

ABSTRACT

This paper introduces the concept of "prey as bait" in which human groups exploit predatory relations among economically important species in a food chain. The food resource procurement strategy based on this concept is seen as an alternative to specialized acquisition of generally abundant species such as Pacific salmon. The Deep Bay site illustrates how predator-prey relationships were exploited by a prehistoric Northwest Coast group, and the implications of this strategy for understanding subsistence systems and Northwest Coast prehistory are discussed.

RESUME

Nous voulons présenter dans cet article le concept de "proie comme appât" pour qualifier le comportement des groupes humains utilisant les relations prédatrices naturelles entre différentes espèces importantes dans une chaîne alimentaire. La stratégie d'acquisition de ressources alimentaires correspondant à ce concept est considérée comme une alternative à l'acquisition spécialisée d'espèces généralement abondantes comme le saumon du Pacifique. Le site Deep Bay montre bien comment un groupe préhistorique de la Côte Nord-Ouest exploitait ces relations qui existent entre le prédateur et sa proie. Nous profitons aussi de cette occasion pour discuter l'apport de cette stratégie à la compréhension des systèmes de subsistance et de la préhistoire générale de la Côte Nord-Ouest.

Northwestern Ontario and the Early Contact Period: the Northern Ojibwa from 1615-1715

Kenneth C.A. Dawson
Department of Anthropology
Lakehead University

INTRODUCTION

Northwestern Ontario is that area lying southerly from the northern limits of the Laurentian Upland, west from the Michipicoten River on the north shore of Lake Superior to the edge of the Canadian Shield in Manitoba. The area includes those portions of the watersheds of Lake Superior and Hudson Bay which are covered by northern forest. This article presents a synthesis and interpretation of the historical and archaeological records bearing on the contact period in the region.

The modern natural community of the area is classified as Hudsonian, a relatively homogeneous biotic province with long, severely cold winters and short, relatively warm summers. The forest cover is Boreal, and is composed of a mosaic of vegetable habits or patch-types presenting dynamic patterns of spatial heterogeneity in landscape with recurrent fluctuations in the dispersion and density of flora and fauna (Winterhalter 1983:47). On the southern flanks, the natural community blends into the Canadian Biotic Province, a cool province with a mixed Lake forest cover. In the transition zones there are ecotones with greater numbers and higher population densities of species. The species population, variety, density and fluctuations are important in that these factors set limits on the kinds of human adaptations and community patterning possible. These are distinctly different from those to the south of the area. The northwest not only has a different biota, but also has marked uncertain environmental conditions, such as a high frequency of extensive forest fires, winter icing of feeding grounds, uncertain depth of snow cover, an extreme wind chill factor, flooding and drought. These factors bear on the distribution and abundance of food resources available, thus are critical factors which influence maximum human population size the area can support, the size and distribution of local groups, and the frequency with which they must move. They set the basis for a common subsistence strategy.

In the archaeological literature the area has been described as the Northwestern and Southwestern Algonkian culture areas (Dawson 1983a; Wright 1981a:86). In the *Handbook of North American Indians*, it stands

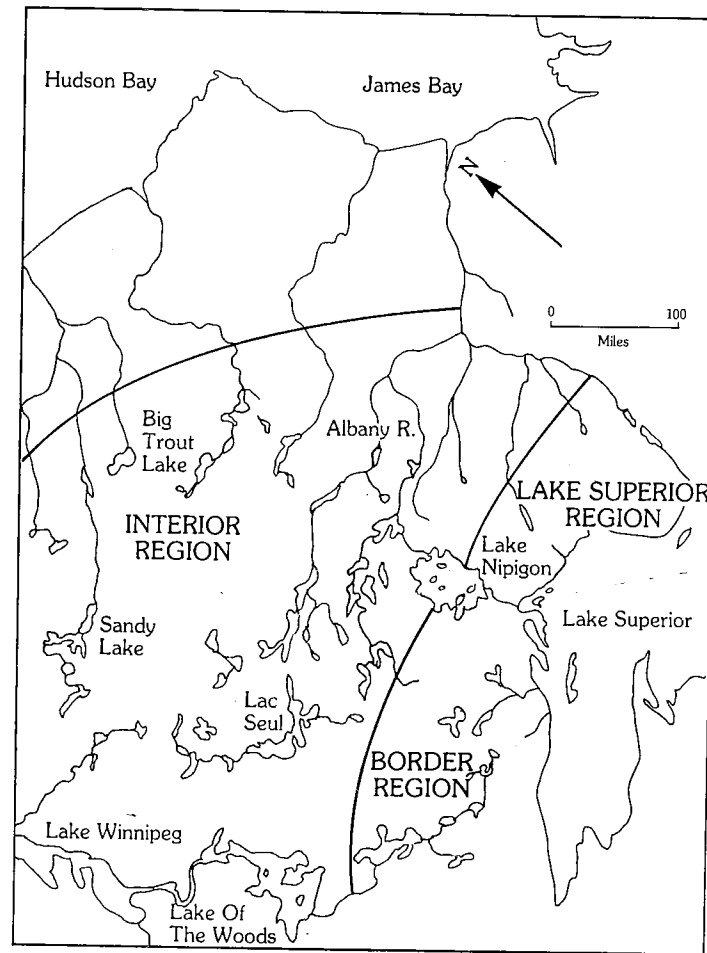


Figure 1.
Map of Northwestern Ontario.

the culture-areal subdivisions of the Northern Ojibwa and the Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg in the interior (Rogers and Taylor 1981:231; Steinbring 1981:244), and overlaps in the north with the Western Woods Cree (J. Smith 1981:256), in the south with the Southwestern Chippewa (Ritzenthaler 1978:743) and on the eastern periphery with the Southeastern Ojibwa (Rogers 1978:760).

For purposes of examining the historical and archaeological records the area has been divided into three regions: the Lake Superior Region, embracing the shore of Lake Superior and the hinterland extending from the Michipicoten River west to Lake Nipigon; the Border Region, including the hinterland west of Lake Nipigon and the border lakes; and the Interior Region, embracing the lands lying to the north (Figure 1). These regions are further divided into major geographic localities for consideration of the composition of each region. In the absence of data covering all localities of the regions, the spatial divisions have been constructed arbitrarily on the vagaries of archaeological history.

Since no known early contact period archaeological site has historical documentation, and since there is no apparent break in the archaeological record from the prehistoric to the historic periods, and since the distribution of culturally identified contact period archaeological sites (Dawson 1975b; 1976a; Pollock 1975; Wright 1963) corresponds to the area occupied primarily by Ojibwa in the late historic period, the "territorial ethnicity" approach (Mason 1976) is used to establish continuity.

The appellation "Northern Ojibwa", a term which came into use in the twentieth century (Skinner 1912:117) for the shifting kin-related Ojibwa/Cree Algonkian-speaking Saulteaux is used. They were comprised of two semi-distinct nomadic groups: a southern branch occupying the north shore of Lake Superior; non-agricultural group allied to the Ojibwa of northern Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan; and a northern branch in the interior marked by a blending of Southern Ojibwa and Cree traits.

HISTORICAL RECORD

The historical records for the contact period (A.D. 1615-1715) are scanty and deficient, and mainly limited to the eastern end of Lake Superior after 1650. The primary sources are French, for the French penetrated into the area in the seventeenth century while the English, although on Hudson Bay by 1670, did not make serious inroads into the interior until a century later. In the subsequent period (A.D. 1715-1815) historical records are still sparse but do embrace the interior. Records for both these periods indicate that the area was occupied by Algonkian speaking peoples, but ethnic identity is generally obscure until the historic period (A.D. 1815-1915) dominance of the Ojibwa/Saulteaux group.

The identity of the people resident in the area at the beginning of the contact period cannot be stated unequivocally, for records do not begin until about the middle of the period. Furthermore, the identification of the Northern Ojibwa is clouded, for they never recognized themselves as a distinct group and were seldom so recognized by others (Skinner 1912:118). The most common self-designation, Anissinape, and other terms, simply gave recognition to the fact that the person was "ordinary", or that he spoke Ojibwa. Names that have been recorded refer either to small groups such as bands, segments of bands or extended families, or to groups of which the Ojibwa were only a part. In addition, many of the names mentioned in the early sources soon fell into disuse as the people moved about the area, united with other groups, or were decimated by disease. The situation is further complicated by the fact that members of the Northern Branch of

Northern Ojibwa today, and undoubtedly in the past, often prefer to be referred to as Cree (Rogers and Taylor 1981:241; Rhodes and Todd 1981:64) or the extensive variations in spelling and synonyms of Ojibwa and related groups see *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volumes 6 and 15.

