# 1998 Heritage Impact Assessment Project at Metepenagiag Mi'kmaq First Nation



By Vincent Bourgeois and Patricia Allen
NEW BRUNSWICK MANUSCRIPTS IN ARCHAEOLOGY 38

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The situation with regard to the endangerment of the Mitchell Site was brought to the attention of Ms. Allen by Mr. Howard Augustine. Mr. Augustine was very concerned when in August 1998 he accidentally discovered a portion of the historic Metepenagiag riverfront, containing a known archaeological site, was being bulldozed to prepare for a housing development. Mr. Augustine stopped the bulldozer operator and requested that Archaeological Services become involved so that community leaders could be provided with facts to allow informed decisions to be made. Then Provincial Archaeologist Dr. Christopher Turnbull requested time to do a heritage resource impact assessment. The late Chief Michael Augustine and his Council granted a three week delay and permission to test. Had it not been for the intervention of Mr. Augustine and his sister Madeline, the site would have been entirely lost. We also thank Terry Tennas, Hubert Tennas and Arthur Tennas for their on-site information and discussion.

Above all, this report wishes to acknowledge the community of Metepenagiag for its patience and its understanding. In Metepenagaig, dealing with heritage site preservation is a difficult proposition primarily because the community land base of "Red Bank Indian Reserve #4" has a very large number of archaeological sites. This is also where a greater portion of the population of this

growing community is centered. In the end, a good portion of the Mitchell Site was spared development.

#### Abstract

The Mitchell Site (CfDl-4) was the subject of a hasty yet fairly intensive and extensive testing project in August 1998. The site was first recorded and tested in 1977-78. In the summer of 1998 the site was found to be in immediate danger of complete destruction. Mr. Howard Augustine, a heritage conscious individual, intervened when he realized a bulldozer was intending to clear for a housing development what remained of the community's historic waterfront along the Little Southwest Miramichi. The 1998 testing work was conducted with the permission of then Red Bank Chief the late Michael Augustine and his Council consisting of Wanda Ward, Donald Ward, Lindsay Tennas and Anthony Haddad. An archaeology team consisting of Patricia Allen, (Archaeological Services New Brunswick) and Rob Ferguson (Parks Canada, Atlantic Region) spent just under a week exploring the Mitchell Site by shovel tests. After completing sixty-two tests, the Mitchell Site was found to be extensive, an area approximately 350 meters long by 30 meters wide by 35 cm deep. The Mitchell Site was found to cover a surface area of at least half the size of the deeply stratified Oxbow National Historic site. It was however, a site of a different nature. The cultural material recovered was almost exclusively limited to chipping debris. The site is interpreted as a short term lithic workshop area, reused many times over the last 2600 years by fishermen awaiting their catch. On September 2nd, within two weeks of the August 1998 field assessment, a letter of report was compiled summarizing the results of the testing. The letter, from Dr. Christopher Turnbull, was sent to then Metepenagiag Mi'kmaq First Nation Chief Michael Augustine. In the fall of 1998 one new house was built in the area where the site was heavily concentrated. However, a second planned house did not go ahead as planned and a large section of the Mitchell Site today remains intact.

### Introduction

The Metepenagiag Mi'kmaq First Nation at Red Bank is well known for its cultural heritage and it's concentration of archaeological sites. Red Bank is located approximately 20 km west of Miramichi City on the banks of the Little Southwest Miramichi at its confluence with the Northwest Miramichi. Two of Red Bank's archaeological sites, the Oxbow and the Augustine Mound, are both National and Provincial Historic sites (Figure 1) (Turnbull 1976, Allen 1984). The excavation of these sites, and associated survey and test

excavation work at other sites in the area during the 1970s and early 1980s, have put Red Bank on the archaeological map of Canada (Tuck 1984, Wright 1999). Several significant pre-contact Mi'kmaq heritage sites have been recorded at or near the confluence of the two rivers.

The Mitchell Site (CfDl-4) is located on the south shore of the Little Southwest Miramichi and slightly downriver from the spectacular stratified Oxbow village site. The Mitchell site was originally tested in 1978 and more recently in 1998 in an effort to determine its size, cultural significance and the potential impact that a housing development would have on its integrity as a heritage resource.

