

**THE CAPE ENRAGE FIGURINE (BjDe5):  
AN UNUSUAL MOBILIARY ART OBJECT FOUND IN NEW BRUNSWICK**

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### **Abstract**

In 1999, an unusual—indeed, unique—archaeological artifact, found in Albert County, N.B., was loaned to the Department of Anthropology, UNB. This artifact—the Cape Enrage Figurine—is a small image of a stylized human-like head, carved into a piece of mammal bone. Here we describe and illustrate the Cape Enrage Figurine, summarize what we have learned about it, and speculate about its provenance, history and cultural affiliation. Our purpose is to raise and expand awareness of the Cape Enrage Figurine within and beyond the archaeological community.

Stylistic elements of the carving suggest that the artisan who created the figurine was a Native person, probably of Eastern Algonquian or Northern Iroquoian cultural affiliation. Comparison to other Native American artifacts and art objects suggests that, beyond its function as an artistic representation, the Cape Enrage Figurine may have functioned as a shaman's "sucking tube."

### **HISTORY OF THE FIND**

The Cape Enrage Figurine (CEF) was found by Daniel Kane during the summer of 1998. Mr. Kane subsequently made inquiries about the CEF at several institutions, including the Nova Scotia Museum. In March 1999, he brought the CEF to David Black at the Archaeology Lab, Department of Anthropology, UNB.<sup>1</sup> The CEF has since been kept on loan at the Archaeology Lab.<sup>2</sup> In April 2002, we reported on the discovery of the CEF to the Maliseet Advisory Committee on Archaeology. The present report summarizes research and analyses conducted from 1999 through 2006.

### **LOCATION OF FIND**

Daniel Kane found the CEF while looking for fossils on a cliff face at Cape Enrage. The figurine lay on a ledge near the base of the cliff, which is located on the eastern side of Rocher Bay overlooking Waterside Beach (Figure 1; Figure 2). Cape Enrage and Rocher Bay are located on the western side of Chignecto Bay in the upper Bay of Fundy area, Albert County, N.B., ca. 15 km east of Alma and Fundy National Park. The cliff is immediately below the roadway, branching from Route 918 between Waterside and Little Ridge, that leads to the Cape Enrage lightstation.

The CEF was found on public land, and the area immediately adjacent to the find-spot appears to be public land. The find-spot is in the transitional area between the traditional territories of the Wolastoqiyik (Maliseet; Erickson 1978:124) and the Mi'kmaq (Micmac; Bock 1978:110). Cape Enrage is within a traditional Mi'kmaq territory known as *Sigenigteoag* (Bock 1978:110). The closest Native community to the find-spot is the Fort Folly Mi'kmaq Nation (Leavitt 1996:238).

### **SITE VISIT**

In July 2000, David Black visited Cape Enrage in the company of Daniel Kane. Daniel pointed out the spot where he had found the CEF (Figure 3; Figure 4; Figure 5); the rock surface on which it was found had subsequently fallen into the intertidal zone. The cliff is located on the east side of Rocher Bay above an extensive shingle beach and sandy substrate intertidal zone.

### **SITE DESCRIPTION**

The cliff above the find-spot rises ca. 20 m, and is composed of Carboniferous (Pennsylvanian-aged) sandstone bearing plant fossils and relict ripple marks. The sloped upper part of the cliff is covered by secondary mixed coastal forest, with some cleared areas and patches of low vegetation. A walking trail parallels the roadway between it and the edge of the cliff. The exposed rock on the cliff is stained by dark streaks of organic matter where ground water flows down from the vegetated slope

above (Figure 3; Figure 6). These observations suggest that the CEF was washed down the cliff from above, not long before it was found. The area from which the CEF may have eroded would be difficult and dangerous to investigate; such an investigation would require the use of ropes and rock-climbing gear.

## **SITE DESIGNATION**

In July 2000, we submitted a Maritime Archaeological Resource Inventory form describing the CEF and find-spot to the N.B. Archaeological Services Unit.<sup>3</sup> The find-spot has been registered in the national and provincial archaeological site inventories, and assigned the designation BjDe5.

## **NEARBY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES**

There are no other recorded Native archaeological sites, historic or prehistoric, in the immediate area. It should be noted that recent shoreline inundation and erosion have been extreme along the upper Bay of Fundy, and prehistoric archaeological sites are rarely found in this area. The most recent archaeological surveying in the Cape Enrage area was conducted by David Burley in 1974, and reported in Burley (1976). Burley's work resulted in the recording of some historic period archaeological sites, including pre-Expulsion Acadian sites.

These include:

**BjDe1:** Cape Split Dry Dock. Large bolted timbers represent a historic dry dock located at the east end of Waterside Beach.

**BjDe2:** Cape Split Mill. Timbers eroding from a creek bank at the east end of Waterside Beach represent part of a dam probably associated with a pre-Expulsion Acadian mill.

**BjDe3:** Anderson Farm. Extensive dikes in the marsh behind Waterside Beach indicate pre-Expulsion Acadian farming in the area.

**BjDe4:** Fort Enrage. A dry-stone foundation marks the location of a pre-Expulsion Acadian fort/signal station located immediately east of the modern Cape Enrage lightstation (Burley 1976:146–47). Of these, the Fort Enrage site is closest to the CEF find-spot:

[Fort] Enrage, situated on a cliff edge at Cape Enrage, is an excellent locale overlooking the Bay of Fundy. In fact, its view so commands the Bay that a later lighthouse was built within its foundations. This has since been replaced by a more modern structure on the highest elevation. Surface features at Fort Enrage include a rectangular dry-stone wall which, on its eastern exposure, is over 2.5 m. deep. Within the western half of this enclosure is an additional brick foundation that, according to the chief lighthouse keeper, served as a base for an early steam fog horn. It had been removed in the 1920's.

