likely at the same time.

Peaked caps were also linked with generalized ceremonial occasions, especially through the late 19th century. At George Lake, a group of human figures petroglyphs appear to represent male figures in headdresses and female figures in peaked caps in a dance or procession (see discussion under human figures).

Some of the design details on the caps may also reflect this symbolic aspect. One cap recorded by Creed (161) has a star as part of the design. The star was the Micmac ideogram for heaven. It is also possible that fronds were used as a decoration on some caps. Whitehead observes that the fir tree was a significant symbol of venerable age and strength that may have inspired the early quilled chevron designs (1982:146). Indeed, the quilled chevron design of the incised bark box used as an example in this work is indistinguishable from the decorations on the peaked caps (1982:146).

At the very least, the peaked cap was a symbol of womanhood. In the depiction of figures, 6 of the women with peaked caps are associated with men. In two instances, the female figures are seated in the bow of canoes; in two others, the men and women appear to be participating in a ritual; and in one group, the man and woman are shown with exposed and enlarged genitals. It is also quite possible that the pair of figures long identified as a man and woman (391, 392) actually represent a woman clothed in an appliqued skirt and a peaked cap next to an unclothed and pregnant female figure in profile.

#### - Top Hats, Other Rectangular Hats with Brims

The top hat is the headwear that defines most of the male petroglyph figures. The identification of this form is difficult because it lacks the distinctive outline of the peaked cap, especially in the small scale of the petroglyphs.

In spite of the relatively rare occurrence of the top hat, however, the range of meanings exhibited by these images mirrors that of the peaked cap petroglyphs. There are 2 canoe petroglyphs with a figure wearing a top hat (2; 401); 1 male figure is represented smoking a pipe (245); 4 other images are

the common frontal representations.

The association between a men's top hat and a peaked cap suggests that these images had a symbolic function. There are 2 examples of this grouping at George Lake (see discussion under human figures). A symbolic interpretation is also suggested by the large sea-going canoes or shallops with square sails (petroglyphs 384 and 385) which appear to have enlarged figures with top hats in their bows. These figures might represent important individuals participating in an actual voyage; on the other hand, the images may be symbolic, in the manner of enlarged spirit figures found in Algonkian petroglyphs in the Canadian Shield (see Vastokas and Vastokas 1973).

#### - Rectangular Hat? or Structure

There are 4 petroglyphs of similar form that appear to represent an object of material culture (383, 386, 390, 418). 3 of the images occur at Peter Point; 1 is incised at Mill Point.

Each has a rectangular form with a band running parallel to the bottom. In glyph 383, there are fronds or feathers depicted on the upper corners, and the bottom band has a decoration that is reminiscent of painted or ribbon applique design on textiles.

Because of these attributes, it is possible that this distinctive petroglyph form is an image of a man's ceremonial headdress. Glyph 383 is associated clearly with two other images in a way that supports this interpretation.

Directly below this hat-like form is a canoe with two figures (382). To the right is a form that appears to represent three sticks or poles gathered at the top (381). This latter form is very similar to the shaking tent used by Algonkian shamans in the northeast. The intentional grouping of these three images, and their apparent association with the large sea-going canoes (384, 385), indicates that their meaning or function may have been related to aboriginal religious beliefs, in the context of a significant, perhaps sacred, journey.

#### - Rounded Headdresses, Derby Type Hats

Rounded, elaborately decorated headdresses appear on several Micmac figures (166, 437, 442). In spite of the skirt-like appearance of the outlines of the clothing on these figures, especially glyph 166, they have been interpreted as males.

Support for this interpretation is found in the human figure and top hat/peaked cap petroglyphs at George Lake (436-442 and

450, 451). The two pairs of figures each have a female wearing a peaked cap and another figure with a hat or headdress with a rounded crown. All the headwear has decoration consistent with ribbon applique and all have fronds or feathers. Associated with these human figures are a pair of hats, one a peaked cap, and the other a men's top hat. By analogy, it is likely that the figure with the rounded headdress represents a male. The hat may be an elaborately decorated top hat, a headdress derived from the top hat form, or a decorated turban (see Ritzenthaler 1978:749 for a photograph of an Ojibwa man wearing a turban made from a sash and decorated with feathers).

The headdress pictured on the figure at Fairy Bay (166) has structural detail that seems reminiscent of a top hat. The headdress has a brim, and, if one ignores the rounded crown, the characteristic rectangular lines of the top hat are incised below.

Derby style hats have been included in this category because they have the same general outline and may have been a secular version of the ceremonial headdresses.

#### - Glengarry Hats

The glengarry is a cap of Scottish origin that was adopted as the headwear accompanying the undress uniform of some British military regiments. Two petroglyph figures wear the glengarry (333, 340). The images are dated 1877. The function of the glengarry in this context was probably similar to other European headwear adopted by Micmac, for ceremonial occasions, with the added militaristic overtones.

Whitehead states that in the period c. 1890-1900, a variation on a Scottish military costume, including glengarry hats, became popular. The photograph of a St. Ann's day celebration at Shubenacadie in 1893 shows several young men wearing these outfits (Whitehead 1980:27).

#### - Tricorn Hats

It is possible that the unusual hats worn by the male figures 363 and 364 are tricorn hats with added feather or frond decoration. The tricorn hat, commonly worn in the 18th century, was a three-cornered hat with the brim turned up on the three sides. In schematic outline, it is the headwear on the Jack in a deck of playing cards: a hat with a flat, wide crown, the flat sides

sloping downwards to the narrower base. The European coat and tails on one of the figures and the schooner associated with the pair reinforce the notion that these hats are also European.

#### - Hoods, Bonnets

Figures with hood-like headcovers may represent women wearing shawls or bonnets. Petroglyph 215 at Fairy Bay shows a woman incised in Micmac style but clearly wearing a bonnet.

#### - Mortarboard Hats

This term is a literal description of a distinctive hat found on two figures, one at Fairy Bay (107) and one at Peter Point (359). This headwear is undoubtedly non-Micmac, and possibly represents a late 19th century woman's hat. These images may have been carved by the same individual.

#### - Feather Headdresses

Feather headdresses are depicted on several figures. The earliest appears to be the porpoise hunting scene of 1877. The portrait and caricature heads at Fairy Bay 3d (325, 345) are undoubtedly later, as neither was recorded by Creed.



## CLOTHING

### FB1

2	1.5	D9	Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern figure with top hat
5	1.17	A8	peaked cap
6	1.18	A7	peaked cap
7	1.19		feather or branch (peaked cap weathered away?)
9	1.21		feather or branch (peaked cap weathered away?)
10	1.22		peaked cap
22	1.39	E15	human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt

### FB2a

44	D1.9c		peaked cap
46	D1.9e	A12	peaked cap
54	D2.1		peaked cap
74	F2.9		peaked cap
75	F2.10	A20	peaked cap
77	F2...	A20	peaked cap
78	F2...	A20	peaked cap
79	F2...	A20	peaked cap
80	F2...	A20	peaked cap
82	G2.1	L14	two hatched triangles (anthropomorph?) with curvilinear design as head
88	D3.4		peaked cap
95	D3.16		footprint (moccasined?)

98	D3.19		peaked cap
107	F3.1	E16	human figure, with mortarboard style hat and dress or gown
112	F3.7	E4	human figure, wearing top hat?
116	H3.2		peaked cap (partially weathered)?
122	E4.5		peaked cap (partially weathered?)
124	E4.7	D12	porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow shooting porpoise  Micmac script, date 1877
134	F4.13	N45	peaked cap
135	F4.14		peaked cap
139	H4.5		peaked cap
140	H4.6		peaked cap
141	H4.7		peaked cap?
142	H4.8	A9	peaked cap
143	H4.9	A9	peaked cap
144	H4.10	A9	peaked cap
145	H4.11	A9	peaked cap
147	H4.13	G18	human figure, incised in geometric design with scalloped edges
148	H4...	G18	peaked cap, linear border design
152	H5.1	A10	peaked cap
153	H5.2	A10	Micmac canoe, figure with hat in stern
154	H5.3	A10	human figure, wearing hood-like headcover and decorated dress

FB2b

- 166 SG3.1 E29 human figure, with rounded headdress and decorated coat or dress
- 168 SD4.3 peaked cap
- 170 SG4.2 peaked cap
- 174 SC5.2a peaked cap
- 175 SC5.2b peaked cap
- 187 SE5.6 E31 human figure, wearing coat or dress and derby style hat
- 197 SG5.5 E8 human figure, wearing peaked cap, dress, and leggings, crosshatched
- 208 SG5.19 E32 human figures (2), holding hands, clothed in skirts, with one crosshatched
- 209 SG5.22 A18 peaked cap
- 211 SG6.1 E26 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
- 214 SA12.2 footprint (moccasined?), with radiating lines in sole
- 215 SE12.5 E28 human figure, clothed with bonnet and crosshatched dress

FB2c

- 224 D6.1 peaked cap?

FB2d

- 244 B2.4 human figure, with hat and crosshatched dress

245	B5.1	E5	human figure, wearing rectangular hat, crosshatched, and smoking a pipe
256	C14.7	E17	two figures, one incomplete, one clothed with hood-like headcovering and skirt
265	D5.1		human figure, wearing decorated dress
267	D6.3	E13	human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt
271	D6.6	E30	human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt
272	D6..	E30	human figure, wearing hatched skirt
275	D16.2	N28	keyhole design, hatched, with (possibly) superimposed rectangular form (candle lantern?)
288	F13.1a	B9	overhead view of structure, in zig-zag incising style, with stick figures clothed in skirts, smoking pipes
292	F13.8		footprint (moccasined?), with internal designs
FB3d			
298	3d.3	E36	human figure, with flat-topped or peaked cap and decorated dress or coat and leggings
299	3d..	E37	human figure, with decorated dress or coat
320	3d.30		human figure, wearing dress (incomplete)
325	3d.52		head in profile, with headdress
329	3d.63	A22	peaked cap
333	3d.78		male figure in profile, with heart and cross on breast, wearing glengarry style hat date 1877 three lines of Micmac script

340	3d.92	E27	male figure in profile, with heart and cross and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry style hat, date 1877
345	3d.105		head of a man wearing feather headdress, frontal view
PP1			
355	PP1.7	Q1	male figure, wearing top hat and coat, genitals depicted
356	PP1.8	Q1	female figure, wearing peaked cap? and skirt, genitals depicted
359	PP1.14	E41	human figure, wearing mortarboard type hat, hatched skirt and bloomers or leggings
360	PP1.15		human figure, wearing skirt
361	PP1.16	E3	human figure, wearing coat or tunic
363	PP1.23	E45	human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped hat, waistcoat, and carrying cutlass
364	PP1.24	E45	human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped hat, carrying feathers or frond
369	PP1.42	A6	peaked cap
370	PP1.44		peaked cap
378	PP1.61		triangular hatched form: human figure?
379	PP1.62		triangular hatched forms: human figure?

