A Regional Examination of Ojibwa Culture History *

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RÉSUMÉ

On attribue aux Ojibways du début du XVIII[e] siècle trois éléments historiques du Sylvicole supérieur sur la rive nord des lacs Huron et Supérieur. D'après la méthode historique, il semblerait que la culture ojibway puisse remonter approximativement au X[e] siècle. L'analyse a donné lieu de croire que les poteries mises au jour représentent un attribut d'emprunt. Quoique très utiles pour préciser certains points, elles ne pouvaient être, en fait, d'aucune utilité pour reconstituer les grandes relations temporo-spatiales. A cette fin, on a constaté que les outils de pierre étaient de plus sûrs moyens de comparaison. Assez rares, pour le moment, les indices disponibles permettent toutefois d'espérer que les techniques archéologiques révèleront un jour l'histoire de la culture ojibwa.

Early historical references to the aborigines of the northern portions of the Upper Great Lakes predominantly involve Algonkian-speaking peoples. Iroquoian-speakers, to the southeast, and Siouan-speakers, to the southwest, occasionally made incursions into the area but such events definitely appear to have been of a transitory nature. Sites in the area producing European trade goods, therefore, should be assignable to Algonkian-speakers. Whereas the problem of linguistic identification is relatively simple the problem of ethnic identification has been complicated by two related factors — the culture of the peoples involved and the paucity of sites. The latter factor is a rather straight-forward physical matter but the former factor involves numerous variables

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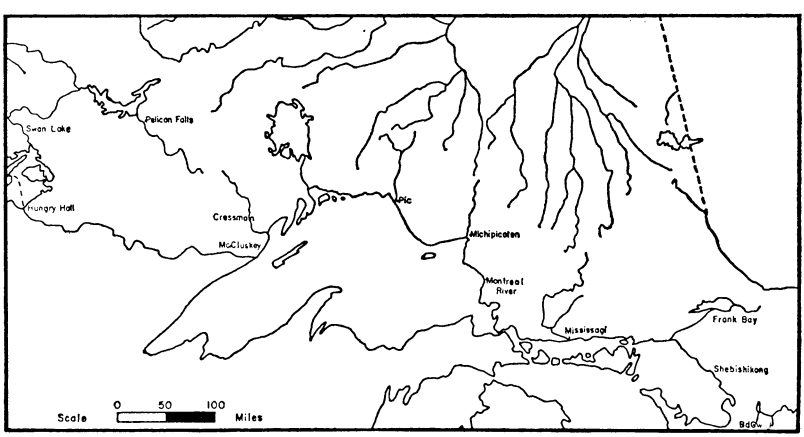
which are interwoven in a highly complex manner. The broad mosaic of politically independent bands, loosely related at the specific level through clan and/or marriage and, at a more general level, through language and way of life, limits, in part, the reality of discrete tribal designations to taxonomic units of anthropological convenience. Within the major tribal units of Ojibwa, Cree, Algonkian, Montagnais, and Naskapi (Jenness 1955:266) the degree of geographically influenced blending defies the establishment of clear cultural boundaries. Indeed, considering the extensive areas occupied and the variations in physiography it is, perhaps, not too surprising that a number of cultural variations occur within a related grouping of peoples.

One of these large groupings of related but independent bands — the Ojibwa — is pertinent to the present study. The historic records, however, contain numerous tribal designations such as Ottawa, Missisauga, Potawatomi, Sauteur, Amikwa, Nipissing, Ondataouauoat or Cheveux-Relevés, Kishkakon, Mousonee, Nassauaketon, Nikikouek, Sinago, and Gens de Terre, which may be collectively referred to as the Ojibwa. In addition, Algonkin and Cree bands are frequently found to have been in direct association with one or the other of the preceding "tribes". A number of these sub-groupings of the Ojibwa are synonyms



while others appear to refer to clans, bands, or geographical regions. Also, spelling varies and names change throughout the critical years of 1650 A.D. to 1750 A.D. The following quotation indicates some of the problems involved in the specific designation of such a group as the Ottawa

> ...a term common to the Cree, Algonkin, Nipissing, Montagnais, Ottawa, and Chippewa. (Blair 1911:Vol. I, 281, footnote 197).

In view of the vagaries to which the specific "tribal" names are subject it was deemed advisable to apply the broader ethnic designation of Ojibwa to the historic archaeological components involved.

Historic Ojibwa sites along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior are scarce, and in this respect, support the historical references to the low population density of the region; a condition which is readily apparent in the prehistoric record (Wright 1963). The limited number of historic sites does not appear to be solely the result of restricted archaeological investigation in the area and it is assumed that floral and faunal resources placed severe limitations upon the population density; particularly with reference to Lake Superior. When Late Woodland sites are discovered they frequently bear the imprint of repeated occupations although, unfortunately, such deposits are generally thin and intermixture between various components is always a hazard. The processes of isostatic rebound and lake level fluctuations, however, neatly segregate the Late Woodland occupations from those of earlier periods. Perhaps the major problem is the thinness of deposits which call for extensive excavations but produce limited returns. Relative to more southerly archaeological sites the sites in the Boreal Forest and on its flanks do not encourage extensive investigation in terms of specimen recovery. As a direct result of the low artifact yield the analyzer is continually plagued with the problem of drawing conclusions from inadequate samples. However, if progress is to be made in the understanding of Ojibwa prehistory low samples must be relied upon and assumed valid until circumstances indicate otherwise.

Map I contains twelve site locations but only three of the sites will be examined in detail. The remaining sites will be briefly considered in an attempt to outline some of the major

characteristics of the Late Woodland occupations along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior and west to the Manitoba border. Running from east to west the sites are as follows:

The *Ellsmere-Morrison, or BdGw-1, site,* as it is referred to under the Borden system of site designation (Borden 1952), was excavated by Mr. E.R. Channen, Simcoe County Museum, under contract with the National Museum. The site is a single component of the Lalonde culture (Ridley 1952) or, as it is also referred to, the Northern division of the Huron-Petun branch of the Ontario Iroquois Tradition (Wright: a). Since Northern division ceramics are widely distributed to the west on what are presumably Ojibwa sites the Ellsmere-Morrison site is included in the present study for purposes of comparison.

The *Shebishikong site* is situated on Georgian Bay near the mouth of the Shebishikong River. In the spring of 1955 Dr. J.N. Emerson, Department of Anthropology, University of Tronto, excavated the site with a student crew in which the writer was a member. Two components were encountered, one historic and the other prehistoric. Features were limited to several large pits associated with the prehistoric component. The historic component is interpreted as being Ojibwa and will be considered in detail. Dr. Emerson has kindly allowed me to analyze and report upon the results of the excavation.

The *Frank Bay site* was excavated and reported upon by Mr. Frank Ridley (1954). In the historic component of this important site, with its unbroken record of occupation back to 1000 B.C., late Huron-Petun ceramics and possibly some of the linear stamped pottery common to northern Michigan were found in association with 17th century European trade goods. Three dog burials are also stated to be present. On the basis of the ethnohistoric records and the dog burials I believe that it is not unreasonable to interpret the component as the product of historic Ojibwa.

The *Mississagi site* is situated near the mouth of the river of the same name where it empties into Lake Huron. Surface collections made in 1961 contained Huron-Petun ceramics, a non-Iroquois lithic assemblage, and an abundance of 17th to early

18th century European trade items. Miss H.E. Devereux, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, excavated the site in 1962 and 1963 and a final report should be available in the near future. The site is regarded as the product of historic Ojibwa.

The *Montreal River site* is located on the west bank of the Montreal River at its embouchure into Lake Superior. A small quantity of material was recovered from a test excavation and from the surface. Ceramics of the Northern division of the Huron-Petun branch, Peninsular Woodland, Blackduck focus, and a rim sherd of unknown affiliation, were present along with European trade items suggesting an early 18th century occupancy. The lithic assemblage is very similar to that of the nearby Michipicoten site. Although the sample is small it does suggest that the site represents an historic Ojibwa component.

