Introduction

Spanning three centuries in North America, the Biscayan axe is a true French archaeological ‘icon’. This brief article will not only examine the origin of the name and place of manufacturing of these distinctive axes, but also discuss various theories and clarify some common misconceptions concerning them, especially their mysterious ‘pie shaped’ makers’ marks. Thanks to careful archaeology, the subtle form changes of this unique type of axe design over its’ approximate 170 year history are known, and will be addressed with line drawings and accompanying captions. Using a combination of contemporary French archival records, archaeological studies and a quick explanation of Biscayan axe ‘blacksmithing 101’, one can get a much more complete understanding of these fascinating early trade items.

Origin of use in North America

Despite the fact that these axes were originally likely just a regional style of ship’s “service” axe from the Bay of Biscay area, as early as 1542, written accounts suggest that Basque and French ship crews had begun to sporadically trade their own axes while on annual voyages to fish and hunt whales off Newfoundland and the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. By the 1550’s, according to French notarial records in the port towns of Bordeaux, Rouen, and La Rochelle, the Norman (i.e., French) crews who now dominated these fishing fleets, had already begun to regularly trade for furs, which soon after became “…a designated commercial activity…”; being deliberately supplied with a variety of local goods. However, as of 1584 the fleets had become almost exclusively Basque, who now carried “…substantial quantities of axes…” for their own fur trade activities.

The Biscayan axe was by this time, a ‘standardized’ product. Because these annual fishing fleets were typically outfitted with supplies and provisions from sources ‘local’ to their home ports it should not be surprising that the products in their ‘trade kits’ would be remarkably regular. This seems to be borne out by North American archaeology, where, for example,
Basque-era sites contain distinctive “Basque” regional products, (i.e., certain beads, large copper kettles, etc.) and large and heavy “Basque” regional products, Basque-era sites contain distinctive (Montreal area) with Native guides.5 and that a pilot from St. Jean de Luz penetrated as much as 100 leagues beyond Isle D’Orleans Spaniards and others…” were whaling on the St. Lawrence as far as the mouth of the Saguenay, Biscay region as the source of early trade axes, in 1586, Turgeon noted “…people from Bayonne, Plate taken from André Thevet “La Cosmographie Universelle” likely showing kettles, etc.) and can be clearly, a recognizable Biscayan diminished in size, they are still, smaller and lighter. Although the same sources, and that the axes came from so similar, it is more than likely, it is interesting to observe the similarities between this French Naval axe’s construction and overall profile and that of the Biscayan axe type. The hole seen through the blade may have been either the area where a stamp may have been originally located and thereafter corroded through, or a suspension hole. (Parks Canada/Photographer: Kevin Gibly/artifact number 2M99A5-1771.) so early in the 17th century, a particular hache was frequently documented as utilized by the Habitants (French colonist living in New France), soldiers and especially the Native allies to the French. This particular type of axe was often recorded as hache Biscayenne, hache Biscâtoine or at times as hache de Biscaye or hache Basque all of which can be translate to “Biscayan axe” or “an axe from Biscay.” Although the term “Biscayan” axe implies a double bitted axe to the ears of many French speaking Canadians today,1 the term “Biscayan” predates this 19th century style lumberjack style axe by well over 200 years. This may merely be a combination of a cultural memory of the now extinct axe form and allusion to a French Canadian term for 19th century double ended long boats used in the Lumber industry, which may have, at an early time in French Canada, been similar to boats used by Basque fishermen which were referred to as “Biscayenne,”12 and simply applied to the new style axe. Regardless, the word “Biscayenne” or “Biscayan” otherwise implies that any given object has a recognizable form or quality associated with the Bay of Biscay region. Indeed, numerous records from the entire period, clearly describe Biscayan axes as a specific type of axe from the Bay of Biscay region and occasionally, specifically Bayonne. Examples as early as 1586 include an inventory of a commercial Basque ship named the Marie de Saint-Vincent, destined for Newfoundland and Canada (Gaspe) which carried axes manufactured in a town called Saint-Jean-de-Luz (a community situated to the east of the Bay of Biscay and just south of Bayonne.)13 In fact, even Spanish accounts mention these types of axes such as in 1606, when “Three Biscay axes” and “Two Mexican axes” were included, amongst other items, on the inventory of the Royal ship La Capitana at Acapulco.14 The town of Bayonne was well known during the 17th and 18th century for its corporate body of artisans and craftsmen called Faures which was a short form of the word forgerons (blacksmiths), who were in charge of manufacturing a number of different edged weapons and firearms.11 By the next century, most of these artisans had a significant amount of working forges and workshops established along a street named “Rue des Faures” in Bayonne.12 At one point in time, the overcapacity of workers set up on this particular street led to the dispersal of many artisans within the city of Bayonne.17 As late as 1787, there was a corporation of Faures which counted 26 Master Blacksmiths. In 1788, the unions of this corporation were named Lartigue and Boubée. Some of the Faures patronyms, between 1693 and 1788, include Faurz, Detcheverry, Laplace, Lebas, Loudavour, Lescourette, Chaline, Boubée Pierre and Guillaume (father and son).18
Even records from the French fur trade rival, the Hudson’s Bay Company, reveal an awareness that this region was a major source of axes. Besides ordering unspecified French hatchets by the Hundreds, in 1672 in their attempt to imitate successful French fur trade practices and products, the Hudson’s Bay Company specifically ordered “One thousand Biscay hatchets” within two years of their founding in 1670. Ordering many thousands over several consecutive years, they specifically mention hatchets “…from Biscay…” in numerous orders.2 Eventually, they acquire a “…pattern of Biscay Hatchets…” from the renegade French explorer Pierre Raddison himself, with which to make copies in England, “as such are usually sent thence to France to serve the Indians in Canada.”23