All of the archaeological sites in Red Bank have provided the Metepenagiag community with a solid base from which to move forward with an economic development/cultural heritage venture entitled the Metepenagiag Heritage Park Project. The Mitchell Site is one of the archaeological sites deemed historically significant to the past, present and future community of Metepenagiag.

# **Environmental setting**

The Mitchell Site is located on the southern bank of the Little Southwest Miramichi River within the Mi'kmaq community of Metepenagiag (Red Bank) (Figure 1). The site is situated on a long narrow somewhat elevated terrace that runs parallel to the river (Figure 2). The terrace is between two and three meters above August river levels and is bordered by the river to the north and to the south by a slightly lower swamp-like lowland. This lowland area begins anywhere between 30 and 40 meters south of the river bank.

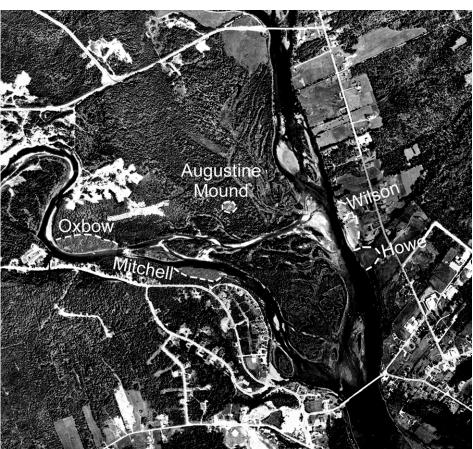


Figure 1 - Aerial photograph of the Red Bank area with major archaeological sites.

A thorough discussion of the environmental situation, climate, flora and fauna of the Red Bank area, as it lies within the Miramichi River district, can be found in an earlier work (Allen 1981). However, for this report it is important to note that the Mitchell Site lies approximately 500 meters upriver from the confluence of the main Northwest Miramichi and the Little Southwest Miramichi. It is also situated approximately 500

meters downriver from the head of tide on the Little Southwest Miramichi where the deeply stratified Oxbow archaeological site is located (Figure 1). The Mitchell Site lies adjacent the first section of rapid water (during low tide) on the river (Figure 3).



Figure 2 - Shoreline of the Little Southwest Miramichi adjacent to the Mitchell Site



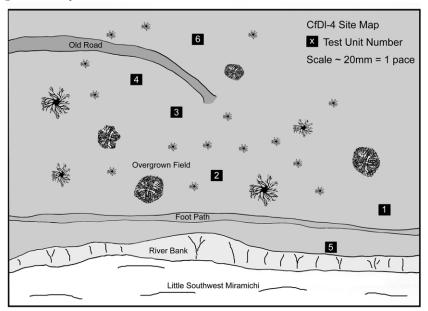
Figure 3 - Looking downriver along the Little Southwest Miramichi shoreline with Mitchell's rapids to the extreme right

In 1998 the Mitchell Site was covered with a mixed young growth forest consisting of alder, spruce, fir, poplar, birch, cedar, ferns and other smaller plants and shrubs. The lower-lying swamplike areas to the south of the site support decidedly more cedar and alder growth. An overgrown trail or cart track follows along the terrace running parallel to the river (Figure 4).A foot path used by local children and fishermen runs close to the riverbank and sometimes follows the cart track (Figure 6). A path or overgrown roadway leading down to the river from a much higher terrace at the eastern end of the site is known in the community as "ANTI-ME-DUC-TEC" This is a Mi'kmaq phrase roughly translated "where we go down". In Red Bank, community members associate this phrase with this specific place and no other (pers. comm. Madeline Augustine 1998). The shoreline and rapids adjacent the Mitchell Site are known for good salmon fishing. That the trail leading down to the Mitchell Site has its own name draws attention to the importance of the location.

The Mitchell Site contains the archaeological remnants of a cabin that once belonged to the late Red Bank community member Mitchell Tennas, brother-in-law to John Augustine, father of Joseph Augustine, the person who discovered the Augustine Mound Site in the early 1970's (Figure 1) (Madeline Augustine pers. comm. 2004). Mr. Tennas lived on and farmed this terrace during the first half of the 20th Century. Mr. Tennas was also a fisherman, hunter and a woodsman.