A single 1.5 by 1.5 m. test pit was excavated in a not fully exposed corner of the site. Aside from providing a large artifact yield, this pit also uncovered a brick floor, its function has not been identified. The artifacts and heavy charcoal matrix from which they came appear to be related to the fog horn and not the French occupation. These consist of wrenches, spikes, bolts, junk metal as well as some window and bottle glass. (Burley 1976:147)

There is some indication of contact between Native people and French settlers in Albert County. Pierre Thibideau and his family, reputed to be the earliest French inhabitants at “Chipody” in 1699, are said to have “... cultivat[ed] friendly relations with the Maliseets who came to exchange skins and game for European bread...” (Jones et al 1997). Thus, it is possible that the CEF reflects Native activity in the Cape Enrage area during the Acadian period.

## **ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION**

### **General Description**

The CEF is a stylized human-like head surmounted by a headdress, carved from a piece of hollow mammal bone (Figure 7; Figure 8). The artifact is 4.75 cm high, 1.45 cm wide, and 0.65 cm thick. It weighs 3.6 g. When Daniel Kane first saw the CEF, he thought someone had left a chess piece (a rook [castle]) lying on the rock ledge. In our experience, this is a common reaction when Euro-Americans

and -Canadians first see the CEF, especially if they first view the reverse side of the artifact (Figure 8).

### Material Identification

The CEF was carved on a segment of the left mandible of a white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*),<sup>4</sup> with the face carved into the labial surface of the bone, and the back of the figure on the lingual surface. The segment was cut from the diastema area of the mandible between the incisor and premolar teeth (Figure 9; Figure 10; Figure 11). The protruding lips of the figurine's mouth are carved around a natural opening in the bone—the mental foremen (Figure 7; Figure 11); the interior of the foremen appears to be unmodified. Part of the mandibular symphysis is retained on the reverse side of the artifact (Figure 8). The use of bone from an indigenous wild animal, rather than from a domestic animal, reinforces other indications that the CEF was carved by a Native person, rather than a Euro-American or -Canadian.

### Taphonomic Considerations

The bone from which the CEF was carved has not been burned, calcined or charred. Nor does the bone have the dull, chalky appearance of most non-fire-altered bone preserved in N.B. prehistoric shell-bearing archaeological sites. Rather, stereo-microscopic examination reveals the surface of the bone to be relatively fresh-looking and well-preserved, white to cream in colour, with a greasy-waxy lustre (Figure 12). Transmitted light examination shows that the bone remains partially translucent, except where it is stained green or brown in the area of the mandibular symphysis. These observations suggest that the bone was defleshed, but not degreased, before it was carved. They also suggest that the CEF was made relatively recently, and remained in a relatively benign environment of preservation until soon before its discovery.

There are a few minor longitudinal cracks in the bone that may have resulted from weathering processes subsequent to the carving of the CEF. In at least one spot, above the left eye,<sup>5</sup> a rectangular splinter of surface bone has been lost due to breakage between two parallel cracks (Figure 13). There also is minor recent breakage on some of the points on the headdress.

Microscopic examination of the interior of the CEF revealed black humic soil particles adhering to the interior surfaces, and small rootlets projecting from some cracks (Figure 14, Figure 19). These observations suggest that the CEF was embedded in a humic soil deposit until a short time before its discovery.

### Technical Description

The obverse (face) side of the CEF depicts an elongated human-like face surmounted by a headdress. The eyes, nose and lips are exaggerated, the cheeks are inflated, and the lower face is skewed to the right. The chin is incompletely defined; there is no depiction of ears. The right eye is larger and oval in shape; the smaller left eye is a truncated oval—the truncation is at the brow. The pupils are equal-sized, round depressions, apparently drilled into the centres of the eyes (Figure 15). The nose is an elongated rectangle skewed to the right; it merges into the brow at the upper end, and terminates in asymmetrical nostrils (the right being larger) at the lower end (Figure 16). The protruding lips are rendered such that the mouth appears skewed to the right.

The headdress is separated from the face by two carved grooves that completely circle the head. In addition to the band, the headdress is represented by seven triangular points. The reverse (back of the head) side of the CEF bears no carved details except the two horizontal grooves defining the band of the headdress. The carving is remarkably precise and detailed, as can be seen especially in the rendering of the nostrils and protruding lips (Figure 16).

### Technology of Manufacture

Cut-marks made using flaked-stone tools can be distinguished from cut-marks made using metal blades. "Because of the sinuosity of their cutting edges, chipped stone tools tend to produce wide irregular grooves" (Greenfield 1999:804). In contrast, metal tool marks "can be deep and narrow or deep and wide depending on the nature of the blade" (Greenfield 1999:804). As part of our research, Lisa Atkinson performed some experimental analyses by making cut-marks in bone and comparing



them to cut-marks made in the CEF. The experimental cut-marks were made using flaked stone tool edges and steel knife blades. The cuts were made in deer bone that was similarly preserved to the bone that used to make the CEF.<sup>6</sup> Positive impressions of the experimental cuts and cut marks in the CEF were made using modelling clay (Figure 17). The profiles of the cut marks in the CEF are narrow, deep and have precise straight regular configurations (e.g., Figure 14; Figure 18), similar to experimental marks made with metal blades, but quite different from experimental marks made using flaked-stone tools (cf. Greenfield 1999:803).

Based on our observations and experimental analyses, we believe the deeply incised grooves and fine incisions made in the process of carving the figurine are consistent with the use of a metal blade (see, especially, details of the CEF's mouth and nose; Figure 16). We do not believe such a carving could have been made using flaked stone tools. Rather, we believe that the CEF was carved during the protohistoric or historic periods, using an iron or steel blade. However, it should be noted that more extensive experimental work and examination of the cut-marks using a scanning electron microscope is needed to confirm this interpretation. Greenfield's (1999) study, and other studies of cut-marks on bones that he cites, are directed primarily toward distinguishing the types of tool edges used in making butchering marks. Tool marks made during deliberate carving of bone art objects may present a somewhat different set of challenges for the analyst, not least of which may be the muting and obscuring of tool marks as a result of surface finishing and handling subsequent to the carving of the piece.