The *Michipicoten site* is located on the south bank of the Michipicoten River near its embouchure into Lake Superior. Excavation of the minimum of nine Late Woodland components present on the site was carried out in 1961. Previous excavations have been reported upon by Mr. Frank Ridley (1961). Stratum I consisted almost solely of European items whereas an abundance of aboriginal artifacts were found in direct association with European trade goods in stratum II. The remaining components were prehistoric. Features consisted of hearths, pits, dog burials, and scattered post moulds. This site will be considered in detail.

The *Pic River site* is situated on the west bank of the Pic River at its embouchure into Lake Superior. In 1960 and 1961 Dr. Emerson excavated the site. In the Upper Beach area of this excavation one historic and two prehistoric components were found in stratigraphic association. During the period of excavation the writer was excavating a Middle Woodland component a short distance upstream and was, thus, in fairly direct contact with the University of Toronto excavation. Features encountered were hearths, scattered post moulds, and a dog burial. Dr. Emerson has kindly allowed the analysis of the material recovered from the excavation. The Pic River site represents the third and final site to be examined in detail in this report.

The *McCluskey site* is located on the north shore of Whitefish Lake to the west of the Lakehead. Salvage excavations carried out by Mr. K.C.A. Dawson of the Lakehead University under contract with the National Museum produced a good sample of ceramics and stone tools. The rim sherds, with one exception, relate to the Blackduck focus. The exception is an early Pickering branch rim of the Early Ontario Iroquois stage (Wright: a) and may be used to tentatively date the site between 900 A.D. and 1100 A.D. This association between early Pickering branch ceramics and Blackduck focus ceramics occurred in stratum III of the Pic River site which was dated at 962 A.D. ± 80 (GSC-85). As a relatively pure component of the Blackduck focus the McCluskey site is important for drawing certain general comparisons with components to the east where Blackduck ceramics are a common occurrence.

The *Cressman site,* located on the west shore of Lac des Mille Lacs, was also excavated by Mr. K.C.A. Dawson under a salvage contract with the National Museum. All of the ceramics recovered from the Late Woodland component of this stratified site pertain to the Blackduck focus. A number of European trade items including a brass button, which would appear to relate to the latter half of the 18th century (Olsen 1963), were also found but their definite association with the aboriginal assemblage is yet to be determined.

The *Pelican Falls site* is located below the Pelican Falls on the English River to the south of Lac Seul. All of the Late Woodland pottery recovered during the excavations in 1961 relate to the Blackduck focus.

The *Swan Lake site* is situated on the southern end of Swan Lake and eleven miles east of the Manitoba border. The site was excavated and reported upon by Mr. Walter Kenyon of the Royal Ontario Museum (1961). Late Woodland ceramics from this stratified site are represented by a mixture of Blackduck focus and Selkirk focus varieties. Recovered with the ceramics were a number of European trade items. Kenyon suggests that the site "was probably occupied by the Cree" (Ibid., 17) although the possibility of a partial Assiniboin authorship is also considered.

The *Hungry Hall site* is situated near the mouth of the Rainy River. Burial mound fill produced Laurel tradition, Blackduck and Selkirk foci ceramics (Kenyon: 1960; personal communication) and a radiocarbon date of 1190 A.D. ± 60 (S-109) was obtained from a log covering the burial chamber (McCallum and J. Wittenberg 1962). The mound is regarded by Kenyon as probably being Assiniboin.

As the main purpose for the brief examination of the preceding sites was to create a general impression of the Late Woodland occupation of Northern Ontario many of the sites will not be considered further. Indeed, the problems revolving around the Blackduck and Selkirk foci and the historic Assiniboin, Cree, and Ojibwa in the area west of the Lakehead represent a number of separate studies in themselves. For the specific purposes of the present study, however, detailed consideration will be given to only three of the preceding sites in order that a rough outline of Ojibwa culture history in one region can be attempted. The historic components of these three sites will be examined first and then the associated prehistoric components.

THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS

The three historic Ojibwa components considered in this paper are all associated with excavated, stratified sites, a situation which greatly assists in the application of the direct historical approach. Running from east to west these sites are Shebishikong, Michipicoten, and Pic River. In the following analysis of the three historic components certain data are not considered or are given superficial treatment. Since the Pic River report is in press (Wright: b) and the Michipicoten report is nearing completion the bulk of this information should be available in the near future. On the following tables the analyses for the three components are presented in a comparative fashion and observations are made after each table.

The majority of the European trade goods from the three components suggest that each was occupied during the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Small seed beads were the most common variety of beads to be found on all

TABLE 1 — EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS

	Shebishikong I		*Michipicoten II*		*Pic River I*	
Item	f	%	f	%	f	%
Trade Beads	22	36.1	6	14.3	1,156	86.6
Lead shot	–	–	–	–	70	5.2
Trade kettle fragments	5	8.2	1	2.4	24	1.8
Metal bangles	–	–	–	–	17	1.2
Gunflints	5	8.2	2	4.8	9	.7
Kaolin pipe fragments	9	14.8	–	–	6	.4
Metal triangles	–	–	1	2.4	5	.3
Lead strips	2	3.3	–	–	5	.3
Metal triangular pendants	–	–	1	2.4	4	.3
Iron strips	1	1.6	–	–	4	.3
Musket balls	1	1.6	–	–	3	.2
Ramrod ferrules	–	–	–	–	3	.2
Glass fragments	5	8.2	–	–	3	.2
Metal wire	–	–	–	–	3	.2
Buttons	–	–	–	–	3	.2
Brass tacks	–	–	–	–	3	.2
China fragments	1	1.6	–	–	2	.2
Iron fishhooks	–	–	–	–	2	.2
Metal finger rings	–	–	–	–	2	.2
Iron nails	1	1.6	–	–	2	.2
Clasp knife	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Trade kettle arrowhead	1	1.6	–	–	1	.1
Iron needle	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Metal bell	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Iron strike-a-light	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Iron awl	1	1.6	–	–	1	.1
Woven copper fabric	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Iron chisel	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Ivory comb	–	–	–	–	1	.1
Iron knife	3	4.9	1	2.4	–	–
Iron rod	2	3.3	–	–	–	–
Flint-lock mechanism	1	1.6	–	–	–	–
Trade kettle beads	1	1.6	28	66.7	–	–
Trade kettle awls	–	–	2	4.8	–	–
TOTALS	61	99.8	42	100.2	1,335	100.0

three components. Gunflints from Shebishikong were all of French manufacture whereas the two specimens from stratum II of the Michipicoten site were of English manufacture. Of the seven gunflints from the Pic River component, which could be classified with reference to origin, five were French and two were English. In the almost exclusively historic stratum I of the Michipicoten site the two gunflints were of French origin. The flint-lock mechanism from the Shebishikong site was dated at 1720 A.D. by Mr. S.J. Gooding of the Historic Sites Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

TABLE 2 — RIM SHERD CATEGORIES

	Shebishikong I		*Michipicoten II*		*Pic River I*	
Category	f	%	f	%	f	%
Huron-Petun branch	7	50.0	13	43.3	–	–
Blackduck focus	3	21.4	–	–	5	35.6
Push-Pull	1	7.1	1	3.3	8	57.1
Stamped	–	–	4	13.3	–	–
Peninsular Woodland	–	–	12	40.0	–	–
Selkirk focus	–	–	–	–	1	7.1
Miscellaneous	3	21.4	–	–	–	–
TOTALS	14	99.9	30	99.9	14	99.8

Clay pipe bowl fragments were limited to the Shebishikong and Michipicoten sites where two plain trumpet pipe bowls were found at the former and one plain trumpet, one acorn ring, and two crude non-Iroquois pipe bowls were found at the latter.