The mild river rapids found opposite the lower section of the site (Figure 3) and the Island upriver (Figure 1) are named after Mitchell Tennas (pers. comm. Joseph Augustine 1978). The remnants of Mitchell Tennas cabin were not tested but they were located in the general vicinity of shovel tests 46 and 47 (Figure 13).

Figure 4 - 1978 field sketch of foot path along the Mitchell Site, relative positions of 1978 Test Units and the old road behind the site



# 1978 Testing Summary

The Mitchell Site was initially referred to as the *Mad Site* when it was first recorded in 1978. It was named after Madeline Augustine who first reported its discovery during 1977 field season. The site was renamed Mitchell in 1998 when the connection with the cabin home of Mitchell

Figure 5 - John Augustine (rear) and Mitchell Tennas (bow), poling upriver towards the Oxbow May 1934.

Tennas was clarified by Madeline Augustine (pers. comm. 1998). The site was first archaeologically tested by a Red Bank field crew in 1978 while survey work was being conducted along the Little Southwest Miramichi River and when the Oxbow site itself was being test excavated. Madeline Augustine, Toni Paul, Mary Louise Cloud and Adele Emin made up the 1978 crew. Scott Finley and Patricia Allen photographed the testing.

A preliminary testing report on the 1978 work was drafted by Adele Emin (1978). Six one meter by one meter test excavation units were placed at various positions relevant to the river (Figure 4). The first two test units were placed

at points along the terrace where quartz flakes had been observed on the broken surface of the footpath and also eroding from the river bank edge (Figure 7). Additional units were placed to determine how far the site extended back from the river and to examine the associated soil profiles (Figure 8).



Figure 6 - Mitchell Site footpath leading along the river bank through young growth alders, poplar and ferns.

Figure 7 - Red Bank community member Toni Paul excavating Test Unit 2 during the 1978 season.



In 1978, all excavation units were excavated to a final depth of between 40 and 50cm (Figure 9). The units close to the river bank exhibited a thick layer of brown humus beneath the sod. Most of



Figure 8 - Red Bank community member Mary Louise Cloud excavating Test Unit 3 during 1978 season.

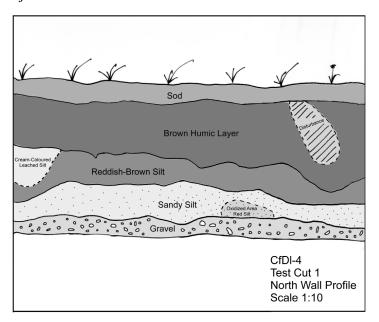
the artifacts were concentrated within this humus layer (Figure 10). Further inland the humus layer was replaced with a black layer that produced less and less in the way of cultural material. Test Unit 6, the furthest from the river and located within the swamp-like area produced no cultural materials (Figure 4). Test Unit 4 produced only one flake and Test Unit 3 contributed only 14 flakes. By comparison Units 1, 2 and 5 all produced hundreds of flakes and a few formed artifacts (Emin 1978). The Emin report (1978) suggested that the cultural deposits were mostly within the humus layer (the upper 35-40 cm) and that the deposits were concentrated in a very narrow strip of terrace near the riverbank.



Figure 9 - Soil profile of Test Unit 2, 1978 excavation

The artifact assemblage recovered from the 1978 testing consisted primarily of quartz flakes representing 98% of total artifact yield. Also recovered were 8 bifaces, 6 scrapers, and 5 retouched flakes all made from quartz. Two small undecorated ceramic fragments were recovered from the testing. A small rim fragment displaying pseudo-scallop shell stamping was surface collected. Also surface collected was a small expanding stemmed point. A charcoal stain represented the only feature observed at the site. Although some flakes were associated with the feature, no fire cracked rocks were present. The diagnostic artifacts recovered in 1978 are illustrated in Figure 11.