Several primary French sources nevertheless specifically mention the town of Bayonne as the retail source of axes shipped to Canada, which suggests that many, if not all “Biscay axes,” may have been produced in workshops located in this particular area. For instance, a statement sent by a Minister at Versailles in 1639 and addressed to Bégon, Intendant at Rochefort, included a quantity of “400 large Biscay axes, well chosen” as well as “400 small axes from Bayonne for the trade [fur trade] that were to be sent to Canada that very year.”24

Another very informative French document associates specific axe patterns with their source, the town of Bayonne. Regarding tenders at the port of Rochefort for merchandise and goods to be shipped to Canada in 1695, the order demanded that the small and large axes required were to be purchased in the town of Bayonne and following a specific model: “1,000 small axes from Bayonne following the model left at a Massis (The town’s Mace bearer)...400 large [axes] ditto…” These axes were to be supplied by the wife of a man named Morin for 14 sols a piece for the small version, and 22 sols for the larger ones.25

Biscayan Axes in New France

Biscayan axes were not only a standard Native trade product, but were frequently owned and sold to the French colonists living in the St. Lawrence Valley. For example, Claude Moreau of Montreal had in his possession two dozen axes “Biscayennes” (Biscayan axes) in 1663 when two years later, the price of a goods and merchandise shipped from France for the Habitants (French colonists), as decreed by the Sovereign Council at Quebec, included large Biscayan axes which varied in price from one location to the next (Quebec: 1 livre 11 sols 5 deniers; Trois-Rivières: 1 livre 14 sols 2 deniers; and Montreal: 1 livre 17 sols), the price consistently increasing the further into the interior these goods were sent.26

This form of axe was also purchased for soldiers serving in the French colonies of North America. For instance, these were included on a list of supplies for the soldiers of the legendary Carignan-Salières regiment who came to New France in the mid-1660s. A quantity of 1,000 “Axes from Biscay” (baixhes de Biscaye) priced at 25 sols 4 deniers were included on a list of supplies in 1665 for this regiment which likely served as tools for the soldiers when they built new forts along the Richelieu River.27 Some twenty years later, the soldiers of the Compagnies Franches de la Marine were also provided with Biscayan axes when 128 of these implements were ordered for the soldiers.28