PP2

- 383 PP2a.5 rectangular form (structure?), with fronds or feathers on corners and decorated base
- 384 PP2a.7 canoe with yard and square sail, at least twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular hat decorated with feathers or branches
- 385 PP2a.8 canoe with yard and square sail, at least twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular hat
- 386 PP2a.9 rectangular form, with band at bottom
- 387 PP2c.5 A5 peaked cap
- 388 PP2c.6 A16 peaked cap, with ribbon decoration
- 390 PP2c.11 rectangular form, with band at bottom
- 392 PP2d.8 E39 female figure, wearing decorated skirt
- 395 PP2d.14 A17 peaked cap
- 400 PP2d.24 peaked cap
- 401 PP2e.10 canoe with level gunwhales, figure with top hat
- 402 PP2e.12 Micmac canoe with figure, wearing derby style hat

MP2

- 418 MP2.15 B1 rectangular form with decorated band at bottom
- 421 MP2.21 A1 peaked cap

423	MP2.23	A19	peaked cap
GL1			
428	GL1.11		tent-like form with decorated base
431	GL1.14		peaked cap?
435	GL1.20		peaked cap
436	GL1.21	E33	human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
437	GL1.22	E33	human figure, wearing rounded hat and decorated coat or skirt
439	GL1.24	K8	peaked cap
440	GL1.25	K8	flat-topped hat
441	GL1.26	E38	human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
442	GL1.27	E38	human figure, wearing rounded hat
447	GL1.33		peaked cap
GL2			
450	GL2.4	A21	peaked cap, with illegible writing below
451	GL2..	A21	top hat, with feather decoration
CREED			
456		A2	peaked cap, linear designs
457		A3	peaked cap, scalloped exterior border design
458		A11	peaked cap, interior with curvilinear designs and a scalloped border

459 A13 peaked cap, with feathers, toothed border and  
an interior star

460 A14 peaked cap, with feathers, interior  
curvilinear design

461 A15 peaked cap, with feathers, linear and  
curvilinear interior designs

467 D3 canoe, with level gunwhales, figure wearing  
peaked cap in bow, stern paddle

474 E12 human figure, wearing skirt or dress

475 E10 human figure, wearing skirt or dress

476 E11 human figure, wearing skirt or dress

477 E9 human figure, wearing decorated dress and  
wide-brimmed hat

478 E14 human figure in profile, wearing decorated  
dress or gown

479 E20 human figure, wearing dress or gown

488 J4 altar, with kneeling figure



- DECORATED CLOTHING

FB2a

- 147 H4.13 G18 human figure, incised in geometric design with scalloped edges
- 154 H5.3 A10 human figure, wearing hood-like headcover and decorated dress

FB2b

- 166 S63.1 E29 human figure, with rounded headdress and decorated coat or dress
- 211 S66.1 E26 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt

FB2d

- 265 D5.1 human figure, wearing decorated dress

FB3d

- 298 3d.3 E36 human figure, with flat-topped or peaked cap and decorated dress or coat and leggings
- 299 - E37 human figure, with decorated dress or coat

333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross on  
breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
date 1877

three lines of Micmac script

340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
style hat, date 1877

PP2

392 PP2d.8 E39 female figure, wearing decorated skirt

GL1

441 GL1.26 E38 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated  
skirt

CREED

477 E9 human figure, wearing decorated coat or dress  
and wide-brimmed hat

478 E14 human figure in profile, wearing decorated  
dress or gown

- PEAKED CAPS

FB1

2	1.5	D9	Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern figure with top hat
5	1.17		peaked cap
6	1.18		peaked cap
10	1.22		peaked cap

FB2a

44	D1.9c		peaked cap
46	D1.9e	A12	peaked cap
54	D2.1		peaked cap
74	F2.9		peaked cap
75	F2.10		peaked cap
77	F2...	A20	peaked cap
78	F2...	A20	peaked cap
79	F2...	A20	peaked cap
80	F2...	A20	peaked cap
88	D3.4		peaked cap
98	D3.19		peaked cap
116	H3.2		peaked cap (partially weathered)?
122	E4.5		peaked cap (partially weathered?)
134	F4.13	N45	peaked cap

135	F4.14		peaked cap
139	H4.5		peaked cap
140	H4.6		peaked cap
141	H4.7		peaked cap?
142	H4.8	A9	peaked cap
143	H4.9	A9	peaked cap
144	H4.10	A9	peaked cap
145	H4.11	A9	peaked cap
148	H4...	G18	peaked cap, linear border design
152	H5.1	A10	peaked cap
FB2b			
168	SD4.3		peaked cap
170	SG4.2		peaked cap
174	SC5.2a		peaked cap
175	SC5.2b		peaked cap
197	SG5.5	E8	human figure, wearing peaked cap, dress, and leggings, crosshatched
209	SG5.22	A18	peaked cap
211	SG6.1	E26	human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
FB2c			
224	D6.1		peaked cap?

FB3d

329 3d.63 A22 peaked cap

PP1

356 PP1.8 Q1 female figure, wearing peaked cap? and skirt,  
genitals depicted

369 PP1.42 A6 peaked cap

370 PP1.44 peaked cap

387 PP2c.5 A5 peaked cap

388 PP2c.6 A16 peaked cap, with ribbon decoration

392 PP2d.8 E39 female figure, wearing decorated skirt

395 PP2d.14 A17 peaked cap

400 PP2d.24 peaked cap

MP2

421 MP2.21 A1 peaked cap

423 MP2.23 A19 peaked cap

GL1

428 GL1.11 tent-like form with decorated base

431 GL1.14 peaked cap?

436 GL1.21 E33 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated  
skirt

- 439 GL1.24 K8 peaked cap
- 441 GL1.26 E38 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt
- 447 GL1.33 peaked cap

GL2

- 450 GL2.4 A21 peaked cap, with illegible writing below

CREED

- 456 A2 peaked cap, linear designs
- 457 A3 peaked cap, scalloped exterior border design
- 458 A11 peaked cap, interior with curvilinear designs and a scalloped border
- 459 A13 peaked cap, with feathers, toothed border and an interior star
- 460 A14 peaked cap, with feathers, interior curvilinear design
- 461 A15 peaked cap, with feathers, linear and curvilinear interior designs
- 467 D3 canoe, with level gunwhales, figure wearing peaked cap in bow, stern paddle

- TOP HATS, OTHER RECTANGULAR HATS WITH BRIMS

FB1

2 1.5 D9 Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern figure with top hat

FB2a

112 F3.7 E4 human figure, wearing top hat?

147 H4.13 G18 human figure, incised in geometric design with scalloped edges

FB2d

245 B5.1 E5 human figure, wearing rectangular hat, crosshatched, and smoking a pipe

FB3d

298 3d.3 E36 human figure, with flat-topped or peaked cap and decorated dress or coat and leggings

PP1

355 PP1.7 Q1 male figure, wearing top hat and coat

PP2

384 PP2a.7 canoe with yard and square sail, at least twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular hat decorated with feathers or branches

385 PP2a.8 canoe with yard and square sail, at least  
twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in  
bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular  
hat

401 PP2e.10 canoe with level gunwhales, figure with top  
hat

GL1

440 GL1.25 K8 top hat

GL2

451 GL2... A21 top hat, with feathers or fronds



- RECTANGULAR HAT? OR STRUCTURE

PP2

- 383 PP2a.5 rectangular form with fronds or feathers on  
upper corners, decorated base
- 386 PP2a.9 rectangular form, with band at bottom
- 390 PP2c.11 rectangular form, with band at bottom

MP2

- 418 MP2.15 rectangular form with decorated band at bottom

- ROUNDED HEADDRESSES, DERBY TYPE HATS

FB2b

- 166 SG3.1 E29 human figure, with rounded headdress and decorated coat or dress
- 187 SE5.6 E31 human figure, wearing coat or dress and derby style hat

FB2d

- 288 F13.1a B9 overhead view of structure, in zig-zag incising style, with stick figures clothed in skirts, smoking pipes, one figure wearing rounded hat?

PP2

- 402 PP2e.12 Micmac canoe with figure, wearing derby style hat

GL1

- 437 GL1.22 E33 human figure, wearing rounded hat and decorated coat or skirt
- 442 GL1.27 E38 human figure, wearing rounded hat

- GLENGARRY STYLE HATS

FB3d

- 333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross on  
breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
date 1877  
three lines of Micmac script
- 340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
style hat, date 1877

- TRICORN HATS?

- 363 PP1.23 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped hat, waistcoat, and carrying cutlass
- 364 PP1.24 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped hat, carrying feathers or frond

- HOODS, BONNETS

FB2a

154 H5.3 A10 human figure, wearing hood-like headcover and decorated dress

FB2b

215 SE12.5 E28 human figure, clothed with bonnet and crosshatched dress

FB2d

256 C14.7 E17 two figures, one incomplete, one clothed with hood-like headcovering and skirt

- MORTARBOARD STYLE HATS

FB2a

107 F3.1 E16 human figure, with mortarboard style hat and  
dress or gown

PP1

359 PP1.14 E41 human figure, wearing mortarboard type hat,  
hatched skirt and bloomers or leggings

- FEATHER HEADDRESSES

FB2a

124 E4.7 D12 porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two  
figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow  
shooting porpoise  
Micmac script, date 1877

FB3d

325 3d.52 head in profile, with headdress  
345 3d.105 head of a man wearing feather headdress,  
frontal view

## SMOKING PIPES

Smoking pipes had both sacred and secular use among the Micmac. As a result, all smoking pipes have been included, with the exception of those clearly linked with other non-Micmac glyphs.

There are 10 smoking pipes represented on the rocks. The pipes represent about 2% of the petroglyphs total.

1 pipe appears to be a native style pipe (81), although the only record available (Myers) is a hand sketch.

3 pipes appear to be European clay pipes, commonly traded to the Micmac. These pipes are identified by the angled bowl and relatively long stem.

In one petroglyph, human figures smoking pipes may be involved in ceremonial activity. The structure incised in zig-zag style (288) contains two stick figures with pipes. The figures are wearing skirts; and, in the Creed version, one may be wearing a rounded hat or headdress.