Figure 10 - Field sketch (1978) of typical soil profile from terrace area of the site adjacent the river bank, North wall of Test Unit 1



The 1978 preliminary report concluded that the testing indicated a short term use location. The few formal artifacts, the stemmed point and the one decorated pottery rim fragment were compared with examples from the nearby Oxbow site. Based on the projectile point sequence, radiocarbon dates and the ceramic seriation from the Oxbow Site, the Mitchell Site was, in 1978, suggested to have been used between 2600 and 2100 BP (Emin 1978).

# 1998 CfDl-4 Heritage Impact Assessment

The Mitchell Site was subject to a hasty yet fairly intensive and extensive testing project in August of 1998 after it was found to be in immediate danger of complete destruction. The site was first recorded and tested in 1977-78 (see above). In 1998, Mr. Howard Augustine, a resident of Red Bank and heritage conscious individual, intervened when he discovered a bull dozer was intending to clear a roadway across the entire site. A housing development was to proceed on what remained of the community's historic waterfront. Archaeological Services was asked by Mr. Augustine to quickly provide some advice to the community leaders who were in charge of land use policy. Permission was requested and granted

to do an immediate heritage impact assessment of the property.

The 1998 testing work was conducted with the permission of then Red Bank Chief Michael Augustine and his Council. The Council consisted of Wanda Ward, Donald Ward, Lindsay Tennas and Anthony Haddad. An archaeology team consisting of Patricia Allen, (Archaeological Services New Brunswick) and Rob Ferguson (Parks Canada,

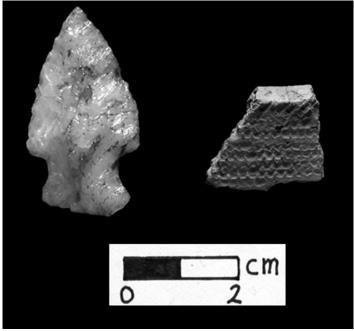
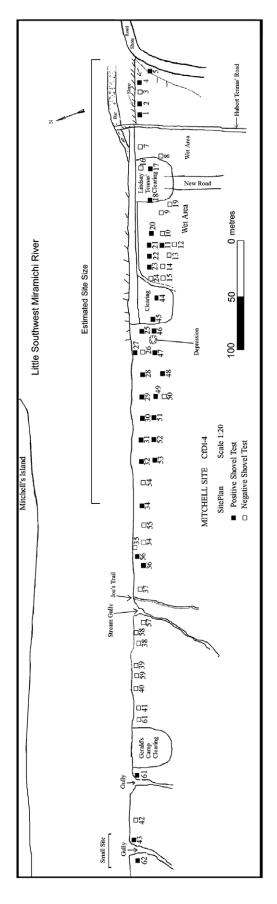


Figure 11 - Diagnostic artifact assemblage collected in 1978.

Figure 12 - Example of shovel testing accomplished during the 1998 HRIA of the Site



Figure 13 - Field map of the 1998 testing project, shovel test locations and proposed development area marked.



Atlantic Region) spent just under a week exploring the Mitchell Site with shovel tests. The testing interrupted the proposed housing and road development in order to assess the level of impact to the heritage resources that would be caused by a continuation of this project. The testing focused on delineating the site boundaries, establishing a level of significance and determining where the site was most heavily concentrated.

The first visit to the Mitchell Site revealed that the bull-dozer had indeed already started work and that a roadway had been cleared from the north side of the home of Hubert Tennas down to the river. An area had also been cleared of vegetation in preparation for building (Figure 13, 17). Further, heavy machinery with metal treads had disturbed the surface as it made its way upriver to the proposed site of the second house. The second proposed house area was being cleared of vegetation at the time of the testing. A large concentration of flakes was recorded on the surface in the vicinity of the Lindsay Tennas house clearing. Many more were noted all along the upriver machinery track where the sod had been disturbed (Figure 18).

#### 1998 Testing Methodology

The 1998 sampling strategy was constrained by various types of vegetation and the lack of time for laying a formal grid. The strategy consisted of

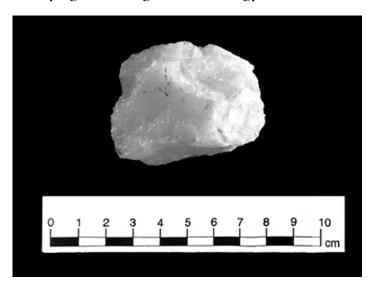


Figure 14 - Quartz core recovered during the 1998 testing.