"Ojibwa" is an English rendering of the self-designation *ocipwe* (Rogers 1978:768). The group that first bore this name was mentioned in 1670 as the Outchibous, a band residing with the Marameg on the north shore of Lake Superior beyond the Sault Ste. Marie. They and the Nouquet from the south shore had recently united with "*les gens du Sault*", eventually Sauteurs or Saulteaux, a group first mentioned in 1640 as the Baouichtigouian (JR 18:230, 54:132) and in 1648 as the Paouitagoung (JR 33:148), "people of the rapids", after the Ojibwa expression *pa wittink* (Rogers 1978:769). They were said in 1648 to come to the rapids on the St. Marie River during the fishing season (JR 33:149). Segments of the Outchibous, *les Outchibouec*, a name that very early became synonymous with *les sauteurs* (JR 51:60). With other kin-related groups including the Marameg, the Nouquet, the Mantoue (JR 18:230) and at least two other unnamed groups in the hinterland above Lake Superior referred to in 1670 (JR 54:132) they are considered to have formed part of the Southern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa.

Information obtained in 1634 (JR 18:228-30) locates the major groups now identified as Ojibwa above the Upper Lakes on the precambrian shield (Rogers 1978:761; Ritzenthaler 1978:743). Other groups located north of them are described as nomadic hunting and fishing groups who roamed 1,100 to 1,300km to the Northern Sea with no fixed residence except for short seasonal periods (JR 33:67). The terms *Gens des Terres* or *Gens de la Mer du Nord* were frequently used to refer to these inland people. While the records are not consistent, they suggest that the term *Gens de la Mer du Nord* refers primarily, though not exclusively, to people classified as Cree. The *Gens de Terres* are shown on a Jesuit map of 1670 north of Lake Superior and east of Lake Nipigon (JR 55:94); here the name probably refers to people who may be classed as Northern Ojibwa. In 1670 (JR 54:134) the number of groups in the north was recorded as six, the Ovenibigonc and *Gens de la Mer du Nord* or Guilistinous (West Main Cree, Honigmann 1981:230) and others, "wanderers in the region repairing thither from time to time" (JR 54:134). This record would appear to distinguish between the Cree and other peoples. The latter were probably speakers of one of the dialects of the "Algonquian Southern Branch", known as Ojibwa (Rhodes and Todd 1981:52 which embraces the Northern Ojibwa or their ancestors (cf. Rogers and Taylor 1981:241; McNulty and Gilbert 1981:215).

Etienne Brulé, the earliest recorded explorer to visit the area, appears to have traversed Lake Superior in 1622 (Butterfield 1898:100-108) but it remained for Pierre Radisson to provide a detailed record of the interior peoples. He reports going to the land of the Cree on the north shore of Lake Superior in 1661, and thence by Lake Nipigon and the Albany River to Hudson Bay, returning the next year via a river to the east (Adams 1961:108-120, 144-147). Radisson noted that there were many unidentified wandering bands in the area, and he provides an extensive list of peoples (Adams 1961:160), many of whom can be identified as Cree, Algonkin or Ojibwa (Rogers and Taylor 1981:240; Honigmann 1981:228).

While locations of the Ojibwa are not given, a number can be identified: the Atcheligonens, the Mantouek (variant of Mantoue), the Pauesti-gonce (variant of Paouitagoung), the Roguay (variant of Nouquet) and the Ovasovarin are Ojibwa groups (Rogers 1978:770; Rogers and Taylor 1981:242). These five would form part of the Southern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa. Rogers and Taylor (1981:240) suggest that Ovasovarin was equivalent to the Ojibwa *wassi irini*, "bullhead person", a titular name recorded by Cameron in 1804 (Cameron 1890:246) by the French name *barbue* for the brown bullhead catfish known to the Ojibwa as *wassi*. The name also appears as *Quassi* or *Wasses* for people on the Lake Superior shore in the eighteenth century (Rogers and Taylor 1981:240). At least one Northern Branch group can be identified, the Orturbi (Rogers and Taylor 1981:242), called les Outurbi in 1640 (JR 18:228), Outouloubys in 1684 by Dulhut, and shown north of Lake Superior on Jaillot's map of 1685 as Outoulibis (Rogers and Taylor 1981:242).

Other groups named by Radisson also appear to form part of the Northern Ojibwa, particularly those known as Christinos or Kilistinons, a name early abridged to Cree and used as a generic term for all speakers of the Northern Branch of the Algonkian language (Honigmann 1981:227; Rhodes and Todd 1981:52). Prior to Radisson's journey, he was informed by the Mascoutens that the Christinos were a wandering band who spoke their language (Adams 1961:89). While he makes no observation, Radisson lists the Christinos separately from groups now identified as Cree. The mid-seventeenth century Jesuit Relations indicate that the term, as then used, was frequently used as a general term to embrace many groups. A specific group in this category is Alimibequeuk, one of the peoples named in 1658 as a group of Kilistinons (JR 44:249) and shown on Creuxius' map of 1660 as Alempisande or Aleimibequeuk and on Jaillot's map of 1685 as Alemenipigon north of Lake Nipigon (JR 46:frontispiece). In 1687 they are referred to as Allenempignons, which Mooney classes as Ojibwa (Hodge 1913:100). Mooney and Thomas state that some groups classed as Cree were so closely related to the Ojibwa that they could not be distinguished (Hodge 1913:96). Later, in 1775, Graham recorded groups trading at James Bay and lists the Christineaux as one of the Ojibwa groups, while he lists the Cree groups separately (Graham 1969). It is incorrect to equate the name Christinos or Kilistinons exclusively with Cree, for it is evident that people known by this name formed part of the Northern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa.

While no information is given to permit identification of their language, the Kristinon of 1640 (JR 18:228) are said by Nicholas Perrot to frequent the region along the shores of Lake Superior and the great river (Blair 1911(1):197-8). In 1658 three of the four named Kilistinon groups were located in the area (JR 44:248): the Alimibequeuk of Lake Nipigon; the Nipisiriniens (Nipissings, Day 1978:791) who were at Lake Nipigon in 1667 and considered by Honigmann (1981:229) probably to have been Monsoni and by the historian Morton (1939:11) to be Ojibwa; and the Atouabouscatouek residing north of Lake Nipigon on the Attawapiskat River (Honigmann 1981:229). These groups are considered to form part of the Northern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa.

Northern Ojibwa today, and undoubtedly in the past, often prefer to be referred to as Cree (Rogers and Taylor 1981:241; Rhodes and Todd 1981:64) or the extensive variations in spelling and synonyms of Ojibwa and related groups see *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volumes 6 and 15.

"Ojibwa" is an English rendering of the self-designation *ocipwe* (Rogers 1978:768). The group that first bore this name was mentioned in 1670 as the Outchibous, a band residing with the Marameg on the north shore of Lake Superior beyond the Sault Ste. Marie. They and the Nouquet from the south shore had recently united with "*les gens du Sault*", eventually Sauteurs or Saulteaux, a group first mentioned in 1640 as the Baouichtigouian (JR 18:230, 54:132) and in 1648 as the Paouitagoung (JR 33:148), "people of the rapids", after the Ojibwa expression *pa wittink* (Rogers 1978:769). They were said in 1648 to come to the rapids on the St. Marie River during the fishing season (JR 33:149). Segments of the Outchibous, *les Outchibouec*, a name that very early became synonymous with *les sauteurs* (JR 51:60). With other kin-related groups including the Marameg, the Nouquet, the Mantoue (JR 18:230) and at least two other unnamed groups in the hinterland above Lake Superior referred to in 1670 (JR 54:132) they are considered to have formed part of the Southern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa.

Information obtained in 1634 (JR 18:228-30) locates the major groups now identified as Ojibwa above the Upper Lakes on the precambrian shield (Rogers 1978:761; Ritzenthaler 1978:743). Other groups located north of them are described as nomadic hunting and fishing groups who roamed 1,100 to 1,300km to the Northern Sea with no fixed residence except for short seasonal periods (JR 33:67). The terms *Gens des Terres* or *Gens de la Mer du Nord* were frequently used to refer to these inland people. While the records are not consistent, they suggest that the term *Gens de la Mer du Nord* refers primarily, though not exclusively, to people classified as Cree. The *Gens de Terres* are shown on a Jesuit map of 1670 north of Lake Superior and east of Lake Nipigon (JR 55:94); here the name probably refers to people who may be classed as Northern Ojibwa. In 1670 (JR 54:134) the number of groups in the north was recorded as six, the Ovenibigonc and *Gens de la Mer du Nord* or Guilistinous (West Main Cree, Honigmann 1981:230) and others, "wanderers in the region repairing thither from time to time" (JR 54:134). This record would appear to distinguish between the Cree and other peoples. The latter were probably speakers of one of the dialects of the "Algonquian Southern Branch", known as Ojibwa (Rhodes and Todd 1981:52 which embraces the Northern Ojibwa or their ancestors (cf. Rogers and Taylor 1981:241; McNulty and Gilbert 1981:215).