Pipes 103 and 105 were incised by the same individual and may be associated with the Micmac script nearby (104).



## SMOKING PIPES

### FB2a

49	E1.1	E26	man smoking pipe, date 1877, Micmac script
65	D2.17		smoking pipe: clay type
81	F2.13		smoking pipe: native style
103	E3.2		smoking pipe: clay type
105	E3.5		smoking pipe: clay type

### FB2d

245	B5.1	E5	human figure, wearing rectangular hat, crosshatched, and smoking a pipe
288	F13.1a	B9	overhead view of structure, in zig-zag incising style, with stick figures clothed in skirts, smoking pipes
498	D6.3b	E23	human figure, smoking pipe
499	D6...	E23	human figure, smoking pipe

### FB3d

327	3d.56		pipe, hand
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- NATIVE TYPE SMOKING PIPES

FB2a

81 F2.13 smoking pipe: native type

- EUROPEAN CLAY TYPE SMOKING PIPES

FB2a

65	D2.17	smoking pipe: clay type
103	E3.2	smoking pipe: clay type
105	E3.5	smoking pipe: clay type

## MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL CULTURE OBJECTS

3 unique objects are pictured on the rocks.

One petroglyph resembling a keyhole design with a candle-like form in front of it might be a candle lantern.

A human figure wearing European clothing is shown carrying a cutlass.

A form at Mill Point, seemingly associated with a horned serpent and a sloop or shallop appears to represent a cello or other stringed instrument (425).



## ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES

This category includes both European and native style dwellings. Non-Micmac structures were not included unless they were associated with other Micmac petroglyphs.

There are 19 petroglyphs identified as possible structures. These glyphs represent about 4% of the petroglyphs total.

One petroglyph representing 9 frame buildings and 2 trees was included because Myers records it as a group of wigwams, whereas Creed has it as buildings (94). Although this glyph needs to be reexamined, it is likely that the Creed version is correct.

2 petroglyphs of chapels or churches have been recorded at Kejimkujik (97; 489). Compared to the detailed, well executed churches at McGowan Lake, these examples are simply sketches. There are a number of other Christian religious symbols on the rocks and, therefore, the absence of church petroglyphs is surprising.

2 frame structures appear to be associated with human figures. The human figure glyph 265 appears to be standing in front of a frame building with 4 windows and a door represented. The ceremonial petroglyph group at George Lake (436-442) may be gathered in front of a frame structure now visible only in

outline (443).

2 structures or floor plans are incised in the zig-zag style (288, 289). There is a similar petroglyph at McGowan lake, suggesting that they were made by the same individual.

The significance of these structures is unknown, although Robertson (1973) has interpreted them as "a medicine-man's lodge ... and a juggler's lodge", citing a 19th century informant.

The two stick figures are wearing skirts and are smoking pipes, and one figure in the Creed version appears to be wearing a dome-shaped hat. This hat may be a ceremonial headdress, but the tiny size of these figures makes it impossible to verify.

#### - Wigwams

8 of the petroglyphs have been identified as possible wigwams, but in none of the images is the structure clear enough to verify. As noted above, petroglyph 94 represents frame buildings rather than wigwams. This situation is in contrast to McGowan Lake, where there are 3 villages of wigwams depicted.

It is possible that glyph 381, associated with a rectangular hat or structure and a canoe, is a shaking tent, used by shamans for divination.

- Structure or Rectangular Hat?

This category (also represented in the clothing section) has been included here to isolate this distinctive petroglyph form. It appears in clear association with a canoe with two figures and a small structure at Peter Point (381-383). Because this glyph is so much larger in scale than the other two images, it may represent a structure, rather than a hat.



## ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES

### FB1

26 1.45 tent-like design

### FB2a

94 D3.12 N34 village scene: 9 frame buildings and 2 trees

97 D3.18 peaked structure with cross: chapel?

99 D3.20 tent-like structure

### FB2b

188 SE5.3 E31 structure: frame building

### FB2d

266 D5.2 house

288 F13.1a B9 overhead view of structure, in zig-zag incising style, with stick figures clothed in skirts, smoking pipes

289 F13.1b B9 overhead view of structure, partially finished, in zig-zag incising style

### FB3d

323 3d.47 wigwam

341 3d.93 tent-like designs (two)

350 3d.112 wigwam

PP2

381 PP2a.3 tent-like form (shaking tent?)

383 PP2a.5 rectangular form (structure?), with fronds or  
feathers on corners and decorated base

386 PP2a.9 rectangular form, with band at bottom

390 PP2c.11 rectangular form, with band at bottom

MP1

405 MP1.4b N41 tent-like form

MP2

418 MP2.15 rectangular form with decorated band at bottom

GL1

428 GL1.11 tent-like form with decorated base

CREED

489 J5 church

- WIGWAMS

FB1

26 1.45 tent-like design

FB2a

99 D3.20 tent-like structure

FB3d

323 3d.47 wigwam

341 3d.93 tent-like designs

350 3d.112 wigwam

PP2

381 PP2a.3 tent-like form (shaking tent?)

MP1

405 MP1.4b N41 tent-like form

GL1

428 GL1.11 tent-like form with decorated base

- STRUCTURE OR RECTANGULAR HAT?

PP2

- 383 PP2a.5 rectangular form (structure?), with fronds or  
feathers on corners and decorated base
- 386 PP2a.9 rectangular form, with band at bottom
- 390 PP2c.11 rectangular form, with band at bottom

MP2

- 418 MP2.15 B1 rectangular form with decorated band at bottom

## RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS

The most prevalent images in this category are altarpieces, similar to those used in the Roman Catholic Church. As the Micmac were the predominant adherents to the Catholic faith in this region, all the Christian religious symbols found on the rocks have been interpreted as Micmac. The star, a Micmac ideogram for heaven, has not been included here.

There are 29 religious symbols incised on the rocks. These glyphs represent about 6% of the petroglyphs total.

The images are as follows:

2 churches or chapels (97, 489)

1 figure kneeling at an altar (488)

6 altarpieces

1 design with a base suggesting an altarpiece, vegetative symbol above

8 crosses

1 cross-like images similar in form to a mast and yardarm

2 sacred hearts

1 orb

1 object with a cross on the top and a star inside (coffin?)

1 group of cross-like designs on a baseline (tombstones?)

1 tombstone design? (491)

2 circular designs with crosses in the interior (463, 464).

In general, the religious imagery is consistent with the Roman Catholic faith of the Micmac. The images illustrate some of the dominant aspects of religious life among the Micmac, from St. Ann's day festivals (333, 340), to individual worship (488), to the imagery of death (419, 491).

Only one image appears to have a traditional Micmac symbol. A sun is depicted in the centre of a circular design having scalloped edges and crosses (464). Whitehead points out the striking similarity of this design type to a quillwork box lid (1982:37). In a letter to Colonel Garrick Mallery in 1888, George Creed says that petroglyphs B7 and B8 (463 and 464), the circular designs with scalloped borders and crosses, were "immediately recognised by Micmacs as insignia of chiefs".

4 of the altarpieces are incised in a distinctive style, consisting of three crosses and additional decorative elements (117, 119, 126, 150). These elaborate altarpieces may have been prepared for important religious events, such as St. Ann's day.

The modern location of petroglyph 491 is unknown. It is possible, however, that this image was incised on a slate tombstone from the old cemetery near Fairy Bay. Near the top of the image there is the number 20 and an illegible word; below,

the date 1848 is inscribed, with some illegible script.

The cross-like image similar to a mast and yardarm (68) appears at a site on Dean Lake as well. It is possible that these petroglyphs were carved by the same individual. The significance of the mast-like design is unknown.

## RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS

### FB1

30 1.56 cross designs (3): tombstones?

### FB2a

66 D2.24 cross

68 E2.2 N46 cross-like form

92 D3.8 cross-like form

93 D3.9 C30 cross

97 D3.18 peaked structure with cross: chapel?

117 D4.7 J6 altarpiece, with three crosses

118 E4.1 J6 orb

119 D4.8 J1 altarpiece, with three crosses

126 E5.1 J3 altarpiece, with three crosses

150 D5.1 J2 altarpiece, with three crosses

160 E6N.1 altarpiece, with single cross

### FB2b

191 SE5.10 cross

### FB2c

236 M8.3 N44 vegetative design above crosshatched rectangle  
with curvilinear designs



FB2d

241 A3.2 cross

FB3d

311 3d.19 cross

canoe with level gunwhales, figure with paddle  
hourglass form

333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross on  
breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
date 1877

three lines of Micmac script

340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
style hat, date 1877

PP2

389 PP2c.9 crosses?

MP1

409 MP1.18 cross and stars (2)

MP2

419 MP2.16 N23 coffin or tombstone? with cross and star

GL2

455 GL2.8 cross

CREED

462 B2 linear design, with altarpiece in centre

463 B7 circular design, with scalloped interior design, curvilinear elements, and a cross

464 B8 circular design, with toothed exterior, scalloped interior border, with crosses and a sun in the centre

488 J4 altar, with kneeling figure

489 J5 church

491 N39 design of intersecting arcs, with altarpiece in centre

492 C30 altarpiece with crosshatched base

- ALTARPIECES

FB2a

117	D4.7	J6	altarpiece, with three crosses
119	D4.8	J1	altarpiece, with three crosses
126	E5.1	J3	altarpiece, with three crosses
150	D5.1	J2	altarpiece, with three crosses
160	E6N.1		altarpiece, with single cross

FB2c

236	M8.3	N44	vegetative design above crosshatched rectangle with curvilinear designs
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CREED

462		B2	linear design, with altarpiece in centre
463		B7	circular design, with scalloped interior design, curvilinear elements, and a cross
464		B8	circular design, with toothed exterior, scalloped interior border, with crosses and a sun in the centre
488		J4	altar, with kneeling figure
491		N39	design of intersecting arcs, with altarpiece in centre
492		C30	altarpiece with crosshatched base

## STARS

As the five-pointed star represented the Micmac ideogram for heaven, all star petroglyphs were included in this section. Some of these stars are probably decorative; some are undoubtedly non-Micmac in origin.

31 stars or groups of stars were recorded on the rocks of Kejimkujik. These glyphs represent about 6% of the petroglyphs total.

The stars that are most likely religious symbols are those included in representational designs. The human figure, petroglyph 340, appearing to represent a young man dressed in ceremonial clothing for a St. Ann's day celebration, has 2 stars represented on his chest, in association with a sacred heart symbol. The coffin or tombstone represented at Mill Point (419) has a star incised on its face, below a cross. And George Creed recorded a peaked cap with a star as part of the interior decoration (459).