A surface scratch is present on the upper central reverse surface, stretching from the headdress to the back of the head, and cross-cutting the two grooves defining the headband. This may represent a tool mark from surface preparation of the bone prior to carving. The surface of the bone appears to have been polished prior to carving. Certainly the points of the headdress were polished subsequent to carving. The area of the mandibular symphysis has been extensively ground and polished to remove the rough bone projections that naturally occur in this skeletal feature (Figure 10).

### **The Green Stain**

There is a green stain on the CEF in the lower right area of the mouth (Figure 7). It is similar in appearance to stains seen on bones that have been in contact with copper or copper-alloy metals. The presence of this stain raises the possibility that the CEF was preserved as a result of contact with copper and that it eroded from a prehistoric or historic Native burial containing copper artifacts (e.g., Turnbull 1976; Whitehead 1986). For this reason, we had the stain analyzed using a non-destructive technique—an electron microprobe.<sup>7</sup> This analysis revealed no trace of copper or other metals. We now interpret the green stain as colouration resulting from the decay of organic material in contact with the bone.

### **CONSULTATIONS**

We have shown the CEF, or photos of it, to a number of archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, artists, Native people and others. These people have included staff members at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the New York State Museum and the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, attendees at a Canadian Archaeological Association meeting, faculty and students at UNB, and members of the Maliseet Advisory Committee on Archaeology. Most of the people consulted agree that some stylistic attributes of the figurine are consistent with some aspects of eastern North American Native art objects. However, none of them has seen an object precisely analogous to the CEF—and no one is willing to commit to interpreting its cultural affiliation, function and/or meaning. We also have seen no objects precisely analogous to the CEF in our perusal of the literature on North American Native art. However, below, we document the similarities we see with other Native art objects and offer some tentative interpretations of the CEF.

### **FUNCTIONAL INTERPRETATIONS**

Upon first seeing the CEF, observers have made several suggestions as to its function. Most commonly, we have been asked: Is it a (smoking) pipe? Is it a whistle, or some other type of musical instrument (e.g., Figure 26, right)? There is a small hole in the base of the CEF (Figure 19), apparently

a naturally occurring nutrient canal intersected as the bone segment was removed from the deer mandible prior to carving—thus, air can be drawn or blown through the CEF. However, there is no direct evidence that the CEF served, or was intended to serve, as either a pipe or a musical instrument.

Probably, the CEF was intended as an art object—that is, its function was artistic expression. However, the CEF may also have had magico-religious significance and meaning. Thus, its primary function may have been magical or religious, while artistic expression may have been a secondary function. Below, we raise a related possibility—that, among its other functions, the CEF served as a shaman's "sucking tube" (e.g., Figure 20).

## **STYLISTIC ANALYSES**

### **Introduction**

We have examined ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and art history literature pertaining to mobiliary art objects created by Native people in North America. We focussed particularly on the Northeast culture area (Trigger 1978) and on the artistic representations of Eastern Algonquian (Goddard 1978) and Northern Iroquoian (Fenton 1978) peoples. Our examination of this literature has been by no means exhaustive, and we claim no particular expertise in the analysis of art objects. However, within the constraints of these caveats, we offer the following observations and very tentative interpretations, focussing on four aspects of the CEF: sexual imagery, the headdress, the nose and the mouth.

### **Sexual Imagery**

The CEF exhibits sexual imagery that is obvious to most observers. One person we consulted, an art curator, suggested that the CEF may be a fertility symbol. The nose evinces a phallic shape, while the mouth evinces a vaginal shape. This imagery probably was intentional—thus, the CEF may, in part, be an example of visual punning.

### **The Headdress**

Several persons we consulted suggested that the CEF's headdress may symbolize power or connection to the spirit world. The headdress has seven points, and seven is a symbolically fraught number in many Native American cultures.

We suggest an alternate, or perhaps complementary, explanation for the headdress. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs of Wolastoqiyik and Mi'kmaq sometimes show individuals wearing headdresses consisting of a decorated band that encircles the head and holds a ring of long stiff feathers that stand perpendicular to the headband and project above the head (e.g., Figure 21; Figure 22; Figure 23; Figure 24).<sup>8</sup> We believe the headdress of the CEF may be a representation of such a feathered headdress rendered by the artisan within the constraints of the material in which this piece of mobiliary art was created.<sup>9</sup> If we are correct in this, the headdress suggests that the artisan was ethno-culturally affiliated with an Eastern Algonquian group—given the location of the find, probably either Wolastoqiyik or Mi'kmaq.

### **The Nose**

The bent nose of the CEF is reminiscent of a recurring theme in Northern Iroquoian art and mythology. An Iroquoian myth, accounting for the origin of the first False Face masks, tells the story of a culture hero named Keel Nose, who lived at the edge of the world and claimed credit for creating the world. Because of his claim, Keel Nose was challenged by the Creator to a test of strength: Which of them could move a certain mountain the furthest? The Creator won this contest—he moved the mountain so far that it crashed into Keel Nose's face, breaking his nose. Thus, Keel Nose was transformed into Broken Nose (Figure 25). Broken Nose then promised the Creator that he would use his power only for good (Mogelon 1994:10–13).

Broken Nose (also known as Bent Nose or Disease Spirit) is frequently depicted in Iroquoian False Face Society masks (e.g., Fenton 1978:32–34; Jenness 1958:303; Mogelon 1994; Patterson 1973:50,84; Underhill 1965:Fig. 12). Keel Nose and Broken Nose masks are frequently used together in healing ceremonies. Among his other good deeds, Broken Nose taught people how to cure illness by blowing ashes over a sick person (Mogelon 1994:13).