Further, an unpublished manuscript likely dating to the 1670s and presumed to be from the Jesuit named Louis Nicolas also implied that Biscayan axes were commonly carried in Canada by the French and Natives while hunting.29

One could easily imagine their usefulness not only in light camp chores but also dismembering a large, frozen Canadian moose in sub-zero conditions. Reflecting the usual problems with quality control during the entire French period, (even noticed by archaeologists)30 and still relying on the popular axe design, Biscayan axes are occasionally requested with warnings concerning quality. In 1688, for example, items that were deemed “absolutely necessary” to send from France for Canada included “400 large Biscayan axes, well-chosen, and better than those sent last year at 30 sols a piece…1,000 small axes. Monsieur de St-Paul will be providing the model.”31 Although rapidly being replaced by Canadian made axes and hatchets with steel edged bits, as late as 1707, a partially fulfilled order of Biscayan axes (baixhes biscayennes) for the Natives living at Île Royale (Cape Breton Island) was sent from the mother country possibly indicating that demand may have outweighed supply at this time.32 Further, it seems no coincidence that there was a growing amount of small sized axes during the times of war, when the axes would easily double as a weapon.

Dating Biscayan Axes

First of all, although essentially made in a similar style throughout their history, Biscayan axes went through some definite changes in different periods. These axe changes can be roughly dated when associated with specific trade goods (especially specific beads and copper or brass kettles types) from tightly dated archaeological sites. For example, archaeologists, spelled out in Fitzgerald’s Dissertation,33 noticed that Biscayan axe forms from the Basque period (1580 – 1600) were generally “more massive”34 and have “…an essentially straight sided configuration…”35 basically forming an actual ‘wedge.’ By comparison, Biscayan axes found in post 1600 French period sites are generally lighter. These have thinner blades and “…exhibit a noticeable concavity….”36 Further, the French blades exhibited a definite decrease in the “…posterior section of the blade…”36 because of a probable attempt to conserve economic resources, the “…quality decreased rapidly…”36 in the later French era, (1635-50), and “…there was a greater selection of weight classes…”37, the decline, “…serving a number of European ends. Less iron was required for each axe, more lighter axes could be transported, and inferior axes would lead to more frequent replacement…”38 Fitzgerald argues that the new Biscayan axes possibly reflected “…a variety of axe functions including felling of trees, timber preparation and dressing, light chopping and possible offensive weaponry…”39 One could certainly surmise that the increasing frontier Wars necessitated the need for versatile weapons, but one could also conclude that smaller axes were a more affordable product in the emerging interior fur trade of the 17th century.

Stamp Mark Meanings, & Misconceptions

Much confusion has been caused by early historians and archaeologists who variously called the mysterious “pie” mark-like impressions on Biscay axes “armoree’s marks”,

Image (Map on Previous Page) Detail taken from “Carte générale de toutes les côtes de France” by Sébastien Cramoisy (1584-1669) showing the Biscayan coast and the town of Bayonne. Cotgrave’s French/English dictionary specifies that a Biscayan (a Basque) designates “…one that… dwells, or was born in Biscay, or around Bayonne, near Biscay…”24
“guild marks”, “punch marks”, “trademarks”, “hall marks”, and even “flours-de-lis marks”, etc. The French themselves merely call all makers marks (on many products) a “poinçon”, which, on axes was formed from a long shafted “stamp” struck into red hot iron, creating a deep impression. Even Savary’s 1726 edition of his Dictionnaire universel du commerce made it clear that all French Talloirden (blacksmiths) had to stamp their products. Additionally Savary provides the following regarding the types of marks used by blacksmiths in France: “Poinçon: A wedge or piece of steel, on the ends of which is engraved, in a sunken or relief fashion, some figures, letters or marks with which we make imprints in a fashion, some figures, letters or marks with which we make imprints. Image (Right) Typical markings found on Biscayan axes which are always found stamped on both sides of the blade. (Drawing by Ken Hamilton.)