Table 1: Table 1 - Shovel Test Information

Shovel Test #	<b>Artifacts Present</b>	Depth of cultural layer below ground
1	18 quartz flakes	10-15 cm
2	12 quartz flakes	0-15 cm
3	no cultural material	n/a
4	25 quartz flakes	5-20 cm, 20-24 cm
5	26 quartz flakes	0-20 cm
6	no record	n/a
7-10	no cultural material	n/a
11	1 quartz flake	0-15 cm
12-16	no cultural material	n/a
17	1 quartz flake	0-6 cm
18	2 quartz flakes	0-11 cm
19	no cultural material	n/a
20	1 quartz flake	surface
21	2 quartz flakes	4-26 cm
22	2 quartz flakes	4-20 cm
23	1 quartz flake	2-18 cm
24	no cultural material	n/a
25	1 quartz flake	0-5 cm
26	no cultural material	n/a
27	31 quartz flakes, 1 quartz biface fragment	0-10 cm
28	214 quartz flakes	0-25 cm
29	3 quartz flakes	0-10 cm
30	7 quartz flakes, 1 utilized quartz flake	25-35 cm
31	10 quartz flakes	0-12 cm
32	1 quartz flake, 1 possible chipped axe	
33	5 quartz flakes	
34-42	no cultural material	n/a
43	1 quartz flake	5-10 cm
44	3 quartz flakes, 1 quartz core	0-15 cm
45	1 quartz flake	0-10 cm
46	2 quartz flakes	5-25 cm
47	15 quartz flakes	8-25 cm
48	1 quartz flake	surface
49	4 quartz flakes	6-21 cm
50	no cultural material	n/a
51	1 quartz flake	0-16 cm
52	3 quartz flakes	4-15 cm
53	1 quartz flake	0-13 cm
54-60	no cultural material	n/a
61	1 quartz flake	8-29 cm
62	1 quartz flake	4-17 cm

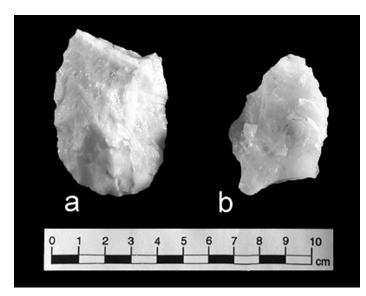


Figure 15 - a) Biface pre-form fragment, b) Possible used flake (uniface)



Figure 16 - Possible chipped sandstone axe

placing shovel tests in as regular a line as possible at roughly 10 m intervals along the entire length of river bank terrace, a distance of approximately 800 m. This 800 m stretch ran from just west of Shore Road upriver to a point just west of 'Gerald's camp clearing' (Figure 13). At the lower, Mitchell Site end of the test area, a second line of tests was placed approximately 10m back from the edge of the river bank. Additional tests were placed approximately 10m further back again in selected areas of the site (Figure 13). No attempt was made to relocate the 1978 test units (Figure 4), given that no bench marks had been established for these tests (Emin 1978) and the vegetative cover would have made this task

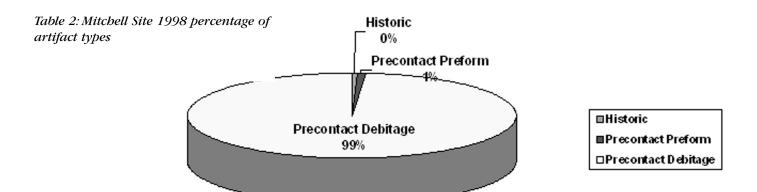
impossible. A total of 62 (50 cm square) shovel tests were excavated in 1998 (Figure 13).

Thirty-one shovel tests east of "Joe's trail" contained cultural materials associated with the pre-contact period (Table 1). No artifacts were found beneath a depth of 35cm. The Mitchell Site dimensions were established based on the artifact distribution recorded within the test area. The site was proven to extend from the upper bend in the Shore Road elevated terrace upriver to a point just east of "Joe's trail" (Figure 13). This trail leads down to the river from the current home of Aloysius Augustine, formerly the residence of Joseph Augustine. The site size was estimated at between 300 m and 350 m in length by 30 m wide.