## The Mouth

Iroquoian Bent Nose masks have skewed mouths and noses (typical examples are shown in Figure 25). However, the skewing of the CEF's mouth is quite different from that depicted in the Iroquoian masks.<sup>10</sup> The CEF's mouth suggests a sucking, blowing or whistling action.<sup>11</sup> Sucking, blowing and whistling all are associated with Native American shamanic healing practices.

## Shamanism

The ritual practices of Eastern Algonquian and Northern Iroquoian peoples, as of other Native American groups, have been subsumed in anthropological studies under the rubric 'shamanism' (Bock 1978:116; Erickson 1978:132; Bancroft Hunt 2002). As noted above, both the nose and the mouth of the CEF suggest associations with shamanic practices. Further, shamanic practices often are associated with trances (Hultkrantz 1981:64), and the CEF's exaggerated asymmetrical eyes may be intended to depict a trance-like state.

Native American shamans<sup>12</sup> were healers, and healing practices frequently were associated with sucking, blowing and/or whistling actions. Diseases were cured by sucking foreign objects—often objects embodying magical spells—from the body of the patient (O'Neil 1983:245), by blowing substances over the body of the patient (Mogelon 1994:38; O'Neil 1983:245), or by attracting the wandering spirit of the patient (Bancroft Hunt 2002:153). A common type of object used by shamans in such healing rituals is referred to in the anthropological literature as a "sucking tube."<sup>13</sup> Use of sucking tubes in curing ceremonies was widespread in Native North America (Driver 1961:503, 510; Hultkrantz 1981:64; Underhill 1965:84; Vogel 1970:27, 82). A type of artifact related to the sucking tube, and somewhat similar in form, is the Northwest Coast "soul catcher"; the shaman used his soul catcher to retrieve the wandering spirit of an ill person in order to effect a cure (e.g., Underhill 1965:112; Figure 27).

Sucking tubes, similar to those used in early historic times, have been recovered from archaeological sites elsewhere in North America (e.g., O'Neil 1983), and the recovery of incised and decorated bone tubes, such as the one shown in Figure 26 (left) suggests the making and use of such artifacts has a considerable time depth. Given that Wolastoq'kew shamans employed healing techniques that involved sucking foreign objects, and blowing curative substances (Erickson 1978:132), it is possible that the CEF served as a shaman's sucking tube.

## DISCUSSION

We have had little experience with researching and analyzing unique, idiosyncratic, art objects. The CEF is difficult to interpret precisely because of its uniqueness.

We believe the preponderance of the evidence indicates that the CEF was carved during the protohistoric or the historic period by a Native person having Eastern Algonquian or Northern Iroquoian heritage. The CEF's headdress—if we have interpreted correctly what it is intended to represent—suggests that the artisan was culturally affiliated with an Eastern Algonquian ethnic group in the Maine/Maritimes area. The CEF's bent nose motif suggests the artisan may have been affiliated with a Northern Iroquoian ethnic group.

The CEF's lips may suggest a sucking, blowing or whistling action. The bulging, asymmetrical eyes may suggest a trance-like state. Both of these attributes suggest a connection between the CEF and Native American shamanism. The mouth, in particular, may indicate an association with shamanic healing practices—that is, with sucking harmful substances or objects from the body, with blowing therapeutic substances over the body, or with retrieving the wandering spirit, of an ill person. If so, one possible interpretation is that the CEF functioned as a shaman's sucking tube, and was employed in healing practices.

The CEF's bent nose suggests an association with the Iroquoian culture hero Broken Nose. The association of Broken Nose with healing practices may reinforce our suggestion that the CEF was used in a shaman's healing rituals.

### **Acknowledgements**

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## FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Cape Enrage, Rocher Bay and environs; the location where the CEF was found is marked by the labelled black square (adapted from SNB 2002:82).





Figure 2: The cliff at Cape Enrage.



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Figure 3: The location where the CEF was found (long shot).



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Figure 4: The location where the CEF was found (medium shot).



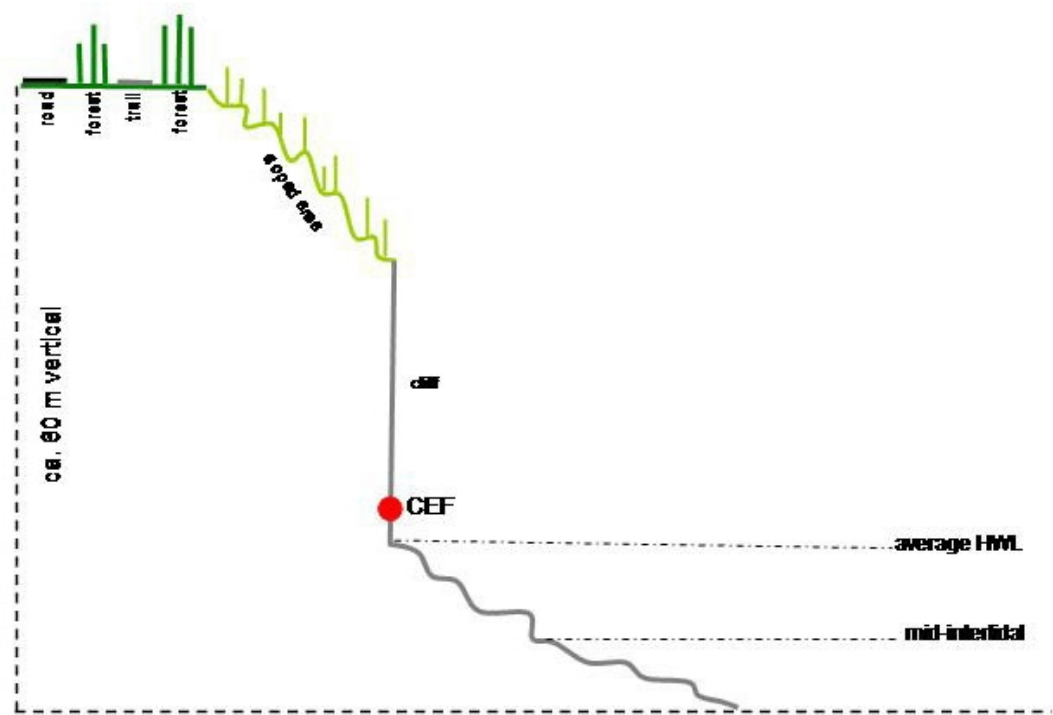
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Figure 5: The location where the CEF was found (close shot); the find spot was in the area immediately to Daniel Kane's right.