As the ceramics appear to represent borrowed traits (Ridley 1957:36) it is proposed that the occupants of the three components were not directly involved in the development of the represented ceramic traditions. Since ceramics are generally the best single trait for tracing cultural developments the determination of whether they are borrowed of indigenous is extremely

TABLE 3 — BODY SHERD VARIETIES

Variety	Shebishikong I				Michipicoten II				Pic River I			
			Thickness (mm.)				Thickness (mm.)				Thickness (mm.)	
	f	%	Range	x	f	%	Range	x	f	%	Range	x
Plain	51	46.4	2-8	5.2	169	59.5	2-13	6.6	26	41.3	4-10	7.0
Cord malleated	35	31.8	4-13	7.3	34	12.0	3-12	5.5	14	22.2	5-8	6.0
Smoothed-over cord	12	10.9	5-10	6.7	70	24.6	4-13	6.8	14	22.2	4-9	6.7
Push-Pull	4	3.6	4-5	4.5	–	–	–	–	3	4.8	5-10	7.0
Fabric impressed	3	2.7	4-6	5.0	–	–	–	–	6	9.5	4-6	5.3
Scarified	2	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Smoothed-over cord wrapped stick	1	.9	–	9.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Incised	1	.9	–	6.0	2	.7	3-7	5.0	–	–	–	–
Ribbed paddle	1	.9	–	7.0	6	2.1	4-12	7.2	–	–	–	–
Net impressed	–	–	–	–	2	.7	6-7	6.5	–	–	–	–
Multiple techniques	–	–	–	–	1	.4	–	5.0	–	–	–	–
TOTALS	110	99.9			284	100.0			63	100.0		

pertinent to their value as indicators of chronological sequence. If, as is proposed, ceramics are a borrowed trait then their use for tracing chronologies may be markedly weakened, especially since a number of different ceramic traditions are involved. For the purposes of the problem at hand ceramics are regarded as indicators of the fluctuating direction of outside influence and/or contact upon both the historic and prehistoric Ojibwa of the north shore of the Upper Great Lakes and are of supplementary value in tracing chronologies.

In Table 2 an attempt has been made to group the rim sherds into ceramic traditions. Limitations in the data, however, place some of these groupings in a tentative position. The Iroquois rims are clearly assignable to the Northern division of the Huron-Petun branch and their presence on the Shebishikong and Michipicoten sites and absence from the Pic River is consistent with geography. The Blackduck focus (Wilford 1955) and its synonym Manitoba focus (MacNeish 1958) rim sherds have an inconsistent distribution being present on the Shebishikong and Pic River sites but absent from the Michipitoten site. Rim sherds, decorated with horizontal motifs on the collar and frequently on the interior rim with a push-pull technique often resembling a single cord application, are found on all three components. Their representation on the Pic River component, however, far exceeds that of the other two sites. These ceramics would appear to have been derived from northern Michigan and have been grouped under the category Push-Pull. Another series of rims found only on the Michipicoten site superficially resemble Iroquois ceramics in terms of motif, castellations, and rim shape but differ in a number of important other respects outstanding of which is the technique of linear stamping. These sherds also closely resemble ceramics from northern Michigan and have been grouped under the category Stamped. With reference to rim shape and castellation attributes these rims also appear to relate to the Push-Pull category of rims. The Peninsular Woodland rims (Quimby 1960) were only present on the Michipicoten site although two of the miscellaneous rims from the Shebishikong site may possibly belong to this category. These rims would certainly have been derived from Michigan and Wisconsin where they appear to have developed as a product of Upper Mississippi influence upon

Woodland peoples. Some of the pottery from the Bell site in eastern Wisconsin (Wittry 1963), an early historic Fox village, appears to be very similar to the Peninsular Woodland pottery from the Michipicoten site. Also, virtually identical pottery has been reported from a site in western Michigan (George I. Quimby — paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology, Urbana, Illinois, 1965). The characteristic concentration of decoration on the vessel lip and the unique vessel form and rim profile clearly separate the Peninsular Woodland sherds from those of the other traditions. A single rim assignable to the Selkirk focus was recovered from the Pic River site. There is a great deal of merit in MacNeish's contention (1958) that this ceramic tradition is a product of the Cree.

If the preceding categories do, in fact, all represent discrete ceramic traditions then it can be said that the historic Ojibwa of the Shebishikong and Pic River sites were each utilizing three different ceramic traditions and that the peoples occupying the Michipicoten component were involved in four separate ceramic traditions. Even disregarding the small samples such a situation poses a number of hazards for the use of ceramics as the major means of arriving at cultural sequences. The space and time discontinuities apparently involved in Ojibwa borrowing of foreign ceramic traditions relegates the interpretational value of ceramics to a somewhat different role from that applicable to groups actively contributing to the development of a ceramic tradition.

Spatially, the Ojibwa covered such an extensive area that they were placed in contact with a wide range of pottery-manufacturing peoples thereby explaining the variations in ceramic mixture to be found on various components along the north shores of the Upper Great Lakes. This ceramic mixture is not only indicative of locality but also probably reflects the nomadic habits of the Ojibwa. Indeed, during the historic period this nomadism was accentuated by the repercussions of the fur trade and the associated Indian conflicts.

Temporally, no single ceramic tradition is sufficiently consistent to allow extrapolations to be made from the donor assemblage. Also there appears to be some time lag with reference to specific pottery types. For example, the Northern division, Huron-

Petun branch pottery types most frequently found on historic Ojibwa sites are generally more common on late prehistoric Huron-Petun sites than they are on historic Huron-Petun sites. As will be discussed later this ceramic mixture and variation noted for historic Ojibwa sites represents the continuation of a process recognizable as early as the 10th century along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior. While ceramics have a very real contribution to make to Ojibwa culture history they are too inconsistent to be relied upon solely for the central task of establishing an assumed cultural continuum.

It cannot be overemphasized that the preceding statement regarding Ojibwa ceramics is regional and refers only to the Ojibwa occupying the north shores of the Upper Great Lakes. The situation to the west of the Lakehead is far from clear but on the basis of the available information there is a very real possibility that a large portion of the Blackduck focus is a product of the Ojibwa. If such was the case then these Ojibwa were directly involved in a ceramic tradition and, thus, in contradiction to the situation apparent in the present study. Similarily, there are a number of Algonkian-speakers to the south who may be classified as Ojibwa and who may have been directly involved in the development of a ceramic tradition. The present statement on the culture history of the Ojibwa is most definitely a regional statement for one portion of the broad area occupied by the Ojibwa.

Wedges, scrapers, and projectile points account for more than half of the stone tools to be found in the three components.

The existence of wedges in the collections being considered was brought to my attention by Mr. G.F. MacDonald and Dr. W.N. Irving of the Archaeology Division staff and the term was adopted directly from the former colleague. In the past I have classified these tools as exhausted cores and the majority of the rectangular, bi-polar, and uni-polar cores of the Donaldson site (Wright and Anderson 1963) are actually wedges. Experimentation very quickly convinced me that the pattern of flake removal on the wedges bore little relationship to that observed for cores. It is my present opinion that wedges represent an all-purpose cutting tool produced in the attempt to obtain a straight cutting edge rather than the sinuous cutting edge found on primary or

TABLE 4 — STONE TOOL CLASSES

	Shebishikong I		*Michipicoten II*		*Pic River I*	
Artifact class	f	%	f	%	f	%
Wedges	7	20.6	12	27.3	24	36.9
Scrapers	19	55.9	10	22.7	23	35.4
Small tools	–	–	2	4.5	8	12.3
Projectile points	1	2.9	3	6.8	6	9.2
Hammerstones	1	2.9	3	6.8	1	1.5
Stone pipes	–	–	1	2.3	1	1.5
Biface blades	3	8.8	–	–	2	3.1
Abraders	–	–	9	20.5	–	–
Manos	–	–	2	4.5	–	–
Anvil stones	–	–	1	2.3	–	–
Spoke-shaves	–	–	1	2.3	–	–
Cut mica sheets	3	8.8	–	–	–	–
TOTALS	34	99.9	44	100.0	65	99.9

secondary flaked blades. Such a straight cutting edge can be readily obtained by placing a relatively thick flake on a stone and gently tapping the opposing edges. It is this sharpening procedure which produces the wedge by removing small, frequently stepped, flakes from the edge being struck as well as the edge in contact with the anvil. Both edges may give the impression of having been crushed. In many respects the wedge appears to represent a simple extension of the common practise of using the naturally sharp edges of a primary flake for cutting. It is the manner in which the dulled flaked edge is resharpened that produces the distinctive tool. The apparent absence of wedges from assemblages such as the Laurel tradition of the Middle Woodland period indicates that they are the product of culturally determined behaviour.