Some of the stars appear to be representations of the heavens. In the petroglyph commonly interpreted as the mythological creature Culloo (Robertson 1973), the large heron-like bird is surrounded by stars (282). And at Mill Point, there is a complex group of petroglyphs - some of which are probably superimposed -

that include a number of stars (404). In this same place there is a meandering form that may possibly represent a river (406) with a wigwam beside it (405).

STARS

FB1

25 1.43 stars (3)

FB2a

32 C1.1 star

36 C1.10 star

50 C2.1 star

60 D2.10 star

61 D2.12 star

83 C3.3 star, incised in zig-zag style

102 D3.30 star

FB2b

195 SF5.3 star

198 SG5.6 star

FB2c

226 H7.5 star

231 HB.17 star

237 NB.1 star

FB2d

270 D6.5b stars (3)  
276 D16.3a star  
282 E5.2 E40 heron-like bird, surrounded by stars,  
adjacent figure pointing weapon

FB3d

302 3d.9 star (5 points)  
303 3d.11 star (9 points)  
306 3d.14 group of three stars  
312 3d.20 star  
date 1877  
315 3d.24 star  
319 3d.29 N30 star (seven points), with small stars in four  
points  
2 small stars adjacent  
337 3d.85 star  
340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
style hat, date 1877

PP2

397 PP2d.19 stars

MP1

404 MP1.4a N41 stars and crescentric designs

408 MP1.7 stars (2)

409 MP1.18 cross and stars (2)

MP2

419 MP2.16 N23 coffin or tombstone? with cross and star

GL1

432 GL1.16 star

CREED

459 A13 peaked cap, with feathers, toothed border and  
an interior star



## SUN IMAGES

Sun images were included because the sun figured in traditional Micmac religion.

Of the 2 sun images recorded at Kejimkujik, one is a decorative symbol (464) , possibly associated with quillwork design (Whitehead 1982:37) or a chief's insignia (Creed 1888), and the other appears to be part of a complex scene involving human figures and snake-like forms (196, 197, 205-207).

The absence of sun figures, when compared to the much greater frequency of Catholic religious imagery, reinforces the hypothesis that most of the presently known petroglyphs were incised during the later post-contact period, when Catholicism had supplanted traditional beliefs.



## HEARTS

Heart images were sometimes used as a decorative motif by the Micmac, and so they are included here. There are 4 hearts incised at Kejimkujik. Two of these are the sacred heart symbol of the Roman Catholic Church, incised on two male figures (333, 340). One heart is incised within a footprint (42). The other heart is incised in the zig-zag style and is associated with a star (84). The significance of these latter designs is unknown.

HEARTS

FB2a

42 D1.9a left footprint with heart in centre

84 C3.4 C20 heart, incised in zig-zag style

FB3d

333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
on breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
date 1877

three lines of Micmac script

340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
style hat, date 1877

## SEXUAL SYMBOLS

Representations of genitalia, copulation scenes and other sexual motifs were identified as Micmac unless there was evidence of association with non-Micmac petroglyphs.

14 petroglyphs involving sexual symbols were recorded. These images represent about 3% of the petroglyphs total.

The sexual symbols are as follows:

7 vaginas

1 phallus, erect, in the form of a horned serpent

3 copulation schema, involving the genitals only

1 copulation schema, where a male figure is depicted having intercourse with an enlarged vagina

1 male and one female figure, clothed, but with genitals enlarged and exposed.

The majority of sexual symbols show no evidence of any overt symbolism other than that graphically illustrated.

It is possible, however, that the phallus/horned serpent motif (127) may be a traditional symbol associated with mythology or native religious beliefs.

## SEXUAL SYMBOLS

### FB1

19 1.33 vagina

### FB2a

101 D3.29 vagina?

### FB2c

127 J7.8 F10 phallus in shape of horned serpent

### FB3d

297 3d.2 vagina

301 3d.7 vagina

304 3d.12 copulation schema

### PP1

355 PP1.7 Q1 male figure, wearing top hat and coat,  
genitals depicted

356 PP1.8 Q1 female figure, wearing peaked cap? and skirt,  
genitals depicted

371 PP1.45 vagina?

372 PP1.46 vagina

MP2

415 MP2.10 Q3 copulation schema

416 MP2.11 Q4 copulation schema

417 MP2.12 vagina

CREED

497 Q2 copulation schema, with male figure

## CANOES AND SAILING VESSELS

There are 38 watercraft incised on the rocks of Kejimkujik that may be linked to the Micmac. These canoes and sailing vessels represent about 8% of the petroglyphs total.

### - Canoes

28 of the vessels are canoes. These canoes represent almost 6% of the total Micmac petroglyphs.

10 of these images depict the traditional sea-going Micmac canoe with the swelled gunwhales. The rest of the canoes have level gunwhales, consistent with general Algonkian design, and would have been commonly used as interior canoes (see Adney and Chappelle 1964).

There are two canoes with yard and square sails, each containing 12 or more individuals.

24 of the canoes contain figures; in 4 others the canoes were either represented alone or the figures have not been recorded.

One canoe scene may be dated in the year 1877 (124). Other canoes have figures wearing headwear probably of European inspiration or origin (2, 153, 384, 385, 401, 402, 467).



Many of the canoes portray the Micmac people in their daily work, travelling, hunting or fishing. In glyphs 2, 124, 382, 466, 471, and 472, the contents of the canoes are depicted. As Biard described in the Jesuit Relations, the canoes were "so capacious that a single one of them will hold an entire household of five or six persons, with all their dogs, sacks, skins, kettles, and other heavy baggage" (Jesuit Relations, III:83-85). Hunting or fishing scenes are depicted in 5 glyphs (124, 125, 247, 285, 286).

This identification with secular themes is also shown in the depiction of human figures. In glyph 2, there is a man with a top hat in the stern and a female with a peaked cap in the bow. This glyph is markedly similar to one at McGowan Lake. Glyph 467 shows a female figure with a peaked cap in the bow. The stern figure has not been recorded, but is probably similar to the above. This scene typifies what Wallis describes about the daily working lives of Micmac people: "Micmac women...appear to have shared most of the economic pursuits of the men. Frequently a man and his wife fished from the same canoe (Wallis and Wallis 1955:245).

There is possibly a religious aspect to this secular activity. Near the canoe represented in petroglyph 2 there is a snake or serpent (1). The association of these images suggests that beliefs in underwater spirits, consistent with other Algonkian peoples (see Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Vastokas and Vastokas 1973), may be

reflected here. This association of snake or serpent forms with watercraft is repeated in petroglyphs 433 and 434, where the vessel is a schooner (see below).

A symbolic religious aspect is also suggested by the two canoes (or shallops) with sails incised at Peter Point (384, 385). The bow figure of the lead? canoe has a stick-like object with a triangular top and the stern has a similar object with a rectangular top. The stern figure in the second canoe (385) has a similar rectangular head. There are at least 12 figures in each craft; but these figures are much larger in scale. If it is assumed that relative size denotes significance, then these figures may represent symbolic images or ceremonial figures. As discussed earlier (see clothing section), the stern figures appear to represent men wearing rectangular hats; the triangular form in the bow may then represent a female figure in a peaked cap. This interpretation would make these images consistent with the male/female convention found in other canoes with human figures.

If the scene represented has religious overtones, it might be a record of an actual journey, such as a religious procession, in which the canoes carry banners or other insignia mounted in the bow. On the other hand, these enlarged figures may reflect the common depiction in aboriginal rock art of souls or spirits in boats, being conveyed to the land of the dead (see Vastokas and Vastokas 1973).

In summary, these images, like so many other Micmac glyphs, have an ambiguity about their content that probably mirrors the conflict between traditional aboriginal religious concepts and symbolism and those of the predominant Roman Catholic religion. Traditionally, daily pursuits would have been accompanied by appropriate gestures to the world of the spirits; it may be that these petroglyphs, although probably contemporary with the other glyphs with European symbolism, betray the continuing influence of traditional beliefs.

It must be observed, however, that the scene may represent a secular event, a depiction of a sea-going canoe or shallop under sail. In 1606, Lescarbot described a shallop manned by Micmacs that had a sail with a stag painted on it (Lescarbot 1928:84). Wallis describes a canoe at Burnt Church that was 23 feet long, carried 17 yards of sail, and could carry from 12 to 15 people (Wallis and Wallis 1955:47).

#### - Sailing Vessels

As the sailing ship had no positive economic or cultural impact on the Micmac, whereas it did on the European immigrants, it is quite likely that most vessels are European in origin. This selection has been made, however, because of associations with other glyphs or because of stylistic features that indicate a probable Micmac origin.

1 sailing vessel may be confidently given a Micmac origin, because it has Micmac script incised in the bow (59). 9 other vessels were likely carved by the Micmac.

The 10 sailing vessels represent about 2% of the petroglyphs total.

The sailing vessels are indentified as follows:

- 1 ship
- 6 schooners
- 2 topsail schooners
- 1 shallop or sloop

The Micmac were adept sailors, able to operate European sailing vessels. From his ship in 1606, Lescarbot described the approach of two shallops under sail, one manned by Micmac: "the savages were more diligent, for they arrived first" (Lescarbot 1928:84).

Dickason (1975), records many references to the naval prowess of the Micmac, especially against the English in the 18th century, when they raided and captured English ships (1975:11).

Individual comments:

Petroglyph 58, a schooner, was selected because it is similar in form to the glyph 59 above it on the rock, and was probably carved by the same person.

Glyph 59 is a ship with Micmac script incised in the bow and the date 1877 below. This petroglyph is one of a number of images dated 1877. The significance of these images is discussed above in the section on dated petroglyphs

Glyph 162, a schooner, was selected because of its crosshatched hull. The date 1889 may be superimposed.

Glyph 204, a schooner, was chosen because it appears to be associated with Micmac figures and other images nearby , especially 194 to 211.

Glyph 342, a schooner, was chosen because there is the date 1877 incised below.

Glyph 365, a topsail schooner, was chosen because it appears to be associated with the Micmac figures adjacent (363,364).

Glyph 368, a topsail schooner, was chosen because it appears to be associated with Micmac script? and the date 1829. This vessel is problematic, however, because the partially eroded vessel on which this large vessel is superimposed may actually be the one linked with the date. The script is, significantly, apparently the same as that on George Lake with the date 1834 (427).

Glyph 426, a shallop or sloop, was selected because it appears to

be associated with the horned serpent 424.