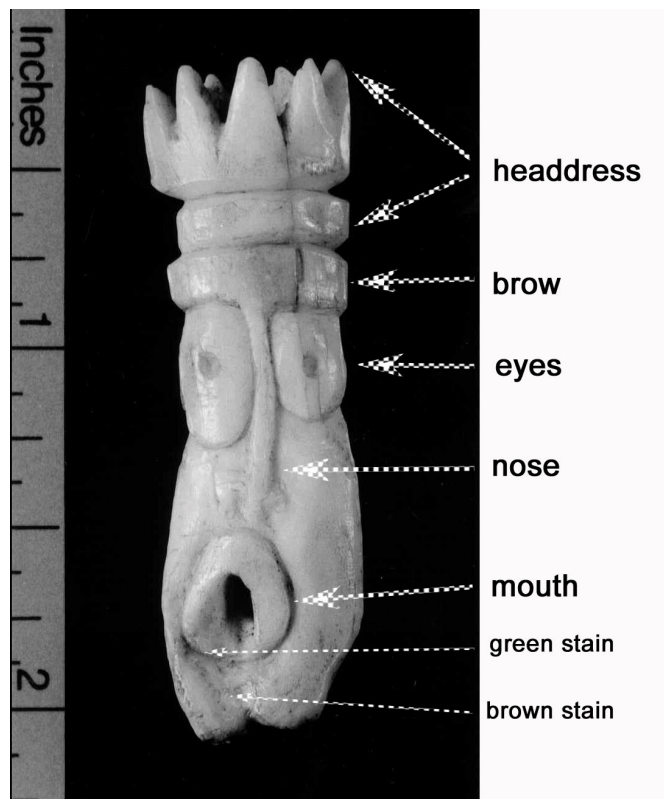
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Figure 6: Cross-section diagram of the CEF find spot (not to scale).



D.W. Black

Figure 7: The CEF obverse.



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Figure 8: The CEF obverse and reverse.



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Figure 9: The CEF obverse (with labial surface of a deer mandible for comparison<sup>14</sup>).



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Figure 10: The CEF reverse (with lingual surface of a deer mandible for comparison).



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Figure 11: Diagram of a deer mandible showing the terminology used (adapted from Gilbert 1980:261).