Etienne Brulé, the earliest recorded explorer to visit the area, appears to have traversed Lake Superior in 1622 (Butterfield 1898:100-108) but it remained for Pierre Radisson to provide a detailed record of the interior peoples. He reports going to the land of the Cree on the north shore of Lake Superior in 1661, and thence by Lake Nipigon and the Albany River to Hudson Bay, returning the next year via a river to the east (Adams 1961:108-120, 144-147). Radisson noted that there were many unidentified wandering bands in the area, and he provides an extensive list of peoples

While locations of the Ojibwa are not given, a number can be identified: the Atcheligonens, the Mantouek (variant of Mantoue), the Pauesti-gonce (variant of Paouitagoung), the Roguay (variant of Nouquet) and the Ovasovarin are Ojibwa groups (Rogers 1978:770; Rogers and Taylor 1981:242). These five would form part of the Southern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa. Rogers and Taylor (1981:240) suggest that Ovasovarin was equivalent to the Ojibwa *wassi irini*, "bullhead person", a titular name recorded by Cameron in 1804 (Cameron 1890:246) by the French name *barbue* for the brown bullhead catfish known to the Ojibwa as *wassi*. The name also appears as *Ouassi* or *Wasses* for people on the Lake Superior shore in the eighteenth century (Rogers and Taylor 1981:240). At least one Northern Branch group can be identified, the Orturbi (Rogers and Taylor 1981:242), called les Outurbi in 1640 (JR 18:228), Outouloubys in 1684 by Dulhut, and shown north of Lake Superior on Jaillot's map of 1685 as Outoulibis (Rogers and Taylor 1981:242).

Other groups named by Radisson also appear to form part of the Northern Ojibwa, particularly those known as Christinos or Kilistinons, a name early abridged to Cree and used as a generic term for all speakers of the Northern Branch of the Algonkian language (Honigmann 1981:227; Rhodes and Todd 1981:52). Prior to Radisson's journey, he was informed by the Mascoutens that the Christinos were a wandering band who spoke their language (Adams 1961:89). While he makes no observation, Radisson lists the Christinos separately from groups now identified as Cree. The mid-seventeenth century Jesuit Relations indicate that the term, as then used, was frequently used as a general term to embrace many groups. A specific group in this category is Alimibequeuk, one of the peoples named in 1658 as a group of Kilistinons (JR 44:249) and shown on Creuxius' map of 1660 as Alempisande or Aleimibequeuk and on Jaillot's map of 1685 as Alemenipigon north of Lake Nipigon (JR 46:frontispiece). In 1687 they are referred to as Allenempignons, which Mooney classes as Ojibwa (Hodge 1913:100). Mooney and Thomas state that some groups classed as Cree were so closely related to the Ojibwa that they could not be distinguished (Hodge 1913:96). Later, in 1775, Graham recorded groups trading at James Bay and lists the Christineaux as one of the Ojibwa groups, while he lists the Cree groups separately (Graham 1969). It is incorrect to equate the name Christinos or Kilistinons exclusively with Cree, for it is evident that people known by this name formed part of the Northern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa.

While no information is given to permit identification of their language, the Kristinon of 1640 (JR 18:228) are said by Nicholas Perrot to frequent the region along the shores of Lake Superior and the great river (Blair 1911(1):197-8). In 1658 three of the four named Kilistinon groups were located in the area (JR 44:248): the Alimibequeuk of Lake Nipigon; the Nipisiriniens (Nipissings, Day 1978:791) who were at Lake Nipigon in 1667 and considered by Honigmann (1981:229) probably to have been Monsoni and by the historian Morton (1939:11) to be Ojibwa; and the Ataouabouscatouek residing north of Lake Nipigon on the Attawapiskat River (Honigmann 1981:229). These groups are considered to form part of the Northern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa.

It is not until 1743 that the Ojibwa *per se* are identified in the north. Isham records the Uchepowuck band trading on the bay (Rich 1949:113). Later, Graham, using the Western Woods Cree nomenclature (J. Smith 1981:268), records the Ougebouy as one of the bands of Nakawawuck or Attawawa (Rich 1949:317). In another reference Graham (1969:206) classes the Ougebouy as a division of Sauteaux. It is significant that his list of Nakawawuck includes the Christianaux together with the Namakousepe, Waupus, Winnecausepe, Mistahay, Mithquageusepe and Shumattaway. These bands would have formed the core of the Northern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa (*cf.* Rogers and Taylor 1981:223). Graham states that they speak a language similar to the Keiskatchewans or Cree Nation and inhabit the country about 160km from Hudson Bay to Lake Christianaux (Winnipeg) (Rich 1949:310,314).

At the time of contact, in addition to the Cree and Northern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa, there were other groups in the interior and Lake Superior regions. In 1684 the Gens des Terres are referred to by Dulhut as Openems d'Acheliny, one of a number of nomadic groups (Klistonos, Dachiling, Outouboubys, Tabitibus, Northern Branch of Ojibwa) west of James Bay, some of whom were said to be trading at the Nipigon River (Burpee 1927:47, fn. 1), while others drifted east to the region of the Attikameque and became known as the Tete de Boule (McNulty and Gilbert 1981:209, 215). Lahontan places the Tete de Boule on the Albany River in 1703 (Thwaites 1905:231) while Raudot, in 1709, records both the Attikamek and Tete de Boule among the interior wandering bands known as the Gens des Terres northwest of Lake Timiskaming (Kinietz 1940:366). In 1736, "The Tete de Boule or Tribes of the Interior (Gens des Terres)" are said to wander as far west as Lake Superior (McNulty and Gilbert 1981:209). Alexander Henry (Baib 1901:246), while on Lake Superior, stated that before 1775 he had not met a Cree, but he refers to the people scattered all over the country in 1760 as the Gens des terres, also called Tete de Boule or O'pimittish Ininiwac (McNulty and Gilbert 1981:211) after the Ojibwa name *no pimink tasi inini* for "a person [who lives] in the woods or *openems* (Bain 1901:62, 108). Although they are said by some to be a branch of the Ojibwa (Hodge 1913:353; Qumiby 1961:85), they would appear to be Algonkins or Algonquins. Alexander Henry (1901:208) notes the Woods peoples speak a mixture of Ojibwa and Cree. Thirty years later Duncan Cameron (1890:230) makes a similar observation. In the interior region such a language mix prevails to the present day (Rhodes and Todd 1981).

In addition to these groups there are others in the border and interior regions at the time of contact. These are the Gens de la Sapiniere or "people of the spruce grove" who in 1684 Dulhut records separately northwest of Lake Nipigon (Burpee 1927:47, fn.1) and Raudot (Kinietz 1940:376) states in 1709 that they came down to the Nipigon River post in the summer to trade. *Sapin* in French means "fir", not spruce, which is *epinette* (Ganong 1909). A group called Epinette was recorded in 1744 by Dobbs (1744:32) as a tribe of Sauteurs north of Lake Superior. Ten years earlier LaVerandrye (Burpee 1927:483) recorded a group of Ojibwa on the north shore of Lake Superior hunting from the Pigeon River to Rainy Lake. Rainy Lake in 1736 was called Tecamamiouch, after a band of Ojibwa of the

same name living on the lake (Hodge 1913:45). LaVerandrye (Burpee 1927:167) records in 1732 that both Ojibwa and Monsoni were at Lake of the Woods. Dobbs (1744:32) records a band of Sauteurs (Algonkins?) living north of Lake of the Woods in 1744.

In Raudot's (Kinietz 1940:355) record of the inland peoples in 1709, he lists among the wandering bands the following: Aticameques (or Poissons-blancs), Machatanitibis ou Tetes de Boule, the Cristinaux and groups that are sedentary in the summer; the Armiques beaver clan of Ojibwa recorded by Perrot at Lake Nipigon in 1660 (Bair 1911[1]:173); Noquets (bear clan of the Ojibwa) (Rogers 1978:770); Mississaque Sauteurs (bands of Ojibwa, [Rogers 1978:770]); the Maloumines or Folles Avoines (Menominee, Spindler 1978:723); and "the people of the Sapinerie who are at the far end of Lake Superior". The record suggests that the southern part of the area was occupied by a mix of Algonkians dominated by Ojibwa.