Glyph 434, a schooner, was selected because it appears to be associated with an adjacent snake form (433). The crosshatching on the snake and the masts of the ship is quite similar. In addition, the ship is crosshatched, in the common style of many Micmac images.

## CANOE AND SAILING VESSELS

### FB1

2 1.5 D9 Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern figure with top hat

### FB2a

58 D2.5 sailing vessel: schooner

59 D2.8 sailing vessel: ship, with Micmac script in bow date 1877

63 D2.15 D1 canoe: level gunwhales

106 E3.6 canoe: level gunwhales

124 E4.7 D12 porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow shooting porpoise  
Micmac script, date 1877

125 E4.9 D10 porpoise hunting scene: canoe with level gunwhales, with two figures, figure in bow shooting porpoise

153 H5.2 A10 Micmac canoe, figure with hat in stern

162 E6N.3 sailing vessel: schooner, with crosshatched hull, date 1889

FB2b

172 SG4.6 Micmac canoe  
 173 SG4.7 Micmac canoe  
 204 SG5.14 C26 sailing vessel: schooner, crosshatched  
 218 SE12.11 D8 Micmac canoe, with stern paddle

FB2d

247 B9.1 D13 whale hunting scene: two figures in canoe with level gunwhales, figure in bow shooting at, or harpooning whale (crosshatched)  
 269 D6.5a sailing vessel: schooner, with crosshatched hull  
 285 E15.1 D11 canoe with level gunwhales, two figures catching porpoise  
 286 E15.2 canoe with level gunwhales, figure in stern (with fishing line?)  
 287 E15.4 C35 canoe, with level gunwhales, two figures

FB3d

311 3d.19 cross  
 canoe with level gunwhales, figure with paddle  
 hourglass form  
 342 3d.94 sailing vessel: schooner, with illegible writing in hull, date 1877 below



PP1

365 PP1.22 sailing vessel: topsail schooner

368 PP1.36 C34 sailing vessel: topsail schooner  
date 1829, Micmac script?

PP2

382 PP2a.4 canoe with level gunwhales, two (possibly  
three) figures

384 PP2a.7 canoe with yard and square sail, at least  
twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in  
bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular  
hat decorated with feathers or branches

385 PP2a.8 canoe with yard and square sail, at least  
twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in  
bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular  
hat

399 PP2d.21 Micmac canoe with two figures

401 PP2e.10 canoe with level gunwhales, figure with top  
hat

402 PP2e.12 Micmac canoe with figure, wearing derby style  
hat

MP1

407 MP1.5 N41 canoe with level gunwhales, two figures

MP2

414 MP2.8 canoe with level gunwhales

MP5

426 MP5.4 sailing vessel: shallop

GL1

434 GL1.18 C30a sailing vessel: schooner

CREED

466 D2 canoe, with figure in stern

467 D3 canoe, with level gunwhales, figure wearing peaked cap in bow, stern paddle

469 D4 Micmac canoe, with figures and stern paddle

470 D5 canoe, with two figures

471 D6 Micmac canoe, with two figures

472 D7 Micmac canoe, with two figures

- MICMAC CANOES (SWELLED GUNWHALES)

FB1

2 1.5 Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern figure with top hat

FB2a

124 E4.7 D12 porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow shooting porpoise

Micmac script, date 1877

153 H5.2 A10 Micmac canoe, figure with hat in stern

FB2b

172 SG4.6 Micmac canoe

173 SG4.7 Micmac canoe

218 SE12.11 D8 Micmac canoe, with stern paddle

PP2

399 PP2d.21 Micmac canoe with two figures

CREED

469 D4 Micmac canoe, with figures and stern paddle

471 D6 Micmac canoe, with two figures

472 D7 Micmac canoe, with two figures

- SAILING VESSELS, PROBABLY INCISED BY MICMAC

FB2a

58	D2.5		sailing vessel: schooner
59	D2.8		sailing vessel: ship, with Micmac script in bow date 1877
162	E6N.3		sailing vessel: schooner, with crosshatched hull, date 1889

FB2b

204	S65.14	C26	sailing vessel: schooner, crosshatched
269	D6.5a		sailing vessel: schooner, with crosshatched hull

FB3d

342	3d.94		sailing vessel: schooner, with illegible writing in hull, date 1877 below
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PP1

365	PP1.22		sailing vessel: topsail schooner
368	PP1.36	C34	sailing vessel: topsail schooner date 1829, Micmac script?

MP5

426 MP5.4 sailing vessel: shallop

GL1

434 GL1.18 C30a sailing vessel: schooner

## HUNTING SCENES

There are 7 hunting scenes and 1 hunting record on the rocks of Kejimkujik. These images represent less than 2% of the petroglyphs total.

The hunting scenes are as follows:

- 1 caribou hunting scene (481)
- 1 moose hunting scene (295, 296)
- 1 whale harpooning scene (247)
- 1 bird hunting scene (282)
- 3 porpoise harpooning scenes (124, 125, 285)
- 1 moose hunting record (137, 138)

It is possible that the hunters in the caribou, moose, and bird hunts are not actually linked with the animal images. The figures in the caribou and bird scenes are stick figures, different in style from their prey. In the moose scene, the anthropomorphic figure is carved on a separate section of rock. These images may have been added subsequently.

Both the canoeing figures and the prey in the sea mammal hunting scenes appear to be integral.

One of the porpoise hunts is dated 1877 and has a legend in Micmac script; the moose hunting record is named and dated 1867. As all

the figures appear to be holding guns (although the figure in the whale hunting scene may be holding a harpoon line), these images are probably contemporaneous.

#### Individual comments:

##### Porpoise hunting:

The most graphic hunting scene is 124, which shows two figures in a Micmac sea-going canoe. The bow figure appears to be aiming a harpoon gun at a porpoise. The stern figure, in the Creed version, holds a paddle. There is a porpoise represented in the centre of the canoe, probably the catch. Both figures in the Myers version are wearing feathers. The Micmac script below probably represents a name or names of the individuals in the canoe, and the scene is dated 1877.

Glyphs 125 and 285 represent similar activities, without the biographical information. In 125, the figure also appears to be shooting a gun. This suggests that these porpoise hunting scenes are consistent with the ethnohistoric depictions (see Wallis and Wallis 1955:31).

##### Moose hunting:

The moose hunting scene involves a stick figure pointing a gun-like weapon at a moose. The figure is unusual, however, in that it is represented with a curvilinear head and a curled tail. This

depiction suggests that the figure is imaginary, and is perhaps associated with hunting magic, or mythology. The weapon, however, appears to be a gun.

#### Caribou hunting:

The caribou hunting scene involves a stick figure pointing a gun-like weapon at a grazing caribou.

#### Bird hunting:

The bird hunting scene involves a stick figure pointing a gun-like weapon at the enlarged figure of a heron-like bird. The usual interpretation of this scene is that the bird is the supernatural creature Culloo. This interpretation, however, appears to originate in the work of Robertson (1973) rather than from an ethnographic or ethnohistoric source. This scene is accompanied by stars that support such a sacred connotation. It is possible that the stick figure was added subsequently.

#### Whale hunting:

Glyph 247 shows a canoe with two figures pursuing, or being towed, by a whale. The bow figure is either pointing a weapon or holding a line, possibly having harpooned the whale. Whale hunting has not been recorded among the Micmac, although Micmac hunters may have casually hunted the Atlantic pilot whale or other small whale-like Cetacean.



#### Hunting record:

The hunting record is represented by glyphs 137 and 138, which record a moose taken by Jim Charles in 1867. This record is the only one of its type on the rocks, although the porpoise hunting scene 124 may also have a biographical notation. It is not clear that the two glyphs are related. The inscription was not placed under the image, but to the side. This appears to have occurred because of the presence of the foot, which partially superimposes the right foreleg of the moose. Whoever carved the inscription would have undoubtedly placed it under the moose if the footprint had not been there. This suggests that the moose was carved before the footprint. Subsequently (in 1867), Jim Charles or his surrogate carved the legend to record his successful hunt.

## HUNTING SCENES

### FB2a

- 124 E4.7 D12 porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow shooting porpoise  
Micmac script, date 1877
- 125 E4.9 D10 porpoise hunting scene: canoe with level gunwhales, with two figures, figure in bow shooting porpoise
- 137 H4.3 moose
- 138 H4.4 legend adjacent to moose: "Jim Charles, his moose, Sept. 19, 1867"

### FB2d

- 247 B9.1 D13 whale hunting scene: two figures in canoe with level gunwhales, figure in bow shooting at, or harpooning whale (crosshatched)
- 282 E5.2 E40 heron-like bird, surrounded by stars, adjacent figure pointing weapon
- 285 E15.1 D11 canoe with level gunwhales, two figures catching porpoise

FB2f

295 F2.1 F8 figure with curvilinear design as head,  
pointing weapon at moose

296 F2.2 F19 moose

CREED

481 E35 caribou, grazing, with stick figure pointing  
weapon at it

## MAMMALS, BIRDS, FISH, REPTILES

There are 68 animals probably incised by the Micmac on the rocks of Kejimkujik. These represent about 12% of the petroglyphs total.

### - Mammals

There are 31 mammals. 6 of them are included in the hunting scenes.

### -Moose, Deer, and Caribou

There are 16 glyphs of the family Cervidae. Petroglyphs of these animals were identified by their distinctive antlers and body outlines. Moose and caribou were distinguished from deer by their heavier bodies, thicker necks and larger antlers. Moose were distinguished from caribou by their bulky antlers.

5 are clearly moose.

1 is a caribou.

2 are deer.

8 mammals are cervidae, not clearly identifiable.

- Bears

The bear petroglyph (235) was identified by its stooped head and neck, muzzle, and short legs.

- Cats

The feline (23) was identified by its blunt face and prominent ears, situated close to the forehead. This animal is probably a lynx or bobcat. The glyph appears to be associated with Micmac script and the date 1877.

- Horses

Horses are distinguished by the long tails and manes.

Petroglyph 413 probably represents a horse and rider, although the body of this image may also be interpreted as a fish or whale - with the additional details having been added by another carver.

- Sea Mammals

Porpoises were identified by their long snout and prominent dorsal fin. The whales were identified by their bulky lower jaws and less streamlined head.

10 glyphs represent sea-mammals:

4 glyphs are whales or whale-like. 1 whale is represented in a hunting scene.

6 glyphs are porpoise or porpoise-like. 3 are represented in

hunting scenes.

- Birds

Birds are easily identified by their distinctive outlines, although species are somewhat difficult to separate.

There are 7 petroglyphs of birds.

Glyphs 282, 367, and 483 are probably heron, because of the long legs and relatively long neck and bill.