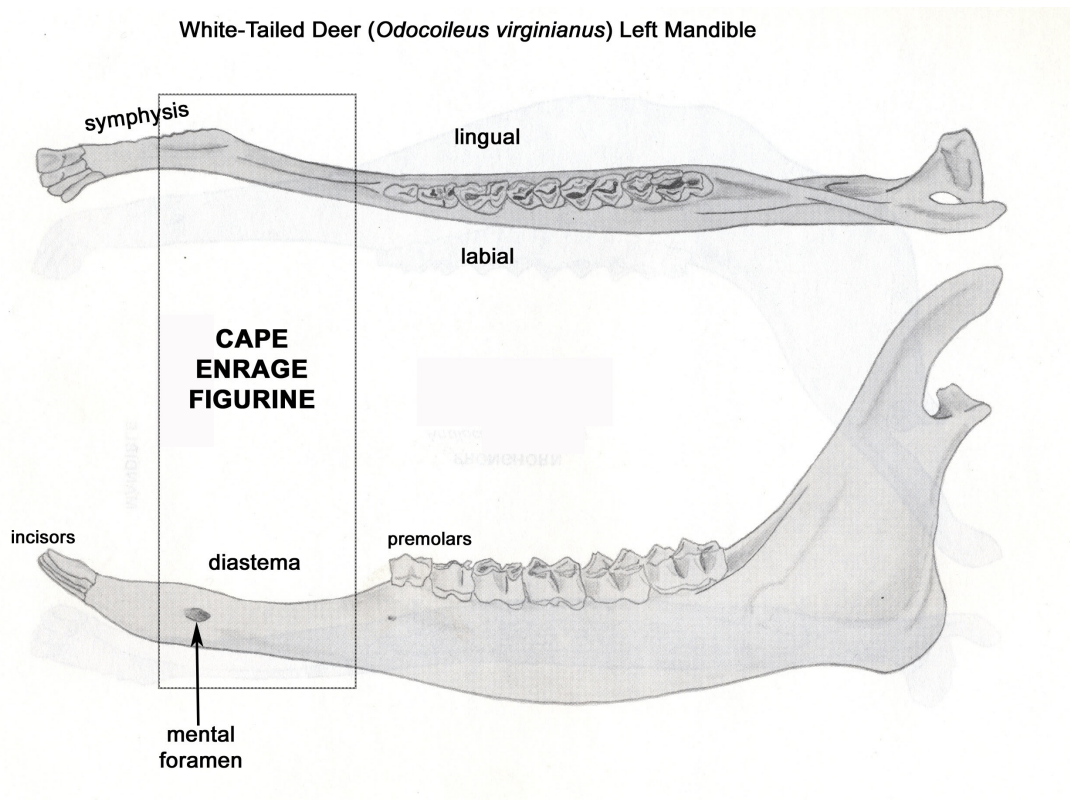


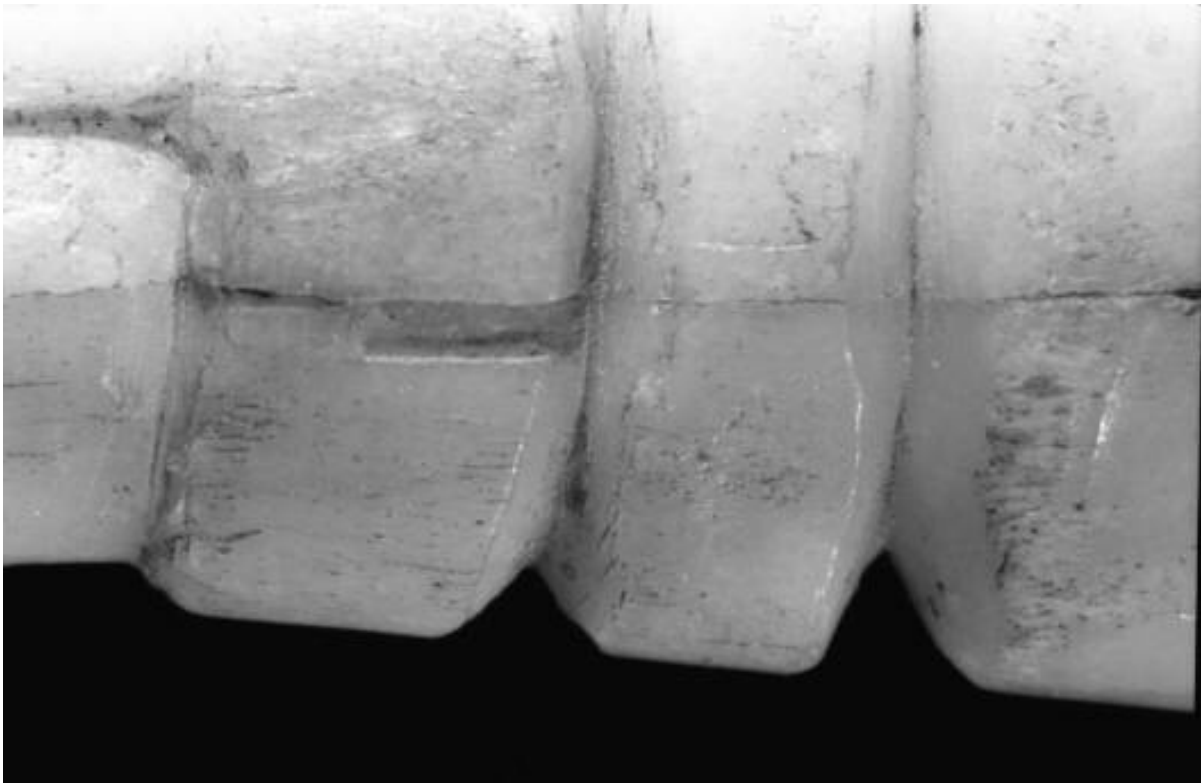


Figure 12: Close up of the surface of the CEF showing waxy lustre.



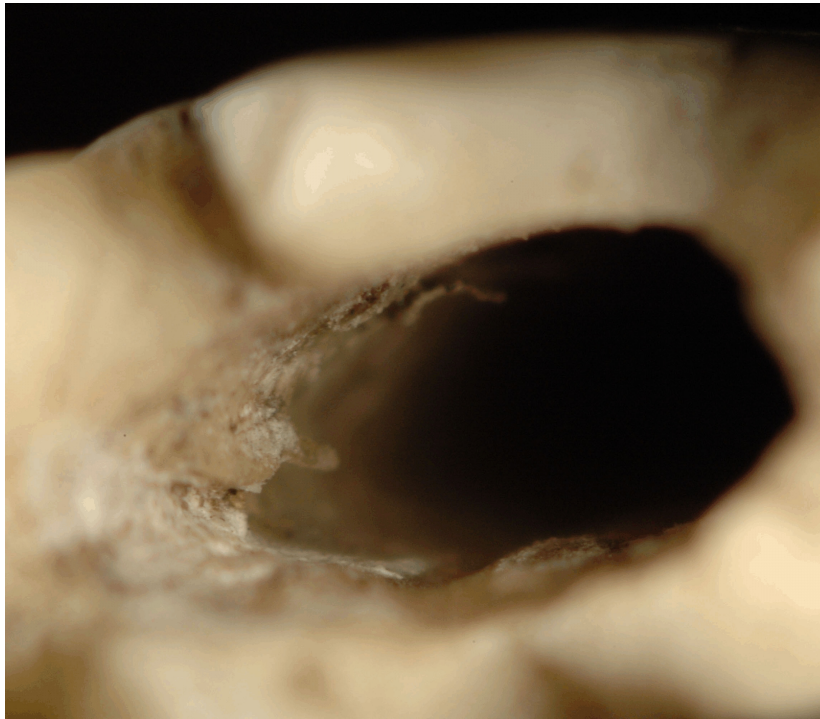
C.D. Gilbert/UNB Archaeology Lab

Figure 13: Breakage above the left eye (15X magnification).