It should be noted that two additional small sites were found during the testing. A few flakes were recovered from one shovel test on the east side of the first gully beyond 'Gerald's camp clearing'. On either side of the next most westerly gully a few more flakes were found (Figure 13). The 'steep perch' situation of both these very small sites was such that they were estimated to have only been used briefly, perhaps to stop to get out of the rain, sharpen a tool or watch the river.

The 1998 Mitchell Site artifact assemblage consisted almost entirely of quartz flakes and cores. The few exceptions included a biface preform fragment (Figure 15a) and a possible used flake (Figure 15b). Both these artifacts and a core (Figure 14) were made of quartz. A possible chipped stone axe was also collected from one shovel test (Figure 16). Of the 432 artifacts recovered from the shovel tests, 99 % consisted of quartz debitage (Table 2). The remaining sample includes a quartz biface pre-form (Figure 15a), a quartz used flake (uniface) (Figure 15b), a quartz core (Figure 14), a possible chipped stone axe or chopping tool made of sandstone (Figure 16), and 2 fragments of historic bottle glass.

Given that the bulk of the recovered cultural material consisted of quartz debitage, the artifact analysis was limited to a preliminary flake analysis that broke the sample into flake types based on



the perceived reduction sequence. All flakes containing more than 30% cortex and measuring larger than 30 mm at maximum length were considered primary. All flakes containing less than 30% cortex and measuring between 30 mm and 10 mm were considered a secondary flake. Any flake less than 10 mm in length or width was considered tertiary. Any quartz fragment which did not display flake scars, striking platform, and bulb of percussion was considered as shatter. Table 3 illustrates the quartz debitage type frequency. In 1978 a total of 1491 flakes and four cores were recovered. Non-cortex bearing flakes were three times as common as cortex bearing flakes.

## Stratigraphy

Soil layers throughout the slightly more elevated portion of the site generally consisted of a thin sod layer followed by a shallow humus layer which overlay a reddish sand followed by a gravel layer (Figure 10). The low-lying areas bordering the southern portions of the site generally contained very dark brown, almost black humus with grey leached

sand overlying orange silt-like subsoil. This area behind the site is wet and bog-like. The majority of the cultural material recovered during the 1998 testing was confined within the topsoil/humus layer.

In areas close to the river the humus layer could represent an old plow-zone. In all cases the humus layer did not exceed 35 cm in depth. Within the section of terrace closest to the river, several flakes were located in various contexts including surface scatter, recent machinery track, and the thin sod layer.

## Discussion and conclusions

After completing sixty-two tests, the Mitchell Site was found to cover an area measuring approximately 350 m long by 30 m wide. Overall, the cultural deposits from the site were no deeper than 35 cm (Figure 9, 12). A total of 432 artifacts were recovered from the 1998 testing, the vast majority of these being quartz debitage. This result was anticipated based on what was found during the initial testing (Emin 1978). Although the results of the 1998 work did not provide information on site age, a projectile point and a decorated ceramic rim sherd collected in 1978 suggested that the site was used at least between 2600 and 2100 BP.

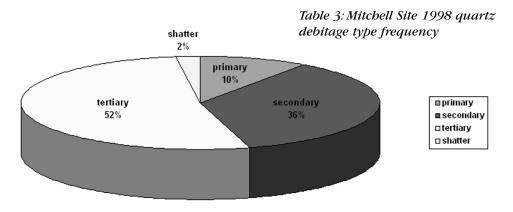




Figure 17 - Archaeologist Rob Ferguson looking along the 'new built road' that was created to allow access to the building site of the Lindsay Tennas home.

The Mitchell Site is estimated to cover a surface area of approximately half the size of the Oxbow National Historic site (Figure 1). The Mitchell site is not considered to have been as heavily or extensively used. The site does not exhibit any of the extensive domestic and technological attributes that define the Oxbow site. The Oxbow site represented an intensively occupied and reoccupied spring, summer, fall fishing village (Figure 19) (Allen 1981, 2004).