Glyph 483 is probably a goose, because of its relatively long neck (compared to a duck) and webbed feet.

Glyphs 473, 484, and 485 are similar in form. 474 appears like an incomplete version of 484, which appears peacock-like. There is a scalloped design on the tailfeathers of 485, however, that suggest that this bird is a spruce or ruffed grouse with the tail displayed. It is possible, then, that 473 and 484 are also grouse.

- Fish

Fish were identified by their characteristic form. Of the 9 petroglyphs identified as fish, however, only one is clearly incised (115). The rest may be confused with porpoises which, in schematic form, are similar in outline.

In summary, 38 game animals are depicted on the rocks. These animals constitute about 9% of all representational glyphs; 7.5% of all glyphs.

- Snakes and snake-like forms

There are 28 snake-like forms on the rocks of Kejimkujik. These forms represent 5.5% of the petroglyphs total.

None of these images are clearly identifiable, with the exception of the phallic horned snake 227 and the horned serpent 424.

Snake and serpent lore, and the rather negative regard of snakes, is common among all the Algonkian peoples. According to Wallis, snakes were disliked (Wallis and Wallis 1955:113). This attitude is surprising, in view of the fact that there are many more snakes or snake-like forms than other animals incised at Kejimkujik.

The problem at Kejimkujik Lake is that there were major eel weirs at the outlet at George Lake. It is possible that snake-like forms may represent eels instead of snakes. Only those explicitly depicted as serpents or snakes are exceptions.

Other possibilities are that some of the forms are decorative meanders or serpentine designs, or rivers. Glyph 406 appears to be associated with a possible tree or wigwam form, and, therefore, may

represent a river or stream.

Given the apparent undercurrent of aboriginal and Roman Catholic religious expression at the sites, however, the snakes may reflect the traditional Algonkian view that they are messengers to the underworld. Wallis reports that the snake was regarded as the messenger to 'Tcipitckaam', the giant horned serpent (Wallis and Wallis 1955:114).

Interpreting these images in this way places a different significance on the sites themselves, that they are not simply convenient cultural message boards, but special places that may be the domains of spirits.

#### - Serpents

Glyphs 1,111 and 482 are similar in style, with crosshatching and the suggestion of jaws. Although these images are not similar to the Algonkian motif of the horned snake or serpent found in rock art in the Canadian Shield region (see Vastokas and Vastokas 1973), they may represent serpents.

424 appears to be a horned serpent with legs, strikingly similar in form to an Algonkian rock painting at Tramping Lake, Manitoba (Dewdney and Kidd 1967: ). It has hatching like other Micmac images.



The horned serpent (227) is an erect phallus in serpent form. Although some interpretations have been made that omit the comparison to genitalia (e.g. Robertson 1973), they ignore the penis-like head and the widening at the base of the image, with the suggestion of pubic hair.

Wallis mentions sea serpents and the "Tcipi'tcka'am", an alligator-like creature that lives in lakes and woods, with a head as big as a horse and eyes of crystal-like substances that are potent medicine (Wallis and Wallis 1955:114).

Rand records the story of an old chief, a shaman, who has a huge horned serpent as a tutelary deity (Rand 1971:12). In another tale, a Megumooesoo goes dragon hunting, lures one out of its hole in the ground and beheads it. He lifts the head by the "shining yellow horns" (1971:27-28). Dragon's horn is used as magic in another myth: placed on the head they bind the victim in a spell. Only red ochre can break the power of the spell (1971:53-54).

The snake or serpent petroglyph 1 is associated with a Micmac canoe #2, 424 is associated possibly with a violin or cello-like form (425) and a sloop (426), and at George Lake, the snake (433) is associated with a schooner (434). This association between water craft and serpents is also found in the Algonkian rock art of the Canadian Shield region (see Dewdney and Kidd 1967), where it

appears to be related to the need to placate the underwater  
manitous if one is to travel safely or have a successful hunt.  
If the detail is not precisely the same, this shamanistic and  
magical aspect is reflected in the myths and the petroglyphs of the  
Micmac.

MAMMALS, BIRDS, FISH, REPTILES

FB1

1	1.4		snake or serpent, crosshatched
8	1.20		whale or fish
15	1.27		fish (2) depicted under water?
20	1.37		snake-like forms (2)
21	1.38		snake-like form
23	1.41		animal, cat-like, profile of head
27	1.48		snake-like form
28	1.52		animal: deer or other cervid
31	1.59	F14	animal: deer or other cervid

FB2a

40	C1.20	F11	legs of animal: probably deer or other cervid
62	D2.13		snake-like form
85	C3.6		snake-like form
90	D3.6	G4	fish, crosshatched
109	F3.8		fish?
111	F3.13	F9	snake or serpent, crosshatched
115	H3.1		fish

124	E4.7	D12	porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two figures, both wearing feathers, figure in bow shooting porpoise Micmac script, date 1877
125	E4.9	D10	porpoise hunting scene: canoe with level gunwhales, with two figures, figure in bow shooting porpoise
137	H4.3		moose
138	H4.4		legend adjacent to moose: "Jim Charles, his moose, Sept. 19, 1867"
156	B6.6		fish?
161	E6N.2		snake-like form
FB2b			
189	SE5.7		snake-like form, crosshatched
196	SG5.4		snake-like form, hatched
206	SG5.17		snake-like form, hatched
207	SG5.18		snake-like form, hatched
FB2c			
227	J7.8	F10	phallus in shape of horned serpent
232	J8.6	F26	moose
235	K8.18	F26	animal: probably bear, crosshatched

FB2d

243 A3.13 horse

246 B6.2 F1 animal, probably deer or other cervid

247 B9.1 D13 whale hunting scene: two figures in canoe with level gunwhales, figure in bow shooting at, or harpooning whale (crosshatched)

248 C5.4 snake-like form, crosshatched

250 C5.6 F2 animal, probably moose or other cervid

252 C10.3 snake-like form, incised with parallel lines

268 D6.4 snake-like form, hatched

278 E2.3 animal, four-legged, but not a cervid

285 E15.1 D11 canoe with level gunwhales, two figures catching porpoise

FB2f

295 F2.1 F8 figure with curvilinear design as head, pointing weapon

296 F2.2 F19 moose

FB3d

324 3d.51 porpoise?

330 3d.64 deer

346 3d.106 deer

347 3d.109 snake-like form

PP1

352 PP1.2 snake-like form  
353 PP1.3 F30 snake-like form  
357 PP1.12 fish or porpoise  
362 PP1.20 F24 animal: horse?  
366 PP1.30 F31 snake-like form, hatched  
373 PP1.52 F22 animal: moose or caribou  
374 PP1.53 F22 animal: moose or caribou

PP2

380 PP2a.2 animal: probably a deer or other cervid  
393 PP2d.11 snake-like forms (2), crosshatched  
394 PP2d.13 snake-like forms (2)  
398 PP2d.20 snake-like form

MP1

406 MP1.4c N41 snake-like form

MP2

413 MP2.7 horse and rider

MP5

424 MP5.2 serpent, with horns and two legs

GL1

429 GL1.12 F20 moose  
430 GL1.13 F20 calf  
433 GL1.17 snake or eel, crosshatched

GL2

453 GL2.6 snake-like form  
454 GL2.7 N18 whale-like form

CREED

481 E35 caribou, grazing, with stick figure pointing  
weapon at it  
482 E44 snake or serpent  
483 F6 bird  
484 F18 bird, crosshatched body, peacock-like  
485 F22 bird  
487 G24 fish or porpoise, crosshatched  
490 M14 whale or fish, crosshatched

- MOOSE, DEER, CARIBOU

FB1

28 1.52 animal: deer or other cervid  
31 1.59 F14 animal: deer or other cervid

FB2a

40 C1.20 F11 legs of animal: probably deer or other cervid  
137 H4.3 moose  
138 H4.4 legend adjacent to moose: "Jim Charles, his  
moose, Sept. 19, 1867"

FB2c

232 J8.6 F26 moose

FB2d

246 B6.2 F1 animal, probably deer or other cervid  
250 C5.6 F2 animal, probably moose or other cervid

FB2f

295 F2.1 F8 figure with curvilinear design as head,  
pointing weapon  
296 F2.2 F19 moose



FB3d

330 3d.64 deer

346 3d.106 deer

PP1

373 PP1.52 F22 animal: moose or caribou

374 PP1.53 F22 animal: moose or caribou

PP2

380 PP2a.2 animal: probably a deer or other cervid

GL1

429 GL1.12 F20 moose

430 GL1.13 F20 calf

CREED

481 E35 caribou, grazing, with stick figure pointing  
weapon at it

- BEARS

FB2c

235 K8.18 F26 animal: probably bear, crosshatched

- CATS

FB1

23 1.41 animal, cat-like, profile of head

- HORSES

FB2d

243      A3.13            horse

PP1

362      PP1.20   F24   animal: horse?

MP2

413      MP2.7            horse and rider

- SEA MAMMALS

FB1

8 1.20 whale or fish

FB2a

124 E4.7 D12 porpoise hunting scene: Micmac canoe with two  
figures, shooting porpoise  
Micmac script, date 1877

125 E4.9 D10 porpoise hunting scene: canoe with two figures,  
shooting porpoise

FB2d

247 B9.1 D13 whale hunting scene: two figures in canoe with  
level gunwhales, figure in bow shooting at, or  
harpooning whale (crosshatched)

285 E15.1 D11 canoe with level gunwhales, two figures  
catching porpoise

FB3d

324 3d.51 porpoise?

PP1

357 PP1.12 fish or porpoise

GL2

454 GL2.7 N18 whale-like form

CREED

487 G24 fish or porpoise, crosshatched

490 M14 whale or fish, crosshatched

- BIRDS

FB2d

282 E5.2 E40 heron-like bird, surrounded by stars, adjacent  
figure pointing weapon

PP1

367 PP1.33 F5 bird: probably heron

CREED

473 E43 bird

483 F6 bird

484 F18 bird, crosshatched body

485 F22 bird

486 E19 bird

- FISH

FB1

8	1.20		whale or fish
15	1.27		fish (2) depicted under water?