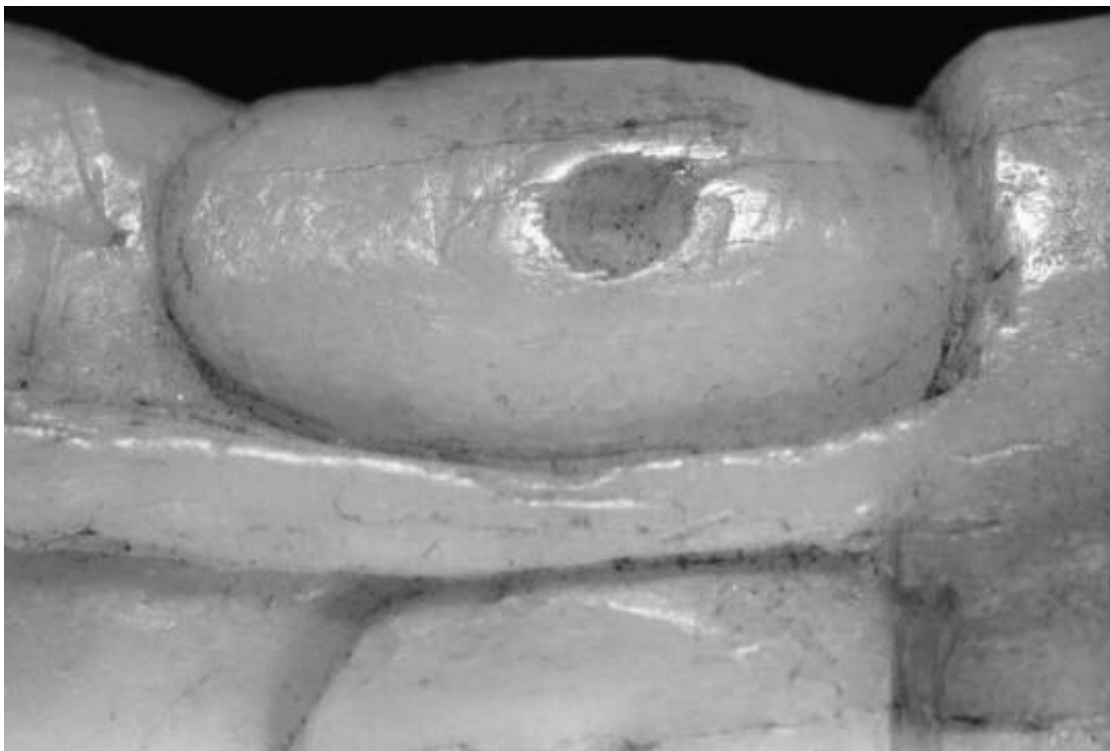
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Figure 14: Close up of the interior of the CEF showing soil particles and rootlets (10X magnification).



C.D. Gilbert/UNB Archaeology Lab

Figure 15: CEF drilled pupil in right eye (10X magnification).



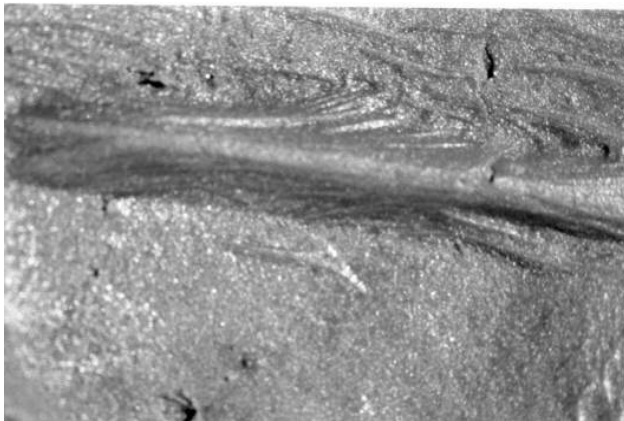
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Figure 16: Close up of CEF nose and lips (10X magnification).

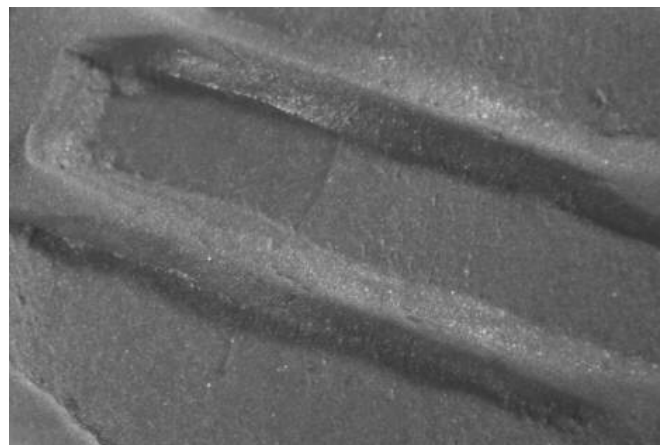


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Figure 17: Positive impressions of cut-marks in modelling clay: stone tool cut-mark (left); cut-marks from CEF headdress (right); both 10X magnification.



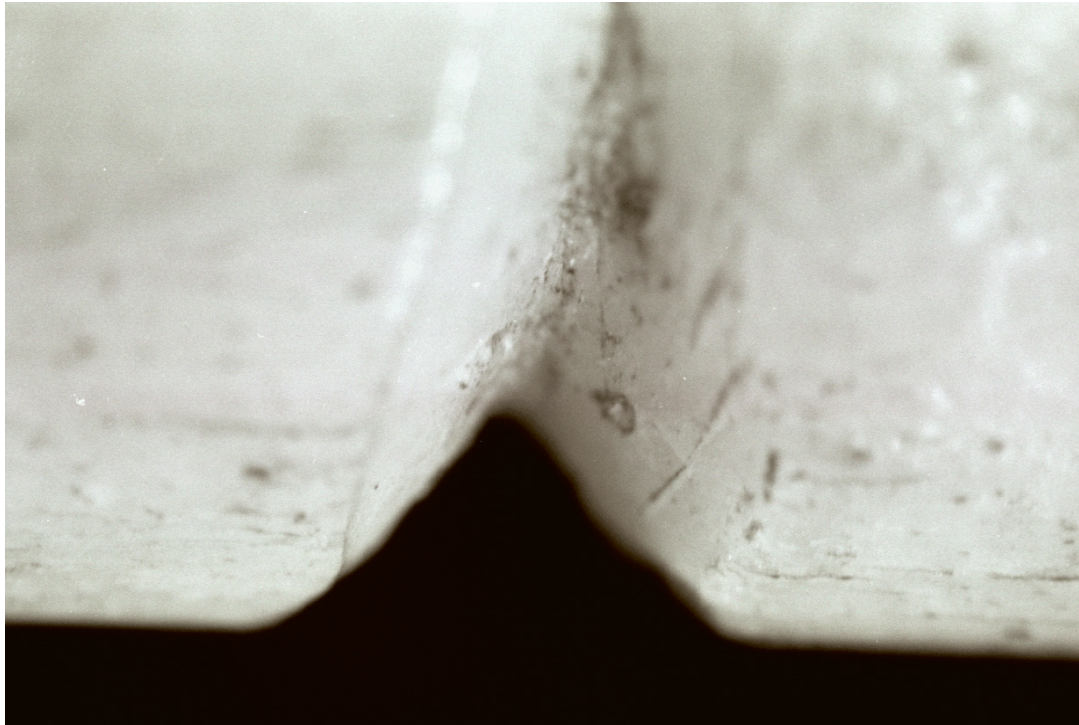
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Figure 18: Profile of cut mark in the CEF (20X magnification).