Scrapers were represented by three varieties; end scrapers, side scrapers, and random flake scrapers. The Shebishikong site produced 13 end scrapers, 5 side scrapers, and 1 random flake scraper while the Michipicoten site had 5 end scrapers and 5 side

scrapers. The Pic River component produced 12 end scrapers, 6 side scrapers, and 5 random flake scrapers.

Projectile points were represented by simple triangular and sidenotched triangular forms. The frequency of these two forms occurred as follows: Shebishikong — 1 side-notched triangular; Michipicoten — 3 triangular; and Pic River — 3 each of triangular and side-notched triangular. A common characteristic of these arrowheads is the limited amount of retouch involved in their manufacture. Quite often retouch is limited to the edges and/or one face and, less frequently, the curvature of the flake from which the point is being made is quite apparent.

Small tools refer to various small cutting and scraping implements which possess substantial retouch and appear to have been fashioned for specialized functions to which the more common scrapers were not suited. There is a wide range of form and pattern of retouch.

All of the heavier tools such as abraders, manos, and anvil stones were limited to the Michipicoten site.

Chipping detritus from all three components was predominantly derived from local sources although there is evidence of material being obtained from as far to the west as the Lakehead.

Bone artifacts are limited to the Pic River component. Preservation was very poor at the Michipicoten site and although this was not the case for the Shebishikong site bone artifacts were still lacking. Artifacts recovered from the Pic River component consisted of the following: awls; worked beaver incisor; bangle; bead; etched rib; worked scapula; and a pendant.

Native copper, exclusive of wastage and nuggets, consisted of the following: Shebishikong — deposit of copper salts wrapped in birch bark; Michipicoten — two finger rings and an awl; Pic River — a knife and a fishhook.

COMPARISON OF THE THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS WITH THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

The three prehistoric Late Woodland components to be compared with the preceding three historic components are strata

TABLE 5 — RIM SHERD CATEGORIES FOR THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS AND THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
Component	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Category	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Huron-Petun branch	7	50.0	13	43.3	26	14.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Blackduck focus	3	21.4	–	–	–	–	5	35.6	6	100.0	25	86.2
Push-Pull	1	7.1	1	3.3	22	12.3	8	57.1	–	–	–	–
Stamped	–	–	4	13.3	45	25.1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Peninsular Woodland	–	–	12	40.0	84	46.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Selkirk focus	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	7.1	–	–	–	–
Pickering-Branch	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	10.3
Miscellaneous	3	21.4	–	–	2	1.1	–	–	–	–	1	3.4
TOTALS	14	99.9	30	99.9	179	99.9	14	99.8	6	100.0	29	99.9

II and III of the Pic River site and stratum III of the Michipicoten site. Unfortunately there was insufficient material recovered from stratum II of the Shebishikong site to be used for comparative purposes. Two radiocarbon dates are available for the prehistoric components and these are 962 A.D. ± 80 (GSC-85) for stratum III of the Pic River site and 1472 A.D. ± 75 (S-169) for stratum III of the Michipicoten site. For the purposes of the present study only the rim sherds and stone tools from the prehistoric components will be compared with those from the historic Ojibwa components. As was mentioned earlier, more complete data on the prehistoric components will soon be available in other papers.

Of the above rim sherd categories only the Pickering branch has not been previously described. The Pickering branch is one of the two branches of the Early Ontario Iroquois stage of the Ontario Iroquois tradition (Wright: a) which was situated in southeastern Southern Ontario and adjacent regions of Quebec and Northern Ontario. The rims from the Pic River site are early in the Pickering branch and related closely to those recovered from the Primary Transitional Stratum of the Frank Bay site (Ridley 1954:44-45). Age estimate for the early Pickering branch in southeastern Southern Ontario is consistent with the radiocarbon date from stratum III of the Pic River site.

The mixture of ceramic traditions through both space and time is quite apparent from Table 5. It is this erratic association and distribution of ceramic traditions which, contrary to usual procedure, does not allow ceramics to be used as the only, or even the major, means for establishing temporal and spatial relationships. Relationships can certainly be established on the basis of the ceramics but these relationships, are not consistent in the same continuous manner in which a chronology can be traced when dealing with a population directly involved in the development of a single ceramic tradition. In a very real sense, any archaeologist wishing to construct Ojibwa culture history by means of ceramic comparisons must rely upon chronologies extrapolated from the donor ceramic traditions and must juggle several of these traditions at the same time with reference to a single Ojibwa component. And, as the mixture of ceramic traditions can vary in both time and space certain major discontinuities must be anticipated.

The coefficient of similarity is a useful technique for illustrating the degree of discontinuity that can exist between related sites when rim sherd categories alone are relied upon. Under this formula (Brainerd 1951) identical components would possess a coefficient of 200 while completely different components would have a coefficient of 0.

Chart I — Coefficients of Similarity Based upon Rim Sherd Categories for Three Historic Ojibwa Components and Three Associated Prehistoric Components

	SHEBISHIKONG I	MICHIPICOTEN II	MICHIPICOTEN III	PIC RIVER I	PIC RIVER II	PIC RIVER III
SHEBISHIKONG I		93	43	57	43	43
MICHIPICOTEN II	93		142	7	0	0
MICHIPICOTEN III	43	142		25	0	0
PIC RIVER I	5	7	25		78	72
PIC RIVER II	43	0	0	78		172
PIC RIVER III	43	0	0	72	172	

Only two sets of relationship on the above chart show a high degree of similarity and in both instances they pertain to sequential components within the same site possessing short time gaps (Michipicoten II and Michipicoten III; Pic River II and Pic River III). The relationship of the Michipicoten components to

those of the Pic River site reflect some of the problems involved in using rim sherds alone for comparisons. The historic components of these two sites which are roughly contemporaneous and only 80 miles apart on the coast of Lake Superior possess a very low coefficient of 7. Except for a slightly higher coefficient between the historic stratum of the Pic River site and stratum III of the Michipicoten site all of the other relationships between the components of the two sites are 0.

During the process of analysis it became apparent that stone tools were more abundant relative to rim sherds than is characteristic of most ceramic producing sites. It was decided that the relative frequency of rim sherds to stone tools may be a significant factor. As controls, two sites directly involved in the development of a ceramic tradition were included in the comparison. These sites, to the east and west of the region under consideration are, respectively, Ellsmere-Morrison and McCluskey. The former site is an early 16th century Northern division, Huron-Petun branch component while the latter site is a 10th or 11th century Blackduck focus component. As the ceramic traditions of one or the other of these sites are represented on the intervening three historic Ojibwa components and three associated prehistoric components they should act as good controls with reference to the ratio of rim sherds to stone tools. Graph 1 illustrates that a significant difference exists between the six components of the Shebishikong, Michipicoten, and Pic River sites and the two control sites to the east and west which are actively involved in a single ceramic tradition. All of the former components possess a higher frequency of stone tools relative to rim sherds whereas the two control sites have a reverse frequency of these two artifact categories. With a single exception the former components contain 60 percent or more stone tools relative to rim sherds whereas the two control sites possess more than 60 percent rim sherds relative to stone tools. In conjunction with the evidence for ceramic mixture the ratio differences of rim sherds to stone tools for the six components along the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior and the two control sites to the east and west is regarded as additional evidence for the proposal that ceramics are a borrowed trait in the region under consideration.