Some of the Ottawa (Odawa), speakers of a dialect of Ojibwa, were also probably in the area. Champlain notes in 1615 that they went for trade 400 or 500 leagues away from the Lake Huron (Biggar 1925[3]:97-8), or about 1,600km based on a standard French league of 3.9km or a common French league of 4.45km (Thwaites 1902:2). Certainly the Odawa are on the south shore of Lake Superior as early as 1648 (JR 33:150). While they are known by many names, Father Dablon states in 1670 that these people were called the Upper Algonkins (JR 54:83).

Another Algonkian speaking group, the Cheyenne, were also recorded at the western extremity of the area about 1680 (Hodges 1913:251; Grinnell 1923) and Dobbs recorded a Cheyenne village on Rainy Lake in 1744. So, in the prehistoric period they could also have been part of the Southern Branch.

The earliest map to show portions of the region was published in 1632. Probably based on information provided by Etienne Brulé, this map shows Grand Lac (Lake Superior) as far west as the central part of the lake (Ontario 1978:135). A similar map produced by Jean Boisseau in 1643 shows Lake Superior as Grand Lac de Nadoussioux (JR 23:233), a name or variant of it used by the French after the Ojibwa name for Siouan speaking peoples. This does not imply occupation of the shores by the Sioux, for in 1640 the Nadouessiss are reported 18 days' journey to the northwest from Sault Ste. Marie, the first nine days being occupied crossing Lake Superior and the last nine days ascending a river that traverses the land (JR 23:224-5). Given an average day's travel of about 20 leagues or 77 to 88km, 18 days travel would place the Sioux 1,450 to 1,600km to the west. This is beyond the northwestern area of Ontario.

The Nadouessiss are distinguished from the Assiniboine of the Sioux (JR 54:193) who are said to be 35 leagues or thereabouts west of Lake Nipigon at a time (ca. 1637) when the French had no knowledge of the interior territory (JR 44:249). For example, as late as 1686 Fronquelin's map shows Lake Nipigon connected to Lake Winnipeg by river (Giraud 1945:147). Another reference places the Assiniboine 15 to 20 days journey west of St. Esprit (LaPointe, Wisconsin) (JR 54:193). On a 1671 map there is an inscription on the north shore of Lake Superior opposite Isle Royale which states that the Assiniboines were 120 *lieues* to the northwest (JR 55:95). A similar

note stating the distance to be 150 *lieues* is shown on Marquette's map of 1682 (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:42). These maps and others are commonly used to support the claim for Siouan groups controlling the western end of Lake Superior (Stone and Chaput 1978:602). Given that the *lieue* equals approximately four kilometres, this places the Assiniboine 480 to 600km to the northwest at the margin of the region. Dobbs (1744:29) notes that the Assiniboine were west of Lake Winnipeg in 1744. Undoubtedly at the time of contact Assiniboine/Sioux visited northwestern Ontario, but the early historic records do not support actual occupation of the area as is sometimes suggested in the ethnohistoric literature (Bishop and Smith 1975; Hodge 1913:45).

While the historic records indicate that only a small portion of the peoples resident in the northwest came into contact with Europeans in the early contact period, they do suggest that apart from very minor late intrusions, the people were primarily closely related Algonkian groups whose presence in the area was not the result of a radical population displacement in the seventeenth century. They were long resident forest dwelling people with a more or less common language, belief system and lifeways comprised of many autonomous hunting and gathering groups that met infrequently and responded to various pressures independently. They had a large number of scattered villages, bands and local divisions which bore names, or were given names, of rivers, lakes, villages and animals, few of which have survived. The term Northern Ojibwa is used to identify the primary group. It is evident that there was a recognized difference between those in the south of the area and those in the north. In the Lake Superior and Border regions they formed a semi-distinct Southern Branch which continued to be closely allied to the Southern Ojibwa. In the less hospitable interior these people formed a semi-distinct Northern Branch with close, long standing relationships to the Cree and were often indistinguishable from them apart from language.

At the time of contact the Southern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa appear to have been comprised of all or part of various groups recorded under the following names or variants: Mantoue 1640 (Mantouek 1661); Roquai 1640 (Nonquet 1670); Baochtiouian 1640 (Paouitgoung 1648); Outichibous 1670; Marameg 1670; Ovasovarin 1661 (Wassi Irini); Atchelignens 1661; and Gens de la Sapiniere 1684 (Epinette 1774). In addition, there were other Algonkian speaking groups such as the Algonkins, Nipissings, Ottawas, Menominees, Mescoutens and other southeastern peoples who were at times associated and at other times separate.

The Northern Branch of the Northern Ojibwa appear to have been comprised of all or parts of the: Outurbi 1658 (Outouboulys 1684); Kilistinon; Alimibequeuk; Kilistinon Ataouabouscatouek; Nipiserinens (Monsoni) 1658; and the predecessors of other Ojibwa groups such as the Nakawewuck or Attawawa (Saulteaux) who were trading in the bay during the eighteenth century. These were known as the Uchepowuck (Ougebouy), Namakousepe, Christianaux, Waupus, Winnescausepe, Mistahay suckahagan, Mithquagameousepe and Shumattaway. Other associated groups from the northeastern area such as the Gens des Terres, Tete de Boule 1709, Attikamek (Attikameques Machonitus) Opemens d'Acheliny 1684, Opimittish Iriniwac Openens or Woods Indians were also in the area.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

In contrast to areas to the southeast, the absence of early historic records makes archaeological information the prime source of data for the contact period. For the purpose of this study, published and unpublished archaeological reports were examined and 930 prehistoric and protohistoric components of the Late or Terminal Woodland period were identified, tabulated and plotted by region. Since a number of these sources were initial surveys, they often lacked uniformity of classification and/or provided limited data, thus some interpretation or reinterpretation was necessary to achieve a comprehensive presentation. Table 1 shows the classification and distribution of the components.

There were 222 components with identified terminal Woodland ceramics. All were classed as "Differentiated Woodland." Most were small camps, but some were sizable habitation sites. They are characterized by a high frequency of artifacts (ceramics, lithics, and occasionally bone and copper), hearths and zones marking lithic reduction, food processing, and summer camp activities such as pottery making.

Other terminal Woodland components characterized by a few untyped fragments of ceramics and other debris were classed as "Undifferentiated Woodland", and total 133. In addition there were 384 small components consisting of a few flakes, infrequent bone refuse, and occasional scrapers, broken projectile points or bifaces. These were called chipping stations, small camps or specific activity areas. Although lacking ceramics, these were not considered to be Archaic components. In this study, these are classed as "Terminal Woodland Aceramic Stations".

	Lake Superior Region			f (%)	Border Region		f (%)	Interior Region			f (%)	Totals	
	Lake Superior	Lake Nipigon	Interiorland		Hiand W. of Nipigon	Border Lake		L. of the Woods	Lac Seul	Red Lake North			North Albany R.
Differentiated Woodland	18	17	12	47(19.7)	26	28	54(28.1)	46	30	15	30	121(24.2)	222(23.8)
Undifferentiated Woodland	5	7	9	21(8.8)	6	11	17(8.9)	37	6	12	40	95(19.0)	133(14.3)
Aceramic Components	16	8	117	141(59.0)	39	20	50(30.7)	11	17	44	112	184(39.6)	384(41.3)
Pictographs	3	12	15	30(12.5)	30	32	62(32.5)	22	12	15	50	99(19.8)	191(20.5)
Totals	42	44	153	239(100)	101	91	192(99.9)	115	64	86	239	499(99.9)	930(99.9)

Table 1.
Distribution of Late Woodland components in Northwestern Ontario.

Site:	LAKE SUPERIOR REGION								Region Totals
	Nyman		Michipicoten		Pic River		Wabinoash	Lower Terrace	
	II*	III	II*	I*	I*	II	f (%)	f (%)	
Component:	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)
Scrapers	31 (64.5)	32 (57.8)	12 (27.3)	54 (31.4)	25 (62.5)	9 (39.1)	67 (61.5)	230 (46.9)	
Proj. points	10 (20.8)	7 (12.5)	3 (6.8)	16 (9.3)	6 (15.0)	6 (26.0)	10 (9.1)	58 (11.8)	
Wedges		2 (3.5)	12 (27.3)	76 (44.1)			3 (2.7)	93 (18.7)	
Bifaces		5 (8.9)			1 (2.5)	1 (4.4)	2 (1.8)	9 (1.8)	
Hammerstones	2 (4.2)	7 (12.5)	4 (9.1)	5 (2.9)	1 (2.5)		23 (21.1)	42 (8.5)	
Abraders	1 (2.1)	1 (1.8)	9 (20.4)	14 (8.1)		2 (8.7)	4 (3.7)	31 (6.3)	
Drills	1 (2.1)	1 (1.8)			6 (15.0)	2 (8.7)		10 (2.0)	
Choppers	2 (4.2)			1 (0.6)				3 (0.6)	
Stone pipes	1 (2.1)		1 (2.3)		1 (2.5)	3 (13.0)		6 (1.2)	
Flake knives		1 (1.8)						1 (0.2)	
Spokeshaves			1 (2.3)	1 (0.6)				2 (0.4)	
Manos			2 (4.5)	3 (1.7)				5 (1.0)	
Axes, Celts				1 (0.6)				1 (0.2)	
Ground knives				1 (0.6)				1 (0.2)	
Totals	48 (100)	56 (100)	44 (99.9)	172 (99.9)	40 (100)	23 (99.9)	109 (99.9)	492 (99.7)	

* Historic components

Table 2.