FB2a

90	D3.6	64	fish, crosshatched
109	F3.8		fish?
115	H3.1		fish
156	B6.6		fish?

PP1

357	PP1.12		fish or porpoise
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CREED

487		G24	fish or porpoise, crosshatched
490		M14	whale or fish, crosshatched



- SNAKE-LIKE FORMS

FB1

1	1.4	snake or serpent, crosshatched
20	1.37	snake-like forms (2)
21	1.38	snake-like form
27	1.48	snake-like form

FB2a

62	D2.13	snake-like form
85	C3.6	snake-like form
111	F3.13 F9	snake or serpent, crosshatched
161	E6N.2	snake-like form

FB2b

189	SE5.7	snake-like form, crosshatched
196	SG5.4	snake-like form, hatched
206	SG5.17	snake-like form, hatched
207	SG5.18	snake-like form, hatched

FB2c

227	J7.8 F10	phallus in shape of horned serpent
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FB2d

248 C5.4 snake-like form, crosshatched  
252 C10.3 snake-like form, incised with parallel lines  
268 D6.4 snake-like form, hatched

FB3d

347 3d.109 snake-like form

PP1

352 PP1.2 snake-like form  
353 PP1.3 F30 snake-like form  
366 PP1.30 F31 snake-like form, hatched

PP2

393 PP2d.11 snake-like forms (2), crosshatched  
394 PP2d.13 snake-like forms (2)  
398 PP2d.20 snake-like form

MP1

406 MP1.4c N41 snake-like form

MP5

424 MP5.2 serpent, with horns and two legs

GL1

433 GL1.17 snake or eel, crosshatched

GL2

453 GL2.6 snake-like form

CREED

482 E44 snake or serpent

- SERPENTS?

FB1

1 1.4 snake or serpent, crosshatched

FB2a

111 F3.13 F9 snake or serpent, crosshatched

FB2c

227 J7.8 F10 phallus in shape of horned serpent

MP5

424 MP5.2 serpent, with horns and two legs

CREED

482 E44 snake or serpent

## NONREPRESENTATIONAL, DECORATIVE OR AMBIGUOUS FORMS

There are 103 nonrepresentational, decorative or ambiguous forms on the rocks of Kejimikujik. These petroglyphs represent about 21% of the petroglyphs total. It should be emphasized, however, that this general category includes a number of glyphs that are discussed elsewhere as representations - in particular, snake-like forms. In addition, a number of the glyphs in this category may represent symbols or objects of material culture that are not yet identified.

### - Curvilinear Designs

There are 44 petroglyphs that all or in part consist of curvilinear designs. These designs represent almost 9% of the petroglyphs total.

Curvilinear designs are the most common decorative motif among Algonkian peoples in the northeast. The double curve motif is especially characteristic of the Micmac (see Whitehead 1980; 1982). Glyphs 4, 12, 176, and the peaked cap 423, have the unique Micmac pedestal design within the double curve motif.

There is no direct evidence that curvilinear designs were employed in pre-contact times, although the "lace-like patterns" described early in the 17th century may refer to the double curve (Whitehead 1980:14).

The majority of these designs appear to consist of fragments of designs or units of what would probably have been larger designs, rather than fully conceived representations. The exception is glyph 176, in which the design development has been fully elaborated. Other designs, such as 47, 51, 57, or 73, appear to represent units of decorative patterns, whereas glyphs 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 422 may be sections of a larger pattern. These fragments give the impression that they are a working out of designs that might have subsequently appeared as applique, beadwork or embroidery designs. It is not that the rocks may have functioned as pattern boards, in the sense of permanent records of decorative motifs (with the exception of glyph 176). It is likely that the designs were more spontaneous, simply reflecting the creative ideas of the carver.

40 of the 44 curvilinear design petroglyphs occur on the Fairy Bay sites. This represents 11% of the total Micmac glyphs at these sites. The 4 curvilinear design glyphs at the Mill Point, Peter Point and George Lake sites represent less than 4% of the total glyphs at these sites. It is possible that this difference in proportion is related to the proximity of a camp or village to the respective petroglyph sites.

This hypothesis in turn leads to the reasonable assumption that the carvers of these designs were women, who made them spontaneously, in leisure time.

#### - Vegetative Designs

This category was specifically used to highlight 2 petroglyphs (236, 283) that have treelike designs. As discussed in the section on religious symbolism, glyph 236 may be an altarpiece design or related symbol.

#### - Geometric Forms

This category includes designs that appear to represent either decorative motifs, material culture objects, or symbols that cannot otherwise be interpreted.

#### - Hourglass Forms

Two petroglyphs (199, 311) were categorized separately because of their distinctive hourglass form. Glyph 311 is associated with a cross and a canoe, suggesting that it represents a religious symbol of some kind.

#### - Quillwork Patterns

Several of the nonrepresentational designs appear to represent the lids of birchbark boxes, with quillwork patterns on them.

Whitehead compares glyph 464 to a similar quillwork box design representing a sun-rayed circle (1982:37); glyph 313 may represent

a similar design. Creed wrote in a letter that these circular designs (463, 464) were immediately recognized by the Micmacs as the insignia of chiefs (1888).



NONREPRESENTATIONAL, DECORATIVE, OR AMBIGUOUS FORMS

FB1

3	1.11	N42	abstract design, with linear and curvilinear elements
4	1.16	G20	curvilinear design
11	1.23	L11	curvilinear design
12	1.24	G21	curvilinear design
13	1.25	H32	curvilinear design
14	1.26	H32	curvilinear design
16	1.28	G15	curvilinear design
17	1.30	G10	curvilinear design
20	1.37		snake-like forms (2)
21	1.38		snake-like form
26	1.45		tent-like design
27	1.48		snake-like form

FB2a

34	C1.5		curvilinear design
38	C1.15	G19	curvilinear design
39	C1.16		curvilinear design fragments
41	D1.5	G8	curvilinear design
47	D1.9f		scattered curvilinear designs
51	C2.7	M5	curvilinear design

52	C2.9		curvilinear design
53	C2.12		curvilinear design
55	D2.2		curvilinear design
56	D2.3		curvilinear design
57	D2.4	G4	curvilinear design
62	D2.13		snake-like form
73	F2.6		curvilinear design
76	F2.11	A20	curvilinear design
82	G2.1		two hatched triangles (anthropomorph?) with curvilinear design as head
85	C3.6		snake-like form
86	D3.2	C30	curvilinear design
87	D3.3		stick figure (anthropomorphic?)
89	D3.5		curvilinear design
91	D3.7	G4	curvilinear design
99	D3.20		tent-like structure
113	F3.15		curvilinear design
123	E4.6		crosshatched design
146	H4.12		curvilinear designs
149	J4.1		curvilinear design
158	C6.2		curvilinear designs
161	E6N.2		snake-like form

FB2b

176 SD5.1 curvilinear design, elaborate, with several  
separate components

189 SE5.7 snake-like form, crosshatched

196 SG5.4 snake-like form, hatched

199 SG5.7 hourglass shapes (2), crosshatched

200 SG5.9 rectangular shapes (2), crosshatched

201 SG5.10 triangular shape, crosshatched

206 SG5.17 snake-like form, hatched

207 SG5.18 snake-like form, hatched

210 SC6.1 curvilinear designs

221 SA10W.1 curvilinear design

222 SA12W.6 curvilinear design

223 SA12W.8 curvilinear design

FB2c

230 N7.4 curvilinear design

236 MB.3 N44 vegetative design above crosshatched rectangle  
with curvilinear designs

FB2d

248 C5.4 snake-like form, crosshatched

252 C10.3 snake-like form, incised with parallel lines

263 D3.7 geometric design

268	D6.4		snake-like form, hatched
273	D6.9	B5	curvilinear design in square
275	D16.2	N28	keyhole design, hatched, with superimposed? rectangular form (candle lantern?)
277	D16.3b		curvilinear design
279	E4.2		curvilinear design
280	E4.3		curvilinear design
283	E5.5a	N38	tree-like design
FB3d			
307	3d.15		ideogram?
308	3d.16		ideogram?
309	3d.17		ideogram?
310	3d.18		ideogram?
311	3d.19		cross canoe with level gunwhales, figure with paddle hourglass form
313	3d.21		circular, toothed design with leaf? in centre
332	3d.71		crosshatching
336	3d.84		crosshatched design
341	3d.93		tent-like designs (two)
347	3d.109		snake-like form
351	3d.114	I18	ladder-like design

PP1

352 PP1.2 snake-like form  
353 PP1.3 F30 snake-like form  
366 PP1.30 F31 snake-like form, hatched  
375 PP1.54 zig-zag design, associated with handprint  
378 PP1.61 triangular hatched form: human figure?  
379 PP1.62 triangular hatched forms: human figure?

PP2

381 PP2a.3 tent-like form (shaking tent?)  
383 PP2a.5 rectangular form (structure?), with fronds or  
feathers on corners and decorated base  
386 PP2a.9 rectangular form, with band at bottom  
390 PP2c.11 rectangular form, with band at bottom  
393 PP2d.11 snake-like forms (2), crosshatched  
394 PP2d.13 snake-like forms (2)  
396 PP2d.18 spiral form  
398 PP2d.20 snake-like form

MP1

404 MP1.4a N41 crescentric designs and stars  
405 MP1.4b N41 tent-like form  
406 MP1.4c N41 snake-like form

MP2

- 410 MP2.2 G23 curvilinear designs
- 411 MP2.4 G23 curvilinear designs
- 418 MP2.15 B1 rectangular form with decorated band at bottom
- 422 MP2.22 G22 curvilinear design

GL1

- 428 GL1.11 tent-like form with decorated base
- 444 GL1.30 geometric design

GL2

- 448 GL2.1 C24 curvilinear designs
- 449 GL2.3 C24 linear designs
- 453 GL2.6 snake-like form
- 454 GL2.7 N18 whale-like form

CREED

- 463 B7 circular design, with scalloped interior design, curvilinear elements, and a cross
  
- 464 B8 circular design, with toothed exterior, scalloped interior border, with crosses and a sun in the centre

- CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

FB1

4	1.16	G20	curvilinear design
11	1.23	L11	curvilinear design
12	1.24	G21	curvilinear design
13	1.25	H32	curvilinear design
14	1.26	H32	curvilinear design
16	1.28	G15	curvilinear design
17	1.30	G10	curvilinear design

FB2a

34	C1.5		curvilinear design
38	C1.15	G19	curvilinear design
39	C1.16		curvilinear design fragments
41	D1.5	G8	curvilinear design
47	D1.9f		scattered curvilinear designs
51	C2.7	M5	curvilinear design
52	C2.9		curvilinear design
53	C2.12		curvilinear design
55	D2.2		curvilinear design
56	D2.3		curvilinear design
57	D2.4	G4	curvilinear design
73	F2.6		curvilinear design