TABLE 6 — STONE TOOL ANALYSIS FOR THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS AND THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
Component	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Artifact class	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Wedges	7	20.6	12	27.3	76	36.9	24	36.9	5	17.9	35	34.7
Scrapers	19	55.9	10	22.7	39	18.9	23	35.4	8	28.6	24	23.8
Small tools	–	–	2	4.5	8	3.9	8	12.3	3	10.7	4	4.0
Projectile points	1	2.9	3	6.8	16	7.8	6	9.2	6	21.4	22	21.8
Hammerstones	1	2.9	3	6.8	4	1.9	1	1.5	–	–	–	–
Stone pipes	–	–	1	2.3	–	–	1	1.5	–	–	2	2.0
Biface blades	3	8.8	–	–	–	–	2	3.1	1	3.6	4	4.0
Abraders	–	–	9	20.5	11	5.3	–	–	–	–	2	2.0
Manos	–	–	2	4.5	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Anvil stones	–	–	1	2.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Spoke-shaves	–	–	1	2.3	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cut mica sheets	3	8.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Worked catlinite	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	10.7	–	–

(Table 6 continued)

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
Component	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Artifact class	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Polishing stones	–	–	–	–	2	1.0	–	–	2	7.1	3	3.0
Paintstones	–	–	–	–	34	16.5	–	–	–	–	1	1.0
Linear flakes	–	–	–	–	7	3.4	–	–	–	–	1	1.0
Metates	–	–	–	–	2	1.0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Spall-chopper	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mano-anvil-hammer	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Chisel	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Palette	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Celt blank	–	–	–	–	1	0.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1.0
Problematical ground stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2.0
TOTALS	34	99.9	44	100.0	206	100.1	65	99.9	28	100.0	101	100.3

GRAPH I

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF RIM SHERDS TO STONE TOOLS EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGE

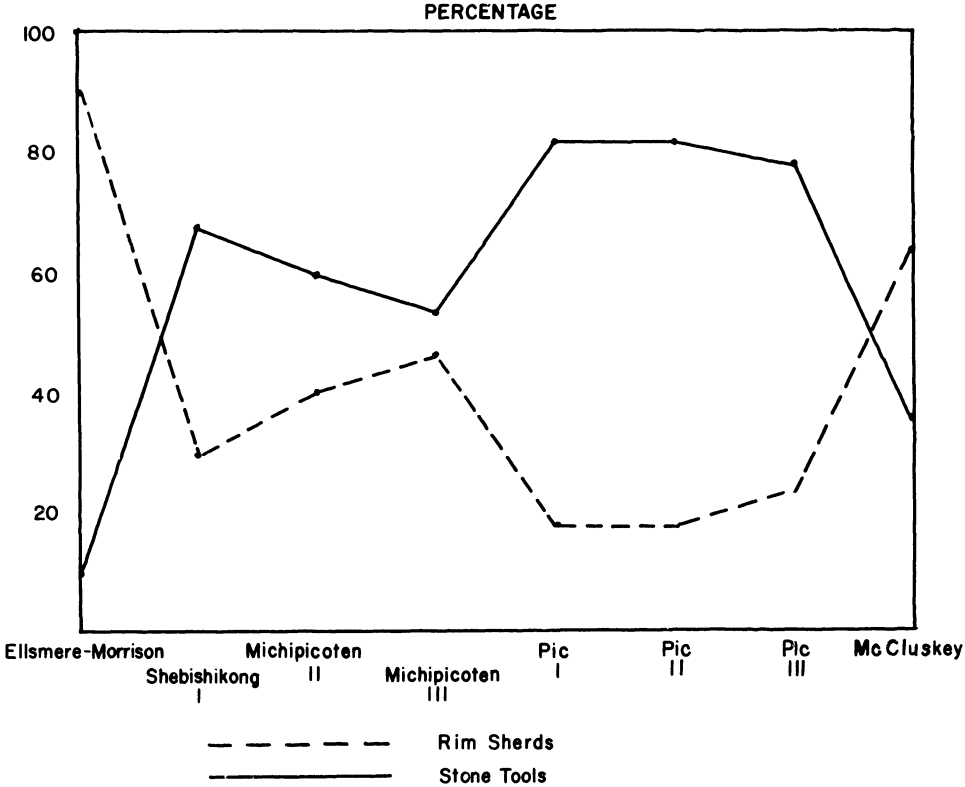


Chart II — Coefficients of Similarity based upon Stone Tools for Three Historic Ojibwa Components and Three Associated Prehistoric Components

	SHEBISHIKONG I	MICHIPICOTEN II	MICHIPICOTEN III	PIC RIVER I	PIC RIVER II	PIC RIVER III
SHEBISHIKONG I		98	89	127	106	102
MICHIPICOTEN II	98		130	129	104	129
MICHIPICOTEN III	89	130		138	99	140
PIC RIVER I	127	129	138		139	152
PIC RIVER II	106	104	99	139		147
PIC RIVER III	102	129	140	152	147	

Even at the very general level of artifact classes some interesting trends can be seen on Table 6. In terms of quantity scrapers and small tools show an increase while projectile points and bifaces decrease. The frequency of the only other major artifact class, the wedges, varies erratically in time. Both the historic and prehistoric components of the Michipicoten site differ from the remaining components in their frequency of heavy stone tools such as abraders and manos. Other presences and absences which appear to be significant are the substantial representation of paintstones in stratum III of the Michipicoten site, the absence of biface blades from both components of the same site, and the absence of small tools from the Shebishikong site. Even taking

sample sizes into consideration it would appear that the Michipicoten components possess a wider range of artifact classes than the remaining components.

Charts I and II present the coefficients of similarity based upon ceramic categories and stone tool classes respectively for the three historic components and for three associated prehistoric components. As can be readily seen Chart II presents a much more cohesive picture than Chart I with a coefficient spread of 63 as opposed to the latter's spread of 172. In Chart II the coefficients between components of the same site and components of different sites are much closer. The coefficients indicate that at a general level the stone tool assemblage represents a more fruitful area from which to draw broad time-space relationships than does the ceramic assemblage.

Two of the most common classes of stone tools, not including wedges, are scrapers and projectile points and are considered below in some detail.

With the exception of stratum III at the Michipicoten site the end scrapers represent 50 percent or more of the scrapers recovered. In terms of measurements of end scraper length, width, and height of the end scraping face, there is an increase in all dimensions from stratum III to stratum II at the Michipicoten site. This same trend is apparent through the three components of the Pic River site and is only broken by the reduction of scraper length in the historic stratum I. As a general rule the end scrapers from the Michipicoten and Shebishikong sites are smaller than those from the Pic River components. Ovate-acuminate scrapers are a sub-grouping of the end scraper variety and only occurred in stratum III of the Michipicoten site. Side scrapers are the second most common variety and in both the Michipicoten and Pic River time columns show an increase. The concave side scraper is a sub-grouping of the side scraper variety and was restricted to stratum III of the Michipicoten site. Random flakes retouched into scrapers were absent from both strata II of the Michipicoten and Pic River sites and were poorly represented at the Shebishikong site. The figures from both the Michipicoten and Pic River sites suggest that the random flake scraper is decreasing through time.