Instead, although single marks were merely the required (Master blacksmith’s poinçon, with the possible exception of “IHS” marked axes), it is clear that they have a second function. When used in groupings of two or three (on each side), they likely correspond to a weight code, which is ever observable if one similarly compares these marks to the sizes of the axes. Official taxation was based on weight of all iron and steel products (increasing more so after the 1542 Royal edict requiring one livre tournois on every thousand weight of smelted iron).

Some researchers initially wondered if these stamp marks found on 17th century French axes were not originally intended as tax inspection marks indicating that the appropriate levies were paid to the King’s offices in France. Since a number of axes bearing a number of these marks turn up on pre-1626 North American sites, they would in fact pre-date the first official Royal ruling of 1636 taxing any metal ware (i.e., finished products such tools) that used iron and/or carbon steel. These marks can, therefore, be logically ruled out as being “taxation marks”, specifically.

Image (Right) Typical markings found on Biscayan axes which are always found stamped on both sides of the blade. (Drawing by Ken Hamilton.)

Archeologists note that tightly dated “clusters” of excavated axes suggested that generally, the heaviest axes are stamped with three marks, although “…the shortest axes never had three marks…, and, “…the lightest axes have but one mark.”

Sizes

Complicated weight fractions and math were of little use in primitive, North American trading conditions. Size was, according to the majority of French Fur trade records, the most useful system used, and accordingly, “Large” and “Small” are the most common descriptions used by the French.

Although North American archaeologists confirm the theory that, with occasional exceptions*, the number of marks correspond to axe size, occasionally, French officials themselves suggest that they relate size with weight. In one instance, “100 large Biscayan axes [weighting] from 5 to 6 livres” (“100 grosses bâches Biscaenennes de 5 a 6 l’or”) were requested for Quebec from France indicating that the French colonial officials equated weight and size, likely for quality purposes. Interestingly “medium is rarely if ever used.” Indeed, even though the Hudson’s Bay Company initially ordered “Biscay hatchets” by weight in 1672, within 10 years, they quickly tend to the simpler practice of using size in their records when English (probable Biscayan) ‘copies’ are made and sold as “Large, small, and middle” sizes. Further, the number of “stamp” marks seen on excavated Biscayan axes was found to overwhelmingly correspond to the weight differences, and was obvious enough to early archaeologists for them to comment on this phenomenon when viewing contemporary “clusters.” So, whereas the ‘stamps’ themselves are certainly the registered marks of individual forge Masters in the district of Bayonne by the Faures (a corporate body of blacksmiths that had control as far as manufacturing weapons and tools in this town following French law), and it was an effective solution to use the same Master’s stamp multiple times to indicate weight variations for purchasing and taxation, although the marks apparently mean “size” in North America.

Other needless confusion from researchers arose from seeing subtle differences in similar marks on different axes. This phenomenon might be easily explained by the fact that axes produced by the Forges de Burgundy first, then all of France after 1543, it seems that the single maker’s mark was simply used multiple times in order to display a weight code, or a very similar condition, and therefore only (indirectly) a tax mark.

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“Some stamp marks may have been obliterated by corrodion, overuse, Native conversion, or may have been a shallow stamp.” The poids de marc livre was the standard weight measurement unit in France and in its colonies at the time (1 livre weighing 489.515 grams or approximately 1.09717 lbs).

* Whereas Biscayan weight-size stamp marks (poinçons) usually come in one or two sizes (and occasionally four), and are all well represented archaologically, (whose correlation to size is observable), the lack of “middle size” descriptions in records is perplexing. It seems likely, therefore, that the “middle” weight axe could be the “small” and that the lightest Biscayan axe becomes a more site (tomahawk-size hatchet) because it was not considered an axe at all, and therefore given a different name and category by the French.
probable frequent replacement of the stamps over time, as they broke or wore out. Although some marks would have an identical design, no two metal stamping tools would ever be exactly the same in micro measurements as the same master or his family used one particular mark of a long period of time. It does seem, however, that the poincons, (makers' marks) became less 'complicated' over time, and it was the ‘cross in circle’ which was most widely used throughout the entire history of the Biscayan axe. Was this a coincidence that it is the easiest to re-make?