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Figure 19: The base of the CEF (10X magnification).



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Figure 20: Painting of an Ojibwa shaman using a bone “sucking tube” in healing.



<http://www.telusplanet.net/public/hexaquad/photo-ai16f.htm>

Figure 21: Photograph of Wolastoqiyik (taken in 1887); note the headdresses worn by the three individuals at the left (Miller 1989; Perley et al 2000:12).





Figure 22: Photographs of Wolastoqiyik wearing headdresses: left, Margarett Francis (taken in 1880); right, Gabe Paul (taken in 1912) (Perley et al 2000:46, 55).



Figure 23: Photograph of Wolastoqiyik (taken in 1887); note the headdresses worn by the three individuals at the centre right (Erickson 1978:131).





Figure 24: Photographs of Mi'kmaq (from Shubenacadie) wearing headdresses: left, Peter Paul (taken in 1905); right, Chief Jim Meuse family (taken in 1910) (Whitehead 1980:21, 65).



Figure 25: Iroquoian “Broken Nose” False Face masks (from Google Image Search).

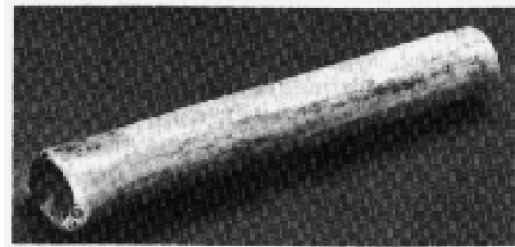
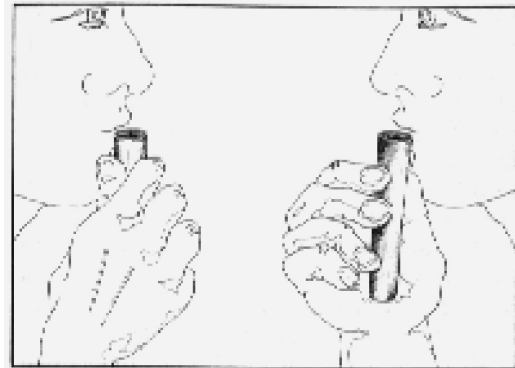


Figure 26: Archaeological bone tubes: left, Florida; right, Scandinavia.



Bird bone tube incised with geometric designs found at the Windover site. This specimen is thought to be at least 7000 years old.

<http://www.nbbd.com/godo/history/windover/>



<http://www.gallica.co>

Figure 27: Northwest Coast shamanic spirit catchers.



[http://www.tompkinscollection.org/object\\_160.html](http://www.tompkinscollection.org/object_160.html)



<http://www.civilization>

## ***End Notes***

1. Daniel Kane is a former UNB student, who participated in an ethnographic field school offered by UNB–Anthropology.
2. David Black has taught at UNB since 1991. During that time, members of the public have shown him, and consulted him about many unusual objects and artifacts. However, the Cape Enrage Figurine is the most unusual artifact ever brought to him.
3. Archaeological Services Unit, Heritage Branch, Department of Wellness, Culture and Sport, Province of New Brunswick.
4. This identification was made by Dr. Frances L. Stewart, an expert at identifying animal bones from archaeological sites.
5. Left and right, here and below, are based on anatomical positioning, treating the CEF as if it is an actual human head.
6. The deer bone used for experimental cut-marks had been left outdoors on the ground surface for two years to become defleshed and cleaned through natural decay and weathering processes.
7. This analysis was conducted by the Electron Microscopy Unit, UNB.
8. Whitehead (1980:21) refers to this style as the “newer feathered headdress”, suggesting this style may have been adopted late in the historic period.
9. We have seen an example of a similar rendering of a headdress in the work of Penobscot artist Dominic Polchies; the work referred to is called “The Council” and shows a series of carved talking sticks.
10. It should be noted that some Inuit and Eskimoan masks also exhibit bent nose and whistling mouth motifs. We believe it is unlikely that these have any direct relevance to understanding the CEF.
11. Iroquoian masks sometimes depict whistling mouths (e.g., Fenton 1987:44–45), but not, apparently, in combination with the bent nose motif.
12. *Shaman*. The Siberian term for medicine man. By extension, the term is now used for an individual in any society who derives power directly from the supernatural and uses it for healing or for interpreting unusual phenomena. Only rarely do shamans use their power to harmful ends. (From: A Glossary of Manitoba Prehistoric Archaeology  
<http://www.umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/anthropology/manarchnet/appendices/glossary.html#letter%20s>)
13. *Sucking Tube*. A hollow cylinder, often made from a cut section of longbone, through which a shaman or other healer magically withdraws an intrusive object from a patient. The belief that illness is a result of some foreign object within a person is fairly widespread. Sometimes the shaman will hide a small object within his mouth beforehand so that after his treatment he may produce it as proof of the cure. (From: A Glossary of Manitoba Prehistoric Archaeology  
<http://www.umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/anthropology/manarchnet/appendices/glossary.html#letter%20s>)
14. Note that the deer mandible from which the CEF was made was that of a smaller animal than the deer whose mandible is shown for comparison in figure 9 and 10.