Occurrence of stone artifacts at thirteen Terminal Woodland components in the Northwest area. Sources: Nyman, Dawson 1976b; Michipicoten, Wright 1968a; Pic, Wright 1966a; Wabinoash, Dawson 1981b; Mound Island, Dawson

The area abounds with pictographs (Dewdney and Kidd 1967) and it harbours the enigmatic shoreline cobblestone pits (Dawson 1979a; 1981a). Both types of sites are considered an integral part of the Late Woodland at the time of contact. The former were tabulated (n=191) but no attempt was made to tally the ubiquitous structures known as Pukaskwa Pits, which occur primarily along the Lake Superior shore from the Michipicoten River to the Kaministikwia River at Thunder Bay.

It is clear from the tabulations (Table 1) that identification based on ceramics alone is tentative, for it rests on slightly less than one-quarter of the extant sites. However, until more comparative analytical data are developed, ceramics provide the only data upon which territorial ethnicity may be based.

Terminal Woodland settlements consist of comparatively small, often stratified habitation sites and associated hunting camps with thin refuse indicating short stays. This pattern is consistent with a community membership of loosely structured groups composed primarily of nuclear or extended families which may have inhabited a single, or several, drainage basins. In summer such communities would come together, usually at a lake shore within the territory, at a place where food was abundant although not sufficiently so to provide a storable surplus. In winter small groups would

Mound Island	BORDER REGION				Fisk	INTERIOR REGION		Region Totals
	McCluskey	Lady Rapids	Region Totals	Forestry Point		Potato Island		
	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)	f (%)		f (%)		
15 (51.7)	93 (55.4)	9 (18.0)	117 (47.4)	68 (58.1)	44 (54.2)	58 (54.2)	170 (55.7)	
1 (3.5)	33 (19.5)	6 (12.0)	40 (16.2)	29 (24.8)	13 (16.0)	19 (17.8)	61 (20.0)	
	11 (6.5)		11 (4.4)		1 (1.2)	5 (4.7)	6 (1.9)	
4 (13.8)	14 (8.3)	22 (44.0)	40 (16.2)	13 (11.1)	8 (9.9)	15 (14.1)	36 (11.8)	
6 (20.7)	3 (1.8)	7 (14.0)	16 (6.5)	1 (0.8)	8 (9.9)	1 (0.9)	10 (3.3)	
3 (10.3)	1 (0.6)	1 (2.0)	5 (2.0)		2 (2.5)	3 (0.9)		
	1 (0.6)	2 (4.0)	3 (1.2)	2 (1.7)		1 (0.9)	3 (0.9)	
	5 (2.9)		5 (2.0)	2 (1.7)	2 (2.5)		4 (1.5)	
		1 (2.0)	1 (0.4)		3 (3.7)**	1 (0.9)	4 (1.5)	
	4 (2.4)		4 (1.6)			3 (2.8)	3 (0.9)	
	2 (1.2)		2 (0.8)	2 (1.7)		1 (0.9)	3 (0.9)	
	1 (0.6)		1 (0.4)					
		2 (4.0)	2 (0.8)					
						2 (1.9)	2 (0.6)	
29 (100)	168 (99.9)	50 (100)	247 (99.9)	117 (99.9)	81 (99.9)	107 (100)	305 (99.9)	

** Silex sucking tubes

Table 2 (cont'd)

1978; McCluskey, Dawson 1974a; Lady Rapids, Callaghan 1982; Fisk, Rajnovich, Reid and Shay 1982; Forestry Point, Pelleck 1983; Potato Island, Koezur and Wright 1976.

disperse to hunting zones. The subsistence strategy was basically omnivorous and opportunistic, capable of responding to varying environmental situations, and utilizing any resources which were available at any one time. While this diffuse subsistence strategy was innovative, it was essentially uniform and conservative (Dawson 1977b; 1982; 1983a; 1983b).

Consistent with conservative survival practices necessitated by the basic homogeneity of the boreal forest, the lithic assemblages show a comparatively unspecialized tool kit and a relative consistency through time and space. All have scrapers and projectile points; most have hammerstones, abraders, bifaces, drills and wedges; many have special purpose tools such as choppers, knives and spokeshaves; a few have axes and manos. Most have stone pipes except for components in the Lake of the Woods region where sucking tubes are common. Chipping detritus is predominantly derived from local sources, although there is sparse evidence of exotic materials reflecting minimal intra- or inter-regional exchange. Table 2 shows the stone artifacts excluding paint stones and problematic objects from 13 excavated components with Differentiated Woodland ceramics.

Scrapers, projectile points, wedges and bifaces account for more than 80% of the stone artifacts. Scrapers, the dominant tool, include several varieties of end, side and random scrapers reflecting discrete attribute

	Lake Superior Region				Border Region		Interior Region					area total f (%)	
	Lake Superior	Lake Nipigon	Hland E. of Nipigon	total f (%)	Hland W. of Nipigon	Border Lakes	L. of the Woods	Lac Seul	Red L. and North	Albany R. and N.	total f (%)		
Blackduck	1	5	10	16 (34.1)	15	8	19	5	6	14	44 (36.4)	83 (37.4)	
Blackduck Selkirk		1		1 (2.1)	3	2	5				8 (9.2)		
Blackduck Michigan	5	1	1	7 (14.9)	1		13	5	1	1	20 (16.5)	26 (11.7)	
Blackduck Selkirk					1						1 (1.9)	6 (3.6)	
Blackduck Sandy Lake					1	5				1	1 (0.8)	7 (3.1)	
Blackduck Sandy Lake Selkirk					1	4					5 (9.2)	5 (2.3)	
Blackduck Michigan													
Blackduck Huron-Petun	2	1		3 (6.4)	1						1 (1.9)	4 (1.8)	
Blackduck Selkirk													
Blackduck Michigan	1	1		2 (4.2)								2 (0.9)	
sub-total	9	9	11	29 (61.7)	22	19	41 (75.9)	32	10	7	16	65 (53.7)	135 (60.8)
Selkirk					1		1	17	5	10	35 (28.9)	36 (16.2)	
Selkirk Blackduck							10	2	2	3	17 (14.1)	17 (7.6)	
Selkirk Blackduck Sandy Lake									1		2 (1.6)	2 (0.9)	
sub-total					1		1	19	8	13	54 (44.6)	55 (24.7)	
Sandy Lake					2	6	8 (14.8)				1	1 (0.8)	9 (4.0)
Sandy Lake Blackduck						3	3 (5.5)					3 (1.3)	
Sandy Lake Blackduck Selkirk					1		1 (1.9)					1 (0.5)	
sub-total					3	9	12 (22.2)			1	1 (0.8)	13 (5.8)	
Michigan	1	1	1	3 (6.4)								3 (1.3)	
Michigan Blackduck				3 (6.4)								3 (1.3)	
Michigan Selkirk	1			1 (2.1)								1 (0.5)	
Michigan Blackduck Selkirk				1 (2.1)								1 (0.5)	
Michigan Selkirk	1			1 (2.1)								1 (0.5)	
Michigan Huron-Petun													
Michigan Sandy Lake	1			1 (2.1)								1 (0.5)	
Michigan Huron-Petun	1			1 (2.1)								1 (0.5)	
sub-total	3	6	1	10 (21.1)								10 (4.6)	
Huron-Petun	4	2		6 (12.8)								6 (2.7)	
Huron-Petun-Michigan	1			1 (2.1)					1		1 (0.8)	7 (3.1)	
Huron-Petun-Michigan Selkirk					1		1 (2.1)					1 (0.5)	
sub-total	6	2		8 (17.0)					1		1 (0.8)	9 (4.1)	
Totals	18	17	12	47 (99.9)	25	28	54 (100)	46	30	15	30	121 (99.9)	222 (100)

Table 3.
Frequency and distribution of components ordered by dominance of ceramics.

differences and minor differences within varieties. Projectile points are small and triangular with minor metric differences, and may be notched, stemmed or unnotched. Projectile points and small bifaces are more significant in the Border and Interior regions than in the Lake Superior region, while wedges are of prime importance in the Lake Superior region, but of lesser significance in the hinterlands.