Some of the Characteristics of Biscayan Axes Include:

- An elongated oval shaped eye (flattened "egg shaped") generally with a thin wall.
- The top of the blade will either be straight or curve slightly downward [The downward curve (and bump in the center) which is common on many French axes, might just be the ‘mushroomed’ effect of the weld that was simply not corrected by grinding. This is possibly a production decision to not wear down too many grinding wheels and take too much time and effort with a file.]
- A blade that is very thick near the poll.
- An over elongated poll with a distinguishing "V" shaped notch between the lower section of the poll and blade.
- The bottom line of the poll may in fact angle up towards the base of the blade.
- A weld line down the center of the blade, which is off set in the middle of the blade.
- These occasionally contain a steel insert at the tip of the blade which can be seen by the welding or forge line.

It is important to note that structural variations might occur on these axe and that only certain characteristics above might apply in identifying it as a Biscayan type axe.
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When examining the records consulted for this article, the term “bâche Biscayenne”, “bâche Biscainée”, “bâche de Biscaye”, “bâche Basque”, “bâche Bayonnaise” or “bâche de Bayonne” appears: 1633-1758.

Known recorded sizes of Biscayan axes as specified in New France related records: Large and small.

Sampling of records referring to these axes in relation to the following locations: Île Royale (Cape Breton Island), Québec, Montreal, Trois-Rivières, Rainy Lake Post, and the Illinois Territory.

Sample of archaeological sites where Biscayan axes were found: Saint-Marguerite Among the Hurons (Ontario), Plater-Martin (Ontario), Chicoutimi Trade Post (Québec), First Quebec Settlement (Québec), Second Quebec Settlement (Québec), Missou Island Fur Trade Post of Nicolas Denys (New Brunswick), Huron Ossuary Site (Ontario), Fort Pentagoet (Maine), Hamilune Site (Ontario), Iroquois Sites (New York), Susquehanna sites (Pennsylvania), and Burr’s Hill Site (Rhode Island).

Date range of surviving New France related records consulted for this article: 1633-1758.

Among the Authors: Author of 25 French Trade Goods in North America, Kevin Gladysz and Bénard Hameau. "Bâche Biscayenne", "bâche Biscainée", "bâche de Biscaye", "bâche Basque", "bâche Bayonnaise" or "bâche de Bayonne".

Endnotes for Axés in New France: Part I: The Biscayan Axé by Kevin Gladysz and Ken Hamilton:

1 Kenneth and Martha Kidd, Ensaiois de Sainte Marie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949) 111-113.
3 "Turenge, 601.
4 "Turenge, 598.
6 Jean Joseph Vainsot, Géographie historique, ecclésiastique et civile, ou Description de toutes les parties du globe terrestre (Paris: Desaint & Sallant, Jean Thomas Herissant, Jacques Barnou, 1755) 45.
9 Jacques Savary de Brédon, Philémon Louis Savary, Dictionnaire universal du commerce: contenant tout ce qui concerne le commerce qui se fait dans les quatre parties du monde. … Tom 2 (Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1723) 308. “Tool with a tempered steel cutting edge and sharp, that is used by carpenters, wheelwrights, lathers and other wood craftsmen, to chop, split, hem, and rough-down their wood.” (Translated by Kevin Gladysz).
12 Archives départementales de la Gironde, France: 3E 5427, f. 265v-267v (30 avril 1586). “That the said Doharsabal has also confessed having received from the said renvovis shipping...axes and other metal wares from St. Jehan de Luz and all of which, for the said vessel for the purpose of trading...” – “...that I did Doharsabal a aussi confesé avoir reçu desdits advitailleurs pour les emplois comme il promet en haches et autre ferriere au lieu de St. Jehan de Luz et le tout mettre audit navire pour l’effectu utile traffic...”
15 Édouard Ducéré, Dictionnaire historique (Bayonne: Bauzeix, 1911). The corporation of arts and trades dealing with the manufacture of the weapons, included in Bayonne, under the name of Faures, blacksmiths, tool makers, nail smiths, armor makers, purveyors, founders, tin potters, coppersmiths becoming late armoriers. Seem the limits within the corporation of the “Faures”, contained on their street, were too narrow, and of them dispersed within the city.