TABLE 7 — SCRAPER SERIATION FOR THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS AND THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Scraper Variety	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
End	13	68.4	5	50.0	13	33.3	12	52.2	6	75.0	14	58.3
Ovate-acuminate			–	–	2	5.1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Side	5	26.3	5	50.0	12	30.8	6	26.1	2	25.0	3	12.5
Concave	–	–	–	–	4	10.3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Random flake	1	5.3	–	–	8	20.5	5	21.7	–	–	7	29.2
TOTALS	19	100.0	10	100.0	39	100.0	23	100.0	8	100.0	24	100.0

TABLE 8 — PROJECTILE POINT SERIATION FOR THREE HISTORIC OJIBWA COMPONENTS AND THREE ASSOCIATED PREHISTORIC COMPONENTS

	Shebishikong		Michipicoten				Pic River					
	I		II		III		I		II		III	
Point Variety	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Triangular	–	–	3	100.0	11	68.8	3	50.0	4	66.7	14	63.6
Triangular side notched	1	100.0	–	–	5	31.2	3	50.0	1	16.7	7	31.8
Pentagonal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	16.7	1	4.5
TOTALS	1	100.0	3	100.0	16	100.0	6	100.0	6	100.1	22	99.9

Excluding the Shebishikong site with its single triangular side-notched point, the major point shape is triangular, or, more accurately, trianguloid. For the components of the Michipicoten and Pic River sites the triangular form represents 50 or more percent of the points recovered. At the former site there is an increase and at the latter site a decrease. The triangular side-notched form is absent from stratum II of the Michipicoten site suggesting a decrease through time. However, at the Pic River site there is a decrease followed by an increase. Pentagonal points are restricted to the two prehistoric components of the Pic River site. Point length and width show an increase through the time column of the Pic River site, a trend which is tenuously supported by the Michipicoten site sequence. A characteristic common to many of the points from all six components is the limited amount of retouch involved. Quite frequently specimens are unifacially retouched or retouch is limited to the margins of the point. This practise of limited retouch in the manufacture of projectile points shows a marked decrease in the Pic River time column where the percentages for the trait running to stratum III to stratum I are 81.8, 33.3, 33.3. The situation at the Michipicoten site, however, does not support the trend and the percentage occurence of the trait running from stratum III to stratum II is 56.3 and 66.7. The single point from the Shebishikong site possessed limited retouch.

The majority of the preceding observations have been made on very small samples. Small samples, in the northern region of the Upper Great Lakes however, are the rule, not the exception, and if progress is to be made in the interpretation of Ojibwa culture history such samples must be used on the assumption that they are valid until additional information alters this validity.

SUMMARY

Although the available evidence is limited it has stimulated four basic proposals which appear to be essential to an examination of Ojibwa culture history.

1. ethnohistorical records allow the designation of certain components in the Upper Great Lakes region under the broad

term "Ojibwa" but severely handicap more specific identification.

2. the ceramics recovered from historic Ojibwa components are the product of borrowings from more than one ceramic tradition and, thus, cannot be used consistently in the traditional manner for establishing either spatial or temporal relationships.
3. the stone tool assemblage does not show the same spatial and temporal inconsistencies apparent in the ceramics, thus, suggesting that it represents an indigeneous portion of Ojibwa material culture and, thus, a more consistent category than ceramics from which to establish spatial and temporal relationships.
4. the direct historical approach is applicable using the historic Ojibwa components as a base from which to extend Ojibwa culture history back in time.

In view of the various problems involved in making specific ethnic identifications from the archaeological remains of a multitude of independent bands of closely related northern Algonkian-speaking peoples suggested by both historical and ethnological works (Thwaites 1896-1901; 1905; Blair: 1911; Skinner: 1911; Kinietz: 1940; Dunning: 1959; Hlady 1964; Hickerson 1962; and Rogers 1962) it was decided that the broadly inclusive term "Ojibwa" would be most effective for the present purposes. This is done, however, with an awareness that the "Ojibwa" will be broadly inclusive archaeologically as well as ethnologically and linguistically, with the result that the archaeological character of geographically distant components will strain the concept of a "tribal" unit. Eventually there should be sufficient information to establish regional archaeological sequences relating to Ojibwa culture history which, when taken collectively, will possibly reflect the development of small regional bands involved in a similar way of life but being subjected to varying types and intensities of cultural change.

As a rule, ceramics are the most effective single class of artifacts for tracing spatial and temporal relationships. This effectiveness very likely stems from the abundance of specific quantifiable and qualifiable attributes associated with ceramics. When the ceramics are a discontinuously borrowed trait, as

would appear to be the case with the Ojibwa, their comparative effectiveness is somewhat altered. Discontinuity is the critical condition for it would appear that if a group borrows the ceramics from another group in a continuous fashion then the ceramics of the former can be used in an effective manner for tracing chronologies (Ritchie 1949; Smith 1950). Such was apparently not the case for the Ojibwa where a number of different ceramic traditions are represented in a single component and the frequency or presence of various ceramic traditions in the various components of a site will vary through time and space. For example, comparisons between the components of the Pic River and Michipicoten sites, based upon rim sherds show no relationship to very little relationship. Yet ethnohistorical evidence strongly suggests that the historic strata of the two sites pertain to the Ojibwa. Further, the two historic components are roughly contemporaneous and are situated only 80 miles away from each other along the coast of Lake Superior. Although the mixture of ceramic traditions and the spatial and temporal variations on the type and degree of mixture disrupt the use of ceramics for establishing *continuous* time-space relationships they do not negate the value of ceramics. In terms of space the ceramics are certainly the best single indicator for the directions from which influences are being brought to bear upon any single component. At the Michipicoten historic stratum the influences are from the southeast (Huron-Petun) and the south (Michigan ceramic traditions) whereas at the historic stratum of the Pic River site the influences are from the west (Blackduck and Selkirk) and the south (Michigan ceramic tradition). The degree and direction of interaction is probably also reflected by the relative abundance of the various ceramic traditions. Temporally, the pottery types and/or attributes are very useful as relative time markers of the prehistoric components in which they are found. In this respect the pottery types and attributes found in hypothetically prehistoric Ojibwa components reflect their temporal and spatial position within the donor assemblage although there does appear to be some time lag. From the preceding it can be seen that while ceramics are not sufficiently consistent to establish broad continuous space-time constructs they are extremely useful in arriving at certain varieties of space-time information.