There is a lack of distinctive flavour from region to region and little indication of territorial distribution suggestive of distinct groups. Discrete minor differences are seen in association with varying faunal communities with a tendency for groupings of tools to be related to major attenuated drainage basins. The overall pattern is consistent with unevenly distributed, seasonally unreliable resources whose exploitation requires small, highly mobile groups with a common but flexible hunting strategy. Recoveries are clearly distinct from those to the south of the area, strongly suggesting that the lithics are the product of related populations who have been resident in the northwest for many centuries.

Table 3 shows the frequency and areal distribution of components ordered on the basis of the dominant Differentiated ceramics. The tabulation reflects a spatial configuration of the ceramic traditions in contrast to earlier limited examination which appear to show an erratic association and distribution (Wright 1965; 1968b).

The Blackduck ceramic tradition is the major tradition occurring throughout the area. Blackduck ceramics dominate 135 (60.8%) of the total number of components, or 61.7% in the Lake Superior region, 75.9% in the Border region and 53.7% in the Interior region. When occurring with other traditions, Selkirk tradition ceramics are present in 60 (27.0%) components, of which 66.6% occur in the Interior region; Michigan ceramics are present in 18 (8.1%) components of which 88.8% occur in the Lake Superior region; and Sandy Lake ceramics are present in 17 (7.6%) components of which 88.2% occur in the Border region.

The Blackduck ceramics are attributed to the Northern Ojibwa by northern archaeologists (Dawson 1977a; 1983a; Pollock 1975; Syms 1977; Wright 1972) and not the Siouan-speaking Assiniboines as originally suggested (Wilford 1941; MacNeish 1958). The Assiniboines cannot be equated with Blackduck developments in space and time. Radiocarbon dates from Blackduck sites range from the seventh century to the contact period. In the historic period they are associated with fur trade goods.

The Selkirk ceramic tradition is the second major tradition in the area. Selkirk ceramics occur throughout the area and are dominant on 55 (24.7%) of the components. They are dominant on 44.6% of the components in the Interior region, 1.9% in the Border region and at none of the components in the Lake Superior region. When present with ceramics from other traditions, except for one component, they always occur with Blackduck ceramics (60 components, 27%). They have a significant association with Michigan ceramics in the Lake Superior region where they occur in association in 9 (19%) components and with Sandy Lake ceramics in the Border region where they occur in 7 (13%) of the components.

Selkirk ceramics are attributed to the Cree (MacNeish 1958:67; Hlady 1971; Wright 1968c). This is predicated on historic Cree sites from which

Selkirk pottery has been recovered. Radiocarbon dates from Selkirk sites range from the ninth century to the contact period.

The Sandy Lake ceramic tradition is a minor tradition which is dominant on only 13 (5.8%) components, 12 of which are in the Border region where they dominate 22.2% of the components. They have a minor presence in the Interior region where they dominate a single component, and are virtually absent from the Lake Superior region. With one exception, when Sandy Lake ceramics are present with other traditions Blackduck ceramics are always present (18 components, 8.1%) and Selkirk ceramics are usually present (11 components, 5.0%).

Southern tradition Sandy Lake ceramics are Mississippian ceramics. They have been attributed to the prehistoric Siouian Wanikan culture in Minnesota (Birk 1977:31). In the northwest they are considered to be the product of the people referred to in the historical records as either Nadouessiss or Assiniboine.

Michigan ceramics have a minor presence and are dominant in only 10 (4.6%) of the components, all of which are in the Lake Superior region. They do not occur in the Interior region and are present on only two mixed components in the Border region near Lake Superior. When present with other traditions, they are associated with Blackduck and/or Selkirk ceramics (21 components, 9.6%), except for two components where they occur with Huron-Petun ceramics.

Michigan ceramics are attributed to Algonkian speaking groups. They include Peninsula Woodland ceramics which in historic times are attributed to the Saulk group (Saulk, Fox, Kickapoo) (Quimby 1960, 1966) and probably the Potawatomi and Mascouten for, as Fitting (1970:191-7) has stated, these groups cannot be distinguished from one another until A.D. 1660. The Michigan ceramics also include stamped, push-pull, Juntenen, Mackinac and others which are associated in historic times with the Pottawatomi, Ottawa and Ojibwa in northern Michigan (Fitting 1965: 149-50; McPherron 1967; Quimby 1966). Components in the Lake Superior region have been dated between A.D. 950 and A.D. 1750.

Huron-Petun ceramics are a minor tradition being dominant on only 9 (4.1%) of the components. Except for a single isolated instance, they occur only in the Lake Superior region. When they occur with other ceramics, as in 8 (3.6%) components, Michigan ceramics are always present.

Huron-Petun-like ceramics of the Late Ontario Iroquois stage (Wright 1966b) occur on mixed ceramic components (Dawson 1979d) dated from the fifteenth century to the present. Excavations at Georgian Bay on Lake Huron show that Nipissings and Ottawas or the Algonkians were manufacturing pottery of Iroquoian style (Wright 1981b:58). The ceramics are considered to be the products of these groups.

It is noted that on three components authors have recorded single Oneota recoveries; two in the Lake Superior region and one in the Border region. Such ceramics are commonly associated with mixed recoveries in northern Michigan (Fitting 1970).

In the Lake Superior region, Blackduck ceramics occur at 33 (70.2%) of the components and are dominant at 29 (61.7%). Selkirk ceramics occur at 11 (21.1%) components and are dominant on none. Michigan ceramics occur at

24 (50.8%) components and are dominant at 10 (21.2%). Huron-Petun ceramics occur on 13 (27.7%) components and are dominant on 8 (17%), while Sandy Lake ceramics occur on only a single component.

Eighteen components are located along the north shore of Lake Superior. Three of these have Huron-Petun ceramics (Dawson 1971), two of which have also produced late European goods. Five others at the mouth of the Michipicoten River had mixed ceramics. Stratum I at the Michipicoten River habitation site (Wright 1968a) had nineteenth century trade goods associated with undiagnostic ceramics. Stratum II had Michigan ceramics (mainly Peninsula Woodland) and Huron-Petun ceramics in direct association with trade goods dating to ca. A.D. 1750. Although trade goods were absent from Stratum III, the major occupation, it had the same ceramic mix as Stratum II and was radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1460±75 (Wright 1968a:20). Michigan ceramics extend to Stratum IX which was radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1100±60 (Wright 1968a:38). In 1767 Henry noted lodges of a wandering band of Tete de Boule or Men of the Woods at this location (Bain 1901).

The absence of early historic reference to the Iroquois in the area and the extensive recoveries of Huron-Petun ceramics from Stratum III at the Michipicoten site which predated the seventeenth century dispersal of the Ontario Iroquois supports the view that the ceramics are not a product of the Iroquois. In the northwest they are considered to be a product of the Ottawas, Nipissings and other associated groups who are known to have manufactured such ceramics, and to have had long standing trade relationships with the area.

While Blackduck ceramics were absent from the Michipicoten River site, they are the dominant ceramics on the opposite bank at the Nyman site (Dawson 1976b). Stratum II at this site contained Blackduck and Michigan (Mackinac and sparse Peninsula Woodland) ceramics. They were associated with trade goods, some dating to 1670-1770, but most to the period 1760-1820. Stratum III had the same mix of ceramics plus occasional Selkirk, Huron-Petun and other diverse Michigan ceramics. It was radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1575±45 (Dawson 1976b:45). On the adjoining terrace Huron-Petun ceramics dominate the upper stratum at the Morrison site (Brizinski and Buchanan 1977:402-554). They are mixed with Michigan ceramics (Peninsula Woodland, Mackinac and others), nineteenth century trade goods, and a single ring dated to the seventeenth century. In the lower prehistoric stratum Michigan ceramics with an even broader range of styles were the only ceramics present.

The extensive unbroken accumulated debris dating as early as the tenth century and the clustered zoning of recoveries seen at the mouth of the Michipicoten River suggest that the sites were a product of cognate groups of peoples now identified as Northern Ojibwa. Statements of sweeping northwestward migration limited to historic times, so often reiterated by cultural historians, do not accord with the archaeological record.