Other than fires which were continuously extinguished, we observed the following through the contents of a complaint addressed to the City council on April 17, 1753: “which it is against the good order, of the public place, with the police ruling and of the statutes made by the companies established by jury and which following the example of blacksmiths and locksmiths, make continuous use, and with great blows, of the awl and the hammer, and to which, they are to withdraw themselves from the street of Faures, in accordance to articles 18 and 19 of the traditions of this city from the withdrawal of any products sold. The law of March 2, 1791 carried a mortal blow to the corporations, by granting to any Frenchmen the right to contract between – V, Volume (Neufchatel: Chez Samuel Faucl, 1765) 671.

13 Archives départementales de la Gironde, France: 3E 5427, f. 265v-267v (30 avril 1586). “That the said Doharsabal has also confessed having received from the said renvovis shipping...axes and other metal wares from St. Jehan de Luz and all of which, for the said vessel for the purpose of trading...” – “...that I did Doharsabal a aussi confesé avoir reçu desdits advitailleurs pour les emplois comme il promet en haches et autre ferriere au lieu de St. Jehan de Luz et le tout mettre audit navire pour l’effectu utile traffic...”
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Although these legendary axes were apparently originally only a regional ship’s axe (from the Bay of Biscay area) and were virtually the only axes initially available, they may have had a distinctive or convenient quality or feature in their size and construction that was appreciated by the North American Natives, likely relating to their “Northern”, semi-nomadic lifestyle. Indeed, a number of archaeological studies revealed that many of the early large axes were sometimes merely used as a source for iron, and were painstakingly converted by the Natives, using primitive abrasion, to make several ‘Native’ tools or weapons from one axe, even though this practice diminished as Biscayan axes became more abundant, and Canadian made, steel bitted axes and tomahawks (caze-têtes) replaced Biscayans altogether. Based on various primary French record sources, it would seem that by the second quarter of the 18th century, these colonial made axes gradually displaced Biscayan ones in the region known at the time as ‘Canada’ which was part of New France, though interestingly enough, Biscayan axes were still specifically requested for Louisbourg in Acadia as late as 1758. It is, however, no mere coincidence that when ‘clusters’ of Biscayan axes are found in any single early archaeological context, they will typically display the similar construction and profile details, as well as matching touchmarks, and can therefore be roughly datable, whereas these same characteristics might be slightly different if from another site, region or period. The Biscayan Axe, now shown to be from the Bayonne region of the Bay of Biscay (hence the name “Biscayan axe”) remained a distinctive axe pattern archaeological marker for French presence in North America.

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Dictionnaire Universel De 45 Jacques Savary des Brûlons, Philémon-
44 Ibid, 453.
43 Ibid, 453.
42 Ibid, 453.
41 Fitzgerald, 453.
40 Ibid, 452.
39 Ibid, 452.
38 Ibid, 452.
37 Ibid, 452.
McGill University, 1990).
1500-1650 AD
culture process: Lower Great Lakes Archeology,
36 Willam R. Fitzgerald,
33 Ingis, 123.
31 Marie Gérin-Lajoie,
26 In reference to: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.fonds français, 12223: Traitée des animaux à quatre pieds terrestres et amphibies, qui se trouvent dans les Indes occidentales, ou Amérique septentrionale.
25 Fitzgerald, 453.
24 haches biscayennes
23 haches biscayennes, bien acérées...
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