76	F2.11	A20	curvilinear design
82	G2.1		two hatched triangles (anthropomorph?) with curvilinear design as head
86	D3.2	C30	curvilinear design
89	D3.5		curvilinear design
91	D3.7	G4	curvilinear design
113	F3.15		curvilinear design
146	H4.12		curvilinear designs
149	J4.1		curvilinear design
158	C6.2		curvilinear designs

FB2c

176	SD5.1		curvilinear design, elaborate, with several separate components
210	SC6.1		curvilinear designs
221	SA10W.1		curvilinear design
222	SA12W.6		curvilinear design
223	SA12W.8		curvilinear design

FB2c

230	N7.4		curvilinear design
236	M8.3	N44	vegetative design above crosshatched rectangle with curvilinear designs



FB2d

273 D6.9 B5 curvilinear design in square  
277 D16.3b curvilinear design  
279 E4.2 curvilinear design  
280 E4.3 curvilinear design

FB2f

295 F2.1 F8 figure with curvilinear design as head,  
pointing weapon

MP2

410 MP2.2 G23 curvilinear designs  
411 MP2.4 G23 curvilinear designs  
422 MP2.22 G22 curvilinear design

GL2

448 GL2.1 C24 curvilinear designs

- VEGETATIVE DESIGNS

FB2d

236	M8.3	N44	vegetative design above crosshatched rectangle with curvilinear designs
283	E5.5a	N38	tree-like design

- GEOMETRIC DESIGNS OR FORMS

FB1

3 1.11 N42 abstract design, with linear and curvilinear elements

FB2a

82 62.1 two hatched triangles (anthropomorph?) with curvilinear design as head

87 D3.3 stick figure (anthropomorphic?)

FB2b

199 SG5.7 hourglass shapes (2), crosshatched

200 SG5.9 rectangular shapes (2), crosshatched

201 SG5.10 triangular shape, crosshatched

FB3d

311 3d.19 cross  
canoe with level gunwhales, figure with paddle  
hourglass form

313 3d.21 circular, toothed design with leaf? in centre

332 3d.71 crosshatching

336 3d.84 crosshatched design

351 3d.114 I18 ladder-like design

PPI

375 PP1.54 zig-zag design, associated with handprint

MP1

404 MP1.4a N41 crescentric designs and stars

GL1

444 GL1.30 geometric design

GL2

449 GL2.3 C24 linear designs

- HOURGLASS FORMS

FB2b

199 .SG5.7 hourglass shapes (2), crosshatched

FB3d

311 3d.19 cross  
canoe with level gunwhales, figure with paddle  
hourglass form

- QUILLWORK PATTERNS?

FB2d

273 D6.9 B5 curvilinear design in square

FB3d

313 3d.21 circular, toothed design with leaf? in centre

CREED

463 B7 circular design, with scalloped interior design, curvilinear elements, and a cross

464 B8 circular design, with toothed exterior, scalloped interior border, with crosses and a sun in the centre

PETROGLYPHS INTENTIONALLY GROUPED

FB1

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1        1.4                snake or serpent, crosshatched  
2        1.5                Micmac canoe, bow figure with peaked cap, stern  
                              figure with top hat

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5        1.17    A8            peaked cap  
6        1.18    A7            peaked cap  
7        1.19                feather or branch (peaked cap weathered away?)

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11       1.23    L11           curvilinear design  
12       1.24    G21           curvilinear design  
13       1.25    H32           curvilinear design  
14       1.26    H32           curvilinear design

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20       1.37                snake-like forms (2)  
22       1.39    E15           human figure, wearing crosshatched skirt  
23       1.41                animal, cat-like, profile of head  
24       1.42                date 1877, Micmac script

FB2a

--

42 D1.9a left footprint with heart in centre

43 D1.9b right footprint, crosshatched

44 D1.9c peaked cap

--

66 D2.24 cross

67 D2.25 handprint

--

75 F2.10 A20 peaked cap

76 F2.11 A20 curvilinear design

77 F2... A20 peaked cap

78 F2... A20 peaked cap

79 F2... A20 peaked cap

80 F2... A20 peaked cap

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83 C3.3 star, incised in zig-zag style

84 C3.4 C20 heart, incised in zig-zag style

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103 E3.2 smoking pipe: clay type

104 E3.4 Micmac script



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117 D4.7 J6 altarpiece, with three crosses

118 E4.1 J6 orb

119 D4.8 J1 altarpiece, with three crosses

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137 H4.3 moose

138 H4.4 legend adjacent to moose: "Jim Charles, his  
moose, Sept. 19, 1867"

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139 H4.5 peaked cap

140 H4.6 peaked cap

141 H4.7 peaked cap?

---

142 H4.8 A9 peaked cap

143 H4.9 A9 peaked cap

144 H4.10 A9 peaked cap

145 H4.11 A9 peaked cap

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152 H5.1 A10 peaked cap

154 H5.3 A10 human figure, wearing hood-like headcover and  
decorated dress

FB2b

---

172 SG4.6 Micmac canoe

173 SG4.7 Micmac canoe

---

176 SD5.1 curvilinear design, elaborate, with several  
separate components

187 SE5.6 E31 human figure, wearing coat or dress and derby  
style hat

189 SE5.7 snake-like form, crosshatched

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196 SG5.4 snake-like form, hatched

197 SG5.5 E8 human figure, wearing peaked cap, dress, and  
leggings, crosshatched

205 SG5.16 sun

206 SG5.17 snake-like form, hatched

207 SG5.18 snake-like form, hatched

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199 SG5.7 hourglass shapes (2), crosshatched

200 SG5.9 rectangular shapes (2), crosshatched

201 SG5.10 triangular shape, crosshatched

---

204 SG5.14 C26 sailing vessel: schooner, crosshatched  
211 SG6.1 E26 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated  
skirt

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219 SE12.13 handprint, with flexion lines  
220 SE12.14 handprint, with flexion lines

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FB2c

---

232 J8.6 F26 moose  
234 J8.5 F26 human figure: head and shoulders  
235 K8.18 F26 animal: probably bear, crosshatched

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FB2d

---

261 D3.3 handprint, with flexion lines  
262 D3.6 handprint, with flexion lines

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265 D5.1 human figure, wearing decorated dress  
266 D5.2 house

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498 D6.3b E23 human figure, smoking pipe

499 D6... E23 human figure, smoking pipe

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288 F13.1a B9 overhead view of structure, in zig-zag incising style, with stick figures clothed in skirts, smoking pipes

289 F13.1b B9 overhead view of structure, partially finished, in zig-zag incising style

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FB3d

---

298 3d.3 E36 human figure, with flat-topped or peaked cap and decorated dress or coat and leggings

299 3d.. E37 human figure, with decorated dress or coat

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305 3d.13 Micmac ideogram

306 3d.14 group of three stars

307 3d.15 ideogram?

308 3d.16 ideogram?

309 3d.17 ideogram?

310 3d.18 ideogram?

351 3d.114 I18 ladder-like design (near 3d.19)

311 3d.19 cross  
 canoe with level gunwhales, figure with  
 hourglass form  
 ---

321 3d.41 K11 head in profile  
 322 3d.44 head in profile  
 ---

325 3d.52 head in profile, with headdress  
 326 3d.53 head in profile  
 ---

333 3d.78 male figure in profile, with heart and cross on  
 breast, wearing glengarry style hat  
 date 1877  
 three lines of Micmac script

334 3d.79 date 1877

340 3d.92 E27 male figure in profile, with heart and cross  
 and two stars on breast, wearing glengarry  
 style hat, date 1877

PP1

---

354 PP1.5 Q1 human figure, arms extended downwards, palms exposed

355 PP1.7 Q1 male figure, wearing top hat and coat, genitals depicted

356 PP1.8 Q1 female figure, wearing peaked cap? and skirt, genitals depicted

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357 PP1.12 fish or porpoise

358 PP1.13 footprint

359 PP1.14 E41 human figure, wearing mortarboard type hat, hatched skirt and bloomers or leggings

360 PP1.15 human figure, wearing skirt

361 PP1.16 E3 human figure, wearing coat or tunic

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363 PP1.23 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped hat, waistcoat, and carrying cutlass

364 PP1.24 E45 human figure, wearing decorated flat-topped hat, carrying feathers or frond

365 PP1.22 sailing vessel: topsail schooner

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369 PP1.42 A6 peaked cap

370 PP1.44 peaked cap

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373 PP1.52 F22 animal: moose or caribou

374 PP1.53 F22 animal: moose or caribou

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376 PP1.56 handprint, with flexion lines

377 PPI.57 footprint, interior filled with scribbled lines

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378 PP1.61 triangular hatched form: human figure?

379 PP1.62 triangular hatched forms: human figure?

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PP2

---

380 PP2a.2 animal: probably a deer or other cervid

381 PP2a.3 tent-like form (shaking tent?)

382 PP2a.4 canoe with level gunwhales, two (possibly three) figures

383 PP2a.5 rectangular form (structure?), with fronds or feathers on corners and decorated base

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384 PP2a.7 canoe with yard and square sail, at least twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular hat decorated with feathers or branches

385 PP2a.8 canoe with yard and square sail, at least twelve figures, enlarged figures or objects in bow and stern, bow figure? wearing rectangular hat

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387 PP2c.5 A5 peaked cap

388 PP2c.6 A16 peaked cap, with ribbon decoration

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391 PP2d.7 E39 human figure, with braided or gathered hair?

392 PP2d.8 E39 female figure, wearing decorated skirt

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MP1

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405 MP1.4b N41 tent-like form

406 MP1.4c N41 snake-like form

407 MP1.5 N41 canoe with level gunwhales, two figures



MP2

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415 MP2.10 Q3 copulation schema

416 MP2.11 Q4 copulation schema

417 MP2.12 vagina

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421 MP2.21 A1 peaked cap

422 MP2.22 G22 curvilinear design

423 MP2.23 A19 peaked cap

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MP5

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424 MP5.2 serpent

425 MP5.3 fiddle?

426 MP5.4 ship

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GL1

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429 GL1.12 F20 moose

430 GL1.13 F20 calf

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433 GL1.17 snake or eel, crosshatched

434 GL1.18 C30a sailing vessel: schooner

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436 GL1.21 E33 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt

437 GL1.22 E33 human figure, wearing rounded hat and decorated coat or skirt

438 GL1.23 KB handprint

439 GL1.24 KB peaked cap

440 GL1.25 KB flat-topped hat

441 GL1.26 E38 human figure, wearing peaked cap and decorated skirt

442 GL1.27 E38 human figure, wearing rounded hat

443 GL1.28 structure: frame building

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GL2

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450 GL2.4 A21 peaked cap, with illegible writing below

451 GL2.. A21 top hat, with feather decoration