At the stratified Pic River site (Wright 1966a), further west along the shore, Blackduck ceramics were associated with Michigan ceramics (Mackinac and others). Occasional Selkirk ceramics were also present throughout the site (Dawson 1977b; 1982). In Stratum I the ceramics are associated

with European goods dating to A.D. 1700-1750. In stratum II European goods are absent. Both Stratum II and Stratum III, the latter radiocarbon dated to A.D. 950±80, contain only one style of Michigan ceramics (Wright 1968a:46). In Stratum III Pickering branch ceramics (Wright 1966b) of the Early Ontario Iroquois stage also occur. Isolated recoveries of such ceramics have been recorded as far west as Whitefish Lake. The finds do not suggest early Iroquois penetration but rather diffusion. At nearby White River, a small habitation site contiguous with Pukaskwa Pits has eighteenth century beads associated with Huron-Petun ceramics (Dawson 1975a:36;1979b). Here Alexander Henry reported a band of O'pimittish ininwac, or Woods Indians, in 1775 (Bain 1901:232).

Further along the shore, six components are recorded as having predominantly Blackduck ceramics (Newton, *et al.* 1974; Arthurs 1984a;1984b). One site also has Huron-Petun ceramics and one has eighteenth century trade goods. The combination is typical of several sites reported on Isle Royale opposite Thunder Bay (Bastian 1963). In the period 1715-1815 historical references suggest that the shore was settled by groups of people to whom Henry referred to in 1775 as "Algonquins" (Bain 1901).

Of the 17 recorded components on Lake Nipigon, Blackduck ceramics occur on 12 and are dominant on nine (Dawson 1976c; Filteau 1978). As is also the case on the Lake Superior shore, Selkirk ceramics are poorly represented and occur on only five components. Michigan ceramics occur on nine components and are predominant on six of these. Huron-Petun ceramics occur on four sites. They represent a sparse presence, but at two small campsites they are the only ceramics. On one site, Sandy Lake ceramics occurred in a mixed provenience. The surface of this site produced a Jesuit ring dated ca. 1680 (Dawson 1979e; Arthurs 1978:61; 1983:17). A French clasp knife dated ca. 1670 was recovered from the Sutherland Blackduck site. At the Auden site, seventeenth century trade items were associated with Michigan and Selkirk ceramics recovered from the surface. European goods are absent from six sites and where they are present on other sites date from the nineteenth century. One Undifferentiated Woodland site had a kaolin pipe bowl dating to 1680-1720 (Cook 1973). At the Abeki Point site mixed Blackduck and Michigan ceramics occur with late eighteenth and nineteenth century European trade goods. Two prehistoric radiocarbon dates were obtained from the lower levels of this site: A.D. 1315±110 and A.D. 1115±100 (Filteau 1978). At the prehistoric Wabinosh River Blackduck habitation site, two late radiocarbon dates were obtained: A.D. 1480±60 and A.D. 1790±63 (Dawson 1981b:32). Scarce European goods including worked glass were recovered from the forest duff on the surface of this site.

In 1667 Father Allouez, while at Lake Nipigon, reported the Nipissings from Lake Nipissing together with 12 to 15 other groups from the north, south and east (JR 16:31-2) including the Amikwas (Ojibwa) (JR 51:63). Daniel Harmon (1904:113), reporting from the Nipigon River in 1705, refers to the people as the Sauteaux (Ojibwa) and Muscogais from towards Hudson Bay.

In the hinterland east of Lake Nipigon, the 12 components recorded are dominated by Blackduck ceramics. Two components had sparse evidence of Michigan ceramics. Huron-Petun and Selkirk ceramics were absent. A few

sites had goods relating to the eighteenth century fur trade, while others had recent goods, no doubt since many are currently in use (Adams 1983; Hems 1981; Hill 1982;1983; Riddle and Smith 1981).

In the Border region, Blackduck ceramics occur at 45 (89.3%) components and are dominant at 41 (75.9%). Selkirk ceramics occur at 14 (25.9%) of the components but are dominant at only one. Michigan ceramics occur on only two components and Huron-Petun ceramics on only one component. Sandy Lake ceramics occur at 23 (42.6%) components and are dominant at 12 (22.2%). The latter occur primarily in the portion of the region lying northwest of Lake Superior, along the Ontario-Minnesota border.

In the hinterland west of Lake Nipigon and north of the Lake Superior shore, 22 of the 26 components considered are dominated by Blackduck ceramics; 15 of these have only Blackduck ceramics. Selkirk ceramics occur on six components with mixed ceramics and on one with only Selkirk ceramics. Michigan ceramics occur on two components with mixed ceramics, and Huron-Petun ceramics occur on one site. Sandy Lake ceramics occur on five components and are dominant on three. Nineteen components have only Blackduck and Selkirk ceramics. Several of these are associated with historic trade goods (Dawson 1965; 1969; 1972; McLeod 1978; 1980).

At Whitefish Lake three components (McCluskey, Mound Island and Martin-Bird) have mixed Blackduck, Selkirk and Michigan ceramics and two others have only Blackduck (Dawson 1964; 1966; 1974; 1978; 1979c). Late European goods (nineteenth century) are associated with three of these components. At the Martin-Bird site Michigan ceramics dominate at one discrete habitation zone which was radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1750±205 and 1630±85, and at another habitation zone radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1775±140 Blackduck ceramics dominated. From a Blackduck burial mound pit at the same site a radiocarbon date of A.D. 630±85 was obtained. Two sites, one at Kashabowie Lake and one at Black Sturgeon Lake had Blackduck ceramics associated with a single Sandy Lake recovery (Arthurs 1978:61). Five other small campsites on the southern lakes contain only Blackduck ceramics (Newton and Englebert 1975). To the north at Lac des Mille Lacs, Blackduck ceramics predominate on four components, two of which also have Selkirk ceramics (Dawson 1983c). At the Cressman Blackduck habitation site a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1515±40 was obtained from a hearth and from a test pit with associated eighteenth century trade goods a date of A.D. 1780±85 was obtained (Dawson 1983c:60). The Korpi site had three separate habitation zones: Blackduck, Selkirk and Sandy Lake which reflect the clustered cultural groupings noted at the Martin-Bird site and the sites at the mouth of the Michipicotin River. This is a reflection of the diverse band composition of the population.

On the Border Lakes, Sandy Lake ceramics dating to the late prehistoric and early historic period (Cooper and Johnson 1964; Birk 1977) have a significant presence. The early historic references suggest minor intrusions of Siouan peoples (ca. A.D. 1663) which may have been the carriers of these ceramics. In 1733, when LaVerandrye established a post in the region, he makes no reference to such peoples east of Lake Winnipeg (Burpee 1927). Sandy Lake wares occur on 23 (42.6%) of the components; seven in associa-

tion with Blackduck ceramics and five with Blackduck and Selkirk ceramics. Six were small camps which had only Sandy Lake ceramics. At the Long Sault site a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1750±100 attests to the late occurrence of Sandy Lake ceramics (Arthur 1978:59). Twenty-two components (40.7%) had Blackduck ceramics; on 19 sites they were dominant. Selkirk ceramics occurred on only seven components, and in each the ceramics were mixed. Michigan and Huron-Petun ceramics are absent. Late European goods, mostly eighteenth and nineteenth century, occurred on a number of sites (Arthurs 1978; Campling 1973; Dawson 1983d; Haywood 1983; Rajnovich 1980). At the excavated Lady Rapids site a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1480±250 was obtained from a mixed Blackduck/ Sandy Lake context (Callaghan 1982). Sparse eighteenth century trade goods were present, including a bezelled glass ring (ca. 1750-80) and a gunflint (ca. 1650-1770). As late as 1775 Henry recorded the remnants of a large Ojibwa village at Lac Sagunac on the border east of Rainy Lake (Bain 1901:238-8).

An important date comes from Burntside Lake near Quetico Provincial Park. Here fragments of a birch bark scroll with Ojibwa *Mide* figures were recovered from an isolated archaeological context (Kidd 1965) and radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1560±70 (Kidd 1981). The calendric calibrated range (Klein *et al.* 1982) is A.D. 1410-1630. This early date is significant in placing the Ojibwa in the region prior to the contact period and subsequent dispersment.

In the Interior region, Blackduck ceramics are represented at 84 (69.4%) of the components and are dominant at 65 (53.7%) components. Selkirk ceramics are represented at 75 (61.9%) of the components and dominant at 54 (44.6%) (Dawson 1976d; 1984; Hamilton 1981; Koezur 1971; Koezur and Wright 1976; Lambert 1982;1983; McLeod 1971; Pelleck 1980a; 1980b; 1981; 1983; Pelshea 1980; Rajnovich 1981; Riddle 1980; 1981; 1982; S. Smith 1980a; 1980b; 1980c; 1981; Wall 1980a; 1980b) Only two components had other ceramics: one small camp site had a Huron-Petun vessel and one component had a single Sandy Lake rim. A number of components have late nineteenth and twentieth century European goods, and many are still in use.