At the Mitchell site, the abundant representation of each debitage type (Table 3) suggests that quartz cobble reduction was a primary activity. A three to one ratio of cortex to non-cortex flakes from 1978 supports this interpretation. The beach at this location is littered with gravel cobbles of various materials including quartz. The low number of formal tools as well as the extreme scarcity of pottery and the absence of hearth areas and other features from the site seem to suggest that activities on the Mitchell Site were indeed limited.

From the great number of flakes encountered in the tests and from the speculated date range for site use, it could be offered that the site was perhaps used frequently but for only short periods of time. If the site was to be totally excavated and concentrations of debris recorded, this suggestion could perhaps be confirmed. Additionally, given the evidence of abundant quartz cobble reduction with the absence of hearths or pit features, the suggestion can be made that perhaps the site was simply being used as a location where cobbles were being reduced to make flakes with good cutting edges.

In the late 1970s it was drawn to the attention of archaeologist Patricia Allen that if one stood on the higher bank on the edge of the Shore Road (at the very eastern end of the Mitchell site), one could see the wake of the Atlantic salmon as they made their way up river through the deeper water below Mitchell's rapids. In the earlier 20th century the first run of spring bright salmon was much awaited in Red Bank. Men would watch the river from the high bank for signs of their arrival. Once their wakes were perceived, the fishermen would go down at "ANTI-ME-DUC-TEC" to take the fish in the shallows of the rapids, sometimes filling

Figure 18 - Flakes (trowel in foreground) visible on surface disturbed by heavy machinery track.





barrels for salting (Joseph Augustine pers. comm. 1979). Today this stretch of river adjacent the Mitchell site is known as a good location for fly fishing.

Perhaps in pre-contact times intercepting the first spring salmon was also much anticipated. Why should one wait until the salmon were in the deep pool opposite the Oxbow site? Could the first canoe load of the fat bright fish not be taken by spearing at Mitchell's rapids? If one had a sharp edged flake to use for gutting the fish, would transporting the cleaned fish have been an easier task then carrying them whole upriver to the cooking pots at the Oxbow village?

The same suggested purpose of the site could also be offered for taking the first large sturgeon as they made their way over the shallows at Mitchell's rapids intent on spawning in the deep pool at the head of tide. There is an island on the Northwest Miramichi not a kilometer from the Mitchell site that Joseph Augustine called "DUM -GUA-DAA-GE-NEDGE". Roughly translated from Mi'kmaq this means "the place where the sturgeon are beheaded". According to Mr. Augustine the sturgeon were trapped in a tidal pool as the water level fell. They were easily harpooned and then dragged up unto the beach for beheading and gutting. There was no indication that the sturgeon were further processed or eaten at this site (Joseph Augustine pers. comm. 1978).

Figure 19 - Deeply stratified cultural deposits at the Oxbow village site (Allen 2004)

There may not be significant evidence to support the interpretation of the Mitchell Site as an area for the interception of the first runs of bright Atlantic salmon and sturgeon, however, the type and distribution of artifacts do not easily offer many interpretative alternatives. The site is quite removed from the high gravel banks upriver from the Oxbow site, where a much wider choice of quartz cobbles

for producing formed tools is available. Why would one choose the Mitchell site location for a flaking workshop unless it served some immediate purpose? The paucity of formed tools on the site suggests that the production of finished formed tools was not a primary purpose for the site.

In conclusion, the Mitchell site was deemed to be an important site for its potential contribution to understanding pre-contact Mi'kmaq use of the landscape and river resources. Two weeks after the end of the August 1998 field assessment, a letter of heritage impact assessment was compiled by Dr. Christopher Turnbull summarizing the results of the testing. The letter was sent to Chief Michael Augustine. In the letter Dr. Turnbull recommended "...that the community of Red Bank set aside the river front property containing the Mitchell Site as a heritage preservation zone". He further suggested "that activities taking place within this zone be limited to non-destructive environmental, recreational or historically based projects from which the entire community could benefit." (Turnbull 1998).

In the fall of 1998, one house was built on the eastern end of the site. However, a second planned house did not go ahead. A large section of the Mitchell Site, including the archaeological remnants of the Mitchell Tennas cabin, today remains intact.

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