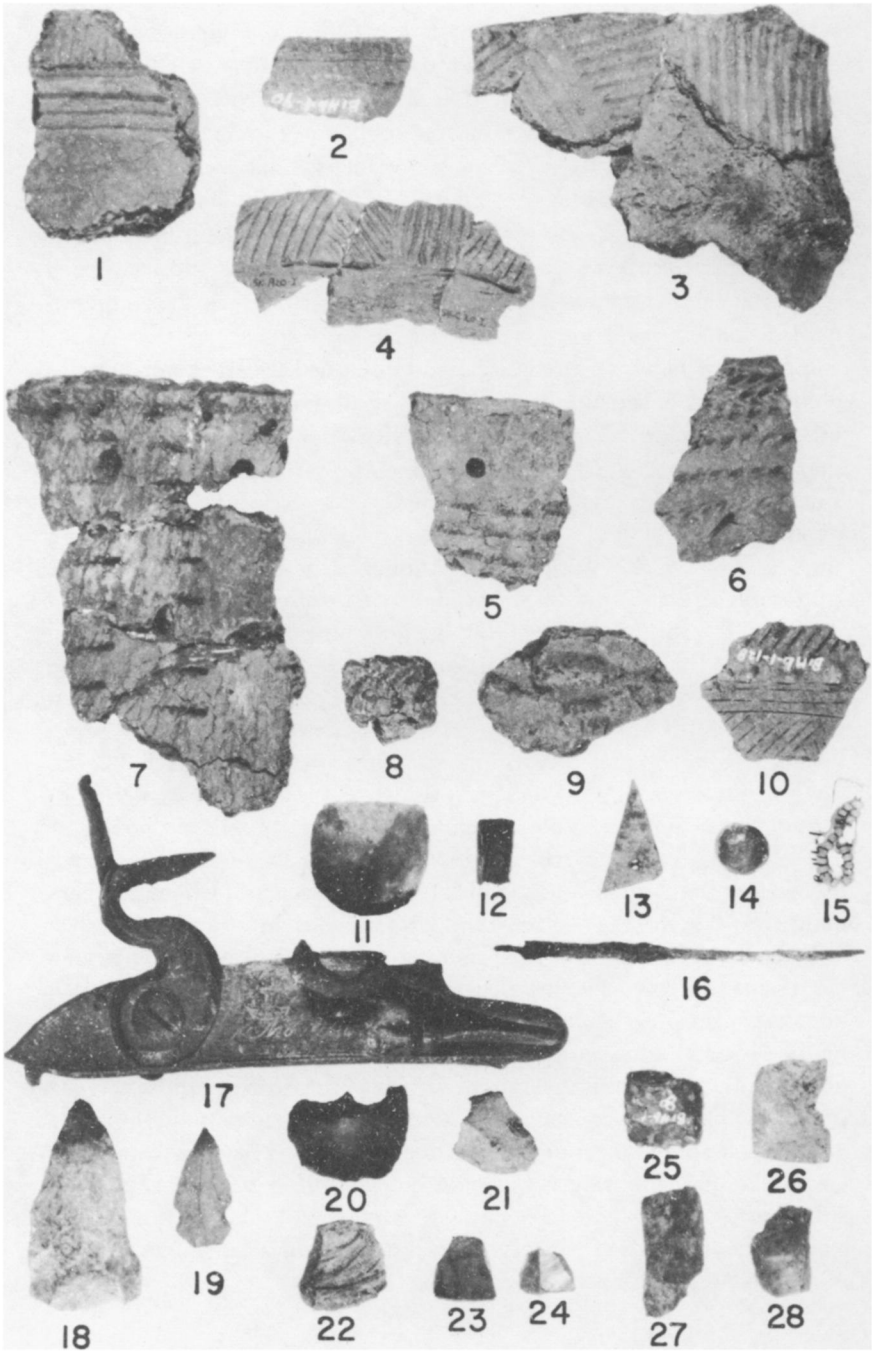

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PLATE I

(½ natural size)

Shebishikong Site — Stratum I

Figures 1-4 Huron-Petun branch rim sherds.

Figures 5, 7-8 Blackduck focus rim sherds.

Figure 6 Push-pull rim sherd.

Figures 9-10 Miscellaneous rim sherds.

Figure 11 French gun flint.

Figure 12 Cylindrical bead made from trade kettle.

Figure 13 Arrowhead with rivet hole made from trade kettle.

Figure 14 Lead musket ball.

Figure 15 White seed beads.

Figure 16 Iron awl.

Figure 17 Flintlock mechanism dated at 1720 A.D.

Figure 18 Triangular biface blade.

Figure 19 Triangular side-notched arrowhead.

Figures 20-24 End scrapers.

Figures 25-26 Wedges.

Figures 27-28 Side scrapers.

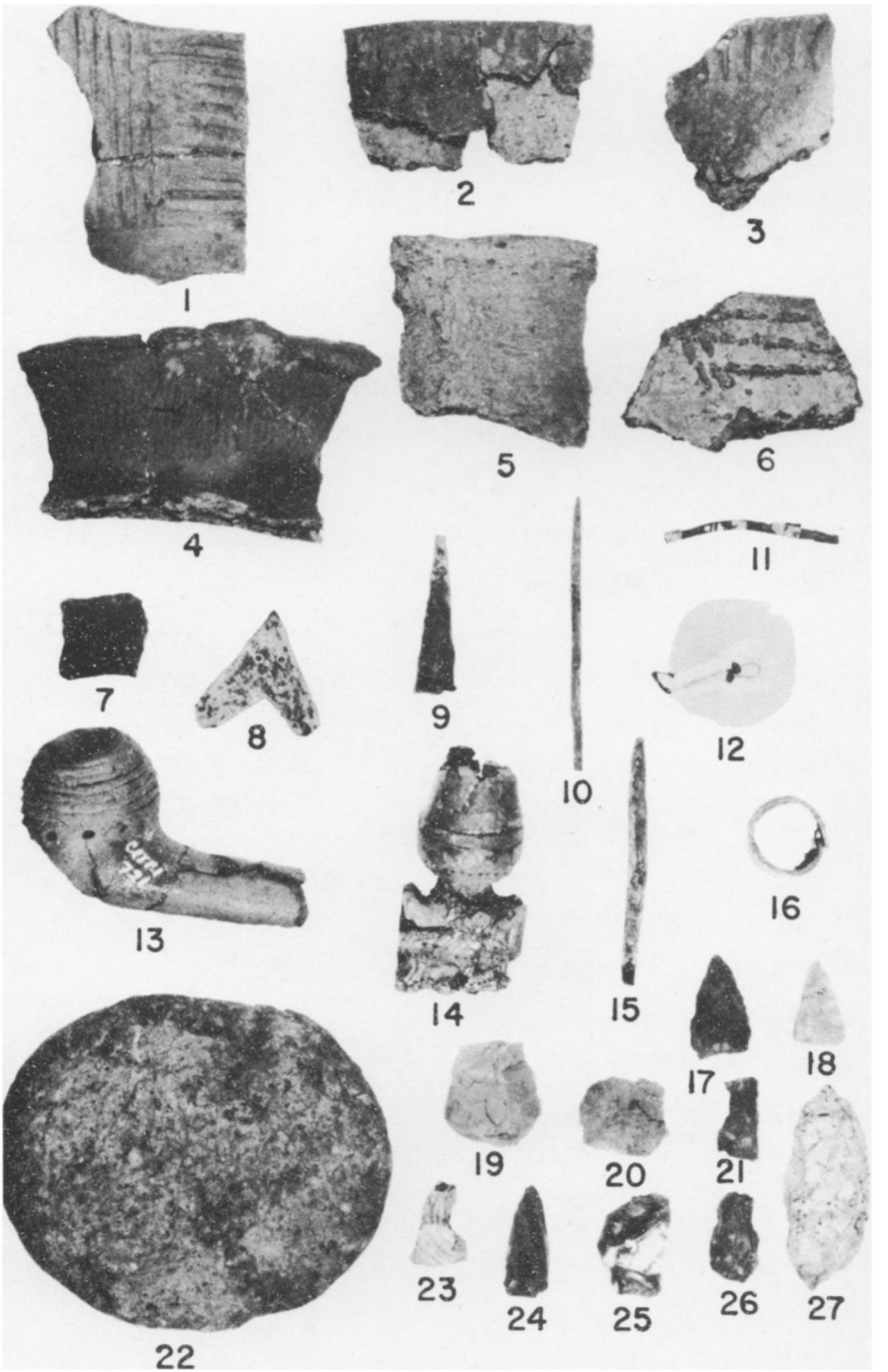
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PLATE II

(½ natural size)

Michipicoten Site — Stratum II

Figures 1-2	Huron-Petun branch rim sherds.
Figure 3	Stamped rim sherd.
Figures 4-5	Peninsular Woodland rim sherds.
Figure 6	Push-pull rim sherd.
Figure 7	English gun flint.
Figure 8	Lead pendant.
Figure 9	Triangular strip of trade kettle.
Figure 10	Rolled awl made from trade kettle strip.
Figure 11	Blue seed beads.
Figure 12	Trade kettle beads rolled onto a leather thong.
Figure 13	Huron-Petun branch pipe.
Figure 14	Engraved catlinite pipe with iron band.
Figure 15	Native copper awl.
Figure 16	Native copper finger-ring.
Figures 17-18	Triangular arrowheads.
Figures 19-20	End scrapers.
Figure 21	Side scraper.
Figure 22	Anvil stone.
Figure 23	Spoke-shave.
Figure 24	Small tool.
Figures 25-26	Wedges.
Figure 27	Large side scraper.