With one exception where Sandy Lake ceramics occur, Blackduck and Selkirk wares are the only ceramics at Lake of the Woods. Of the 46 components (Dawson 1983e; 1983f; Kenyon 1961; Pelleck 1984; Rajnovich 1983; Rajnovich *et al.* 1982; Reid 1977a; 1977b; Reid and MacLeod 1980), Blackduck ceramics occur alone at 19 components, Selkirk alone at three, and Blackduck and Selkirk ceramics occur together at 23 components. The Ballynarcee site, with eighteenth and nineteenth century European trade goods and Blackduck ceramics is dated to A.D. 1650±70 (Reid 1984:41; Rajnovich and Reid 1978:45). The prehistoric Meek site, a Selkirk burial mound was dated at A.D. 1350±56 and A.D. 1410±140 (Reid 1984:40; Rajnovich and Reid 1978:45). The Ash Rapids East Blackduck site is dated at A.D. 1690±225 (Reid and Rajnovich 1980).

At Lac Seul, Selkirk ceramics dominate at 19 (63.3%) components while Blackduck ceramics dominate at ten (33.3%). One isolated camp had a single Sandy Lake vessel. At Red Lake and north, Selkirk and Blackduck ceramics are roughly equally represented. No other traditions are recorded. On the Albany and Attawapiskat Rivers and surrounding territory, the same

	L. Superior Region	Border Region	Interior Region	Area Total
Blackduck				
Exclusive	16 (34.0)	23 (42.6)	44 (36.4)	83 (37.4)
Mixed	17 (36.2)	22 (46.7)	40 (33.0)	79 (35.6)
sub-total	33 (70.0)	45 (89.3)	84 (69.4)	162 (73.0)
Other	14 (29.8)	9 (16.7)	37 (30.0)	60 (27.0)
Total	47 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	121 (100.0)	222 (100.0)
Selkirk				
Exclusive		1 (1.8)	35 (28.9)	36 (16.2)
Mixed	10 (21.3)	13 (24.1)	40 (33.0)	63 (28.5)
sub-total	10 (21.3)	14 (25.9)	75 (61.9)	99 (44.7)
Other	37 (78.7)	40 (74.1)	46 (38.0)	123 (55.3)
Total	47 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	121 (100.0)	222 (100.0)
Sandy Lake				
Exclusive		8 (14.1)	1 (0.8)	9 (4.0)
Mixed	1 (2.1)	15 (27.8)	1 (0.8)	17 (7.7)
sub-total	1 (2.1)	23 (42.6)	2 (1.6)	26 (11.7)
Other	46 (97.9)	31 (57.4)	119 (98.4)	196 (88.3)
Total	17 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	121 (100.0)	222 (100.0)
Michigan				
Exclusive	3 (6.4)			3 (1.3)
Mixed	21 (44.4)	2 (3.7)		23 (10.4)
sub-total	24 (51.1)	2 (3.7)		26 (11.7)
Other	23 (48.9)	52 (96.3)		196 (88.3)
Total	47 (100.0)	54 (100.0)		222 (100.0)
Huron-Petun				
Exclusive	6 (12.8)		1 (0.8)	7 (3.2)
Mixed	7 (14.9)	1 (1.8)		8 (3.6)
sub-total	13 (27.7)	1 (1.8)	1 (0.8)	15 (6.8)
Other	34 (72.3)	53 (98.2)	120 (99.2)	207 (93.2)
Total	47 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	121 (100.0)	222 (100.0)

Table 4.
Frequency and distribution of components grouped by ceramic tradition.

situation obtains. European goods occur on many sites with a few dating from the seventeenth century, but most from the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

Table 4 shows the frequency and distribution of components grouped by ceramic traditions. Blackduck ceramics are the dominant style on both habitation and camp sites. They occur at 162 (73%) of the components of which 83 (37.4%) have only Blackduck ceramics. They occur on 70.2%, 89.3% and 69.4% of the components in the Lake Superior, Border and Interior regions, respectively. Contrary to statements in the literature that Blackduck ceramics have only a minor presence in the interior, this is clearly not the case nor are the generalizations to the effect that they are invariably accompanied by other ceramic traditions valid (Mason 1981:315).

Selkirk ceramics also occur throughout the area on both habitation and camp sites. They occur on 99 (44.7%) of the components, of which 36 (16.2%) have only Selkirk style ceramics, 97% being in the Interior region where they occur on 61.9% of the components compared to 25.9% in the Border region and 21.3% in the Lake Superior region.

Except for three isolated instances, Sandy Lake ceramics occur only in the Border region. They occur on 26 (11.7%) of the total components of which nine (4.0%) have only Sandy Lake ceramics with 23 (10.4%) occurring in the Border region. In the western extremities, their occurrences are significant on habitation sites, otherwise the recoveries are either from small isolated camps or represent single recoveries in mixed ceramic components. The sparse components with only Sandy Lake ceramics indicate a minor intrusion of Sioux as suggested by the historical records.

Except for two isolated occurrences, Michigan ceramics occur only in the Lake Superior region. They occur on 26 (11.7%) of the total components. Of these, three are camp sites with only Michigan ceramics, while 23 (10.4%) have mixed ceramic assemblages. A few of the latter are habitation sites.

Huron-Petun ceramics, like Michigan ceramics, are almost entirely confined to the Lake Superior region. They occur on 15 (6.8%) of the total components. Of these 7 (3.2%) had only Huron-Petun ceramics, all were camps, and one was in the Interior region. Huron-Petun ceramics occur on eight (3.6%) mixed style components, one of which is in the Border region. West of the Michipicoten River they rarely occur on habitation sites and, when they do, are represented by only one or two vessels.

The occurrence of components with only Huron-Petun or Michigan ceramics, while unusual, suggests the physical presence of the carriers of these ceramics in the Lake Superior region, probably Ottawa, Algonkians, Nipissings and related groups from the area immediately to the east.

DISCUSSION

The explanation for the ceramic mix rests primarily in the type of adaptation necessary to survive in an area of sparse, unreliable resources which resulted in high mobility and the practice of exogamous patrilineal bands acquiring females who were the manufacturers of pottery. The occurrence of single style ceramic assemblages in the area attests to the presence of semi-distinct groups. The mix of styles attests to the com-

monality of origin indicated by the historic records. The spread across the area attests to high mobility.

The period of initial contact (A.D. 1615-1715) occurred roughly in the middle of the neo-boreal climatic episode (ca. A.D. 1550-1850), a time of cool summers and cold autumns (Bryson and Wendland 1967). Known as the Little Ice Age, the adverse effect of these conditions on the marginally agricultural peoples of the north central and eastern Upper Great Lakes may have been influential in producing a shifting of some segments of the population. Southern movement was unattractive in the face of the Iroquois florescence, following the earlier and warmer Pacific II episode (ca. A.D. 1450-1550), hence the movement to the northwest with its abundance of familiar resources and kin-related peoples who had moved into the area in earlier times. The movement of people during the Iroquois wars (A.D. 1640-50) was merely a manifestation of an already well established movement of population which, after contact and the precarious change to dependency on the fur trade, was already accelerating. It was probably further exacerbated by the desire to be removed from the plague (smallpox) which was rampant in the south (Heagarty 1928; Hurlich 1983). The initial contact period record of shifting peoples in the area merely reflects the long established movement pattern of the Algonquian peoples. The results of the movement are reflected in the mix of discrete ceramic traditions seen in prehistoric components extending back to the tenth century and in the increase in diversification of the ceramic mix seen in the historic components. Contrary to assertions that during the seventeenth century the Ojibwa first moved into the area (Hickerson 1962:65-7,96), it is evident that the ethnicity of the peoples residing in the area prior to the seventeenth century was predominantly Ojibwa.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that the prehistoric population was composed of unstructured collectivities of fluid hunting and gathering Algonquian groups with common hunting strategies and high mobility essential for survival in this area of sparse, scattered and seasonally unreliable resources. While radical technological and social changes have occurred since contact, the basic exploitative strategy persists in some regions (Rogers and Black 1976).

The core archaeological record shows continuity from prehistoric times without major breaches or intrusions by alien cultures. It suggests a cohesive archaeological complex representing a specific historically documented ethnic group - the Ojibwa - with a somewhat distinctive cultural history. In part this reflects the early amalgam of cognate groups, and the influence exercised by the Cree as well as the nature of the country and the type of adaptation necessary to survive there.

The uniformity of the strategy is reflected in the tool kit, the locations and types of sites and the dominant ceramics. Sites include summering habitations where there is a relative abundance of resources. These were occupied annually for extended periods by clustered groups. They were surrounded by small camps occupied on a temporary basis by a few members to exploit particular resources in both summer and winter.