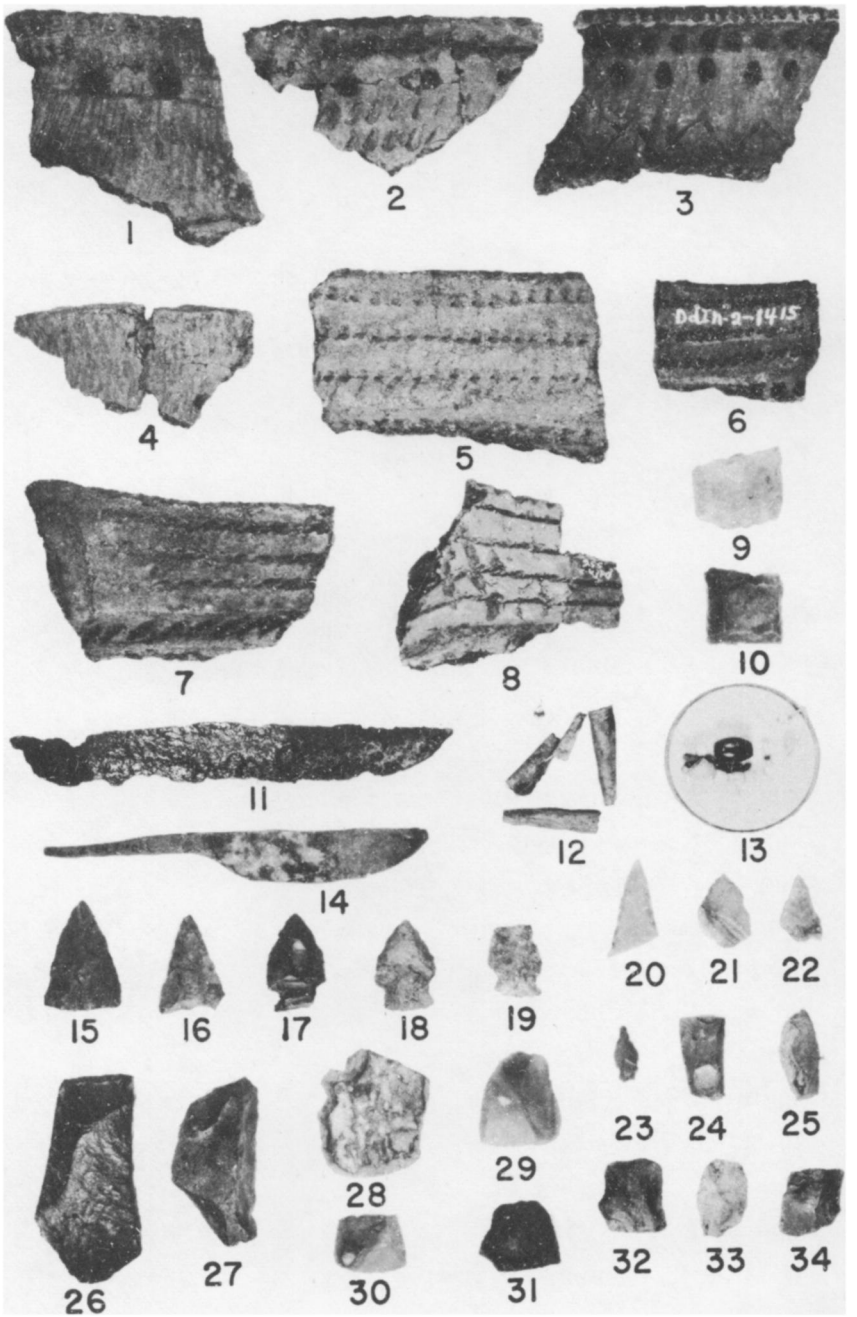
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PLATE III

(½ natural size)

Pic River Site — Stratum I

Figures 1-4 Blackduck focus rim sherds.

Figures 5-8 Push-pull rim sherds.

Figure 9 French gun flint.

Figure 10 English gun flint.

Figure 11 French clasp knife.

Figure 12 Bangles made from trade kettle.

Figure 13 Trade beads.

Figure 14 Native copper knife.

Figures 15-16 Triangular arrowheads.

Figures 17-19 Triangular side-notched arrowheads.

Figures 20-25 Small tools.

Figures 26-27 Large side scrapers.

Figures 28-31 End scrapers.

Figures 32-34 Wedges.

Next to the ceramics there is only one other category of artifacts which are sufficiently abundant and possess sufficient variety to be effective in attempting to establish broad time-space relationships. This category is the stone tools. On all of the components regarded as Ojibwa or their prehistoric antecedents the frequency of stone tools exceeds that of rim sherds. Yet on the two control sites (Ellsmere-Morrison/Huron-Petun and McCluskey/Blackduck to the east and west respectively) which are both actively involved in the development of their respective ceramic traditions, the frequency of rim sherds to stone tools is directly reversed. In conjunction with the evidence for substantial mixture of ceramic traditions the ratio of rim sherds to stone tools is regarded as additional evidence for the proposal that ceramics recovered from Ojibwa components represent borrowed traits. Not only are stone tools more abundant than rim sherds on historic and assumed prehistoric Ojibwa sites but they exhibit much closer and continuous relationships than was the case with ceramics. This situation suggests that the stone tools, as a class, relate more closely to Ojibwa material culture than the ceramics and, thus, broad spatial and temporal comparisons are possible. Relationships based upon stone tools, however, are weakened by both the limited number of attributes involved and the smallness of samples. Despite these drawbacks, which will relegate many of the inferences on time-space relationships to a highly tenuous position, the stone tool category would appear to represent the most fruitful single media through which Ojibwa culture history can be traced.

The application of the direct historical approach to the problem is greatly enhanced by the stratigraphic situation at the Michipicoten and Pic River sites. Both of these sites possess prehistoric components which produced a relative abundance of artifacts. A consistent picture can be seen through time at each site and each site possesses a definite local character which suggests that it is the cumulative product of a single population through time. Despite the 750 years involved in the occupation of the Pic River site and the 200 years represented by strata II and III of the Michipicoten site the components within each site relate more closely than do components between sites. Some of

the inter-site comparisons, however, are nearly equal to the intra-site comparisons.

The following represent some of the general characteristics of Ojibwa culture history seen through both time and space: thin and widely distributed cultural deposits; simple floor hearths with or without hearthstones; dog burials; multiple ceramic traditions; stone tools more common than rim sherds; and dominant stone tools are wedges, scrapers, and projectile points. At the more specific level certain form and metrical trends are apparent within the scraper and projectile point classes. There is also some evidence that regional chronologies differ from one another in terms of the presence or absence or frequency of certain minor stone tool classes.

The preceding statement on Ojibwa culture history is very preliminary and many of the observations are, perforce, of a highly tentative nature. Indeed, it is very likely that the construction of chronologies leading to the historic Ojibwa will always be relegated to a tenuous position in view of the data upon which the chronologies are based. The fluid cultural situation involved in the broad grouping of peoples called Ojibwa will probably never lend itself to a neat archaeological reconstruction. Under these circumstances it is certainly better to attempt to interpret the available information rather than waiting until a more convincing body of data is amassed. In view of the paucity of analyzable material from sites attributed to the Ojibwa conclusions have been kept to a minimum. Despite these limitations the evidence does suggest that it is feasible to trace Ojibwa culture history in the region of the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior although considerably more data must be made available before this can be done in a convincing manner.

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